

11 BIBLIOGRAPHY

11.1 BOOKS, BOOK CHAPTERS, JOURNAL ARTICLES, NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, INTERNET ARTICLES

A short history of South Africa. not dated.

www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/history.htm

Abahlali baseMjondolo. 2006. *University of Abahlali baseMjondolo*. 6 November. <http://www.abahlali.org/node/237>

Adam, Heribert, van Zyl Slabbert, Frederik, & Moodley, Kogila. 1997. *Comrades in business: post liberation politics in South Africa*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Adams, Sheena. 2004. President offers succour at fire-hit settlement. *The Star*. 15 March:14.

Adams, Sheena. 2005. New housing laws set to bulldoze racist past. *Cape Argus*. 18 May. (online edition)

Adelzadeh, Ashgar. 1996. From the RDP to GEAR: the gradual embracing of neo-liberalism in economic policy. *Transformation*. 31:66-95.

Adler, Glenn & Webster, Eddie. 1995. Challenging transition theory: the labor movement, radical reform, and transition to democracy in South Africa. *Politics & Society*. 23(1):75-106.

African law review. 1992. Should South Africa form a Constituent Assembly? 3(2):3-10.

Agger, Ben. 1991. Critical theory, poststructuralism, postmodernism: their sociological relevance. *Annual review of sociology*. 8(17):105-31.

Agnew, John. 1981. Homeownership and the capitalist social order. In *Urbanization and urban planning in capitalist society* edited by Michael Dear & Allen J Scott. London: Methuen.

Agnew, John. 1981a. Homeownership and identity in capitalist societies. In *Housing and identity. Cross-cultural perspectives* edited by James S Duncan. London: Croom Helm.

AIC Conferences. 1994. *Low-cost housing and urbanisation conference*. Sandton Sun Hotel, Johannesburg. 22-23 September. Bryanston, AIC Conferences.

Alexander Neville. 1993. *Some are more equal than others. Essays on the*

transition in South Africa. Cape Town: Buchu Books.

Alexander, Neville. 1993a. Compromise now but struggle will (and must) continue. *Democracy in action*. 7(4):12-13.

Alexander, Neville. 2002. *An ordinary country. Issues in the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Alford, Robert, & Friedland, Roger. 1985. *Powers of theory. Capitalism, the state, and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Algranati, Clara, Seoane, José, & Taddei, Emilio. 2004. Neoliberalism and social conflict: the popular movements in Latin America. In *Globalizing resistance. The state of struggle* edited by François Polet. London: Pluto.

Althusser, Louis. 1971. Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In *Lenin and philosophy and other essays* by Louis Althusser. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Amin, Samir. 2004. The new agrarian issue: three billion peasants under threat. In *Globalizing resistance. The state of struggle* edited by François Polet. London: Pluto Press.

ANC .1943. *African's Claims in South Africa*.
<http://www.anc.org/ancdocs/history/claims.html>

ANC. 1969. *African National Congress First National Consultative Conference*. Morogoro, Tanzania, 25 April-1 May 1969.
<http://www.anc.org/ancdocs/history/conf/indexmor.html>

ANC .1981. Solidarity with SA workers. Strike leader urges. *Sechaba*. February. pp.2-6.

ANC .1981a. Housing - an explosive issue. *Sechaba*. November. pp.5-9.

ANC. 1985. *African National Congress Second National Consultative Conference*. Kabwe, Zambia, 16-22 June 1985.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/conf/indexkab.html>

ANC. 1989. *Harare Declaration. Declaration of the OAU Ad-hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa*. Harare, Zimbabwe: August 21, 1989.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/harare.html>

ANC. 1990. *Draft Bill of Rights*. November.

ANC. 1991. Constitutional principles for a democratic South Africa. *Monitor: the*

Journal for the Human Rights Trust. June:38-44.

ANC. 1992. *Ready to govern. ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa adopted at the National Conference 28-31 May 1992*.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/readyto.html>

ANC. 1992a. Negotiations. A strategic perspective.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/transition/perspect.html>

ANC. 1994. *The Reconstruction and Development Programme. A policy framework*. Johannesburg. Johannesburg: Umanyano.

ANC. 1994a. Appendix A. The draft Bill of Rights of the African National Congress. In *The struggle for human rights. An international and South African perspective* by Lorenzo S Togni. Cape Town: Juta & Co Ltd.

