

Analysing Policies and Politics to Address Upgrading of Sub-standard Settlements in Metropolitan Areas

Cases from Brazil, India, Peru and South Africa

*By Einar Braathen, Véronique Dupont, David Jordhus-Lier,
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Chance2Sustain Work Package 3 Thematic Report

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Authorship and acknowledgments

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For the phases of fieldwork and the first settlement reports, which constituted the basis of our material, we have also to acknowledge the contributions of: **Dhanalakshmi** for Chennai, **Shankare Gowda** and **Tara Saharan** for Delhi, **Lisa Strauch** for Lima, **Timo Bartholl**, **Ana Carolina Christovão** and **Valéria Pinheiro** for Rio de Janeiro, **Sibongile Buthelezi** and **Bonang Lewis** for Durban, **Pamela Tslokile** and **Athini Melane** for Cape Town.



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1

Research Framework and Methods

Einar Braathen with Berit Aasen, Véronique Dupont, David Jordhus-Lier, and Catherine Sutherland

1.1. Introduction

- How does the politics of fast growing cities shape urban inequalities?
- What are the main policies to address these inequalities, especially with regards to sub-standard settlements?
- How do civil society organizations mobilise to address those inequalities and deprivations?

These were the main research questions originally formulated in Work Package 3 (WP3) under the EU FP7 funded project “Urban Chances – City Growth and The Sustainability Challenge” (Chance2Sustain). WP3 was titled: *“Policies and politics to address urban inequality: poor people networks, CSO networks and campaigns on sub-standard settlements in metropolitan areas”*.

During the first year the research approach was made more specific and operationalised. First, urban inequality and poverty were defined as part of the urban (macro) context for WP3. Second, ‘substandard settlements’ were not only the object of study but also the lens through which the main theme of the WP3 programme, namely social mobilisation of the urban poor, was explored. Third, “poor people’s networks, CSO networks and campaigns of sub-standard settlements in metropolitan areas” were subsumed to “policies, politics and social mobilizations that transform urban spaces” as the main theme of our research. The transformation of urban spaces referred to changes – intended or real – within sub-standard settlements and their relations to the socially segregated mega city.

WP3 represents an important component in the overall Chance2Sustain project by explicitly focusing on poor and vulnerable groups of people in growing cities. Moreover, it directs attention towards the agency and mobilisation efforts of these groups, how they engage within, or outside, city governance structures to achieve their collective goals.

This thematic report presents the main findings of the WP3 research, a summary of the evidence from our case studies, and a discussion of implications for a new and improved analytical approach to the issues dealt with in WP 3. The introductory chapter offers a review of the research

approach – the conceptualizing of contexts, the methodology, the evolving concretization of the main theme and new research questions.¹

1.2. Conceptualizing the context

Macro context: Urban inequality

WP3 adopted both a discursive and distributive approach to understanding inequality in cities in the south. A distributive approach suggests that inequality is based on the systematic, unequal distribution of both goods and bads in society. A discursive or constructivist approach to inequality provides a useful and meaningful way of analysing how different actors construct and respond to the policies and campaigns addressing inequality within their cities and countries

Micro and meso contexts: Sub-standard settlements

The term ‘sub-standard settlements’ was chosen to emphasise that there are certain normative perceptions, or ‘standards’, differing from one country, or city, to another that define certain settlement categories. The first ‘sub-standard’ aspect these settlements have in common is the *precariousness* and *socio-economic deprivation*, which characterises the majority of their households. However the type of precariousness and deprivation may differ across spaces. Moreover, there are certain national legal standards expressed by the law and policy making as well as certain ‘technical’ standards applied by city planners in categorising urban settlements. Thus, WP3 suggested a certain typology based on *legality* (status of land occupation) and *formality* (extent of following rules and standards of spatial lay-out, physical structure, urban infrastructure and other categories of the formal state apparatus) to categorise the settlements that surround household-level precariousness and socio-economic deprivation. Sub-standard settlement also points

¹ Please see the WP3 Settlements Reports and the Chance2Sustain City Reports for detailed presentation of the cases. The thematic report has to be read as the last one in a series of reports, and not an independent report that would encompass all the previous ones in a single and synthesizing volume.

in the direction that these are settlements that are not according to the standards of accepted settlements, and both that they therefore may be a target for public policy to make these settlement 'standard' settlements, but also that the people that live in these settlements may claim the right to have these settlements upgraded to 'normal' settlements.

This way the research team chose a definition which may be consistently used across the ten cities on three continents, while it is open-ended enough to accommodate

the differing national and local definitions (of legality and formality at the settlement level; of justice, fairness and social standards at the city policy level). The redefinitions and reinterpretations of these settlements have become key parts of the comparative analysis.

The informality characterizing these settlements means that many transcend the easy dichotomies of legal-illegal and formal-informal, these classifications being constantly renegotiated and opening for 'semi-regular' and 'semi-legal' categories.

Table 1: Percentages of the urban population residing in the nationally defined and main sub-standard settlement categories in 2007 (India 2011).

Country	Main category	Nationally (total urban population)	Cities
Brazil	"Precarious housing"	14	São Paulo: 15 Rio de Janeiro: 21 Salvador: 24
India	"Slum"	25	Delhi: 15 Chennai: 29 Mumbai : 41
Peru	"Overcrowded"	24	Arequipa <24 Lima >24
South Africa	"Informal"	30	Cape Town: 35 eThekweni (Durban): 45

Table 2: Categories of sub-standard settlements in Brazil (B), India (I), Peru (P) and South Africa (SA)²

	Formal	Semi-formal	Informal
Legal	B: 'Slum tenements' (cortiços) (inner city) I: 'Slum areas' (dilapidated and overcrowded houses) P: 'Over-crowded' houses SA: 'Townships' (apartheid era) SA: 'RDP settlements' (post-apartheid) SA: Peri-urban traditional housing	I: 'Slum' areas w/ faulty infrastructures I: 'Resettlement colonies'(inadequate urban services) SA: 'Informal settlements' upgraded & tenure obtained	
Semi-legal	SA: Over-crowded inner city areas (post-apartheid)	B: 'Irregular settlements' w/ some infrastructures P: 'Barriadas' improved and developed	B: 'Irregular settlements' without any infrastructures or regulations.
Illegal	All countries: Inner city squats	B: 'Favelas' w/ some regulations and infrastructures	B: 'Favelas' without any regulations I: 'Squatters settlements' P: 'Barriadas'. SA: 'Informal settlements'

2 See Braathen (2011) for discussion and presentation of these categories.



1.3. Methodology: from plan to practice

Work plan

The research team started out with joint work to design the conceptual and methodological framework (Braathen et al 2011), and a literature review was published (Sutherland et al 2011). After that the team followed a joint phase-based work plan, although each phase was carried out in different ways in each city. This was the agreed plan and how it was implemented:

Phase 0: Contributions to the city reports produced by all the work packages of Chance2Sustain, providing a sufficient basis for the selection of ‘sub-standard settlements’.

Phase 1: Elaborating the profiles of a selection of settlements. For each city, two to five settlements (depending on the size of the city) were identified for a settlement profile and a short list; at least one settlement was directly affected by a mega project (providing a link to WP2 of Chance2Sustain), and at least one of these settlements was to be selected for Phase 2. At least eight background characteristics were addressed in each settlement profile.³

Phase 2: Settlement case study and data collection

Phase 3: Analysing findings. The city- and country specific analysis was developed in an inductive way based on the proceeding data collected and discussions between the researchers across the countries in their annual gatherings. Thus, the *comparative method* was a key instrument:

Comparative method

The team was inspired by the ‘post-colonial’ comparative approach outlined by Jennifer Robinson (2010). It enhances *individualizing* comparison based on “detailed case study” seeking to “explain the distinctive outcomes in one city (or more than one city) through implicit or explicit (usually qualitative) comparison with other cases that might confirm hypotheses or concerning causal processes and outcomes

³ Identification and location; historical background of the settlement; Present characteristics of the settlement: population characteristics; housing and planning characteristics; urban infrastructure and amenities available; identification of main issues at stake – including, if applicable, in relation with large-scale projects; identification of relevant actors; governance issues; recent mobilisation around key issues.

generated in the specific case study” (Robinson 2011:6) This comparative approach saves the case study from being theoretically unproductive (Lijphart 1971) if it can “bring the experiences of different case-study cities into careful conversation with one another in order to reflect critically existent theory, to raise questions about one city through attending to related dynamics in other contexts, or to point to limitations or omissions in existing accounts” (Robinson 2011:6).

This way the case studies were compiled (Braathen et al 2013) and laid the basis for the comparative analysis presented in the subsequent chapters of this report.

1.4. Reformulated key research questions

Before the phase 2 (settlement case study and data collection), and as a result of the literature review and conceptual framework elaborated by the team, the researchers agreed on the following reformulated key research questions and focal points:

- Which have been the *main public policies* relevant to urban inequalities, segregation, settlement upgrading and services?
 - Social mobilisation: Which have been the main contested issues catalysing social mobilisation in the case studies? What have been the formal/informal tactics used
 - strategies for local mobilisation and up-scaling
 - factors of hindrance to an effective mobilisation
- Which have been the *main spaces of engagement* with city-level politics?
 - links with other CSO networks
 - links with metropolitan governance and planning systems

This report reflects these key research questions by containing main chapters on policies towards sub-standard settlements and social mobilization, respectively. The issue of knowledge has emerged as a third main theme, not defined as such in the original work plan, but brought in as the research theme found it important in policy making, social mobilization and related issues such as spaces of engagement with city-level politics.

In other words, the WP3 team has pursued a flexible and inductive research approach.

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2.1. Brazil

The Federal Republic of Brazil is the world's fifth largest country, both by geographical area and by population. In 2013 its population passed 200 million. According to the latest national census (2010), 84.35 per cent live in urban areas and 52.27 per cent consider themselves being non-white: 43.13 Pardo/mulato, 7.61 Black, 1.09 Asian, 0.43 Amerindian.

The country nurtures the world's seventh largest economy, characterized by stability and growth since 1994. Its GDP (PPP) per capita is USD12,528, putting Brazil in the 77th position globally. The distribution of wealth, however, makes Brazil one of the world's ten most unequal countries (Gini coefficient of 0.54). It is ranked number 85 on UNDP's Human Development Index. Nevertheless, the proportion of population living in extreme poverty has been cut by half since a coalition headed by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva took power in 2003. 16.2 million, or 8.5 per cent of the population, lived in extreme poverty in 2011 (with income below BRL 70, or approx. 40 USD per month). The reduction of extreme income poverty has been particularly linked to the expansion of cash transfer programmes, such as Bolsa Família, from the federal government to the poorest households.

Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro is the second largest city in Brazil, with 6,429,922 living in the city municipality and twice that number living in the metropolitan region. Rio is the epicenter of Brazil's fast growing petroleum and tourist industries, the latter linked to the the organization of mega events such as the FIFA World Cup 2014 and Olympic Games 2016, causing numerous large infrastructure programmes.

Rio has followed the national trend and seen extreme income poverty been cut by half from 1995 to 2010. Still, like in the other metropolitan regions in Brazil, housing precariousness has not been reduced substantially in the

same period, and 22 per cent of Rio de Janeiro's population (1,393,314 inhabitants) lived in 'sub-normal settlements' or favelas in 2010. Historically, the favelas were built on steep hillsides ('morros') next to affluent neighbourhoods, but for the last 40 years the favelas have occupied the northern and western parts. The socio-spatial segregation of the city's residents has been scaled up.

Morro da Providência

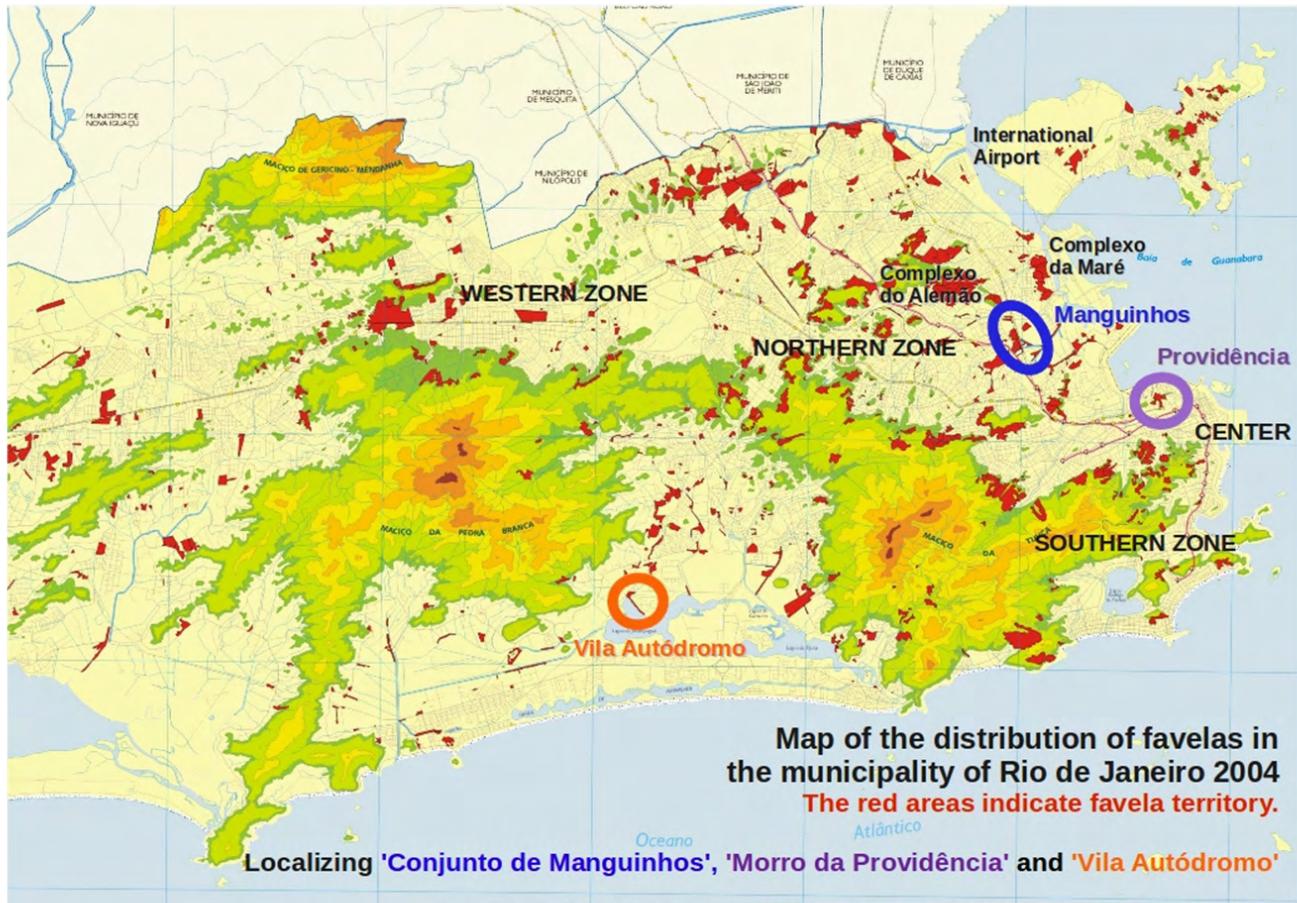
Morro da Providência is the world's first favela, a self-built informal settlement dating back to 1893. It is located along the slopes close to the old port area, in the central part and historical downtown of the city. According to the 2010 census the total population was 3,777, of which 28 per cent were categorised as poor. The average school attendance was six years. In the early stages of the settlement the majority of the residents were afro-descendants, while in recent times the majority has origins in the North-east of Brazil. The community has been indirectly affected by the large urban renewal programme for the old port area of the city, Porto Maravilha, which is linked to the development plans for the 2016 Olympic Games. It is also the object of a grand upgrading programme for the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Morar Carioca. A Resident's Committee has fought what it regarded as social cleansing – in terms of piecemeal forced removals, and gentrification.

Vila Autódromo

Vila Autódromo is a fishing village which developed into a working class neighbourhood during the construction of an upper middle class boomtown, Barra de Tijuca, in the Western zone of Rio de Janeiro in the 1970s. 600 families live in this informal settlement, organized in the Association of Residents and Fishermen of Vila Autódromo (AMPAVA). The village lies in the area where the accommodation centres and some of the main sports arenas for the 2016 Olympic Games were to be located. Vila Autódromo has repeatedly been threatened by collective relocation, and the Resident's Association has for many years managed to fight back by linking up with external judicial, knowledge and social movement resources.



Map 1: Distribution of *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro and location of the three settlements selected for case studies.



Source: Elaborated in 2012 based on a map of the Municipal Institute of Urbanism Pereira Passos (2004)

2.2. India

The federal Republic of India, whose population passed 1.210 billion in 2011 (last census), is the world second most populous country. Despite its remarkable size – around 377 million people in 2011, the urban population represents less than one-third of the total population.

Remarkably, the contribution of the urban economy to the GDP was estimated at 63% in 2010. The liberalisation and opening of the Indian economy in the 1990s was associated with decentralisation reforms and ambitious national programmes in the urban sector, aimed at promoting cities as “engines of growth” through large-scale investments and deregulation of land markets. However, the growing share of informal employment with respect to formal employment, and sharper income inequalities, evidence the contradictions of this growth model.

The national economy enjoyed high growth rates from 2003 to 2007, with an average 9% per year, but the GDP growth slowed down to 4 – 5% per year in 2012 and 2013.

As per GDP per capita, India ranks at the 133rd position globally, and as per UNDP Human Development Index, it ranks only at the 136th position.

Poverty remains large and widespread, including in urban areas. The headcount ratio of urban poor has decreased from 49% in 1973-74 to 25.8% in 2004-05 (as compared to 56.4% and 28.3% respectively in rural areas), but their numbers have risen from 60 million to 80.8 million persons over the same period. Urban poor households are predominantly engaged in non-wage, informal employment. Sub-standard and illegal settlements represent the most visible expression of housing poverty in Indian cities, accounting for 26% to 55% of the urban population at the beginning of the millennium, depending on the definition of “slums”.

Delhi

Delhi is the national capital city, as well as a National Capital Territory of 1,483 sq.km, mostly urbanized, a quasi-state with its government and legislative assembly. However, the

central government retains the control on land, through the Delhi Development Authority (DDA).

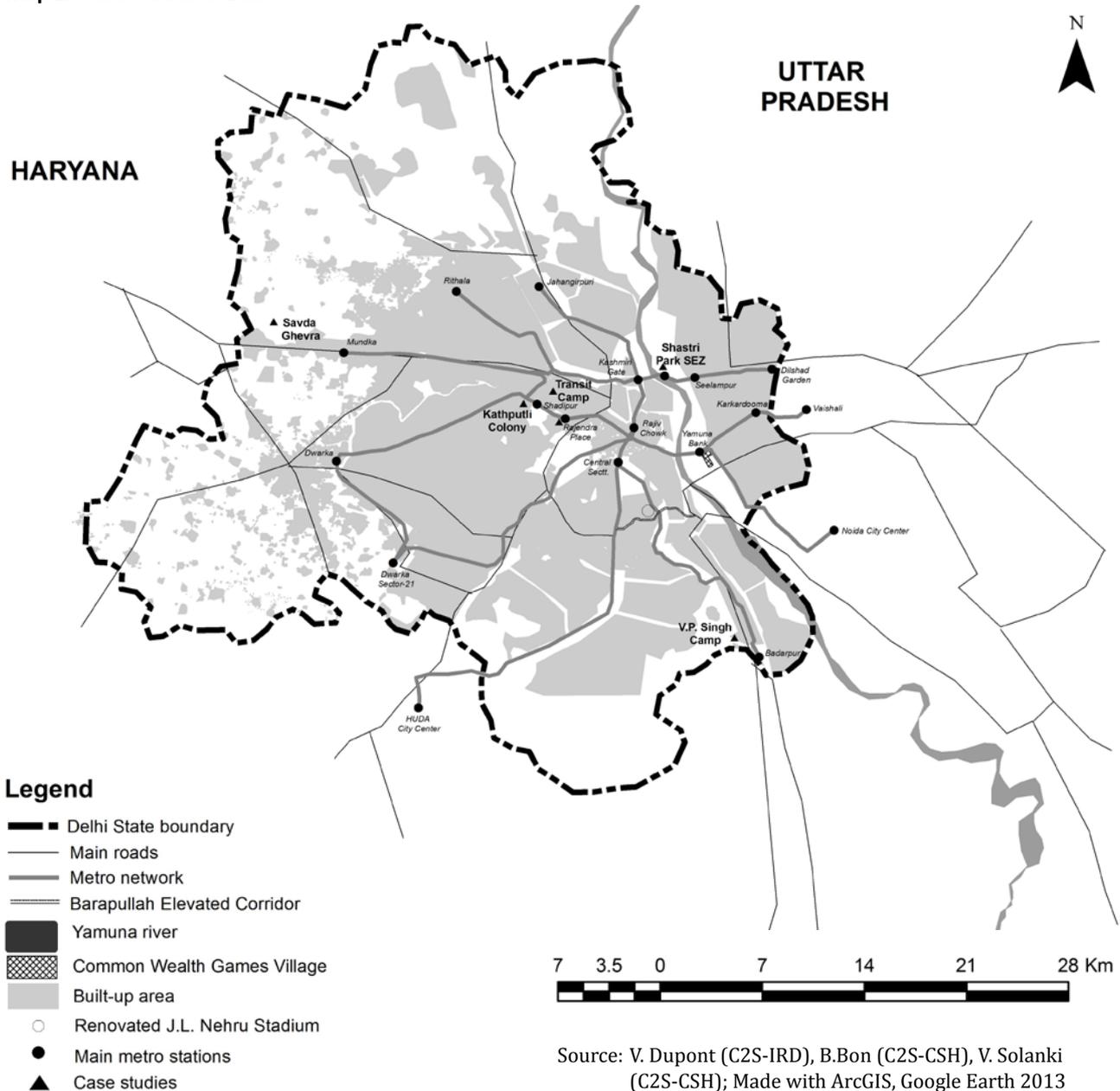
Within the administrative limits of its Territory, Delhi is the second largest metropolitan city in India with a population of 16 millions in 2011 (as per the last Census). However, the urban spread encompasses around 23 million inhabitants, placing Delhi as the country largest urban area ahead of Greater Mumbai.

As per the census data and definition of “slums” (that excludes the smallest clusters with less than 300 people) 15% of the population in the Delhi Municipal Corporation lived in “slums” in 2011. The population of squatter

settlements – the “illegal slums” – was estimated at around 2.1 millions in 2011 (as per the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board) scattered in 685 jhuggi-jhompri clusters on public land, and accounting for 12% of the city population (as against 27% in 1998). Massive slum demolitions entailed the displacement of approximately one million people from 1998 to 2010, and increase in the homeless population.

The agenda of transforming Delhi into a global city led to a major socio-spatial restructuring of its urban space; in the 2000s, urban renewal operations and infrastructure works were boosted by the preparation for the 2010 Commonwealth Games.

Map 2: Case studies in Delhi





V.P. Singh Camp and the Tehkhand project

V.P. Singh Camp is a squatter settlement formed in the early 1970s in the southern periphery of Delhi, on land belonging to the DDA. Its population was estimated at around 7000 residents in 2011. A first attempt by the DDA to evict the population was successfully resisted in 1990-91. In 2002, the expansion of the Indian Container Depot abutting the settlement entailed the displacement of 529 households to a relocation site. Further, the DDA selected the 14.3 hectare plot that this slum partly occupies to launch a pilot in-situ rehabilitation project under public-private partnership, known as the Tehkhand project. In 2006, the DDA invited bids from private developers to construct 3,500 tenements for re-housing slum dwellers in five-storeyed apartment blocks. The developer was to provide physical infrastructure and basic social facilities, and was allowed, as an incentive, to construct for sale 750 high income-group apartments on the remaining part of the plot. In 2007-2008, the developer who won the auction started land levelling and excavation operations on the site adjoining the slum. However, the project was stopped in mid-2009 for lack of clearance from the Ministry of Environment and Forest, as it falls in the protected the Delhi Ridge. The matter has escalated into a litigation between the different parties involved.

Kathputli Colony

Kathputli Colony is spread over 5.22 hectares belonging to the DDA, in a centrally located area well connected to the rest of the city. This is a forty-year-old squatter settlement, housing at least 15,000 people. It was initially a camp of folk artists from Rajasthan (Kathputli means puppeteers). Gradually other migrant communities came to settle, due to the availability of vacant land. Like most squatter settlements in Delhi, Kathputli Colony suffers from poor housing and a lack of adequate amenities, especially sanitation.

The settlement was selected by the DDA to undertake its new in-situ rehabilitation project, officially announced on the site in 2009. Only part of the land occupied by the slum will be used to re-house its residents in multi-storeyed blocks comprising 2800 two-room flats of 25 sq.m., and the rest (40%) will be cleared for residential and commercial development to be sold on the open market. The private developer who was awarded the contract has an ambitious plan for the latter: a high-end 54-storeyed residential tower and a commercial complex.

Finding vacant public land in the vicinity to transfer the slum dwellers during the construction work proved to be an important factor of delay in implementing the project.

Finally, the transit camp was constructed on a site located a few kilometres away from the present settlement. The slum dwellers will be accommodated in rows of prefabricated one-room tenements of 12 sq.m, one room per family, with shared bathing and toilet facilities. The construction of the camp was completed in 2013, and the transfer was initiated at the end of February 2014.

Opacity of the procedure and many unsolved issues triggered mobilisation among the residents to defend their own interests vis-à-vis the DDA and the private developer. The attempts to evacuate the settlement generated new protests.

Rajendar Nagar demolished slum and Pusa Road case

This case illustrates the consequences of the construction of a mega-project —the metro railway— on informal settlements, and the effects of slum clearance policy without adequate rehabilitation, leading to an aggravation of homelessness. The families of this slum cluster were rendered homeless following the demolition of their settlement in 2000 for the construction of a metro line, and their exclusion from the resettlement scheme.

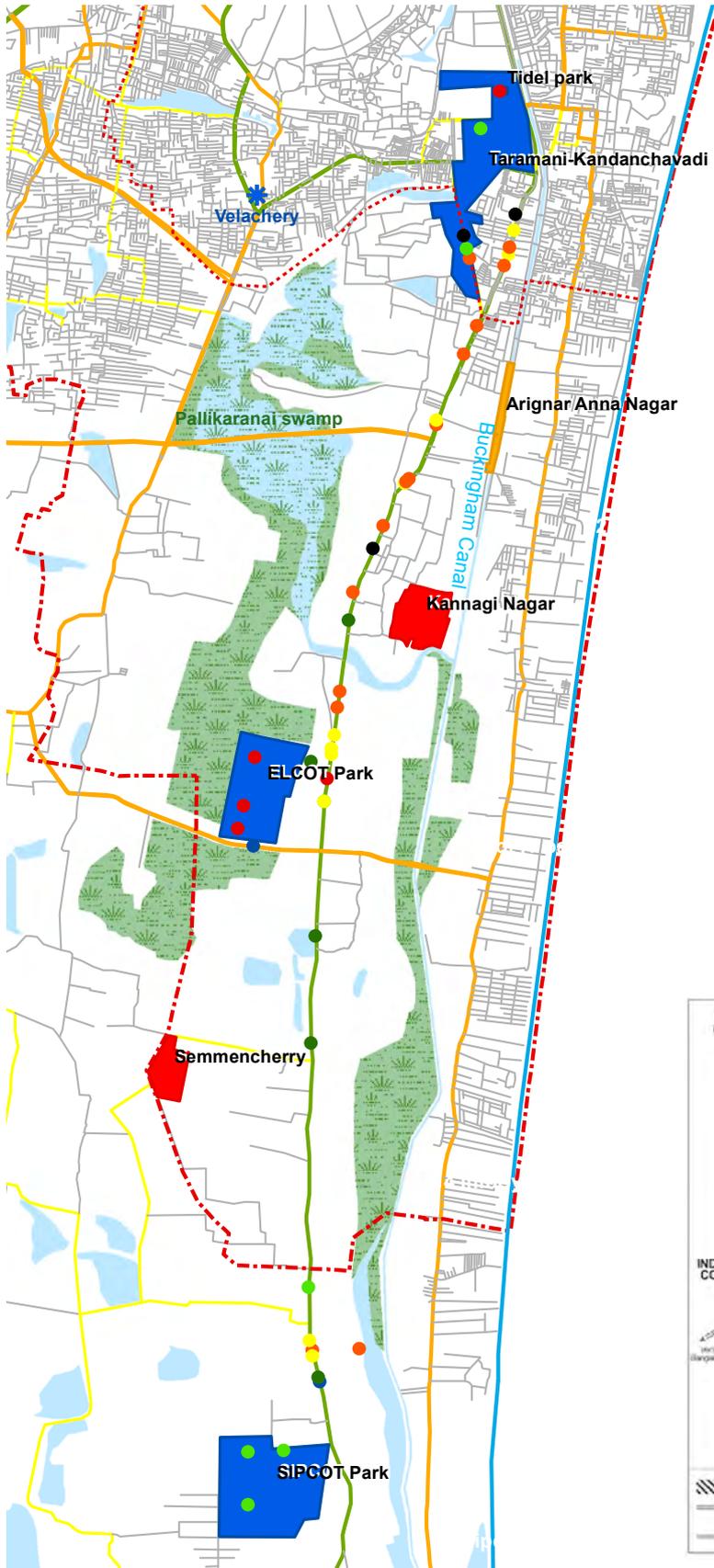
This case also exemplifies the consequences of the beautification operations during the preparation for the 2010 Commonwealth Games. Hence, the same group of about 125 families was again evicted by a municipal squad from their temporary night shelter on Pusa Road in December 2009, with dramatic consequences, as two homeless people died from cold. This event triggered a mobilisation campaign for the right to shelter of the homeless, and the suo moto intervention of the High Court of Delhi in January 2010, which ordered the Municipal Corporation to provide a shelter to the evicted families. Consequently, the families were resettled in a municipal shelter, where they still stay with the support of NGOs and charitable organisations.

Chennai

Chennai is the fourth largest metropolitan city in India, and the largest in South India, with a population of 8.7 millions in 2011 (as per the last Census). The Chennai Municipal Corporation (CMC) extended its limits in October 2011, covering now 426 sq. km.

As per the census data and definition of “slums”, 28.5 % of the population in the CMC area lived in slums in 2011. A survey conducted in 2003-04 by a private consultant for the

Map 3: Case studies in Chennai



Legend

IT corridor companies

- campuses of big companies
- big IT parks (parastatal, pub. dev'd)
- big IT parks (privately dev'd)
- IT buildings, occupied
- IT buildings, unoccupied (04-2012)
- infrastructure
- undefined

C2S project sites

- IT clusters
- Resettlement areas
- Squatter settlement

Boundaries

- - - Chennai MC boundary new
- - - Chennai MC boundary old

Topography

- coastline
- other roads
- primary roads
- secondary roads
- trunk road
- * Flood hotspot
- marshy land
- water bodies



Marius-Gnanou (2010)



Sources: Fieldwork data chance2sustain
 Conception and design: Baud, Dupont, Pfeffer, Varrel 2013
 Coordinate system: GCS WGS 1984

Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board listed 444 “undeveloped slums” (i.e. not upgraded) within the metropolitan area; among those, 212 were categorised as “objectionable slums”, comprising a majority of squatter settlements located along water ways.

New clusters of poverty have been created in the years 2000s by the construction in the southern periphery of large-scale resettlement colonies for displaced slum dwellers (Kannagi Nagar and Semmenchery), which gained the reputation of being “ghetto[s] of poverty, crime and squalor” (Coelho & al., 2012).

Since the turn of the century, the urban and economic development of Chennai has been impacted by sector-specific corridors. Among those, the construction of an IT corridor in the southern zone was associated with land speculation, the extension of the Mass Rapid Transport System, and “beautification” operations, especially along the Buckingham Canal that flows parallel to the IT corridor—in short transformations that usually entail slum evictions.

Canal Bank Road squatter settlements in the IT corridor zone

Arignar Anna Nagar (AAN) is one of the squatter settlements of the Canal Bank Road, categorised as “objectionable slums”. It stretches along 1.5 km on both sides of the Buckingham Canal on land belonging to the Public Work Department. It is located in the IT Corridor zone, in the former Neelankarai panchayat, and was included in the Municipal Corporation area in 2011.

The first settlers arrived 30-35 years ago, and today around 1500–2000 households are living in this locality. The area is prone to flooding, and the settlement is characterised by an acute deficit in basic urban services as well as physical and social infrastructure. The lack of drainage and sewage system, and till very recently of garbage collection, contributed to make the locality highly unsanitary. However, notable improvements occurred after the inclusion in the Municipal Corporation jurisdiction.

In 2002, in order to facilitate desilting and widening of the canal, around 2300 families were evicted from the first row of houses along the canal in the IT corridor area, including 500 families in AAN. The families were resettled in Kannagi Nagar, although the flats were not ready for habitation. Plans for the beautification of the canal as part of the IT corridor project, and plans to revive the canal as a navigation channel for efficient and cost-effective transportation, bear new threats of demolition for the Canal Bank Road squatter settlements.

2.3. South Africa

South Africa is classified as an emerging economy. The country remains in a state of sustained socio-economic transformation which began in 1994 as a result of post-apartheid democratisation. In 2011 South Africa had the 28th largest economy in the world and it is the second largest economy in Africa after Nigeria. In 2011 the population of South Africa was 51,8 million. South Africa retains a strong pattern of circulatory migration between rural and urban areas which reinforces social and economic linkages between rural and urban areas and impacts on the typology of settlements in cities. The majority of South Africans are Black Africans (79.2%), followed by Coloureds (8.9%), Whites (8.9%) and Indians (2.5%).

South Africa has a diverse economy which is still highly dependent on the minerals-energy complex. It has a GDP (PPP) per capita of USD 11,600 putting South Africa in 101st position globally. The growth rate of the South Africa economy has declined as a result of the global economic crisis. Between 2004 and 2007 South Africa experienced a growth rate of 5%, but this declined to 2% between 2008 and 2012. South Africa is rated as one of the most unequal countries in the world, with 24.1% of people unemployed, and 56.8% considered poor. It has a Gini co-efficient of 0.7. The National Development Plan (2011) has once again made poverty and inequality a government priority, reiterating the goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994). South Africa has a Human Development Index of 0.629 and is ranked 121 in the world (UNDP, 2013). The social wage in South Africa has increased considerably post 1994 with social grants, free basic services and state subsidised housing contributing significantly to the income of the poor.

Durban

The eThekweni Municipality (the administrative entity of Durban) which extends over an area of 2 297 km squared, has a population of approximately 3.6 million people, which is one third of the population of the province of KwaZulu-Natal. It is the third largest city in South Africa. It has an ANC led administration. The Municipality has a very young population with the majority being comprised of the 15-34 year age group. It has a predominantly African population (71%), followed by Indian (19%), white (8%) and coloured (2%) population groups. The city has high levels of poverty, with 41.8% of the population subject to conditions associated with poverty, an unemployment rate of 30.2% and low economic diversity. It has a GINI Coefficient of 0.639. It therefore faces significant socio-economic challenges. The Municipality had a GDP growth rate of 3.1%

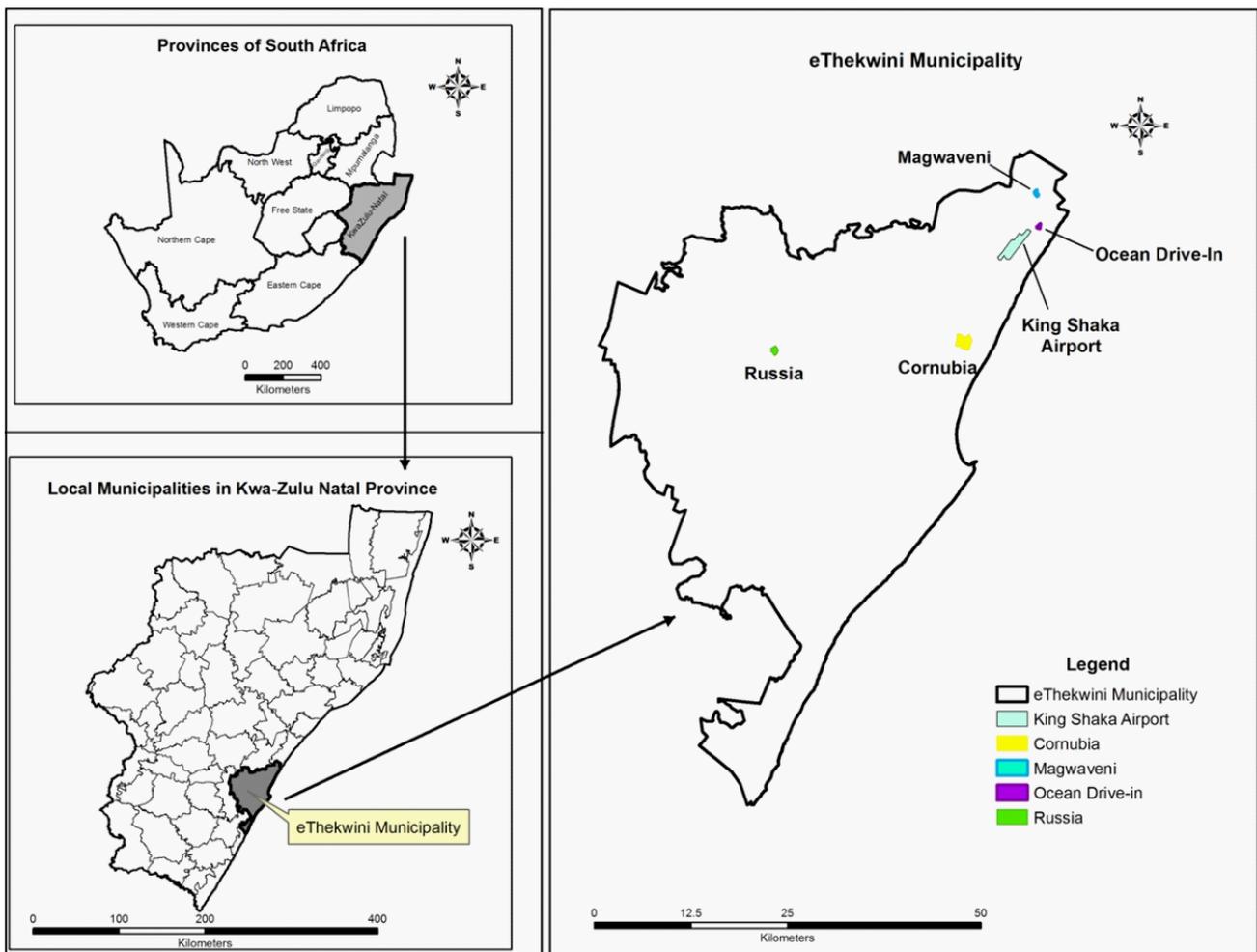
(2013) The spatial structure of the city, which is fragmented and reflects a pattern of sprawl, is a major obstacle to achieving sustainable, efficient and equitable development. The relatively unique spatial geography of the eThekweni Municipality continues to have a significant impact on development and poverty. The city contains a dense urban core and a less dense rural periphery, which was added to the Durban Metropolitan Area in 2000 to form the new eThekweni Municipality, as part of South Africa's municipal restructuring process. The rural periphery is rapidly densifying, with much of the land being communal land under Traditional Authority, which operates outside of formal planning procedures. This raises significant challenges for the city, many of which relate to what it means to be 'urban', in a city that contains urban, peri-urban and rural ways of life. Within the Municipality 11% of households are classified as being agricultural households. Socio-spatial segregation in the city is reflected at many scales, from the juxtaposition of informal

settlements and high-income residential estates in one locality, to the divisions that exist between the rural and urban periphery. The Municipality has a large housing backlog with 486 000 people living in informal settlements and 79% of the population living in formal dwellings.

Ocean Drive-In informal settlement

Ocean Drive-In is a small informal settlement with 725 households and approximately 1400 residents. Levels of poverty and unemployment are high. The settlement has six communal tap points, no electricity and very poor sanitation services with most pit latrines being dis-functional. The settlement was established in the early 1980s and is located on private land approximately 7 km from Durban's new megaproject, Dube TradePort (which includes the international airport). The settlement is home to both Zulu and Xhosa speaking residents, many of whom migrate

Map 4: The location of the four case studies in eThekweni Municipality



Case study 5 is not included in the maps as a result of the community members needing to remain anonymous.



between the city and their rural homes in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, reinforcing the circulatory migration patterns so common in South Africa. Residents of Ocean Drive-In had been promised that they would be relocated to formal housing. After many years of waiting for this 'promise' to be realised, members of the community began to be moved in November 2012 to Hammonds Farm, a formal government subsidised housing project 17km's inland of their current site. This settlement was selected for this research as a result of its long established history, its diverse modalities of social mobilisation and its location close to the newly established megaproject of Dube Tradeport. It is also settlement that was relocated to formal housing as part of the Municipality's priority informal settlements.

'Russia'

Russia is located in the peri-urban area of Kwa-Ngcolosi which is on the western periphery of the eThekweni Municipality on Tribal Authority land. Residents of Russia live in peri-urban, traditional households, with many of the households in this area being self-built consisting of number of dwellings to house extended families. Formal RDP housing has been introduced in to the area on the recommendation of the Councillor, to replace poor structures used by vulnerable households. Russia is located in Ward 8 of the Municipality which has 42% formal households, 6% informal households and 52% traditional households. Poverty levels are high in this Ward with an unemployment rate of 33%. According to the 2001 Census, KwaNgcolosi has a population of 20 166. There are 3 944 households in the area with a density of 82.34 per km². The area has more women (53.05%) than men (46.97%) which shows there are a high number of female headed households in the area. The population in the area is African with the majority being Zulu (98.48%).

Households in this area have access to electricity, water and basic sanitation services. Some households have access to piped water within their households, paying for water through the formal metering system of the Municipality. Others have access of ground tanks which provide 9 000 litres of free basic water per month. Sanitation has been provided by the Municipality in the form of Ventilated Pit Latrine and Urine Diversion Toilets, which is considered by many to be a sub-standard level of service provision. Many households construct their own pit latrines. This settlement was selected for this research as it typical of peri-urban households on the periphery of the Municipality that are located on Traditional Authority land. Research was also conducted in Inchanga which is further west, but which has a similar spatial and socio-economic and demographic profile as KwaNgcolosi.

Cornubia

Cornubia is a mixed use large scale development that is located 15 km south of the new King Shaka International Airport in the north of the Municipality. It is currently being developed with the first 452 low income residents moving in to state subsidised households on the site in early 2014. The area is of a considerable size and was originally owned by the Tongaat Hulett Group as part of its extensive sugar cane lands in the northern area of eThekweni. Moreland Developments (the developmental arm of the sugar giant) initially conceptualised a mixed use development for the site in 2004, when it 'identified the potential to release a vast portion of sugar cane land for urban development'. Intensive negotiations with the eThekweni Municipality ensued, with the Municipality determined to ensure a mix of residential opportunities across the income spectrum. The site is a large greenfields site that contains the informal settlement of Blackburn. The National Department of Human Settlements (NDHS) identified Cornubia as one of eight National Priority Projects for 2011/12, hence raising the profile of the project to a national level, and also ensuring national financial support for this large scale housing project. The proportion of low income housing in the new development has waxed and waned over time, which reflects the multiple objectives the project has to address and the power relations associated with these. This settlement was selected for the research as it reflects a large scale housing project which was chosen as a lead project for the Breaking New Ground Policy, which provided guidelines for a new approach to housing in South Africa. It is also an example of a housing 'megaproject' and hence it reflects the tensions between pro-growth large scale projects and social redistribution interests of the pro-poor agenda.

Magwaveni

Magwaveni contains both formal RDP housing and informal housing in an area adjacent to Hambanathi township. The settlement is located in Ward 62 which is home to 61% formal residents and 39% informal residents. Levels of poverty in Magwaveni are high and the area has an unemployment rate of 27%. Residents of Magwaveni have differential access to services depending on whether they live in formal state subsidised housing or informal housing. Residents of formal housing have access to free basic water of 9 000 litres per month. Their water supply is on the formal metered water system and so they can obtain more water by paying for it. They have access to flush toilets and electricity, which is paid for using pre-paid meters. Residents in the informal settlement and transit camp have access to free water, obtained from communal tap points and they

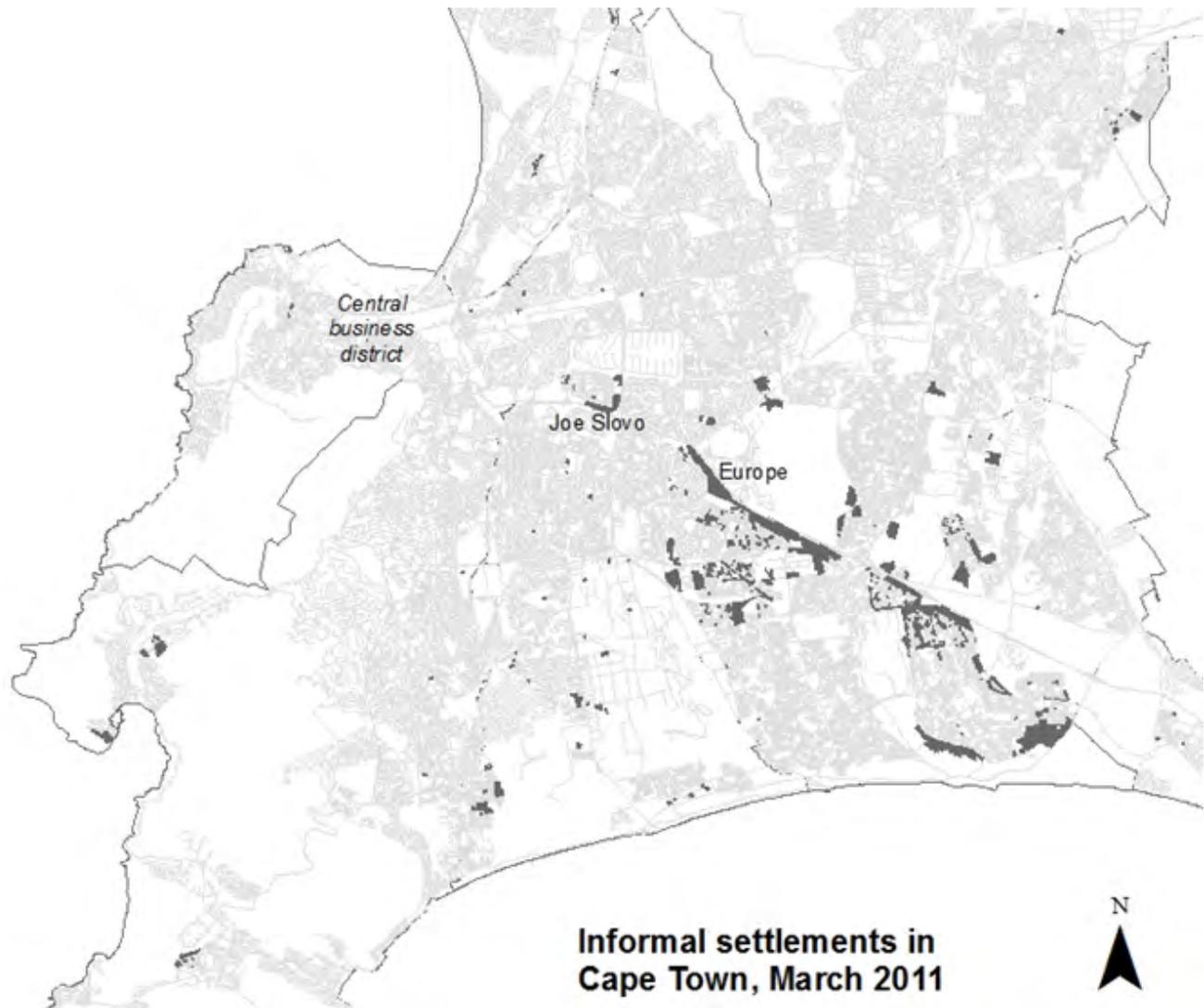
have been provided with sanitation through communal toilets blocks which have been provided as part of the Municipality's Interim Services Programme. Some residents have access to electricity through connections they have obtained from neighbours in the formal settlement. This settlement was selected as the Voluntary Community Members Committee of Ward 62 suggested that the research focuses on Magwaveni as it contains all the issues associated with sub-standard housing in eThekweni in one area, namely formal RDP housing, transit camps and informal settlements.