ANC. 1996. *Growth, Employment and Redistribution. A macroeconomic strategy*. 14 June.
<http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/policy/gear-02.html>

ANC. 1997. *Understanding GEAR. Growth, Employment and Redistribution. The government's new economic strategy*.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/gear.htm>

ANC. 1997a. *The core values of the RDP*.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/discussion/rdp.html>

ANC. 1997b. *Economic transformation*.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/conf/conference50/resolutions5.html>

ANC. 2002. ANC Black Economic Empowerment Policy Statement. *New Agenda*. First quarter.

ANC. 2006. *A nation in the making. A discussion document on macro-social trends in South Africa. Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services. Social Sector*. The Presidency.

Ancer, Jonathan, & Hooper-Box, Caroline. 2005. Summit to address the 'willing buyer, willing seller' option. *The Star*. 27 July:10.

Angel, Maytaal. 2002. Marchers call for end to removals. *Business Day*. Thursday 25 July:2.

An-Na'im, Abdullahi Ahmed & Deng, Francis M (eds). 1990. *Human rights in Africa. Cross cultural perspectives*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Arendt, Hannah. 1967. The decline of the nation-state and the Rights of Man. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism* by Hannah Arendt. 3rd ed. London: George Allen

& Unwin Ltd.

Aronowitz, Stanley. 2003. *How class works. Power and social movement*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ashforth, Adam. 1990. *The politics of official discourse in twentieth century South Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Asmal, Kader, Chidester, David, & Lubisi, Cassius. 2005. *Legacy of freedom. The ANC's human rights tradition*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Asmal, Kader, Asmal, Louise, & Roberts, Ronal Suresh. 1997. *Reconciliation through truth. A reckoning of apartheid's criminal governance*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

Atkinson, Doreen. 1996. Civil society after the transition. In *Reconstruction, development and people* edited by Jan K Coetzee & Johann Graaff. Johannesburg: International Thompson Publishing.

Avineri, Shlomo, & de-Shalit, Avner (eds). 1992. *Communitarianism and individualism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Babbie, Earl, & Mouton, Johann. 2001. *The practice of social research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bähr, Jürgen, & Jürgens, Ulrich. 2006. Johannesburg: life after apartheid. In *Cities in transition: globalization, political change and urban development* edited by Rita Schneider-Sliwa. Dordrecht, NETH: Springer.

Bahro, Rudolf. 1977. The alternative in eastern Europe. *New Left Review*. 1(106):3-37.

Bak, Nelleke. 2004. *Completing your thesis. A practical guide*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Ballard, Richard, Habib, Adam, Valodia, Imraan (eds). 2007. *Voices of protest. Social movements in post-apartheid South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Baloyi, Mbulelo. 2005. Putting a roof over every head. *The Independent, on Saturday*. 24 September:11.

Barbalet, JM. 1988. *Citizenship. Rights, struggle and class inequality*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Barker, Harry. 2004. Letter to the editor: Housing expenditure. *Fast Facts*. no.5:3.

Barker, WE. 1949. Apartheid - the only solution. *Journal of racial affairs*. 1(1): 24-

38.

Barrell, Howard. 1984. The United Democratic Front and National Forum: their emergence, composition and trends. In *South African Review* edited by South African Research Service. Johannesburg: Ravan Press. 6-20.

Barrell, Howard. 1990. *MK. The ANC's armed struggle*. London: Penguin.

Barrell, Howard. 2000. Democracy: Black elite benefit most. *Mail & Guardian*. 28 January:5.

Barry, Norman P. 1989. *An introduction to modern political theory*. 2nd ed. London: MacMillan.

Bartholomew, Amy & Hunt, Alan. 1990. What's wrong with rights. *Law and inequality*. 9:1-58.

Bauman, Ted. 2004. Rehab for shack land. *Mail & Guardian*. 9 to 15 July:36.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2001. Modernity. In *Oxford companion to politics of the world* edited by Joel Krieger, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bayart, Jean-François. 1993. *The state in Africa: the politics of the belly*. London: Longman.

Bayart, Jean-François, Ellis, Stephen & Hibou, Béatrice. 1999. *The criminalization of the state in Africa*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Beetham, David. 1994. Conditions for democratic consolidation. *Review of African political economy*. June:157-172.