Cape Town

The City of Cape Town is the oldest and second largest city in South Africa. It extends over an area of 2 461 km squared and it has a population of 3.7 million. It is the main economic

centre of the Western Cape Province and is home to 64% of the province's population. It has a DA led administration. The population comprises of Coloured (42.4%), Black (38.6%), White (15.7%) and Indian (1.4%) population groups. The city has grown rapidly as a result of rural-urban migration from the former racially defined homelands. Cape Town has a diverse economy, which is focused on the service sector, and it is the second wealthiest municipal area in South Africa after Johannesburg. It generates 74% of the Western Cape's GDP. It has high levels of inequality with a Gini coefficient of 0.67, which is lower than the national average but high in comparison to international standards. The number of people living below the poverty line in Cape Town has declined from 55.6 per cent in 2001 to 47 per cent in 2011. However, the Municipality has an unemployment rate of 23.9% and in 2011 had 386 590 households in need of housing, with 78.9% of the population living in formal dwellings.

Map 5: Cape Town





The Municipality reflects stark socio-spatial segregation with the wealthy and affluent white-dominated areas being located adjacent to the Table Mountain National Park and most of the coloured and black townships being located on the periphery in the Cape Flats. Cape Town is a more 'urban' Municipality than Durban, with only 3.2% of households being classified as agricultural households.

Joe Slovo Informal Settlement

Joe Slovo forms an outer band surrounding Langa township, the oldest black township in Cape Town with a history back to the 1920s. Joe Slovo informal settlement was established in the periphery of the Langa township in 1990-91, by backyard dwellers in Langa and migrants looking for jobs. The settlement soon came to be seen as a place of migrants, meaning they were not entitled to housing in the same way as Langa dwellers with a longer residential history in the city. By 2001, informal settlement dwelling constituted the largest residential category in Langa township. Of informal settlements of a certain size, Joe Slovo is the one located closest to the city centre and therefore, in relative terms, is a very attractive place to move to for poor job seekers. Electricity, communal toilets and waterborne sewerage was installed by the City of Cape Town in 2003. In a survey of three informal settlements conducted by the City of Cape Town in 2004, Joe Slovo comes out as the best off on a series of social indicators, such as health, income and infrastructure. As both Joe Slovo and Europe (see below) informal settlements are highly visible from the N2 highway, these settlements were among the initial target areas of the above-mentioned N2 Gateway Housing Project, which was launched in 2004. In Joe Slovo, Phases 1 and 2 have been completed and the large Phase 3, which represents the fully-subsidised houses to people in the informal settlement, is under construction. While a number of residents have already moved into Phase 3, many other have been resettled or face uncertainty as they are ineligible for a housing opportunity.

Europe Informal Settlement

Europe is located as the third of four connected settlements forming several kilometres of informal settlements on the south side of the N2 between the city and the airport. Europe is a part of the predominantly black Gugulethu township south of the N2. People started erecting shacks on a municipal landfill site to form the informal settlements Kanana, Barcelona, Europe and Vukuzenzele more than 20 years ago. The Europe informal settlement dwellers experience many problems in addition to poverty. As it is located on top of a former

landfill site (Old Nyanga Refuse Dump; 1956-1987), the ground on which their shacks are erected is unstable with a significant production of methane gases stemming from the buried waste. Also, the landfill site creates a ridge covered by an uncoordinated and increasingly dense cluster of shacks without proper drainage systems. Service systems are very poor, with litter and waste in the streets or in improvised collection points, causing health hazards for the population. While the settlement was initially part of the N2 Gateway project, both this and subsequent upgrading initiatives have stalled, in part due to the planning authority and other experts' judgment that the landfill site is unsuitable for rehabilitation.

2.4. Peru

Politically Peru is defined as a democratic, social, independent and sovereign republic. Its government is meant to be unitary, representative and decentralized. It is estimated that the country's population in 2012 is slightly more than 30 million, out of which 75% live in urban zones.

Since the macroeconomic adjustment in 1990 a set of policies aimed at opening up the economy and liberalizing trade, followed by the privatization of major state enterprises were deployed. In the new century the decentralization process has been resumed and several free trade agreements were signed⁴. These reforms together with rising mineral prices generated an increase in the level of private investment as well as an increase in the national GDP which has almost tripled from 1990 to 2012. But the economic model continued to be based upon the export of minerals and with more than half of the population (51.7%) engaged in commerce, the macroeconomic boom has not been reflected in social improvements. Only 12% of the employed working population has decent employment and 40% work without contracts and earn a salary below the minimum living wage (Remuneración Mínima Vital—RMV). Despite this, the population in situations of poverty has decreased from 55.3% in 1991 to 27.8% in 2011 and the extreme poverty decreased from 24.2% to 6.3% over the same period. Social

4 Ludeña, Wiley. (2011) Lima Metropolitana después de las reformas neoliberales: Transformaciones económicas y urbanas. From Lima-Santiago Reestructuración y cambio metropolitano. De Mattos Carlos y Ludeña Wiley. Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y territoriales, Facultad de Arquitectura Diseño y Estudios Urbanos. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile / Centro de Investigación de la Arquitectura y la Ciudad. Departamento de Arquitectura, Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

inequality has remained fairly high (the Gini coefficient was 0.52 in 1985 and 0.5 in 2009).⁵

Land policy and housing for sub-standard settlements has been characterized as quite permissive: taking advantage of the existence of state land, settlements were able to achieve recognition and after long negotiations and struggles got access to water and sanitation services. As this century began, housing policy was reframed, providing subsidies to meet the demand for new housing but in a very limited way; and together with the municipal government a neighbourhood improvement programme has recently began to reduce the risks for occupying families.

Lima

Metropolitan Lima (LM), the capital of Peru. It is located in the coastal centre of Peru next to the Andes Mountains and it is formed by the Lima-Callao conurbation (more recently expanding to the 'Huarochiri' neighbouring province and extended over an area of approximately 84 hectares). The territory of the metropolis covers three regional municipalities and 11 provincial administrations, being the most important the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima also has regional functions.

It has an estimated population of 8.5 million inhabitants and holds the fourth place on the list of largest cities in South America⁶. In 2007, 17.95% of the population in the province of Lima was in conditions of poverty and although slightly decreasing in 2009 (in relative terms) to 17.5%, in absolute terms it meant an increase from 1,365,419 to 1,416,756 persons. Inequality also increased during the same period, as understood from reading the Gini coefficient which went from 0.31 to 0.36.⁷

The process of urban development in Metropolitan Lima and Callao during the second half of the twentieth century was influenced by the process of migration of rural populations from the interior of the country to the

city. This in turn led to invasions of vacant land located on the outskirts of the city. In the past two decades, there has been an experience of economic growth in the country. These dynamics boosted the real estate sector and was reflected in a noticeable increase of public and private real estate investments as well as the steady increase in land value. However, this did not solve the urban problems of low-income sectors and has rather increased inequalities within the city. The real estate market in Lima is structured around two modes of production and commercialization of land: real estate companies that capture much of the land with good viability and with access to basic services and are aimed at middle and upper classes; and the informal urban developers named "land dealers/traffickers" who offer land to lower income families – these lands are located on the outskirts of the city, are lacking access to basic services, are hard to access and often situated in dangerous zones.

The neighbourhood movement acquired its greatest relevance in the years 1970s and had as its main prerogatives the fight over land (a place in the city) and about the essential access to water and sewage. Early on in this century the "campaign for the right to housing" was able to influence the norms for urban populations and their recognition. Lastly, just at the beginning of the second decade a neighbourhood movement arose, which claims the right to housing: the Roofless Movement (Movimiento de los Sin Techo) which reflects the demands of poor urban dwellers in crowded neighbourhoods where there is no access to decent housing.

Margen Izquierda del Río Rimac

The left bank of the river Rimac (MIRR) is a neighbourhood which is located only 10 minutes from the Government Palace, very close to the centre of Lima. It is located between the Rimac River and the Avenue Argentina, on the axis that connects the centre of the city with the port of El Callao. Between the left margin of the Rimac River and the railway line that runs parallel to it, lies one of the major industrial zones of the capital. The majority of the population on the left bank of the Rimac River sits between the railway line and the cliffs of the Rimac River. The 2007 census recorded 80,301 inhabitants in the area.

The start of the occupation in the area dates back to the mid-20th century when some residents of migrant origin settled in the vicinity of the landfill that existed there. The trash of Lima from long ago had accumulated in this area creating a smelly garbage hill which is known as "El Monton" (The lot). The first occupants were engaged in breeding pigs

5 Otra Mirada Nº 29 Octubre 2013. Las Cifras del Modelo Económico. Colectivo Otra Mirada. Índice calculated from national accounts rather with the official index from the Encuesta Nacional de Hogares ENAHO which excludes the most reacher 1% and registers 0,52 and 0.5.

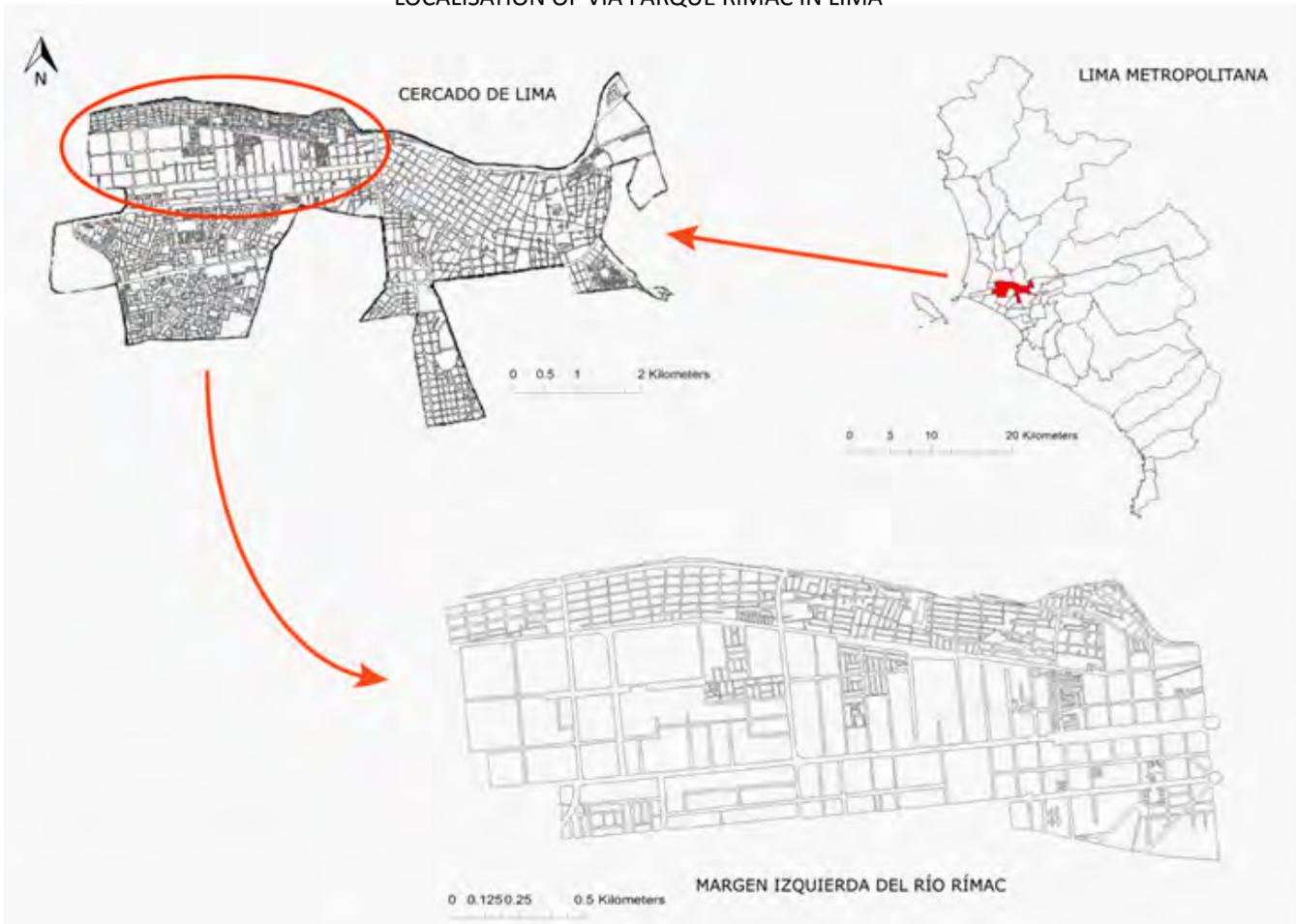
6 In: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, Perfil Socioemográfico del Perú. Censos Nacionales 2007: XI de Población y VI de Vivienda, INEI, Lima, agosto de 2008, 2ª edición, pp. 29, 30.

7 Fuente INEI 2010. Taken from Plan Regional de Desarrollo Concertado de Lima 2012-2025 Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima.



Map 6: Distribution of *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro and location of the three settlements selected for case studies.

LOCALISATION OF VIA PARQUE RIMAC IN LIMA



Source: Census Blocks from INEI, 2007; Adjusted by: Lisa Srauch, UvA

following a tradition of linking the garbage with the breeding of pigs, others began to work in the industrial area of the Avenue Argentina and the brick factories in the area (Conde de la Vega), others were engaged in recycling.

The MIRR zone has set the scene for the struggles of the social movements in the neighbourhood, being the main one that took place. On September 30th 1972, hundreds of settlers took over land from the ex-brick factory Conde de la Vega which had been in disuse. The residents justified their actions by arguing that they were recovering the lands of the ancient Peruvians that outsiders (the gamonales) had expropriated. To achieve this recognition, villagers had to develop an intense fight that included several demonstrations around the centre of Lima and which resulted in the death of a resident on the 4th of March 1973.

Another important social mobilization emerged in response to The Yellow Line Project. This project was a private initiative with the objective to create faster transit between the centre of business development in the Surco district and Callao airport, passing under the Rimac River at the level of the Government Palace and crossing longitudinally through the MIRR. The implementation of the project would have entailed the eviction of hundreds of families. Nevertheless in 2010, a neighbourhood mobilization stopped the project and forced a renegotiation in the same year. Two years later the renegotiation was complete and the project was renamed by the new administration to “Rimac Park Way” (Via Parque Rimac), which included a 25 ha new redesigned park. Moreover, the road alignment was changed in order to reduce the number of affected families.

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3.1. The role of policies and practices

Sub-standard housing and the appropriation and provision of urban land for housing provides a useful lens through which to explore the relationship between the state and the urban poor and to reflect on how policy addresses urban inequality. This engagement occurs through multi-scalar governance processes as national, provincial (regional) and local government produce legislation and policy and associated practices that shape housing in cities. Local governments (politicians and officials or bureaucrats) have the closest link with the reality on the ground and they have the responsibility of addressing the immediate challenges of poverty and housing provision. However, their response and the strategies and interventions they can employ are shaped and constrained by legislation and policy at the national and regional level and by the availability of resources. This is reflected for example in the Indian case, where two national programmes, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM, launched in December 2005) and the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY or *Slum-Free City Planning*, initiated in 2009 under the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation) shape housing approaches. These policies reveal the shift in the role of the state since the late 1980s from being a provider of housing and services to being a facilitator that promotes public-private partnerships, relies on market mechanisms and uses land as a resource (Dupont, 2012). The RAY provides the main guidelines for housing provision for the “Economically Weaker Sections” (EWS) of the population, however under the federal system of state governance, local states are responsible for urban development, land administration and land reform and for developing slum policies (Dupont, 2012).

International frameworks, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), and national discourse, legislation, policy and programmes create the epistemic frame within which local government operates. In Brazil some cities, and more recently federal government, have championed pro-poor policy-making, while in India and

South Africa the national state has driven policy shifts, with India adopting a market-orientated approach and South Africa employing strong central government control over the housing process (Braathen, 2011). These broader level policy frames are taken up in the ‘spaces’ of local government, which are mandated in Brazil, Peru and South Africa to improve the quality of life, housing, service provision and income generating opportunities of their citizens. However, budgetary constraints impact on what can be achieved in all cases. In contrast governance structures in India are complex, with large cities being governed by a multiplicity of agencies which fall under a multi-scalar governance system. In Peru and India local, metropolitan, state and national government institutions are responsible for different aspects of urban life, with a major role being played by the state government. In most instances in India, local governments have the role of regulation and maintenance, with little influence on decision-making. In the Peruvian case local governments have a minimal influence on the budgets allocated to low income housing, and play a similar role to local government in India, namely that of regulation and maintenance.

Policies and programmes that have set out to improve the condition of life for citizens in a focused and deliberate way have shaped society and space over many decades (Murray Li, 2007). Many of the challenges and sites of struggle found in local authorities today are a result of the intended and un-intended outcomes of these policies and their associated interventions which influence society and the environment and focus resources on particular types of problems at particular times (Murray Li, 2007; Sutherland et al, 2013). Policies provide general guidelines whereas state interventions, which emanate from the interpretation of policy, tend to be more focused, as they reflect action taken by the state in a specific place at a specific time to address the housing question. In many cases it is a specific state intervention that triggers mobilisation rather than a state policy.

However, the promulgation of legislation and the development of policy can result in social mobilisation and change. In South Africa in 2000, in a judicial challenge which became known as the ‘Grootboom ruling’, the Constitutional Court argued that post-apartheid South African housing policy was not meeting the qualified right to housing as protected in the Bill of Rights and hence the then Minister of Housing agreed to review the

policy in light of these shortcomings (Huchzermeyer, 2011). This ruling achieved international recognition. However evictions continued to take place across the country reflecting that shifts in policy do not always result in meaningful change on the ground (Huchzermeyer, 2011). Legislation and policy may be supportive of the 'right to the city', however the contradiction between state action and more progressive law and policy reflects the role of state officials and other powerful development actors in undermining the formal policy and law to which the state is committed in principle (Pithouse, 2009). Actors protecting real estate interests shape development outcomes, as does the mass media and its partners in Peru.

Policy provides the context within which social mobilisation and participatory processes of knowledge production occur. This chapter presents the main policies developed to address sub-standard housing in Brazil, India, Peru and South Africa. It reflects on the shifts that have taken place in policy approaches over time, by identifying five approaches in housing policy that have emerged in the research undertaken on sub-standard settlements in six cities in the Chance2Sustain project. State actions within these five policy approaches are not mutually exclusive, as state interventions within each policy can be found within more than one policy approach. For example, the demolition of sub-standard housing continues in all four countries, however it is now justified under different legislation and policy compared to the eviction policies of the 1960s and 1970s. In-situ upgrading policies in some cases begin to resemble the old eviction and resettlement policies. Patterns of policy intervention are mixed, complex and messy.

Policy and politics are relational in that state politics refers to the ideology, power and practices that exercise governance over citizens, which is then contained or reflected in policy. Policy in turn re-constitutes politics as policy approaches and interventions are received and contested. Policy making and governance can be authoritarian, technocratic or elite-based or it can be participatory, deliberative and democratic (Braathen et al, 2011). This chapter presents the shifts in housing policy for the urban poor and state interventions in sub-standard settlements in Brazil, India, Peru and South Africa which then in turn constitutes politics, which is reflected in the modalities of social mobilisation and the need to deepen participatory knowledge production. This politics then in turn shapes policy and policy interventions.

3.2. Policy related research questions for understanding social mobilisation and sub-standard settlements

Main research question⁸: What are the main policies to address urban inequalities, especially with regards to sub-standard settlements?

Top down research approach:

- What is the general policy towards sub-standard settlements, and what are the concrete housing and settlement related policy initiatives from the top?
- In particular what is the role of private sector developers in coalition with city/state government in these initiatives?

Combined top down and bottom up research approach:

What are the outcomes of the focused policy initiatives and political processes in terms of:

- Success/failure of the initiatives
- Socio-structural changes at the settlement level
- Policy and/or political changes at the city level
- Changes in the relationship between settlement and city administration

Five main approaches to policies toward sub-standard settlements have emerged through a comparison of six cities in Brazil, India, Peru and South Africa. These are:

- policies of self-help;
- policies of demolition/eviction;
- policies up in-situ upgrading;
- policies of resettlement and relocation; and
- policies of integrated human settlements.

3.3. Policies of self-help

Self-help housing has been a part of the housing solution for the poor for centuries (Ward, 1992; Harris, 1998; Parnell and Hart, 1999; Marais et al, n.d.). Self-help housing can

⁸ To review the other research questions related to this research see Braathen et al, 2011.

take on a number of different forms ranging from collective house-building through co-operatives to individuals building houses on invaded land. It includes low cost, self-built or 'co-operative house building', which has been important in many countries, including Brazil before the military dictatorship 1964. The Peruvian version is based more on land invasion and individual house building, in comparison to co-operatives which operated in Brazil prior to 1964. Moreover, in Brazil there is a tradition of *mutirão*, or repeated 'collective efforts' in the favelas, which is linked to urban upgrading rather than house building.

However, policies of self-help housing are largely attributed to John Turner's thinking, which supports bottom up, collective approaches where informal dwellers themselves are in control of the housing process. Turner argued that informal settlers should be given the 'freedom to build', since they hold expert knowledge about their housing context and potential housing solutions that is as valid, and in many cases more valuable than technocratic and professional knowledge (Turner and Fichter, 1972). Turner based much of his work on his experiences in Peru between 1957 and 1965. Turner's ideas were later colonised by the World Bank, appearing as their neo-liberal site-and-service 'aided self-help' policies (Pugh, 1991).

Lima exemplifies the policy of self-help housing and massive land titling programmes, as it was this approach that was adopted in the country from the 1950s until today, with some important changes post 2000, resulting in John Turner describing the city as progressive in terms of housing approaches for the urban poor (Strauch et al, 2014). Local authorities focused on providing land and basic water, energy and transport infrastructure. The central government and local government (from the 1990s) allocated urban land for invasion by organized poor families so that they could self-urbanize and construct their own houses. Lima's pro-poor housing policies were reformist and participatory with the Peruvian government promoting progressive home-building in response to the large housing backlogs that had been generated by rapid urban growth and extensive urban poverty (Strauch et al, 2014). Informal settlers were seldom evicted and the collective organisation of settlements and incremental home building was supported by the Peruvian government awarding legal status to informal settlements (Strauch et al, 2014). In 1961, Peru was the first country to regularise 'self-help development' with the enactment of the Law for Marginal Settlements (the famous 'Barriadas Law') (Strauch et al, 2014).

In Peru squatter settlements were rarely evicted (Dosh and Lerager, 2006, p. 39, cited in Strauch et al, 2014). When they were moved they were relocated to the less valuable

land on the urban periphery, which over time became part of the formal cities as they sprawled outwards. These relocated settlements constituted vast areas of urban land with their own services, economy and dynamics. Furthermore, collective organisation in the settlements was strongly stimulated by the legal principle that the government would only discuss land issues with recognised neighbourhood associations, not with individuals (Hordijk, 2000: 75). Moreover, since the 1950s, Peruvian governments have enacted a number of laws that granted many settlements a legal status, as well as promoting incremental home building. Large areas of self-built housing on marginal land along the banks of the Rimac River and in the urban periphery have been constructed by the urban poor through collective efforts 'from below', as a result of the permissive and 'laissez faire' approach of the state (Strauch et al, 2014). At the time this approach to housing was facilitated by the large areas of marginal, undeveloped land that were available in the arid areas on the periphery of the city, shifting the urban poor away from high value land in the centre of the city (Strauch et al, 2014).

Self-help policy, albeit progressive, also allows the state to withdraw from its responsibility of providing housing to the poor. This approach which results in minimal state intervention can be strongly contrasted with the approach adopted by the South African government in 1994, which reflected strong state intervention in the housing process through the provision of state subsidised housing to address inequality and large housing backlogs created by apartheid.

Pro-growth agendas that have swept the countries and cities of the south since the late 1980s have led to a demise of self-help approaches. In the 1990s policy in Peru, under the leadership of President Fujimori (1990-2000) with his structural adjustment reforms, shifted away from its pro-poor focus to address the pro-growth agenda with its reliance on the market and privatisation (Strauch et al, 2014). However, the policies supporting self-help housing were continued through the 'Housing Materials Bank Programme, through which people get building materials instead of cash credits for house improvement). The reforms introduced in 2000 were more discursive than real, their impact was marginal and in low income neighbourhoods self-help housing continues to be the common practice. The reforms mainly target land-management issues such as increased state control over sites at risk to environmental hazards, support for the acquisition of land that is well located by real estate developers, and more restrictions on illegal land trafficking.

India followed a similar path from the 1990s with public-private partnerships and the market driving the 're-imagining of Indian cities', with Delhi providing the most striking

example. In both India and Peri, housing policy has been strongly influenced by aspirations to transform ‘informal’ cities into competitive global cities (Dupont, 2013; Strauch et al, 2014). In Lima this has meant a gradual shift away from developing the city ‘from below’ to developing it ‘from above’ (Strauch et al, 2014). which has had significant implications for the policy of self-help housing. This policy reform has resulted in mayors facilitating the auction of public land to real estate developers and the permissiveness of local authorities towards land-speculators. In the face of the development of large mega-projects in Lima, public land has been privatized in the heart of the city, especially in the old tugurios, services were relocated and land use zoning was changed in the more profitable coastal areas. The process of land invasions and incremental home building which characterised the self-help approach to housing in Lima, and which provided settlements for large numbers of urban migrants, and which continues to be part of the housing process in the city, is now countered by a discourse of some politicians who argue that the city ‘should grow through investment rather than by invasion’ (Romero Sotelo, 2006, p. 24, cited in Strauch et al 2014).

3.4. Policies of demolition/eviction

Policies which supported the demolition and eviction of informal settlers were developed as a state response to rapid urbanisation that occurred in the developing world after the 1940s. However, these policies were developed differently in Brazil, India and South Africa reflecting both progressive and repressive approaches.

Slums increased dramatically in India, especially in Delhi, following the independence of the country (1947) and the partition associated to massive migration of refugees. The Indian Parliament passed the Slum Areas Act of 1956 which included the improvement of old housing stock and the demolition of dangerous buildings. It did not deal directly with illegal settlements, however it was interpreted to justify evictions and demolitions. Moreover, the Slum Areas Act differentiated between notified and non-notified slums, which led to exclusions in the provision of basic services. Under the Constitution of India, the right to shelter is indirectly recognised as a fundamental right, which draws from the right to residence under Article 19(1)(e) and the right to life under Article 21. Until the 1990s, the courts played an active role in protecting slum dwellers by passing orders that prevented the forced evictions of slum dwellers (Ahuja, 1997) or judgements that reflected an understanding of the living conditions of the poor, giving municipal authorities the responsibility to

provide services to slums (Dupont, 2012; Ghertner 2008). However, in an attempt to prevent the continued growth of squatter settlements, specific laws were enacted and court judgements passed to ensure that “illegal encroachments” were considered an offence.

Policies which supported the demolition of slums were prevalent in Brazil and South Africa during the 1960s and 1970s. This led to the large scale destruction of informal settlements and increasing numbers of homeless people who often sought refuge in backyard shacks or in crowded houses that had escaped demolition. During the military dictatorship in Brazil, public removal policies resulted in the destruction of favelas. However, in the 1980s, Rio shifted its approach towards a political recognition and upgrading of favelas, as a result of the democratic election of 1983 which placed a left-oriented leader (Lionel Brizola from the Democratic Labour Party (PDT) as the head of the state of Rio de Janeiro. Both politicians and social movements influenced the legal and institutional arrangements for housing policy, resulting in the notion of the ‘right to the city’ being included in the institutional framework developed for urban reform (Santos Junior, 2009). *Reforma Urbana* was then a pendant to *Reforma agrarian*—in Brazil the notion “right to the city”, *Direito à Cidade*, emerged from social movements’ struggle for urban reform. The “right to the city” refers to the recognition of all city residents as rights holders. The inclusion of the right to the city in the City Statute is an example of a major breakthrough. National housing policies began to shift at the same time, however, these shifts did not materialise in any real large-scale and long-term social housing programmes in Brazil between 1980-2005. This was caused by the lack of federal investments in housing, the economic crisis and the large scale informalisation of the economy. Drug-trafficking gangs took control of the favelas. There was limited influence on housing policy from social movements which had weakened.

Under apartheid the National government of South Africa engaged in the demolition of informal settlements and forced removals of communities as a result of the regime’s spatial engineering project under the Group Areas Act (1950). Post 1994 a number of changes to legislation provided greater protection to informal settlers. Sections 26 (1) and (2) of the South African Constitution state that:

- (1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing;
- (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right, which ensures a qualified right to housing and protection against arbitrary eviction.

Poor households were protected against illegal and unfair eviction with the repeal of both the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No. 51 of 1951 with all its amendments, and the Slums Act No. 76 of 1979 in South Africa. The White Paper on Housing led to the promulgation of the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997 which refers to 'slum elimination' as a long term goal as part of the complex process of achieving adequate housing in South Africa. These two Acts were replaced by The Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act (no. 19 of 1998), known as the PIE Act, which reflect the principles of Section 26 of the Constitution. The PIE Act makes the eviction of an unlawful occupier, unless the eviction is authorised by an order of the court and complies with a number of procedural requirements, illegal. Legislation therefore afforded informal settlers a certain level of rights.

However, the ANC government inherited cities with large, growing informal settlements. The eradication of 'slums', became, and still is the dominant discourse of the ANC government, which has been strongly influenced by the Millenium Development goals (MDG) and the Cities Alliance's slogan *Cities without Slums*. According to Huchzermeyer (2011) informal settlement eradication was legitimised and became the political focus in South Africa both as a result of it 'addressing' the legitimate goal of poverty eradication and the eradication of the housing backlog. This discourse was supported by the *Elimination & Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Act*, which was passed in KwaZulu-Natal in 2007 and taken up by national government later in that year, despite opposition from shack dwellers movements and human rights organisations (Pithouse, 2009). The discourse of 'slum elimination' makes shacks, which are nothing more than the self-built housing solution of the poor, appear as if they are a threat to society Pithouse (2009). This Act enables court orders to be given that legitimize the demolition of shacks. The Land Invasion Unit in Durban systematically removes any new shacks that go up in the city, in an attempt to ensure that informal settlements do not grow in number. However, the irony of this approach is that new urban migrants are densifying peri-urban areas at a rapid rate, as they are able to build houses within the rural periphery of the city, gaining access to land through the Traditional Authority.

Demolition and eviction therefore remain part of state action even though relatively more progressive policies were developed on paper in Brazil (post the 1980s) and India (post 2009) and South Africa (post 2010) and under Peru's neo-liberal policies that were developed post 1990. Indian cities have an acute shortage of housing and this has resulted in the growth of sub-standard and illegal settlements, more commonly known in Delhi as *jhuggi-jhonpri*. They are referred to as slums or squatter

settlements in policy documents. Since the 1990s, large Indian metropolises have focused their attention on becoming 'global cities' which has led to a major restructuring of urban space. This process has been most intense in Delhi, the capital city, which through its 'new' image, has become the country's showcase of a 'global city'. Major infrastructure projects and urban renewal programmes are associated with this drive to become globally competitive, and this has been supported by the hosting of mega-events such as the 2010 Commonwealth Games. Beautification and the development of these projects, has been associated with large scale slum demolitions and forced evictions. This has increased the numbers of homeless people (Dupont, 2013). The visible poor are considered undesirable elements to be removed from city space in 'crusades to clean up the city' (Dupont, 2013; Davis, 2006, p 104).

From 1990 till 2008, as per official figures, at least 221 *jhuggi-jhonpri* clusters were demolished in Delhi, and around 65,000 squatter families –or about 325,000 people– were relocated in resettlement colonies on the outskirts of the city⁹. However, conservative estimates suggest that at least half of the total number of evicted families were *not* resettled (Bhan & Shivanand 2013). Ghertner (2010: 202) calculated that from 1997 to 2007 "close to a million slum dwellers have been displaced". Although demolitions occurred in the entire urban area, the larger evictions affected especially: the embankments of the Yamuna river in connection with the redevelopment of the riverfront and the construction of the athletes' village for the Commonwealth Games; the central and southern zones of the urban agglomeration, that is zones characterized by the presence of commercial and business districts and a concentration of residential colonies for higher income groups; and the airport vicinity.

The government programme of night shelters for the homeless, initiated in Delhi under the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-1990), consists in providing facilities for night stay in areas of high concentrations of homeless people. With the substantial increase in the number of homeless, due especially to large-scale eviction without adequate resettlement programmes for the evicted families, the programme proved to be grossly insufficient and did not meet the needs of the homeless (Dupont, 2013).

The use of megaprojects as an urban growth strategy, which is evident in the six cities studied here, has resulted in demolitions and evictions. While not contained in a specific 'demolition' policy, demolition and evictions take

9 Source: Slum and Jhuggi-Jhonpri Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi.

place under the 'exceptionalism' of these projects, which opens up non-ordinary procedures. Demolitions occur where space is required to build megaprojects and they also take place as a result of megaprojects. In Durban, informal settlers of Ocean Drive-In were not provided with the opportunity of having their settlement upgraded in-situ, as the settlement was located on private land in close proximity to the new international King Shaka airport. Once the airport and DubeTradePort were developed, this land increased in value placing pressure on the removal of the informal settlers residing on it. Ocean Drive-In also fell within the 55 dB noise contour which was demarcated in the Environmental Impact Assessment of the new airport. The EIA stated that no residential development should be allowed within this noise contour. Based on this guideline, which is yet to be re-assessed now that the airport has been built, the Housing Department decided to relocate the informal dwellers to Hammonds Farm formal housing project 17 kms inland, which has had a significant impact on the lives of these informal settlers.

This section has revealed that there has been a shift from repressive to more progressive urban housing policies in Brazil (post 1980s), India and South Africa (post 2009) with the upgrading of informal settlements being recognised as part of the housing solution for the urban poor. However, although this shift is contained in policy documents which argue for more participatory processes in housing programmes, the reality on the ground continues to reproduce urban inequality and poverty. However the implementation of these policies results in different forms of upgrading and resettlement programmes, which can still contain demolition and eviction within them.

3.5. Policies for in-situ upgrading

As states have recognised that upgraded informal settlements form part of the housing solution in rapidly growing cities, so they have shifted towards policies that favour in-situ upgrading. This shift has been driven largely by the recognition that governments are not able to address housing backlogs or keep up with new housing demands through the provision of formal housing. The recognition that the location of housing for the urban poor impacts significantly on poverty and inequality has also led to a change in approach. Different types of interventions and housing programmes have been developed within a policy frame that recognises that people live in particular locations because these spaces offer a bundle of urban opportunities that make the survival of the urban poor in the city possible. Residents of informal settlements often develop strong social networks that form part of their coping strategies.

The relocation of the urban poor away from spaces that offer urban opportunities, usually to areas on the urban periphery, increases their vulnerability and often deepens urban poverty.

This policy approach has emerged at different times in different places as states respond to the housing question in different political, economic and social contexts. In-situ upgrading can be implemented as minimal improvement, where only basic services are provided, to substantial upgrading where services, facilities and housing are upgraded. In some cases, such as Brazil's process of urbanisation, upgrades do not involve the demolition of existing structures, whereas in other cases, such as in India and South Africa, upgrading may result in demolitions where informal residents are moved to temporary or transit camps while the settlement is reconstructed. This can lead to evictions and homelessness as often the rebuilt settlement does not have enough housing to accommodate all those originally living in the settlement.

In South Africa, post 1994, the ANC government adopted a housing policy of large-scale delivery of state subsidised formal housing. The housing subsidy system and the determination by the state to pursue this model for housing the poor in South African cities led to the widespread view by politicians, government officials and communities, that informal settlements were temporary phenomena that would be replaced by formal housing. This position was supported by the global discourse of 'slum free cities' and the eradication of slums, which is aligned with the Millennium Development goals (MDG) and the Cities Alliance (Huchzermeyer, 2011). In 2004 this policy approach was replaced by the Breaking New Ground Policy (BNG, 2004) which adopted a more holistic approach to housing. The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) which formed part of the BNG represented a move towards a more socially embedded, incrementalist approach to informal settlement upgrading with (i) a focus on in-situ upgrading; (ii) new measures for acquiring and rehabilitating well-located urban land; (iii) increased flexibility in planning; (iv) provision of social services and economic amenities; (v) increased community participation and community-based grants. However, the UISP received very little attention and support and was only promoted through rights-based action from within civil society (Huchzermeyer 2006).

In 2010 the focus once again shifted in South Africa towards informal settlement upgrading with the surprise announcement by President Zuma that 400 000 informal settlement units would be upgraded as a new housing target. The National Upgrading Support Programme was tasked with finding the best way to achieve this new target and compiling the necessary procedures and budgets. However,

it appears that only settlements on land considered suitable for standardised low cost township development will be considered in this programme. The rest of the informal settlements that have struggled against re-location continue to be impacted by the surveillance and control measures adopted by the state through their security led approach to prevent the occupation of land by the urban poor (Huchzermeyer 2011).

In Durban informal settlement upgrading is implemented in different ways depending on the suitability of the informal settlement site for upgrading. This has resulted in programmes of minimal upgrading where informal settlements which will not be upgraded in-situ but will be relocated are provided with the minimum level of services which include communal tap points and pit latrines. In informal settlements that will not be relocated nor upgraded in the short term the Engineering Services in partnership with the Housing Department have developed the Interim Services Programme where communal toilet blocks that contain toilets and water points built in containers that are managed by caretakers and formal footpaths are provided in informal settlements. Substantial upgrading is undertaken on sites that are suitable for low income housing and where the politics of the housing process supports these upgrades. In this case informal housing is demolished, informal dwellers are relocated to transit camps and then moved back in to the formal housing when this is complete. Conflict arises when not all the residents of the original settlement can be accommodated in the new housing project, which is most of the case as the protests in Cato Crest in Durban in January 2014 reveal.

In Brazil the election in 2002 of the left oriented Ignácio Lula da Silva to President led to significant urban reform. Institutions such as the Ministry of Cities and federal and state councils of cities, which encouraged public participation in national, state and local housing and sanitation projects, were established under the Lula administration (2003-2010). The federal government of Brazil implemented the PAC – *Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento* (“Program to Accelerate Growth”) and *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (My House, My Life). The PAC is an integrated development programme which invested in a range of development projects including housing and sanitation. The PAC allocated the majority of its funds to residents within communities, which meant it favoured upgrading over resettlement of poor households. The *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (My House, My Life) programme includes the building of new houses on new sites, as well as the provision of new houses for in-situ upgrading.

In 2010, Rio’s municipality, represented by the Municipal Board of Housing, announced a new housing and upgrading

program called *Morar Carioca*. The programme has the goal to upgrade and formalise all the favelas in Rio de Janeiro by 2020. This is part of creating a lasting “social legacy” the 2014 Football World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games.¹⁰ *Morar Carioca* offers multi-sector territorial interventions such as urban upgrading, conservation of public space, control of the growth of favelas, urban legislation and resettlement of residents who are living in hazardous areas. During its Phase I (2010-2012), investments of more than USD 1 billion were made (Bittar, 2011). The *Morar Carioca* programme included a number of innovations including a competitive public tender process that required architectural firms to develop participatory approach to housing design and implementation and the provision of new houses for people who had to be relocated because of upgrading works in the favelas or because they resided in environmental ‘risk areas’ (Bittar, 2011). In order to construct these housing units, the city municipality drew on the federal housing programmes of *Minha Casa Minha Vida* and *PAC*.

Case studies from Morro da Providência and other favelas however show that the preliminary upgrading projects implemented under the programme have repeated previous patterns of governmental interventions in favelas (Braathen et al, 2013), including: 1) lack of transparency of the formalisation projects and the low participation of local residents in their implementation; 2) mismatch between the large number of removals and the low number of new houses built to be offered to the former residents of the favelas; 3) new housing units being constructed in the peripheral suburbs and not near the favela where the removed people had resided.¹¹ Thus, the policy resembled the old eviction and resettlement policies, although the official policy since the 1980s has emphasised in-situ rehabilitation, in order to enhance social inclusion and “integration” of the favelas into the city. A comprehensive academic assessment of the *Minha Casa Minha Vida* program concluded that it had increased the socio-spatial segregation of Rio de Janeiro and the other larger cities by building most of the houses for low-income groups in the suburban peripheries (Cardoso, 2013). From a ‘right to the city’ perspective these programmes benefited mainly the private entrepreneurs, denied people’s rights to in-situ rehabilitation and consequently contributed to the development of a ‘city of exception’ (Vainer, 2011).

10 There are 900 favelas in Rio, and it is not realistic that the programme can reach all of them.

11 A study showed that so far 70% of these apartments are located in the periphery, the so-called West Zone of the city, 40 to 50 kilometers away from the city center. (Lagos, 2013)

In India, in-situ upgrading and 'rehabilitation/ redevelopment of slums' correspond to an approach recommended in several national policy documents, including the current policy (RAY). They cover however different strategies, from minimal improvement to the full reconstruction of the settlement. The improvement of the living conditions in the existing slums through the provision of basic services was initially a response of town authorities to sanitation and public health concerns. In 1972, the Central Government developed the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums Scheme, which aimed to provide basic infrastructure in zones officially 'notified' as slums. Other schemes with similar or more comprehensive objectives followed, as part of poverty alleviation programmes. More recently, the JNNURM includes the provision of 'Basic services to the Urban Poor', with a focus on slums, part of its agenda. This is a pragmatic approach, which aims at addressing short-term needs and improving the living conditions of slum dwellers in-situ. In this way it is similar to the Interim Services Programme that has been established in Durban. In Delhi, however, such intervention does not guarantee the slum dwellers rights of occupancy, nor does it protect them from evictions if the land-owning agency undertakes projects of 'better public' utility on the occupied sites.

In Chennai (in the state of Tamil Nadu), 'in-situ development' that consists of providing basic infrastructure/ amenities such as water supply, road and sanitation facilities in the slum on site, is also one of the strategies implemented by the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) since its inception in 1971. In addition, while the central government housing policy began to emphasise the role of the state as a facilitator of housing rather than a builder, the regional ruling party in Tamil Nadu diverged significantly, explicitly limiting evictions and focusing on the state provision and construction of housing. Under the progressive discourses of this state government, squatters could consolidate their hold on public land (Raman, 2011: 75). Thus, 'in-situ reconstruction', whereby multi-storied tenements are constructed by the TNSCB at the same location for the slum dwellers, was the dominant approach, until the World Bank's intervention in Chennai from 1975 led progressively to a policy shift towards resettlement (see section 3.6).

Nevertheless, urban reforms instituted in India in the 1990s resulted in a new role for the private sector, as a developer and builder, including for low-income housing. Thus, slum in-situ rehabilitation schemes under public-private partnership started being implemented, first in Mumbai, and more recently in Delhi. This approach was promoted in the Master Plan for Delhi 2021 (notified in 2007), and supported by the national policy for *Slum-Free City Planning* (RAY, launched in 2009). Such slum

redevelopment programmes require the demolition of the existing slums before constructing multi-storeyed buildings to re-house the families, who have to be transferred to a transit camp. The projects are undertaken through private-public partnership, using land as a resource and according to the principle of cost recovery. Concretely, only part of the land occupied by the slum is used to re-house its residents, the rest is cleared for high-end residential or commercial development for sale on the open market and thus subsidises the social housing component. This new strategy provides an alternative to the requirement of large amount of lands for site and services developments (see section 3.6). The expectation is that 'vertical projects' will unlock the land stock occupied by slums. In 2008, the Delhi Development Authority identified 21 slum clusters for in-situ rehabilitation, projecting the construction of about 37,000 dwelling units to that end. Yet, none has been built till date (Dupont, forthcoming). Kathputli Colony will be the first informal settlement in the Indian capital to be redeveloped under this strategy.

3.6. Policies of relocation and resettlement

Policies of resettlement and relocation have appeared in different forms in Brazil, India, Peru and South Africa. Resettlement and relocation have been triggered in all six cities as a result of mega-project development. However, at different points in time, policies of resettlement and relocation have been dominant in South Africa with its large scale formal state subsidised housing programme (the RDP programme), in Brazil under the programme *Minha Casa Minha Vida* ('My House, My Life'), as well as in Delhi (up until 2010) and Chennai in India.

Resources were made available in Brazil in 2008 for the construction of 3.4 million new houses for the urban poor (those families with an income of less than three minimum wages) and those displaced by mega sports events under the programme *Minha Casa Minha Vida* ('My House, My Life'). The overall aim of 'My House, My Life' was to reinforce economic activity and support job creation during the financial crisis through a rapid response in terms of implementation. The programme relied on public-private partnerships where private sector contractors, with the support of municipal or state governments or civil society presented projects to the federal government bank. Land issues were the responsibility of local government (CEBRAP, 2010). This programme continues to operate under President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2014). The *Minha Casa Minha Vida* ('My House, My Life') new houses are built as part of in-situ upgrading programmes within more central

areas of Rio de Janeiro and on greenfield sites on the periphery of the city.

The most striking example of a state driven resettlement programme is evident in South Africa. South African housing policy post 1994, which was driven by the national Department of Housing (renamed the Department of Human Settlements in 2009) adopted a state subsidized system of large-scale formal housing delivery, which became known as the RDP housing programme. The responsibility for housing delivery is vested with Provincial Governments who control the funding and facilitate and approve projects and schemes. Local governments are expected to identify housing demand areas and suitable sites and to motivate for the requisite funding for these projects. Across South Africa the cities and towns standardised houses on small plots were delivered at scale, usually on greenfield sites that were often poorly located.

Delivery was not the only goal of the South African national state driven housing programme. Five related objectives formed part of the programme: to demonstrate delivery to an expectant post-democracy constituency; to contribute to the economy¹²; to contribute to poverty alleviation; to establish housing markets and to develop urban citizenship through the creation of a democratic and integrated society (Charlton, 2009). The South African government claims to have built 3 million housing units since 1994 and the eThekweni Municipality, the administrative entity of Durban, has built over 160 000 units to date aligning itself with this national policy, under the leadership of the previous City Manager, making Durban a leading city in formal housing delivery and resettlement. Informal dwellers and those in precarious peri-urban and rural housing, or crowded housing in townships were relocated to formal housing projects. Although large numbers of houses have been transferred to the poor, these houses are often of sub-standard quality, small, and are located on the periphery of cities, reinforcing the spatial legacy of apartheid. Due to their peripheral location these housing projects are isolated from social services and livelihood opportunities, they have not produced integrated and sustainable neighbourhoods, and they perpetuate urban sprawl (Charlton, 2009; Pithouse, 2009) – a range of shortcomings observed as well in resettlement schemes in Indian cities. This formal housing process has not been able to address the housing backlogs and hence the national and local state has shifted to informal settlement upgrading as discussed in section 3.5)

12 The Housing Code notes that housing practices should also 'reinforce the wider economic impact and benefits derived from effective and adequate housing provision in the domestic economy' (NDoH, 2000:11).

Chennai in India presents a similar case to the large resettlement policies developed in South Africa. Under the influence of the World Bank and its funding programmes, from 1975 the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) began to shift towards relocation and resettlement under 'site and services' programmes, and later to resettlement and rehabilitation, where dwelling units are provided in blocks of flats on alternative sites along with (in principle) infrastructure and services. As a result, by 2000 the TNSCB was primarily involved in building large-scale tenement clusters on the periphery of Chennai to accommodate slum dwellers that were relocated from the centre of the city (Raman, 2011). The resettlement colonies of Kannagi Nagar and Semmenchery, provide an illustration of this policy shift.

In Delhi, the relocation in 'resettlement colonies' under 'sites and services' programmes was the approach favoured by the urban authorities from the late 1950s until 2009 to deal with squatter settlements. Squatter settlements in Delhi occupy essentially public land, and their removal is in principle limited to untenable sites or sites that are required for projects of public utility. Under this strategy, the displaced families are allocated plots in relocation sites supposedly equipped with basic infrastructure, where they have to build their own dwelling. Leaseholds or licenses with restriction provide security of tenure. The beneficiary families are required to make a financial contribution, which means that the very poor are excluded from the resettlement programmes. Over time, due to land constraints, the size of the allotted plots was considerably reduced, from 80 sq.m. in the first scheme of 1960, to 18 sq.m and even 12.5 sq.m in the years 1990s and 2000s, which resulted in the creation of over-crowded settlements, without adequate amenities.

A 'site and services' approach to housing, or incremental housing, was also adopted by the apartheid National Government in South Africa in the late 1980s. This approach was developed and implemented by the Urban Foundation and Independent Development Trust, two connected non-profit organisations in South Africa that were supporting development for the urban poor in the 1980s and early 1990s, up until the ANC gained control and shifted this approach to the RDP housing programme post 1994. The urban poor were provided with a plot of land, a platform upon which to self-build a house, and basic services including a tap point, waterborne sanitation and electricity. In India, post 2010, the Government of Delhi has recognized the limitations of the 'site and services' programmes and has shifted its approach towards the provision of flats instead of plots. As in Brazil and South Africa resettlement often resulted in the dislocation of slum dwellers from urban opportunities and social networks that had sustained them. Most resettlement sites were on the urban periphery



and this increased transport costs. Resettlement sites often had very poor facilities and services creating 'housing areas' rather than integrated settlements.

3.7. Policy of developing integrated human settlements

The lack of co-ordination between actors and the integration of policies that deal with the urban poor across different sectors and agencies is another critical issue that impacts on the role housing and the development of integrated human settlements can play in poverty alleviation and securing the 'right to the city' for the urban poor. In the past the housing question has largely been addressed through a narrow focus of constructing houses. However, in the face of increasing housing backlogs and homelessness, there is evidence that politicians, officials and consultants in some countries are responding to demands from civil society and research based organisations for policy shifts towards in-situ rehabilitation and resettlement projects, which include the development of economic, social and environmental infrastructure. This has been done with the aim to create integrated human settlements that provide the urban poor with access to a bundle of urban resources. However, this more integrated approach to housing remains at the level of policy and there are limited examples of where this progressive approach to housing is being implemented on the ground. This approach has been developed in two pilot studies in Durban, where local government has worked with PPT, an NGO, to develop more integrated approaches to housing the poor. In India there is very little evidence of the implementation of more progressive policies and in Peru the housing process is now dominated by pro-growth agendas, which is undermining the opportunities self-built housing offers for more integrated housing development.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter has used examples and cases from six cities in Brazil, India, Peru and South Africa to explore the shifts in housing policy that have taken place over the past 75 years. The empirical research reveals that there have been some shifts in stated policy towards informal housing or slums from repressive approaches to more progressive and, in some countries more integrated approaches, at least in their initial intentions. Unfortunately, the implementation, or policy in practice, leaves a lot to desire in all the countries and cities observed. Along with new policies that have been formulated, demolition, eviction and the lack of security of tenure continue to remain a threat, and the living conditions of those who live in slums remain tenuous and difficult. Resettlement schemes provide informal settlers with basic services and in some cases formal houses, but the relocation of the urban poor away from sites that offer them urban opportunities presents other challenges. In-situ upgrading offers the opportunity of maximising the benefits of the sites chosen by informal residents, however these programmes do not always result in much improved living conditions. They too can lead to displacement and evictions as the housing developed on these sites is not always adequate to meet the needs of all the original residents. Reality shows that successive waves of invasions in all countries have generated sub standard settlements on the periphery of the cities, with poor access to basic services as well as opportunities for education, healthcare, leisure activities and work. Integrated development policies of human settlements is frequently limited to specific zones but rarely focuses on the provision of services and opportunities in the surrounding areas and on improving the connection of poor inhabitants to the city as a whole.

The following chapters in this report explore the encounters between those living in sub-standard settlements and policy making authorities, revealing the way in which policy shapes living conditions on the ground.

Véronique Dupont with Einar Braathen, Carlos Escalante Estrada, David Jordhus-Lier, Catherine Sutherland, and inputs from Lisa Strauch

4.1. Research questions and approach

This chapter addresses the core research questions of WP3, namely how do civil society organisations (CSO) mobilise residents in sub-standard settlements in their struggle for decent housing and in resisting evictions and relocations. The innovative thrust of the project was to focus on the role of CSO-networks, and analyse how they operate horizontally and vertically to tackle issues related to housing for the poor.

Our ambition was not to analyse social movements at the city level, but rather to examine specific mobilisations rooted in selected settlements or city areas affected by larger urban transformations, especially by the implementation of mega-projects or the preparations for mega-events. Consequently, what triggered mobilisation is the first question each case study asked. Nonetheless, the history and contemporary dynamics of social movements in the city (or country) form the backdrop of the case studies, and cannot be ignored to understand the development and outcomes of any place-based and time-framed campaign. In this regard, we must take note of the selected cases and the way in which they may better highlight the character of reactive social mobilisations but simultaneously not be able to illustrate equally clearly the experiences of progressive mobilisations which achieved changes in the legal framework and the reality of human settlements. For instance, the Campaign for the Right to Housing in the first decade of this century influenced the enactment of a law which incorporated the demands of populations of informal settlements in Lima.

To analyse mobilisations, we adopted an explicitly bottom-up and actor-centred approach, starting from the settlement level, and we addressed the following specific research questions:

- What are the issues serving as an entry point for mobilisation in the settlement?
- Who are the actors driving the initiation and the scaling-up of the mobilisation campaign?

- What are the different modalities of mobilisation as well as the mechanisms for scaling-up the campaign? What kind of spaces for participation and/or contestation are used in the campaigns?
- On the other hand, what hinder mobilisation and/or scaling-up? What are the factors favouring demobilisation and stopping of the campaign?
- Before drawing evidences from case studies to highlight different modalities of social mobilisation in various urban contexts (section 4.3), we present the analytical and conceptual framework that we have utilised, with reference to theoretical debates (section 4.2).

4.2. Theoretical debates, analytical and conceptual framework

This section draws on a literature review and theoretical reflexion commenced as part of the WP3 project (Sutherland et al. 2011, Sutherland 2011), revisited and completed by on-going debates. Whereas our first literature review aimed to encompass a large range of theoretical issues and concepts, in this final report, we rather focus on those that we found the most relevant to analyse and interpret the findings of our case studies.

Social movements and civil society organisations

At the outset, we need to unpack the notion of civil society organisations (CSO), and see how it can be articulated to the concept of social movement.

In short, “a social movement is a deliberate collective endeavor to promote change” (Wilkinson 1971: 27). Social movements take on many forms, from those that are well established to those that are more temporary, such as protest movements, which emerge and disappear as issues and events arise and as they integrate into broader organizations or society. They include, or may be supported by, CSOs, self-defined social movements, riots and strikes, crowds and mobs and must be considered in relation

to the political parties, institutions, international agencies and social agents within which they interact. Goodwin and Jasper's (2009: 4) definition of a social movement reveals its broad nature: "A social movement is a collective, organized, sustained, and non-institutional challenge to authorities, power-holders, or cultural beliefs and practices". Della Porta and Diani (1999: 16) reflect on the main characteristics of social movements: They are "(1) informal networks, based (2) on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize about (3) conflictual issues, through (4) the frequent use of various forms of protest". Thus, it is not only processes of collective action that characterize social movements, but in addition the ideas of protests and opposition, aiming at change – whereas CSOs (although a potential component of social movements) would refer to more static arrangements, which may, or may not, endorse the same type of agenda and modes of action.

The notion of civil society is indeed ubiquitous and marked by conceptual ambiguity (Jenkins 2010). Among the various CSOs, one major distinction is often made between, on the one hand, NGOs and, on the other hand, Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and Grassroots organisations (GROs): whereas the latter are membership-based, the former are not (Sen 1999). Several authors have further opposed NGOs and social movements. In the Indian context for instance, Jenkins' literature review of this divide identifies the following (claimed – and debatable) differences:

social movements are depicted as working at the grassroots, seeking people empowerment, being radical, political, choosing the path of confrontation, and challenging the state orthodoxy and political frame;

while NGOs would be office-based, creating new forms of dependency for the poor, reformist, depoliticising, preferring the path of negotiation, and preserving the existing system and political frame. (Jenkins 2010)

There is also a difference of scale, magnitude and complexity (de Souza 2013). However, relationships and hybrid organizational forms are also emerging, blurring the boundaries and bridging the differences in the binary "social movement vs NGOs" (Jenkins 2010). The distinctive characteristics presented above do not always fully coincide with reality. For instance, in Lima NGOs along with CBOs often endorsed the most political stance, whereas some social movements on the contrary were limited to a pragmatic and depoliticised approach (however, not in the case under study).

This debate is still vivid, not only in India, but in South Africa and Latin America as well, as illustrated by the recent forum on "NGOs, Social Movements and the City" in the journal *City* (2013), that discussed convergences and divergences between these two categories. Several issues are addressed, which also come to the fore in our case studies, such as: accountability and legitimacy, voice and representation – 'who speaks for whom?' –, manipulation and co-optation, differential institutional logics (Lipietz 2013a & b, Pithouse 2013, de Souza 2013, Cabannes 2013).

Given the huge and rather ideological and normative debate on what constitutes social movements, we preferred in this research project to adopt a broad definition of social movement such as proposed by Wilkinson (1971) or Goodwin and Jasper (2009) (see above), without a priori excluding any non-state organisation. We would rather stress the need for research on social mobilisation to be more grounded on empirical analysis and come back to the basics of collective action (as developed in the next section). In our analytical framework, we have therefore included all types of organised non-state actors without preconceived hierarchy regarding their role in mobilisation. We further paid a special attention to the various constituents of the CSO-network in each case study, to the configuration of actors forming this network and the relationships between the different actors. We nevertheless recognise that the notion of CSO-network refers to a rather conflated reality and does not imply necessarily strong networking between the various constituents, which instead may compete for hegemonic position among them or oppose each other. We thus also asked: Which interplays of actors may lend explanation to the success and scaling-up of a mobilisation campaign?

Coping strategies versus mobilisation

To analyse the forms of popular agency and mobilisation, we explore the tensions between the subaltern approach that stresses the urban poor's coping strategies, and the insurgency approach that puts citizens' claims to the fore.

Although informal settlements are spaces evidencing and experiencing inequality and deprivation, we note, as a starting point, that the situation prevailing in informal settlements in most of the selected cities is characterised by everyday arrangements rather than social mobilisation or protests, and coping forms of resilience or individual strategies rather than collective action. This is often the situation under "normal circumstances", although when there are specific external interventions, mobilisation and protests may be forms of response to these interventions. Such situation may be best understood as "the quiet

encroachment of the ordinary”, or “the [social] non-movement of the urban dispossessed”, analysed by Asef Bayat in the context of Middle Eastern cities¹³, and that “encapsulates the discreet and prolonged ways in which the poor struggle to survive and to better their lives by quietly impinging on the propertied and powerful, and on society at large” (Bayat 2010: 15).

This does not deny the agency of the urban poor. Thus, to work on “subaltern urbanism”¹⁴ (Roy 2011), we follow an actor-centred approach, namely “an approach that consists of restoring to the actors concerned their share of initiative in working out their own lives” (Godard 1990: 9). This is the approach adopted in India by the “subaltern” movement, that recognizes “the exercise of agency by subaltern subjects” (Baviskar 2003: 97), even in the context of slum evictions (Dupont & Vaquier, 2013). Such an approach implies to consider that the urban poor and vulnerable groups are not mere passive recipients – or victims – of public policies and external interventions.

In contrast to “the non-movement of the urban dispossessed”, insurgent urbanism, developed in the Brazilian (Holston, 1995, 2008) and South African (Miraftab & Wills 2005; Miraftab 2009) contexts, refers to “radical planning practices that challenge the inequitable specifics of neoliberal governance operating through inclusion”, or, to be more specific, to a type of formal inclusion, which does not correspond to substantive inclusion (Miraftab 2009: 40, 41). While the general background of insurgent urbanization, where

“[t]he majority of marginalized people take in their own hands the challenges of housing, neighborhood and urban development, establishing shelter and earning livelihoods outside formal decision structures and ‘professionalized planning’ ” (ibid: 42)

proves to be particularly relevant to Indian cities too, the practices of insurgent planning defined as the “purposeful actions that aim to disrupt domineering relationships of oppressors to the oppressed” (ibid: 44) necessitate a degree of class and political consciousness, along with united mobilisation, which may be difficult to achieve in

many fragmented slum communities (or rather non-communities as we could argue).

The concept of “occupancy urbanism” propounded by Solomon Benjamin (2008) in the context of Indian cities, and that articulates the assertion of territorial claims by poor groups, the practice of vote-bank politics or clientelism, and the interactions with the lower level of state bureaucracy, may offer a pertinent framework to explain the possible transition from “the quiet encroachment of the ordinary” to insurgent urbanism.

Indeed the contrast between “the quiet encroachment of the ordinary” and insurgent urbanism raises the following questions: Does it reflect distinct moments over time, through a process of mobilization? A progression throughout evolving phases of resistance, from “forms of resilience that enable people to survive without really changing the circumstances that make such survival so hard”, to “forms of reworking that alter the organization but not the polarization of power relations”, till “resistance that involve oppositional consciousness and achieves emancipatory change” (as per the distinction made by Cindi Katz, quoted by Sparke, 2008: 424)? Or does it reflect different modes of actions embedded in different socio-political and national contexts? Depending on the contingency of the local situation, we do find different ways to articulate the claims of the urban poor to land and shelter. Nonetheless, what we observe in the different case studies are processes of mobilisation in response to a specific state intervention affecting the settlement (or sometimes the absence of mobilisation despite intervention), to wit reactive processes rather than proactive ones.

In order to understand the dynamics of mobilisation, or lack thereof, it is important to reflect on the rationales behind collective action¹⁵. In *The Logic of Collective Action*, Olson (1977) adopts a utilitarian perspective to explain group behaviour, based on individuals’ rationality understood as weighing costs and benefits at the individual level (not at the group level). He argues that collective action occurs when the “total worth” exceeds the level of “total cost” of the actors involved, and that the group will not mobilize until and unless the individuals are provided with “selective incentives”. Other authors promote an alternative approach to this individualistic conception of collective action and rather highlight the role of group solidarity and responsibility (Tilly et al. 1975; Zald and McCarthy 1979). In their theory of “resource mobilization”, McCarthy and Zald place formal organisations at the core

13 Although Bayat’s analysis pertains to the situation before the Arab Spring that started in December 2010, it remains very relevant to understand the evolution of a social “non-movement” into civil uprising and political protests.

14 “Subaltern urbanism” is a “formation of ideas” that writes “against apocalyptic and dystopian narrative of the slum” and “provides accounts of the slum as a terrain of habitation, livelihood, self-organisation and politics” (Roy 2011: 224).

15 This paragraph draws on Goodwin and Jasper (2009) and Saharan (2012).



of social movements, and examine the role of external and internal actors in their dynamics (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Bebbington (2006: 4) further discusses the effect of the actors' heterogeneity in social movement, stating that

“While the actors involved in these movements do not need to share exactly the same visions either of the reasons for protest or for the alternatives being sought, there does need to be a significant overlap among these visions in order to sustain the movement and give it its coherence”.

The literature on social mobilisation also strongly emphasizes the political dimension of social movements, and further considers their cultural dimension, especially their identity content, while the role of emotions in protest is also given due recognition (Goodwin and Jasper 2009). Ostrom (2000) further argues that “contextual variables” are vital to have a thorough understanding of the path to cooperation and collective action. Our empirical studies across cities and countries do highlight these various dimension of mobilisation, as well as the significant role of contextual factors, organisations and group solidarity (or the negative impact on collective action of the lack thereof).

Spaces for participation and confrontation

To apprehend the modalities of mobilisation – which tactics and strategies are deployed– in the context of specific settlements, we examine the spaces for participation and contestation used in the mobilisation campaign. We utilise an analytical framework based on the concept of “space of participation” first articulated by Cornwall (2002) and refined by Miraftab (2004) who distinguishes between “invited” and “invented” spaces of participation and citizenship:

“ ‘Invited’ spaces are defined as the ones occupied by those grassroots and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions. ‘Invented’ spaces are those, also occupied by the grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the authorities and the status quo” (Miraftab, 2004: 1).

These “invented” or “conquered” (Cornwall & Coelho 2007) spaces of citizenship, also termed “spaces of insurgent citizenship” (Holston 1995; Miraftab & Wills 2005) have to be analysed as complementary rather than as opposed to the “invited” spaces of participation. Thus,

“Fluidity characterizes insurgent practices: through the entanglement of inclusion and resistance they

move across the invited and the invented spaces of citizenship.” (Miraftab, 2009: 35).

In other words, we have to shift away from binaries, and focus instead on the relations between the various modalities and phases of mobilisation that reveals the entanglement of the different forms of citizenship and action (Sutherland 2011). Nevertheless, we need to question the link between participation and mobilisation, and ask especially to which extent participation in invited spaces controlled by the state (that decides who participates, defines the agenda, and sets the rules) is a way to curb contestation.

4.3. Various modalities of mobilisation, deployed tactics and strategies

The way in which frames of collective action are assembled and deployed, will depend on the structural opportunities and constraints in a particular political, social and spatial context and the local experience of injustice, as well as the scale at which this happens. The settlement studies from six cities in the four countries allow us to illustrate different tactics and strategies deployed, various modalities of mobilisation, as well as various phases in this process. We have identified the following broad categories: (i) the everyday forms of resistance; (ii) social protest – or confrontational mobilisation; (iii) “judicialisation” – or struggles through the judicial system, and (iv) engagement and partnership. Two other types of situations are also examined: (v) demobilisation and the fragmentation of collective action, and (vi) the absence or low level of mobilisation.

These categories do not pretend to be exhaustive at a general level. In addition, new “invented” spaces of citizenship may emerge, or might have been observed in other settlements. Moreover, the various modalities of mobilisation and strategies identified are not exclusive of each other, as we have to apprehend mobilisation as a multifaceted and evolving process. Thus, our findings show how some modalities are related to specific historical and urban contexts, but also how various tactics and strategies may be combined over time – or at the same time – in the same settlement or by the same community.

In Durban, the residents of Ocean Drive-In informal settlement have adopted a wide range of strategies to mobilise around their poor living environment and their insecurity in terms of their relocation to a formal housing project. These strategies reflect the different modalities of

social mobilisation including resistance and protest, engagement and partnership, and demobilisation and fragmentation. The strategies adopted reflect the particular historical, political and urban context of Ocean Drive In and are used at different times by different actors. At times the community acts in a unified way and at other times the dynamics of political mobilisation reflect the divisions within the community.

In Cape Town, reactions to the N2 (highway) Gateway project¹⁶ by the residents of Joe Slovo informal settlement have been many, and most of them never collectively expressed. If we choose to narrow our scope to the organized forms of community response, it is clear that they play out across a spectrum where levels of engagement (with authorities and implementing agencies) and levels of mobilisation (of local popular constituencies) have varied. The Joe Slovo residents have also chosen to pursue different strategies at different points in time. As a result, community resistance to the project have gone through several distinct phases, and in all of these local leaders and representative organisations have strategically engaged with networks beyond the community of Joe Slovo and the Langa township.

In Rio de Janeiro as well, invited and invented spaces of citizenship, and the use of the judiciary, were strategically articulated, as shown by social mobilisation in the Morro da Providência favela in 2011-2013 in particular against the project of building a huge station for a cable car network (teleférico) and a funicular (plano inclinar) that would displace many families from the favela.

In Lima, in the case of the Yellow Line (or Via Parque Rímac) megaproject of road infrastructure (launched in November 2009) that channelizes the Rímac River and affects a string of settlements located on its left bank, the negotiations in progress with the residents to be relocated were preceded by confrontational mobilisation as well as a battle in legal spaces.

In Delhi, the 2010 campaign for the right to shelter of the homeless, which exemplifies the recourse to the judicial system, did not however neglect forms of protests in “invented” spaces of citizenship, nor participation in government schemes for the homeless, although these “invited spaces” raised controversies among the CSOs.

The various identified modes and phases of mobilisation are illustrated below with selected examples.

(i) The everyday forms of resistance

In all the different urban contexts studied, resistance is most strongly evident in the mundane and everyday practices of informal settlers and homeless as they struggle to secure their “place” in the city. Nevertheless, these everyday practices may turn into inventive tactics, in response to specific circumstances and events, and further demonstrate the informal settlers’ “agency in the time of constraints” (Bayat, 2010).

For example, **in Durban** elderly people of Ocean Drive-In covered the doors to their houses with blankets on the day the community mapping process started when the UKZN¹⁷ researchers were recording house numbers with a GPS. This was a form of resistance, and a strong statement that no one should “steal” their housing numbers. This tactic of hiding housing numbers revealed the sensitivity of the mapping process. This resistance forced the engagement between the local state, the university researchers and community members. The residents have also shown their agency by changing houses during the slow relocation process, moving from poor housing in the more vulnerable sections of the settlement to more secure housing that has been vacated by those that were already relocated. As people move, the Municipality destroys their shacks. Remaining residents have resisted this practice of the state and have negotiated to swop houses, moving their housing numbers with them.

(ii) Protest or confrontational mobilisation

When external interventions threaten to disrupt completely the life in their settlement, or to evict them, when the projects affecting them are fraught with opacity engendering anxiety, when they experience acute injustice in the process, the residents do not remain as passive victims. We thus found many examples of collective protests across the cities. However, for resistance and protest to be translated into effective and sustainable mobilisation, grassroots organisations or CBOs in the settlement, and most often support from organisations or strategic actors outside the settlement, are crucial factors. In this process, support from political parties is also frequently sought, which may turn into co-optation in political client-patron relationships.

In Durban, the delays and uncertainty in the relocation of Ocean Drive In residents to formal housing led to a number of different forms of social mobilisation, including confrontational ones. The residents have staged a number

16 On the N2 Gateway mega-project, see Smit (2008).

17 University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.



of protests on the Watson Highway. Some of these protests were organised by the Independent Committee, while others were orchestrated by community members frustrated about the lack of clarity about the move to Hammonds Farm—the formal rehousing project. Two of the protests took place immediately after the state failed to meet the deadline of the proposed relocation. Protests involved toyi-toying¹⁸, the burning of tyres and marches. In most cases these protests resulted in the police arriving with the Ward Councillor to disperse the protest. Indeed, the community members indicated that their relationship with the state is defined and controlled by the Ward Councillor. Thus, after the protest the Councillor would hold a meeting with the community, using the formality of a community meeting and the dominance of ANC (African National Congress) politics and discourse to re-assert his control over the community, with the support of the sub-ward committee.

In Cape Town, when Joe Slovo residents first learned of the N2 Gateway project plans, it led to demands for detailed information about the development plans and housing models. A huge shack fire in January 2005 triggered a new set of responses from the community. Fire victims were told that they could not re-erect their shacks on the fire site as it had been designated a N2 Gateway development site. After a period of consultation, the organized community structures decided it had not led to an accommodation of the residents' concerns, and they decided to change to more militant methods of action – as “action speaks louder than words”¹⁹. A blockade of the N2 marks a climax in the state of community mobilization. On 10 September 2007, community members blocked the main highway into town for several hours during the night and early hours of the day.

In Lima, the Yellow Line project and the absence of any previous consultation with the affected communities provoked the mobilisation of the residents in defence of their territories, houses and interests.

“The exclusionary design of the project rapidly ignited resistance among the affected communities. Neighbourhood associations came together to mobilise the population. Dwellings to be demolished were draped with slogans voicing resistance ‘this house is private property – the presence of Línea Amarilla LAMSAC [the concessionaire for the project] is prohibited’. More spontaneous resistance activities

included preventing project personnel from entering the settlements, or evicting them when they wanted to conduct surveys or soil studies. In spring 2010, communities staged two massive street protests, one to the headquarters of the concessionaire and another to the Congress. The main objectives of these mobilisations were to: demand transparency and access to information; prevent the pending eviction and defend the right to housing; fight the Municipal Ordinance 1020 which declared the settlements along the river bank as high risk area and legitimised the displacement of residents with a low compensation. The two marches constituted an effective form of bringing resistance into the public eye and put pressure on political authorities. Not only left-wing mayoral candidate Susana Villarán committed to supporting the residents, but also Congressmen of the Peruvian Nationalist Party came to the settlements and supported the residents to forge their battle in legal spaces [see next section].” (Strauch et al. 2013: 13).

The neighbourhood associations organised later other public protests, including sit-ins, road blockage and burning of tyres causing major traffic congestion. The residents deployed a strategy of strengthening their forces through alliances with other sectors. Their mobilisation managed to stop the progress of the project for two years, and forced the new Municipality to renegotiate the initial conditions: the alignment of the road was modified, which reduced the number of families affected by displacement, and higher compensations for the displaced settlers were considered.

In Morro da Providência in Rio the residents organized several protests in 2011 against the priorities and contents of the municipality programmes affecting their favela – the cross-city upgrading programme, *Morar Carioca*, and the construction of a cable car network and funicular. These works would occupy some of the few public spaces in the favela, and dozens of houses had to be demolished to give space to the new public installations. The protest was radicalised when hundreds of houses suddenly had been numbered, literally speaking; the municipality claimed it had only been “mapping” houses that were located in “risk areas”. A residents' action committee was swiftly organised. The activists feared that the municipality had embarked on a project for the beautification and gentrification of the favela – or “social cleansing” as they saw it. They did not want the favela to become a tourist resort. In the heated debate in 2011, the Neighbourhood Association distinguished itself by its total silence. The residents' committee therefore sought support from a wider network established to fight Porto Maravilha, the urban renewal plan for the old port area. The resistance network was

18 Toyi-toyi is a Southern African dance used with chants in political protests.

19 Personal communication, local community leader, 02.04.2011

called Foro Comunitario do Porto, driven by urban human rights activists and progressive NGOs who fought for “The right to the city”, and supported by councillors belonging to the left and green opposition parties – thus a clear politicization of the struggle.

Following a phase of “judicialization” of the struggle (described below), but also periods of frustration and demobilisation, the mobilisation in Morro da Providência was boosted again by the huge street demonstrations of June 2013. The demonstrations started in São Paulo as claims for free public transport, and soon spread into other cities including Rio, turning into a broader social mobilisation claiming not only cheaper and higher quality public transport, but also improved public services in general, the end of police violence, the eradication of corruption, inquiries into the excessive costs of the stadiums built for the football tournaments, and last but not least a moratorium on forced evictions in the wake of the public works for the mega sports events (the 2014 World Cup, and the 2016 Olympic Games). A new generation of activists were networked in the various mobilisations dominating Rio de Janeiro for the rest of the year 2013. In the old port area, they met in weekly assemblies and organised in August a local march starting from a building squatted by young anarchists and ending in Morro da Providência. People in the old Port Community Forum were more than willing to hand over the leadership of the struggle to younger community activists, who also participated in all-city networks such as the People’s Committee of the World Cup and the Olympics, *Copa Popular da Copa e das Olimpíadas*.

In Delhi, the mobilisation of the CSOs in the homeless eviction case provides the example of an original “invented” space of citizenship that moreover exceeded its initial focus. The success of this specific campaign (explained in the next section) boosted the larger movement for the homeless. A “National City Makers Caravan” was organized to take up on a national level the various issues of urban homelessness. The caravan aimed to sensitise government authorities, the media, and the general public to those concerns. It collected data about the conditions of homeless people in various states, including, with respect to the provision of night shelters as directed by the Supreme Court. This caravan covered 22 states across India, from August 2010 to January 2011, spreading awareness of homeless people’s rights and creating a network of concerned CSOs.²⁰ This initiative was led by a national NGO

20 See: ‘Caravan for homeless’, Civil Society News, February 2011, and the report on the IGSSS website, the NGO that organised this campaign: <http://www.igsss.org/newsevents/national-city-makers-caravan> (accessed on 20/11/2013).

working with marginalised and vulnerable sections of the society, including homeless people; it was supported by two big organisations, members of international confederations (Caritas India and Oxfam India), and was conducted in collaboration with around 40 various CSOs from across the country. Homeless people contributed significantly: around 1,500 of them from Delhi followed the Caravan and were joined in each city by other groups, they conducted a signature campaign among themselves, took part in a series of rallies, and performed street plays on their day-to-day problems. At the same time, a very significant semantic change marked the campaign for the urban homeless: from “homeless people” — a descriptive term — to “homeless citizens”, with an underlying stress on rights and entitlements, and finally to “city makers” — a term which asserts their “significant constructive role in a city’s development”, as “the real builders of the city”.²¹ The last term reflects “a shift from entitlement citizenship to activism citizenship”²² in the mobilisation for the homeless.

In other words, the recognition that formal entitlements do not guarantee substantive rights in the city (Zérah et al. 2011) encourages practices of “active citizenship” (Miraftab & Wills 2005) – a finding that is also relevant for other case studies of our project.

(iii) “Judicialisation” or legal actions

In India, South Africa, Brazil and Peru, national constitutions and/or laws provide the informal settlers with legal instruments that they can mobilize to defend their rights when confronted with external intervention affecting their settlement. Under the Constitution of India (1949), the right to shelter is indirectly recognised and guaranteed as a subset flowing from the fundamental right to life (Article 21). The courts, approached by activists defending slum and pavement dwellers, especially through the Public Interest Litigation procedure, have often passed stay orders that prevented forced eviction – at least till the 1990s. The Constitution of South Africa (1996) states that (Section 26): everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing; the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. In Brazil, the City

21 See the IGSSS Newsletter (Vol. 11, Issue 6, Nov–Dec 2010, p. 2), published by the NGO that promoted the designation ‘City Makers’: URL: igsss.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/6.IGSSS-Newsletter-nov-dec.pdf (retrieved on 20/11/2013).

22 This idea and phrasing is borrowed from Vyjayanti Rao (talk on ‘Cities and citizenships – new political subjectivities’, Paris, CEIAS, 12/06/2012).



Statute Law (passed in 2001) includes the right to the city – a recognition of all city dwellers as right holders. In Peru since the 1950s, the governments have enacted a number of laws that granted many settlements a legal status. With the enactment of the Law for Marginal Settlement (the “Barriadas Law”) in 1961, Peru was the first country to regularize “self-help development” (Strauch et al. 2013). Though, under the constitution of 1993, the Fujimori administration eliminated the “Right to Housing” and restricted the possibilities to expropriate private land, all of which accounted to a shift in the legal framework against the interests of the urban poor of Peru.

Bringing the struggle to legal spaces often requires cooperation with external actors or allies who are familiar with the judicial system. It also changes the dynamics of mobilisation. It may lead to decisive outcomes, but may also divert the claims and collective protest on the ground. There is also a risk that the courts’ decisions do not support the informal settlers’ petition, or that other actors use the judiciary system against the informal settlers or their activists.

In Durban, legal action used to secure broader rights to housing is the strongest legacy of Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM), a radical social movement that challenged the state’s policy of “slum elimination”, and also used social protests and the slogan of “no house, not vote” to shift the state (Hunter and Posel 2012 ; Huchzermeyer 2011 ; Pithouse 2007).

In Cape Town, in the same period as they created a high level of popular mobilization, the organised community of Joe Slovo was also getting acquainted to legal system. This paved the way for a protracted legal phase which served to give parts of the community limited victories but also demobilised and disciplined the informal settlement dwellers. For example, in the wake of the protests, eight Joe Slovo residents were charged with public violence (Legassick 2008). More importantly, however, developers and authorities sought to get an eviction order from Cape High Court for the area targeted for housing developments. The high court judge ruled in favour of the applicants, and ordered an eviction on 10 March 2008 (Cape High Court 2008). The Task Team established relationships to different NGOs and lawyers during this period who could offer them legal expertise. Lawyers affiliated to the Joe Slovo community applied to the South African Constitutional Court (ConCourt) to appeal against the High Court order. The ConCourt (2009) handed five judgments on 10 June 2009. In spite of internal differences between judges, it upheld the eviction order from the High Court. However, it prescribed in detail the circumstances under which such a relation should take place. This included “meaningful

engagement” with the community (de Satge, Kahanovitz et al. 2009), and specified the time frame, transport arrangements and standards of temporary accommodation which the state and the developer had to offer those relocated. Finally, the ConCourt discharged their own eviction order 31 March 2011 on the grounds that the failure to comply with the 2009 judgment had created “exceptional circumstances” sufficient to discharge (ConCourt 2011). This was celebrated as a huge victory by the Joe Slovo settlement dwellers.

In Rio, while partisan politicization of the mobilisation for Morro da Providência was in the air, a more technical judicialisation of the struggle took the upper hand as the activists managed to involve the Public Defenders Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro. By mid-2012, the public works started without the consensus of the residents. Henceforth, the residents were helped by the Public Defenders to file a case against the municipality, accusing it of neglecting the residents’ constitutional rights of popular participation in urban planning. Initially, the municipality stated that 830 families would have to be removed in Morro da Providência because of environmental risk or *Morar Carioca* projects. The residents themselves, however, hired engineers and independent experts, who provided a counter-report proving that the vast majority of the houses in Morro da Providência was *not* in a risk area. To handle disagreements, a joint commission was set up by the residents and the city government alike, on the initiative of the Municipal Council of Housing where half of the members are civil society representatives. By late 2012, the number of families threatened by removal was reduced to 671, of which 475 had still not agreed to leave. Moreover, a collective victory for the cooperation between the residents of the favela and its outside supporters was celebrated in December 2012. The residents of Providência obtained an injunction granted by the Judge Maria Teresa Bridges Gazineu, who suspended the works of the *Morar Carioca* in Morro da Providência due to lack of fulfilment of public audience requirements before the construction began. Only the construction of the cable car could proceed. However, the municipality was also on the judicial offensive, appealing the injunction decision and taking it to the Civil Chamber in the Court of Rio de Janeiro. On August 28th 2013, the 6th Civil Chamber of this court considered the appeal, but upheld the decision to freeze the *Morar Carioca* works. The municipality was authorized to continue the work on the cable car only, which was finished by October 2013 but not operational. Following the court decision, and not least the street demonstrations, the mayor sent his right hand advisor to the community of Morro de Providência and offered talks to reach a consensus about the upgrading of the favela. By the end of 2013, this consensus was still an unfinished business. However, the community activists were more self-

reliant and participated in all-city networks of favela activists never seen before in Rio de Janeiro.

In Lima, as mentioned above, the communities affected by the Yellow Line project got support from the left-wing mayor candidate and the Congressmen of the Peruvian Nationalist Party to fight their cause in the court.

[They] “supported the population in pleading for the unconstitutionality of the Ordinance at the Constitutional Court, arguing that it violated the residents’ right to property. Although the court’s judgement (announced in June 2011) did not overturn the Ordinance, it obliged the Municipality to implement an adequate relocation plan for the residents occupying the risky banks of the river Rímac. It further mandated that a relocation scheme needed to be set up with the participation of the residents”. (Strauch et al 2013 : 10).

In Delhi, the campaign for the right to shelter of the homeless illustrates the mobilisation of the discourse of rights by the CSOs and the crucial and protecting role played by the courts from the beginning of the campaign onwards²³. This further exemplifies the increasing intervention of the judiciary in urban governance in India, though, unlike in this case, not necessarily in the interests of the urban poor and the slum dwellers (Dupont & Ramanathan 2008, Ghertner 2008). The campaign started off in Delhi when a group of homeless families was evicted from their temporary shelter in winter by a municipal squad, as part of the beautification operations for the 2010 Commonwealth Games preparations, with dramatic consequences as two homeless people died from cold. This event triggered the suo moto intervention of the High Court of Delhi in January 2010, which ordered the Municipal Corporation to provide a shelter to the evicted families.

This case provides an example of a successful mobilisation and scaling-up campaign that reached much beyond the case of the demolition of one temporary night shelter, as it addressed, with the courts’ intervention: the larger issues of forced evictions of homeless people, the lack of adequate shelter for the homeless, and the right to life and to food for people dying in the street because of lack of shelter. Thus, aside from the resettlement of the 125 evicted homeless families, the campaign had additional outcomes. Many more night shelters for the homeless were opened in Delhi following the advocacy by housing rights organisations and the orders of the Delhi High Court. The issue of lack of shelter for homeless in Indian cities was also brought to the Supreme Court under an on-going Public

Interest Litigation on the right to food, and broadened to all major cities in India, with the view that night shelters should be provided in the ratio of at least one per 100,000 population – a per the stipulations of the Master Plan for Delhi (a mandatory document, approved by the Union Ministry of Urban Development). The scope of shelters for homeless was also broadened following the Courts’ instructions: from providing night shelters in winter, to 24-hour shelters with adequate facilities, running throughout the year.

It is also significant to note that the various CSOs that conducted the campaign were grouped under a coalition, formed one year earlier, called Urban Rights Forum for the Homeless that includes, apart from NGOs and a grassroots organisation of homeless people, the Housing and Land Right Network as well as human right activists. The efficacy of the coalition rested, in addition to its communication skills and good contacts with the media, on its vertical linkages from the grassroots level (with a long-term structural work) to the higher level of the bureaucracy and the judiciary (High Court of Delhi and Supreme Court). Some coalition members had indeed valuable contacts with the judiciary, which promptly took action to protect the homeless and then monitored the implementation of its orders through regular hearings. The members of the coalition played an active part in providing support and information to the High Court of Delhi for its suo moto case. The role of the courts was indeed decisive. The courts’ rooms have been used by the CSOs working with the homeless as a “pleading space” to advocate their cause in a confrontational manner vis-à-vis state institutions but within the codified structure of the judicial system. However, the commitment of the government agencies to implement the court’s directives is questionable, and, moreover, no comprehensive policy addressing the real causes of homelessness was developed. This reveals the major challenge associated with the judiciary pronouncing orders that protect the rights of the homeless in an inadequate policy frame, with weak government agencies who then transfer the responsibility to CSOs.

(iv) Engagement and partnership

To which extent can engagement and partnership be considered as means of mobilisation? In any event, these are strategies. Does participation of CSOs in “invited” spaces mark the success of a mobilisation campaign, or is it a manipulative way of the state to curb down protests? At a time where the requirement of community participation has gained acceptance in international development and institutions as a guarantee of good governance (Christens and Speer 2006), and where the

23 For more details about this case, see Dupont (2013).

provision by the government of “invited” spaces for participation corresponds to a trend in contemporary urban governance, it is worth paying attention to this question. Given the various forms of engagement and partnership, and the variety of actors involved, there is no straightforward answer. Nevertheless, empirical evidences from the case studies help us to reflect on the benefits and risks of these strategies.

In Lima, for instance, the negotiations in progress between the residents affected by the Yellow Line project and the (new) Municipality and project authorities – a form of engagement for the residents – could be seen, on the one hand, as the successful outcome of the previous phase of massive demonstrations and legal battle. However, on the other hand, “while the compensation amount and the form of resettlement continued to be hotly contested, the improvements altered the basis for decision-making about resistance. Residents came to acknowledge the possibility of accepting an adequate and just relocation and committed themselves to achieving this goal.” (Strauch et al. 2013: 11). Stronger dialogue with the new municipal administration also influenced this change.

“In general, people rarely challenged the project in itself but thought to fight ‘just for a just compensation’ (Interview, 15 November 2012). Rather than contesting the dominant form of urban modernity constructed by the project authorities, they sought to integrate into it. They were careful not to portray themselves as opponents to the development of the city, but demanded a fair distribution of the benefits of this process.” (ibid). (...) “Overall, negotiation strategies did not bring about any results and the company proved unresponsive to peoples’ demands. Having established that they will deal with each relocation case individually, collective claims and proposals proved unsuccessful.” (ibid: 12).

There was a lack of a collective negotiation strategy, the alliances with political organisations only functioned in the first stage and neither side looked for a rapprochement at the metropolitan social organization level, as the Movement of the Roofless (Movimiento de los Sin Techo) did. More generally, there is an observable dominance of neo-liberal ideas in Peru from the 1990’s onwards, which led to a depoliticisation of the neighbourhood organisations and a separation between their specific demands and struggles. As highlighted in the next section, engagement with the Yellow Line project authorities led indeed to fragmentation of the mobilisation.

In Durban, the community members of Ocean Drive In cooperated with the state authorities for the implementation

of the relocation process. They registered their houses with the Housing Department, thereby obtaining housing numbers, which then gave them the right to a house in the Hammonds Farm formal housing project. Community members met with Municipal officials and worked with them to ensure the process of registering all houses was accurate and complete. A community-based map produced through a partnership between the community and UKZN researchers was also used to support this process of housing registration. Some of the elderly people did not register as they did not want to be relocated from Ocean Drive In to Hammonds Farm. Some community members refused to register, a form of resistance, as they did not believe the state would deliver on its promises, but when the move began in November 2012, they started the process of registering. The residents show high levels of compliance and diligently and responsibly address the matter of securing “housing numbers”.

In Cape Town, the mobilisation of communities in the Joe Slovo informal settlement also generated another form of politics beyond the highly visible street protests and resistance through legal processes. Emerging through the CSO network was a new approach favouring engagement and knowledge-generation as a means of mobilization. In April 2009, the Joe Slovo residents got involved in surveying the settlement (enumeration) together with a local partner of the global NGO Slum Dwellers’ International. Enumerations are seen as a tool for generating independent and community-driven information. What was crucial about the enumeration exercise is that it was conducted by community members “in sharp contra-distinction to other information-gathering efforts in the settlement, where external actors, linked and sponsored by the state, were suspected of hidden agendas” (Enumerator cited in Baptist and Bolnick 2012). Since the eviction case was discharged from the court system, engagement-oriented strategies have become the dominant mode of community response to the project. As the construction of Phase 3 began, the politics in the settlement of Joe Slovo changed into struggle over casual construction jobs, housing entitlements, and co-determination – in particular through the facilitation role of the Joe Slovo Task Team. The Task Team emerged in 2005 in direct response to the planned relocations of the fire victims in preparation for the N2 Gateway construction. Soon, this organisation evolved into a potent actor across the entire informal settlement. While it is seen by many as a legitimate representative of the community, a couple of rival organizations have emerged disputing their role in the Joe Slovo informal settlement.

The engagement of CSOs in invited spaces of participation provided by the government often raises divergence of views among the network of CSOs and activists, as was the

case among the CSOs working with the homeless in Delhi, and which reflects ubiquitous debates. For some, comfortable in public-community partnership through their participation in government schemes and policies, the time has come to cooperate with the government, in order to alert the latter to the problems on the ground and to better understand the grassroots' perspective. Others fear that close association with the government will deprive CSOs of their autonomy and position to oppose government policy and decisions, even when these fail to serve the interests of the people they are supposed to represent and speak for. In other words, there is a risk of the distance between CSOs and the state disappearing in public-community partnership. Co-option of voluntary organisations in implementing government schemes could be a way of silencing dissenting voices and preventing challenging mobilisation (see also Tawa Lama-Rewal 2011). Those activists, critical of the benefits of participation in invited spaces, put forward the benefits of confrontational interactions with the state. Eventually, the lack of convergence of the coalition's actors on the modalities of collective action is likely to lead to the fragmentation of the movement.

(v) Demobilisation and fragmentation

In Ocean Drive In (Durban), demobilisation and fragmentation was created through politics in the settlement, which was not homogenous and which has a long history of ANC– IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) conflict. The community was also demobilised by the control of the quasi sub-ward committee and the Councillor over the people – community members did not engage directly with the local state on any matters, but always had to report issues and gain legitimacy to exercise their rights through the committee and the Councillor. The community was aligned with the other small informal communities along the coastal belt but they did not form part of a broader network of informal settlements in the city. AbM had visited the community but they were not welcomed back as a result of the decisions of the sub-ward committee and the Councillor. At the time of the relocation the sub-ward committee members were the first to be moved to Hammonds Farm, leaving the remaining community members without any leadership. Subsequently a small committee has formed to defend the rights of the community, but they have little capacity and power. The community displays a complex mix of unity and fragmentation. Ocean Drive In is home to a community dominated by the quasi sub-ward committee which was well recognised and respected within the community, hence forming a unified group, as well as fragmented alliances related to the long established Policing Committee and the emergence of the Independent Committee.

Meetings held in the community are ANC dominated with party politics defining what is discussed and how things are decided and the tensions between the ANC and the IFP are ever present. Moving the majority of the sub-ward committee members to Hammonds Farm in the first round of relocation demobilised and fragmented the community, which had a significant impact on the large number of households who are still waiting to be moved.

In Lima, demobilisation regarding the Yellow line project was also found, as “no meaningful dialogue was established between residents and project authorities. Fieldwork conducted in the affected settlements in 2012-13 revealed that the lack of information was still the top concern of all residents. [...] This generated high levels of uncertainty and led to desperation and inaction, with direct effects on people's capacity to organise resistance in an effective manner – a condition project authorities were certainly not eager to change.” (Strauch et al. 2013: 11). In addition to the weakening of the mobilisation, a fragmentation process was at work:

“Following in the footsteps of past collective strategies, neighbourhood councils assumed the role of defending the residents' interests. Based on the concerns and fears of the affected population, they tried to negotiate a better compensation scheme. Strategies and objectives of the negotiation process, however, diverged among the settlements, indicating the diversity of interests that formed the basis for different collective activities.” [...] (Ibid: 12)

The diversity of the affected communities and of their urban conditions is a hindering factor to collective claim making. Fragmentation in the residents' organisation appears to be an obstacle to a more systematic mobilisation under a unitary strategy. There is no centralizing organisation that would enjoy a level of legitimacy allowing it to lead the various neighbourhood associations and sustain mobilisation in the entire affected area. As observed too in other contexts, when neighbourhood associations aim to achieve a specific set of claims, once the demands are satisfied, the level of participation in collective action declines and the organisation of the community weakens quickly.

“Furthermore, there is not only a broad spectrum of different dwelling conditions, but within many communities only a part is affected by displacement. The company considers those not affected by displacement the ‘neighbours of the project’ and invests in the upgrading of the settlements, educational programmes and charity events. [...] Residents that stay hence benefit from the company's

intervention. This weakened unified resistance and proved a well functioning strategy to lessen opposition within the settlements". (Ibid: 13).

(vi) Lack of– or weak mobilisation

The cases of settlements where mobilisation remained at a very low level, or was absent despite threats on the settlement, help us to identify the potential obstacles to mobilisation, and other core issues.

In Chennai, evictions of squatter settlements located along the Buckingham Canal in the IT corridor zone, as well as new threat of relocation, have been associated with a low level of resistance. This case study allows us to evidence a combination of factors limiting social mobilisation.

Some may be specific to the Canal Bank Road squatter settlements and their geographical marginalisation, on the southern fringe of the city, as a result of which they remained out of the reach of some major social movements for workers and slum dwellers in the city.

- Further, the location of these settlements, in the same zone as the large resettlement colony of Kannagi Nagar, would make relocation to the latter comparatively less disruptive and thus more acceptable than for people from inner city slums.
- In the specific locality studied, an additional obstacle stems from the weak social and political organisational structure in this settlement.

Other observed factors have a broader significance to understand low resistance to eviction in squatter settlements.

One is the lack of accurate information in advance regarding the date of eviction. According to some residents, it would be a deliberate strategy of the government to avoid the organisation of protests.

- Another one is the divide between house owners and tenants, with diverging interests in case of demolition and resettlement.
- A third hindering factor, also observed in the slums of Delhi²⁴, is economic precariousness, as poor people cannot afford to spend time and loose money in long-lasting collective action.

- In addition, one should also consider the coping strategies and rationale of the affected households, in the highly constrained context of removal of "objectionable" slums. If the eviction is seen as inevitable, efforts are better focussed on getting some compensation in the form of a resettlement flat: an asset and a prospective profitable good that they may rent out or resell for monetary benefice.
- Finally, the weakening of social mobilisation observed in the Canal Bank Road squatter settlements also reflects the "gradual weakening and eventual collapse of slum-based, struggle-oriented collective action against evictions" in Chennai since the 1990s (Coelho and Raman, 2010: 23; Coelho and Venkat, 2009).

Some other core issues for mobilisation and participation emerge from the comparison of the three settlement cases in Delhi, with relevant echoes in cities across other countries:

- First of all, the lack of basic information may hinder mobilisation.
- As expected, solidarity is difficult to reach in fragmented communities, and collective action is affected by the type of leadership within the settlement, which remains split along political, regional, social and religious lines.
- As for the role of NGOs, it may be ambivalent, especially when they operate in divided communities. The support of NGOs with good connections with the state apparatus is not sufficient, other factors such as the involvement of the grassroots, and cooperation and coordination among the CSOs are equally essential.
- Lastly, the role of resourceful external actors may be crucial, but also limiting, as patronage may curb the people self-reliance and pro-active endeavours.
- The factors that may curb mobilisation, as identified above on the basis of our case studies, should not be considered as absolute, insurmountable obstacles. First of all, mobilisation does not follow a linear and straightforward trajectory. It is instead a process deployed over the years, embedded in a socio-historical context, and that may include over time phases of intense and successful mobilisation with tangible outcomes, followed or preceded by phases of weak collective action. In other instances, fragmentation of the communities and rivalries among organisations was overcome (at least at some stages) by strategic alliances. Reversely, just because social mobilisation is unified does not make it automatically strong and successful; the choice of

24 "The battle for survival" was also identified by Kumar (2008: 87) as a factor for the lack of powerful urban movement in Delhi.

appropriate strategies and the combination of a variety thereof is equally important.

4.4. Conclusion

Putting into perspective different settlement studies across six cities in four countries allowed us to highlight some common modalities and phases in the process of mobilisation, as well as common factors limiting or weakening collective action. Over the last decade or so, social mobilisation for issues related to sub-standard settlements remained typically fragmented and localised, except for the Movement for the Roofless in Lima and the recent and widespread protest in Brazilian cities (which started however with claims for free public transport before addressing, among others, the issue of forced eviction). Moreover, the conditions of implementation of upgrading and resettlement programmes often create new lines of fragmentation within the residents of the same settlement. Protests do place pressure on the local government and they do allow the configurations of informal settlement dwellers to emerge. But in many cases these protests are quickly quelled by the authorities, and the discourses and concrete experiences of slum dwellers do not easily find

their way into policies and practices. However, when social mobilisation follows a path to the judiciary, this results in significant shifts, taking better account of the informal settlement dwellers' interests and rights. We also noted some favourable and supporting factors for the success of a mobilisation campaign, such as the internal coherence of the social organisations, the positive connections to external organisations and the exploitation of politically and socially favourable contexts.

Our case studies also show the fluidity and complexity of the situations, with evolving configurations of actors, which makes it difficult to draw definite conclusions regarding the success of a mobilisation campaign. At the methodological level, the need for a long-term perspective has therefore to be stressed. As Bickerstaff and Agyeman (2009: 783) suggest, social movements are not "static, reified entities but are continuously being constituted, contested, reproduced, transformed or replaced during the course of social movement activity". They are constituted by the action of ordinary people, their relations to broader political systems, and their interactions with wider urban communities (Larmer, 2010). These modalities of social mobilisation further provide insights into the agency of the poor, as well as the way they frame their "place in the city".

5

A Question of Knowledge? Knowledge Management and Power in Upgrading and Resettlement

David Jordhus-Lier with Einar Braathen, Véronique Dupont, and Catherine Sutherland

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter we will explore the politics of sub-standard settlements as a question of knowledge. Although no single definition on knowledge exists, a heuristic distinction can be made between 'knowledge' and 'information'. Information consists of data and facts, which may relatively easily be transferred or shared. In our studies of settlement upgrading, such information could imply knowing 'what are my rights?', having access to lists and plans, being familiar with times for meetings or each step in a formal procedure. Information only becomes knowledge "when it is put into a larger context" or set of meanings (Bruckmeier and Tovey 2008: 316). Following from this, knowledge is a socially

embedded phenomenon. Bruckmeier and Tovey's (2008) notion of *relational knowledge* builds on Haraway's (1988) 'situated knowledges' concept but refers more specifically to how the generation of knowledge cannot be separated from the interaction between the social actors who produces it. .

Hordijk & Baud (2006) argue that context affects the value and meaning of knowledge, because it is influenced by the perspectives of different actors. Knowledge, thus, involves applied experience. Knowledge could also imply understanding processes, relationships and procedures. Rather than simply knowing one's rights, one has to understand *how* these rights can be realised – through the legal system, through getting access to public services, through self-organisation or through political mobilisation. Knowledge is then something pragmatic, a combination of information and experience. A variety of knowledge forms



exist, and these can be valued differently among actors (Hordijk & Baud 2006). This already points towards the political nature of the concept of knowledge. To explain this relation between knowledge and power further, the concept of knowledge is separated below in processes of knowledge building, knowledge use, knowledge exchange and knowledge contestation.

Both the inclusion of community-based knowledge and an open flow of knowledge have been highlighted as important pre-requisites for participatory public intervention in housing for the poor (MacFarlane 2010, Huchzermeyer 2011, UN-Habitat 2003). In what follow, we will examine how knowledge flows and blockages enable and disable attempts by urban dwellers to meaningfully engage in interventions affecting their lives. The relationship between knowledge management and a wider debate on urban resilience has been debated by, for instance, MacKinnon and Derickson (2013) who use a knowledge lens to criticise the concept of resilience as being conservative. In their view, resilience is “externally defined by state agencies and expert knowledge” and they rather propose the alternative conception ‘resourcefulness’ (MacKinnon and Derickson 2013: 5, 19):

“...resourcefulness emphasises forms of learning and adaptation based upon local priorities and needs as identified and developed by community activists and organisations...”

Our findings underpin their attempt to infuse the study of knowledge in urban governance with an explicit power analysis. For instance, MacKinnon and Derickson identify ‘access to knowledge’ as an immediate challenge facing individuals and organisations in their activism. Consequently, they argue for the acknowledgement of ‘folk knowledge’ as an important mobilising factor. They also stress the importance of equipping local communities with a certain level of technical knowledge in order to unleash their resourcefulness (MacKinnon and Derickson 2013). Baud et al (2011) review useful concepts which can help us unpack the political dynamics of knowledge management and introduce a typology of forms of knowledge that distinguishes between codified, contextual-embedded, and tacit forms of knowledge (from Ewijk and Baud 2009).

Scientific knowledge very often appears as codified knowledge. In addition to the status which often is attached to statistics, GIS, planning tools and juridical procedures, they are also inaccessible to many ordinary people as they require technical training to understand and make use of. Not surprisingly then, has scientific knowledge often led to political contestation and mistrust between the knowledge holders and those whom its implications affect. Whether it

relates to medical treatment and vaccinations (such as AIDS), climate change or genetically engineered foodstuffs, scientific knowledge is often challenged ‘on the ground’, often with reference to people’s lived lives and experiences.

Leach and Scoones (2007) have studied responses by social movements faced with scientific knowledge that challenges their politics. They claim the mobilisation of citizens in knowledge societies must be approached as

“knowledgeable actors [...] engaged in political processes, which involve contestations between knowledge claims linked respectively to particular political and social commitments and cultures” (Leach and Scoones 2007: 27).

The authors draw on Epstein’s (1996) typology of the different, yet related, ways in which political actors and social movements challenge science: (i) disputing particular scientific claims; (ii) seeking to acquire scientific authority by allying with scientific expertise; (iii) rejecting scientific epistemology on a more fundamental basis; (iv) challenging the ways science is produced and by whom it is controlled.

In the cases of this study, there is no overarching scientific paradigm which is challenged by mobilising communities. However, the use of urban planning knowledge as motivations for resettlement or particular forms of upgrading might be contested. Moreover, we find that the arenas and premises on which knowledge is to be shared are often alleged to be inaccessible or inconvenient for residents and organisations.

In this context, adopting spatial knowledge management tools have been suggested to harbour a particular empowering potential. When knowledge is spatialised, for instance by producing maps, social inequalities and the unevenness of socio-economic development is laid bare in a way that ultimately can counteract spatial injustices in urban governance which otherwise would go unnoticed. Pfeffer et al. (2012: 20) argue that the use of participatory spatial knowledge management tools (including participatory GIS and community mapping) holds a particular promise in “produc[ing] new knowledge, incorporating tacit, practice and community knowledge, reflecting lived urban realities to a much greater degree”. They also argue that the “inclusion of community-based or tacit knowledge can be done locally, but requires upscaling and embedding in wider institutional processes in order to become recognized and accepted” (Pfeffer, Baud et al. 2012: 4) – to which we may add ‘by powerful actors’. After all, the inclusion of community-based knowledge can potentially strengthen the legitimacy of local processes without being upscaled. While Baud et al. (2011)

acknowledge the potential of flows of shared tacit knowledge and contextual-embedded knowledge when social actors engage in exchange, they also point to the power inherent in all knowledge claims (see also Hajer and Wagenaar 2003). In what follows we will present some key dynamics shaping the politics of knowledge, with reference to a selected set of upgrading and resettlement projects.

Across the ten cities of this project, we have studied many sub-standard settlements which to various degrees have been identified as informal or illegal by their respective authorities. This status puts these settlements, and their residents, in a weak position in the face of powerful developers, investors and/or state authorities who might view the land on which they reside as valuable and strategic for urban development. Even through many of the contested interventions claim to have various degrees of 'participation' in their decision-making, we often find that affected communities rather experience these interventions as exclusionary. Meaningful participation and representation is dependent on whose perspectives and experiences are seen as worthy of being included. And with whom necessary information is shared. Before we delve into concrete practices of knowledge management, we highlight four critical dimensions that we have observed across the case studies: retention of information, phases of involvement and exchange (i.e. the timing of knowledge sharing and participation), the role of knowledge brokers and the generation of community-based knowledge.

5.2. Retention of information

While shared knowledge flows and the incorporation of different forms of knowledge has been emphasised as essential in other discussions emanating from this project (Baud, Pfeffer et al. 2011; Kennedy et al. 2011), our findings more often depict blockages to these flows. It is worth reflecting on whether even the notion of flows, as well as the rather technical notion of 'incorporation', implies a fairly apolitical understanding of knowledge management.

Depending on the national and local contexts, transparency and the right to access information might be enshrined constitutionally or through other legal and contractual frameworks. Hence, various actors involved in an urban intervention might be formally obliged to share a specific kind of information. Still, they might choose to retain this knowledge to particular publics and might be able to maintain this practice due to their powerful, privileged position. This is the case in several of our cases, where allocation lists, spatial plans and time frames are deliberately kept away from the public. This can have severe effects on

the strategic possibilities of various actors. First, it is very difficult to meaningfully engage in a process on which those affected have limited and insufficient information. Second, when information on selection and time frame is retained, it can fuel rumours and mistrust between people or increase insecurity.

Interestingly, community actors might also be protective about their own knowledge. In fact, given the tendency of the formal governance and planning apparatus to incorporate community knowledge in ways which might be against the interests of local communities, local actors might choose to retain information from the hands of decision-makers. Skuse and Cousins (2007) found "actively resist[ing] 'being known' or 'understood' by local authorities" to be an active strategy among residents of the Nkanini settlement in Cape Town. We will return to this point below.

Across our case studies, there are several illustrative examples of retention and delaying tactics. Consider, for instance, the experiences of the residents of the V.P. Singh Camp squatter settlement in the southern periphery of Delhi. In 2006, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) launched a pilot project of slum in-situ rehabilitation under public-private partnership in Tehkhand. However, after the private developer was selected and started land levelling and excavation operations on the site adjoining the slum, the project was stopped in mid-2009 for lack of clearance by the Ministry of Environment and Forest since the site fell in the protected Delhi Ridge. Nevertheless, in the settlement, most slum dwellers were unaware of the DDA redevelopment project, let alone its terms. Though a few local leaders were informed through their elected politicians, no procedure of information and consultation with the slum dwellers was put in place – neither by the DDA nor by the developer. In short, the residents were kept apart from the plans concerning them.

Having cancelled their initial pilot project, a similar problem arose in the next pilot north of the city centre, in the Kathputli Colony, where the DDA awarded a contract to a private developer. Here, a mixed-use residential project was to include 2,800 flats for slum inhabitants. Unfortunately, the rehabilitation buildings and flats were planned and designed without attempt to incorporate the perspectives of the people who would inhabit them. Furthermore, the DDA provided incomplete information during meetings with the residents or their leaders. Thus, five years after the announcement of the project, while the transit camp was ready for the transfer of the families, fundamental issues of eligibility were not clarified. Moreover, the list of households surveyed by the DDA in 2010 in order to establish the list of beneficiaries was not



publicised, and the local leaders could access it only in January 2013, after repeated requests, including Right to Information applications. Nonetheless, the final list of eligible households, as of January 2014, was not disclosed, engendering fears of exclusion.

5.3. Phases of involvement and exchange

Legal and institutional incentives for popular participation in community development vary significantly between countries. Yet, what we can see across the cases is that when the timing is wrong, either deliberately or through unfortunate circumstances, the sharing of knowledge fails to empower. In upgrading and resettlement processes, what is very often the case is that options and plans are already meticulously defined by various “experts” before any engagement occurs. What is left for residents is to be included in consultation at a late stage in the process. This point was made very clearly by Piper (2012) in his review of an upgrading project in Cape Town, South Africa. The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme in settlements around the Khayelitsha township has been widely touted as a democratic and participatory success by city authorities. However, Piper argues that it is only in the implementation phase that VPUU has allowed for participation from ordinary residents. The failure to include community knowledge in the planning phases of housing ‘mega projects’ in Salvador, Brazil and in Cape Town has also been documented in two independent master theses (Somers 2012; Jacobs 2013). Similarly, in the Kathputli Colony rehabilitation project in Delhi, residents were not involved in the conception and design of the project, but informed only afterwards. When a show-flat was built early in the process, a manager from the private firm stressed that the purpose was to present the show-flat to the DDA for its approval, and not to show it to the residents for collecting their views. Hence, the rehabilitation buildings and flats were planned and designed without attempt to incorporate the perspectives of the people who would inhabit them.

In other words, the timing of knowledge sharing exercises has bearings on the level of participation. Arnstein (1969) and other social scientists have shown how participation is a gradual concept; it can range from substantial delegation of decision-making power to outright manipulation under the guise of participation. Inclusion of community knowledge in a late stage of implementation tends to be experienced as token participation or ‘rubber stamping’ by local communities. From the outset, it is likely that project managers, city officials, community leadership

and ordinary residents have quite different views of what ‘participation’ means. When such buzzwords are used uncritically, false expectations and a sense of disappointment are likely to develop among community members who thought their views would shape decision-making in the upgrading of their livelihoods.

One reason why politicians and project managers might be reluctant to embark on truly participatory processes is that they are time-consuming, messy and unpredictable. Like democracy in its essence. But as the case studies below will show, infringed participation tends to trigger resistance and tension threatening to delay any ambition of speedy implementation. This serves to show how fast-track alternatives to “meaningful participation” are not necessarily quicker options, at least not without the use of force and authoritarian state repression. Also in the arena of urban planning, the governmental and technocratic sectors are often reluctant to meaningful participation by the community; but in these cases the main impact is not the delay in the implementation but rather a misunderstanding from the side of the communities which ignore the policies and the measures proposed in the plan, thus affecting their social legitimacy and to a significant extent their applicability.

5.4. Knowledge brokers

Our knowledge-as-power perspective takes one new expression when we focus on the dynamics of concrete settlements. When community representatives engage with “expert communities” such as universities, NGOs and technical administrators, they become privileged knowledge bearers. These key individuals might be informed of what is possible and impossible from an engineering or planning point of view. They might know who the powerful gatekeepers in government are. And, importantly, they know how to access information. Over time, such representatives typically learn what language is understood by decision-makers. And with this knowledge comes power. These individuals also have the power to share knowledge with the community, or to selected individuals in the community. And they have the power to retain information (see above) from fellow community members.

This was the case in the Joe Slovo informal settlement. In 2006, an all-male group was elected to be the community task team responsible for the community’s involvement in the large-scale housing project N2 Gateway. This group has since held an increasing influence on knowledge exchange between project management and the community. While many residents feel that they are well represented by the

Task Team, these tend to be those individuals who have been allocated houses in the new development. For some of the so-called 'non-beneficiaries', who have not been deemed eligible, the Task Team is not seen as representative in the same way. Moreover, residents we interviewed expressed distrust towards the ability of the Task Team to share knowledge and relevant information. Once the development and the allocation of houses started taking place, these residents claim that the sharing of knowledge became more selective:

“We used to meet on a regular basis in a month, for report backs and discuss plans about the development. We hardly have general meetings. Meeting are only directed to those whose names have been nominated and are ready to relocate.”

Another telling example can be found in the Katputli Colony case, where the DDA's entry point to the settlement – and subsequently that of its private contractors – was through one of the two prominent NGOs working in the settlement. Thus, initially the consultation procedure was mediated by this NGO, which acted as the main interlocutor with the DDA, the consultant appointed to prepare the detailed project report, and the developer. The NGO assisted the consultant to conduct the first socio-economic survey, public information meetings were held in its school premises, its executive staff organised appointments between the local leaders and DDA officers. On the one hand, this intermediation facilitated the DDA's interactions with the residents and allowed some degree of consultation – or at least information. Yet, on the other hand, it also introduced some bias in the consultation process, which resulted from the lack of consensus regarding this NGO's role in the initial phase of the project. Its legitimacy in representing all the residents was contested by the other NGO, and the acute conflict between the two organisations led to direct altercation in the settlement. Subsequently, the mediating NGO withdrew gradually from its role, pushing the local leaders to organise themselves and interact directly with the DDA.

As alluded to above, it is impossible to discuss community participation without simultaneously considering the concept of representation. This is because not even in the most democratic, participatory processes is everybody involved in every stage of decision-making. There is always somebody who speaks on behalf of somebody else. By inviting communities into a participatory process, there might be formally elected leaders, traditional leaders, informal authorities, political movements and a rich associational life that might claim to represent the community. Once some of these are entrusted responsibility for coordinating community responses, relaying messages

and distributing information and resources, power dynamics in local communities are irrevocably changed. In Piper's (2012) study of the VPUU, he argues that this might in fact be a good thing, as responsibility for upgrading is shifted from rent-seeking local politicians to community representatives that are trained through the project (he labels them “development trustees”). In other cases, however, people who had questionable legitimacy in the community in the first place might become even more illegitimate in the eyes of the local community as they are perceived to misuse the information and resources they have been entrusted.

In some of our case settlements, for example, women wanting to actively participate in decision-making have been deliberately excluded. Such biased exclusion serves to complicate service delivery and development, not least due to women's particular knowledge about service delivery requirements as they take a disproportionate responsibility for domestic duties. Similarly, without direct participation from people with disabilities, the planning of livelihoods will easily disregard their specific needs relating to access to information, physical movement and use of services. Unfortunately, power dynamics within communities and between state officials and community leaders often interfere with inclusive decision-making and problem solving.

5.5. Alternative forms and sites of knowledge

While the three first points emphasise the obstacles to knowledge flows and inclusion of community-based knowledge, we do also find in our material examples of communities and representative organisations generating alternative forms of knowledge. Alternative knowledge production might be conducted through surveys or counts and be spatially visualised through maps and plans. In some cases, this knowledge production follows a standardised 'model', such as the one developed by the global NGO Slum Dwellers' International (SDI). In other cases, it might be borne out of local interactions between community members, often in collaboration with some facilitators with access to resources, tools or specialist knowledge.

Through such exercises, local community representatives with little prior skills in constructing systematised knowledge account might acquire skills and experience which they can use to further the interests of their community without external assistance. This is what Epstein (1996) refers to as the 'expertification of lay activists'. This might involve these individuals acquiring

specialist expertise. However, it can also refer to a process where local activists obtain the communication skills to champion the lay knowledge and lived experience of community members as ‘experiential expertise’. In other words, we are not simply looking at how communities generate alternative forms of knowledge, but also how they legitimate this knowledge as equally valuable as scientific knowledge. Epstein also saw allying with scientific expertise as a key strategy. Using lawyers and legal NGOs to support community struggles exemplify this, as discussed under the rubric of judicialisation in a previous section.

Another case in point is Vila Autódromo in Rio de Janeiro, where the leaders of the Association developed from September 2011 contact with some well-known academics²⁵ to strengthen their struggle against a powerful coalition of private developers and a mayor who was eager to facilitate private housing development in time for the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016. Jointly the community and these academics started the project of formulating a Plano Popular, a ‘People’s Plan’, for upgrading the community. The plan was developed by the residents in various working groups. They were supported by a group of scholars and students from the two federal universities of the Rio region (UFRJ and UFF.) They produced an integrated plan for housing upgrading, for sanitation/infrastructure and environment, for public services, and for the economic as well as cultural development of the community.

A contrasting example of the use of external expertise was in the Europe informal settlement in Cape Town, where community-expert interactions were initiated around 2010, when the local leadership got involved in the Informal Settlements Network of the Slum Dwellers International (SDI) Alliance. Following the standard path of the “SDI model”, the community leadership organized an enumeration in October 2010. Since 2011, they also engaged in a partnership with the City of Cape Town, which involves meetings between leaders and municipal managers, as well as meetings between community members and technical staff in the municipality. In addition to this initiative was also an exercise where planning students at a local university and community members worked on a community development plan, and an initiative to self-fund a drainage system.

By early 2012, it became clear that these different initiatives had not fulfilled their potential. With the exceptions of a small pilot project of alternative toilets in Barcelona/Europe and a revised plan for reblocking and

relocation of a small informal settlement adjacent to Europe, the interaction with NGOs, planners and city officials has not yet led to any concrete improvements of the built environment. There seems to have been some key conditions presenting problems in the case of Europe. Firstly, there has been a general assumption among policy-makers and planners that the physical state of the land makes Europe and the other settlements on the N2 strip unsuitable for upgrading. Secondly, and even more importantly, community dynamics in Europe have not been favourable to external interventions. Different groups and political organisations have tried to establish positions of power within each of the settlements along N2 strip.

When community leaders engaging in ISN and CORC initiatives enjoyed access to decision-making forums and local positions of authority through such engagements, criticising and resisting the ‘SDI method’ represented one way of delegitimising these leaders for others with leadership aspirations. Thirdly, and related, it can also be attributed to a lack of communication during these interactions. The fact that many community members have failed to differ between the actions of the Anti-Land Invasion Unit (ALIU) and the interaction with ISN testifies to a high degree of mistrust and miscommunication.

More positive results emanated from a similar kind of academic-community exchange in the Ocean Drive-In informal settlement in Durban. A community based mapping project was instituted as part of the Chance2Sustain research programme in 2012 (see Sutherland et al, 2014d). The precursor to this mapping exercise was that the residents of Ocean Drive-In had been targeted for a resettlement to Hammonds Farm, a low-cost housing project about 30 km inland from the current site of the settlement. By early 2012 the community members had been allocated housing numbers and were waiting to hear when they would be relocated to Hammonds Farm. However, due to the delays in the move, many doubted that they would be allocated a formal house. This created a number of problems for the community as they did not want to invest further in Ocean Drive-In and maintain their houses and settlement as the move was imminent. It also led to social protests as the community feared that ‘their’ houses in Hammond Farm would be allocated to others. Community members challenged the government about their ‘place in the city’ stating that the Councillor and some officials had told them that they had no right to protest or complain as their settlement was ‘not on the map’, even though the ANC had placed a strategic election station in Ocean Drive-In at the time of the 2011 local government elections. Residents asked: “If we are important enough to have a voting station, how can they tell us we are ‘not on the map’” (Ocean Drive-In Resident, June, 2012).

25 Such as Carlos Vainer, professor of IPPUR / UFRJ, UFF professor Regina Bienenstein, law professor Miguel Baldez and other researchers

The case of Vila Autódromo, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Einar Braathen

Vila Autódromo is a fishing village which developed into a working class neighbourhood during the construction of an upper middle class boomtown, Barra de Tijuca, in the Western zone of Rio de Janeiro in the 1970s. The village lies in the area where the the accommodation centres and some of the main sports arenas for the 2016 Olympic Games were to be located. Vila Autódromo has been threatened by collective relocation. 600 families live in this informal settlement, organized in the Association of Residents and Fishermen of Vila Autódromo (AMPAVA). After years of struggle the residents were granted a 99 year land lease by the state of Rio de Janeiro in 1994. Moreover, the community obtained legal and political recognition from the municipality who, in 1995 as part of the new city Master Plan, agreed to transform the area into an *Area of Special Social Interest* and thus a priority in the urban upgrading programmes. This victory was due to well-prepared technical inputs from the community.

However, the Municipality renewed its pressure on the community to be relocated before the organisation of the Pan American Games in 2007. The pressure escalated with the announcement in 2008 of the Olympic Summer Games to be hosted by Rio de Janeiro in 2016.

Shifting arguments have emerged to justify the removal of the community. The community association has recorded them all and immediately produced technical counter-arguments, resulting in municipality coming up with new justifications. They include: (i) the danger of natural disasters due to the proximity to a lagoon and the risk of flooding; (ii) the area is needed for the construction of sports installations for the mega events; (iii) the area is needed to build a media center for the 2016 Olympic Games; (iv) the area is needed for the construction of the Olympic Park, where the participants of the 2016 Games were to reside, in spite of the plans pointing only to the area where the automobile race track ('autódromo') was installed, and not the Vila Autódromo itself; (v) the need to create a belt of security around the Olympic Park, as if the community, which does not have any issues with drug trafficking or other criminal activities, represents a danger in itself; (vi), the construction of the Trans-Olympic highway, which, however, does not necessarily have to pass through the settlement. Community leaders, on their part.

In this 'ping pong' game of technical-political arguments, the Association asserted that the real motivation for the municipal efforts to relocate the community is a *troca de favours* – exchange of favours – between the Mayor and powerful real estate developers who will build luxury condominiums on the site as part of the "post-Games legacy".

To strengthen their struggle against this powerful coalition, and to pass from a defensive strategy to a more offensive one,

the leaders of the Association developed from September 2011 contact with some well-known academics¹ they had met in the inter-city *Comité Popular da Copa e das Olimpíadas* (People's Committee on the World Cup and Olympics). Jointly they started the project of formulating a *Plano Popular*, a 'People's Plan', for upgrading the community. The plan was developed by the residents in various working groups. They were supported by a group of scholars and students from the two federal universities of the Rio region (UFRJ and UFF.) They produced an integrated plan for housing upgrading, for sanitation/infrastructure and environment, for public services, and for the economic as well as cultural development of the community. The implementation of the plan would cost approximately one third of the cost of relocation. On August 16th 2012 this People's Plan for Vila Autódromo was delivered to the mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes, one month before the municipal elections. The mayor, campaigning to be re-elected, promised that he and his Housing Department would need only 45 days to review the plan. However, it took exactly one year for the Mayor to report back to the community. That happened after the June 2013 street demonstrations, the largest in Brazil's political history. On August 8th the mayor met the *Comité Popular da Copa*, and the day after he received a delegation from Vila Autódromo and declared that the municipality was "willing to open a round of negotiations based on the permanence of Vila Autódromo and its urban up-grading".

A series of 'technical' meetings followed. From the municipality side were the municipal secretaries of the environment and housing, the sub-mayors of the Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá, a representative of the Municipal Olympic Corporation, and the Municipal Attorney General. From the Vila Autódromo side met representatives of the Association, their university partners, the State Public Defender's Office, and the Catholic Church's Pastoral das Favelas. The municipality presented their revised plan: removal of 'only' half of the community (278 families) in order to provide private elevated access for athletes and journalists onto the Olympic Park. site. In response, the team behind the People's Plan issued an updated design that met the requirements for the access roads and pedestrian bridge. The People's Plan would only remove 30 families and allocate space for their resettlement within the community.

However, by the end of 2013 no agreement had been met, and the Association accused the municipality of trying to split the community and push individual families to sign up for a free flat in a nearby housing complex. On the other hand, the Association and its counter knowledge/counter power alliance had prevented forced evictions and demolition of Vila Autódromo so far. ■

Through a participatory research process the community and researchers produced by a community drawn and GIS map of Ocean Drive-In informal settlement. The production of the maps revealed the politics of knowledge and information as community members initially hid their housing numbers with blankets on the day that researchers were using a GPS to geo-reference each house. These residents had not been informed by the sub-ward committee that represented the community about the mapping process. The mapping process was stopped as a result of this protest and was only resumed once the community had been called to a meeting with the Councilor and the researchers and the purpose and the ownership of the knowledge used in the maps was discussed. The process of developing the maps and the sharing of knowledge about the maps also built the relationship between the researchers and the community. Many of the residents believed that the map and the research process had helped to facilitate the move to Hammonds Farm as they indicated that the moving process appeared to start up again each time the research outcomes were sent to the Housing Department. This is most likely co-incidental, but it meant that the mapping process and the maps provided the community with a sense of empowerment, suggesting that this knowledge production process was making a difference to their lives.

The GIS maps which contained information about all the households and their numbers, which was completed prior to the staggered move to Hammonds Farm beginning on 7 November 2012, became an important source of knowledge to both the community and the Housing Department as it spatially reflected all the people living in Ocean Drive-In

that were entitled to a formal house in Hammonds Farm. This map was also used in the negotiations between the community and the Housing Department over the 73 beneficiaries that were not registered by September 2013. The development of this community based knowledge was used as a strategy by both the community and researchers to hold the 'right' of people of Ocean Drive-In to the city. The production of community based spatial knowledge can contribute to the inclusion of different forms of knowledge in participatory and contested processes in cities.

5.6. Conclusion

Through the examples mentioned above, we have tried to show how the exchange of knowledge in upgrading, rehabilitation and resettlement projects is subject to power relations between local residents, their representatives and various expert communities. Both encouragement and notes of caution can be drawn from the cases presented. Most importantly, exchanges of community knowledge and expert knowledge require a level of trust which can only be achieved through long-standing meaningful engagements with the people concerned. We have identified the retention of information, the timing or phasing of participation, the role of knowledge brokers and the generation of alternative sites of knowledge as crucial challenges that needs to be tackled when political authorities and private developers intervene in poor and marginalized communities.

6

Conclusion

Einar Braathen with Berit Aasen, Véronique Dupont, David Jordhus-Lier, and Catherine Sutherland

6.1. Approach revisited: Policies, politics and social movements/mobilisations that transform urban spaces (sub-standard settlements)

Studying the policies, politics and social movements/mobilisations that transform urban spaces (sub-standard

settlements) across six cities over four years has enabled the research team to develop valuable insights about how the entanglement of politics, policies and practices (as implemented by the state, civil society organisations and communities) shape urban inequality. The outcomes of the research reveal that the relations between politics, policies and social mobilisations are complex and therefore in most cases the research outcomes are more nuanced than definitive. However, even though these governance processes are complex, have changed over time and have played out differently in different cities and different contexts, the research has illuminated a number of critical issues that matter in addressing urban

inequality in the arena of sub-standard housing. These are discussed below.

The research approach has revealed how politics and policies are both relational and co-constitutive: politics defines the perceptions of the state of 'something', which then requires or stimulates a response, and this response may then be integrated in to or reflected in new policy. Policy then in turn re-shapes politics. It sets new agendas, opens up new spaces for contestation and includes new social actors, or current social actors in new relations. The mutual relationship between policies and politics is therefore critical to understand and explore if policies and politics are to be transformed so that they can play a role in achieving more equitable and sustainable cities.

Policies

The research has revealed the value of comparing policies related to sub-standard housing across four countries as it is changed over time, as it shows how policy is shaped by the 'state' context. States at different scales (or levels) play a significant role in shaping policy on sub-standard settlements in the different cities and the 'nature' and agenda of the state in each case is critical. Our empirical research reveals that there have been some shifts in stated policy towards informal housing or slums from repressive approaches (policies of demolition/eviction) to more progressive and, in some countries more integrated approaches, at least in their initial intentions (e.g. policies of self-help, in-situ upgrading, resettlement and integrated human settlements).

However, the implementation of the new policies, or policy in practice, leaves a lot to be desired in all the countries and cities observed. The 'old' policies of demolition, eviction and the lack of security of tenure continue to remain a threat – or are still implemented. Thus a main issue for further research should be the gap between the principles of the policies (which may be pro-poor) and their implementation (which may turn against the urban poor's interests). When and under which conditions can these gaps be narrowed? Is it when power relations and governance systems have changed? Or is it when state practice adopts more participatory and inclusionary processes? The policies addressing urban inequality and sub-standard settlements therefore need to be explored further and categorised in terms of the type of society-space-environment relations they produce over time in different contexts.

Politics

The key to breaking out of 'vicious circles', where urban inequality reproduces a certain type of politics (elitism, clientelism, patronage etc.) which again deepens inequality, lies in the politics itself. Changes can be done by mobilising new actors and new interests into the political system, and as a consequence changing the power relations between the actors and the rules of the game so that the policies are formulated and implemented "with" rather than "against" the urban poor. However, more research is needed to study cases of 'pro-poor' changes of power relations and governance systems and the extent to which these changes can produce new policy outcomes regarding urban inequality.

Social movements/mobilisations

We have decided in this project to adopt a broad definition of social movements without a priori excluding any non-state organisation. We rather stress the need for research on social mobilisation to be more grounded on empirical analysis, drawing on the basics of collective action. We identified the following broad modalities of social mobilisation: (i) the everyday forms of resistance; (ii) social protest – or confrontational mobilisation; (iii) "judicialisation" – or struggles through the judicial system, and (iv) engagement and partnership. Two other types of situations are also examined: (v) demobilisation and the fragmentation of collective action, and (vi) the absence or low level of mobilisation.

Our settlement studies across six cities in four countries showed that social mobilisation for issues related to sub-standard settlements remained typically fragmented and localized. Protests by shack/slum dwellers are quickly quelled by the authorities, and their discourses and concrete experiences do not easily find their way into policies and practices. However, when social mobilisation follows a path to the judiciary, this results in significant shifts, taking better account of the informal settlement dwellers' interests and rights. Our case studies support claims by Larmer (2010) that social movements are constituted by the action of ordinary people, their relations to broader political systems, and their interactions with wider urban communities (Larmer, 2010). The key seems to be the agency of the poor, as well as the way they frame their "place in the city". Our research should therefore be followed up by closer dialogue with works on insurgent citizenship (Holston 1995; 2008; Miraftab and Wills 2005) and subaltern urbanism (Roy 2011).

6.2. Linkages to the other WPs – some reflections

The WP3 research team had intentions to provide the following data to the other Work Packages of Chance2Sustain:

- The outcome of large-scale projects addressing socio-spatial segregation and settlements upgrading at the settlement and sub-city level (to WP2).
- Considerations of large-scale project impacts on sub-standard settlements (in planning/agenda-setting processes) (to WP2).
- The role of water & sanitation issues in campaigns and policies related to sub-standard settlements (to WP4)
- Settlement actors' access to city-level information on city and settlement developments, community's own knowledge generation, and role of CSOs (to WP5)
- City standards (differential or equal) for provision of infrastructure; the financial issues in mobilisations/campaigns (to WP6).

In practice, the linkages established to other WPs varied from city to city, depending on the involvement of WP3 researchers in other WPs. The most systematic link was created with WP2, as a result of the shared criteria used to select the case settlements (at least one case had to be a settlement directly affected by a large scale/mega project). In several cities (Delhi, Cape Town, Durban, Rio de Janeiro, Lima), mega projects were actually directly linked to the urban upgrading or relocation of sub-standard settlements. Linkages to WP4 (water, sanitation) were created in several cities (Durban and Lima provides a strong case), although not as strongly as with WP2. The linkages to WP5 and WP6 deserve separate comments.

The 'institutional politics' dimension

WP6 has focused on politics and governance issues, participatory decision making, decentralization. In WP3's conceptual framework, it was spelt out: "Two issues are important in the development of an early understanding of the basic differences in the politics from one city to another. The first is the role and importance of political parties. The second is the structure of the political-administrative system".

In hindsight, the role of the political parties and their role has not been systematically addressed. Mentioned in the studies of Rio de Janeiro (the role of the Workers' Party

in policy making), Cape Town (the rivalries between ANC and Democratic Alliance) and Durban (the role of ANC's ward councillors), electoral and institutional politics provide a rich research field that can be explored in new research on policies related to substandard settlements.

The issue of the political-administrative system, however, has been addressed. Our research has considered public and community participation in decision-making and other governance issues, e.g. the role of 'invented' or 'invited' spaces of participation. We have seen that recent policies towards sub-standard settlements declare that "participation" and "involvement of the communities" are principles (on paper) in resettlement and upgrading/rehabilitation programmes; but what we observe in the field is a considerable gap between discourses/policy and implementation. In the analysis of social mobilisation, the responses-from-below classified under "engagement and partnership" also deal to some extent with "participatory public interventions"; and in the analysis of knowledge, phases of "involvement and exchange" addresses the participatory governance issue. In other words, the issue of participation in public interventions is indeed addressed by WP3 researchers, but in a critical way.

The knowledge dimension

WP3 was to provide data and research findings to WP5 on the issues of "settlement actors' access to city-level information on city and settlement developments, community's own knowledge generation, and role of CSOs". Access to information and management and control of this information, and generation and use of different types of knowledge were therefore key aspects of the WP3 work. Hence, a separate chapter has been written for this thematic report on the knowledge dimension. The focal points were retention of information, phases of involvement and knowledge exchange, knowledge brokers, and alternative forms and sites of knowledge.

The WP3 team found that '(participatory) knowledge management' particularly relates to the research done on social mobilisations. The limited sharing of knowledge was a constraining factor and, indeed, a trigger for mobilisation in some of our cases. As the knowledge dimension also dealt with the implementation of government programmes towards sub-standard settlements, it thus creates a smooth bridge between intervention from above (state intervention in sub-standard settlements) and reactions and responses from below (mobilisation). Our findings point to knowledge as a factor that generates the power that brings policies and politics together. Depending on the concrete contexts, the

knowledge factor contributed to the increase or decrease of conflicts, to social mobilisation or demobilisation..

By recognising the power geometries of particular knowledge exchanges between authorities, private developers and communities, we get a more dynamic understanding of knowledge. This also signals a movement from a narrow focus on governance and knowledge management to an analysis more sensitive to the fundamental inequalities that shape these politics, and the agency of those people marginalised in the urbanisation process.

6.3. Policy implications of the WP3 findings

The main 'policy' problem related to urban inequality and substandard settlements is the significant (and huge) gap between the principles of the policies (which may be pro-poor and progressive) and their implementation (which may turn against the urban poor's interests). In other words, any well-intended policy-making in this area needs strong public oversight mechanisms and/or institutionalized people's power to ensure that it is implemented in a manner that reflects its core principles and goals. The legal-judicial system can provide solutions to the policy problem. When sub-standard settlement dwellers' have access to the judiciary, their social mobilisation may result in better account of their interests and rights.

Currently there is no blue print for public interventions to upgrade substandard settlements. This has occurred because the state has recognised: the need to adopt more experimental approaches to governance given the enormity and complexity of the housing challenge in cities; blueprint planning for state housing has failed to deliver integrated human settlements in the past; the need to include other actors in seeking solutions to the housing problem (including the private sector, NGOs and communities) requires a more open approach; by being flexible in its approach the state can manoeuvre around its responsibility of meeting the settlement needs of its citizens as it does not have to commit to a fixed plan with specific outcomes or targets as these remain broad in their scope.

The state in all four countries studied is committed to a pro-growth agenda and hence is strongly influenced by the private sector. Policy may reflect a pro-poor focus but implementation is shaped by entrepreneurial urbanism (with its megaproject emphasis) in all cases. The modernist

approach to solving problems has given way to a more flexible, adaptive and experimental way of doing things which allows states to respond quickly to the private sector or social protests. This provides opportunities for the poor but it can also lead to greater marginalisation and exclusion. This impacts on the role of policy, and the way in which it is configured and implemented.

Knowledge has emerged as a critical factor in transforming sub-standard settlement policy. The local state need strong evidence and knowledge about the people that live in the sub-standard settlements, e.g. through community mapping. It should be mandatory to precede upgrading and other settlement interventions with economic and social impact assessments. There is a strong need for improved system of knowledge production that includes all actors and knowledge sharing with the residents of sub-standard settlements. The critical task is to institutionalise participatory procedures, trough the establishment and practice of participatory institutions. The challenge is to do so without causing overly bureaucratization and the co-optation of informal settlement leaders.

When political authorities and private developers intervene in poor and marginalized communities, there are crucial challenges that need to be tackled: the sharing of information, the timing or phasing of participation, the role of knowledge brokers and the generation of alternative sites of knowledge all require attention.

The context of each city, with its historical and geographical characteristics, and the nature of the state (at all levels) plays a critical role in determining how policy is transferred in to practice. As state policy is implemented, often in a different form to the intention of the policy, so ordinary people adapt to and transform this policy through social mobilisation or mundane actions within particular contexts. The pressure on the state to address housing challenges, due to its intensely political nature, results in shifts in policy towards a pro-poor position, however the capacity of the state and its political will, as well as the power of the private sector in shaping development decisions in cities, undermines this intention often resulting in more exclusionary practices towards those who live in slum settlements. Developing more robust and accountable political systems which ensure greater transference between policy and practice (in both directions) need to be developed if life for those who live in sub-standard settlements is to improve in a meaningful and sustainable manner.

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Thematic report (Chance2Sustain)
ISSN xxxx-xxxx

Chance2Sustain examines how governments and citizens in cities with differing patterns of economic growth and socio-spatial inequality make use of participatory (or integrated) spatial knowledge management to direct urban governance towards more sustainable development.

Consortium partners: European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI, Germany), Governance for Inclusive Development (GID) at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR-UvA, Netherlands), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS, France), Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP, Brazil), Cities for Life Forum (FORO, Peru), Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR, Norway), School of Planning and Architecture (SPA, India), University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN, South Africa)



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