Beetham, David (ed). 1995. *Politics and human rights*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Beetham, David. 1998. Democracy and human rights: civil, political, economic, social and cultural. In *Human rights: new dimensions and challenges* edited by Janusz Symonides . Aldershot: Ashgate Dartmouth.

Beinart, William, & Dubow, Saul (eds). 1995. *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa*. London: Routledge.

Bekker, Gina. 1999. An NGO shadow report on socio-economic rights. *ESR review*. 2(2):16.

Bekker, Simon. 1996. The policy making predicament. *Indicator SA*. 13(4):17-20.

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2005. Dishonest developers threaten Gauteng housing. *Business Day*. 13 June. (online edition)

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2005a. Mandelaville about to find out if law can provide that better life. *Business Day*. 1 September. (online edition)

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2006. Illegal to evict Joburg squatters - judge. *Business Day*. 6 March. (online edition)

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2006a. New mid-range earners get housing help. *Business Day*. 28 November. (online edition)

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2006b. Gauteng housing MEC attacks report. *Business Day*. 29 November. (online edition)

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2007. Fire Gauteng's poorly performing MECs - DA. *Business Day*. 26 February. (online edition)

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2007a. Jo'burg's poor reject offer of makeshift accommodation. *Business Day*. 12 March. (online edition)

Benjamin, Chantelle. 2007b. Appeal ruling lets Jo'burg clear derelict buildings. *Business Day*. 27 March. (online edition)

Bentham, Jeremy. 1943. Anarchical fallacies; being an examination of the Declarations of Rights issued during the French Revolution. In *The works of Jeremy Bentham vol. II* edited by John Bowring. Edinburgh: William Tait.

Berger, Peter L, & Luckman, Thomas. 1966. *The social construction of reality. A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bernstein, Ann. 2005. Time to ground the debate. *Business Day*. 26 May. (online edition)

Berting, Jan. 1990. Societal change, human rights and the welfare state in Europe. In *Human rights in a pluralist world: Individuals and collectivities* edited by Jan Berting & Peter R Baehr (et al eds) London: Meckler.

Bilchitz, David. 2003. Towards a reasonable approach to the minimum core: laying the foundations for future socio-economic rights jurisprudence. *South African journal on human rights*. 19(1):1-26.

Binns, Peter. 1975. The theory of state capitalism. *International socialism*. January:20-5.

Black Sash Trust. 1996. *National newsletter*.

Black Sash Trust. 1999. *Annual report 1999*.

Blutcher, Tim. 2002. Turmoil as whites flock to join ANC coalition. *Telegraph*. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/>

- Blom, Neels. 2007. Call for moratorium on farm evictions. *Business Day*. 9 October. (online edition)
- Blondel, Jean. 1998. Democracy and constitutionalism. In *The changing nature of democracy* edited by Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Bobbio, Norberto. 1990. *Liberalism and democracy*. London: Verso.
- Boggs, Carl. 1976. *Gramsci's Marxism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Bond, Patrick. 2000. *Elite transition. From apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto.
- Bond, Patrick. 2000a. Infrastructure delivery. Class apartheid. *Indicator SA*. 17(3):18-21.
- Bond, Patrick. 2000b. *Cities of gold, townships of coal. Essays on South Africa's new urban crisis*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Bond, Patrick. 2001. *Against global apartheid. South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and international finance*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Bond, Patrick. 2004. Interview: Ten years after apartheid. *Socialist Worker*. 7 May. (online edition)
- Bond, Patrick. 2004a. *Ten years of democracy: From racial to class apartheid*. Harold Wolpe Lecture, Howard College. Centre for Civil Society. <http://www.nu.ac.za/ccs/>
- Bond, Patrick. 2006. Reconciliation and economic reaction: flaws in South Africa's elite transition. *Journal of international affairs*. Fall
- Bond, Patrick. 2006a. Reconciliation and economic reaction: flaws in South Africa's elite transition. *Journal of international affairs*. 60(1):141-56.
- Bond, Patrick, & Khosa, Meshack (eds). 1999. *An RDP policy audit*. Pretoria: Human Rights Research Council.
- Bond, Patrick, & Tait, Angela. 1997. The failure of housing policy in post-apartheid South Africa. *Urban Forum*. 8(1):19-41.
- Bonner, Phil. 1982. The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917-1920: the radicalisation of the black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand. In *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa. African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870-1930* edited by Shula Marks & Richard Rathbone. New York: Longman.

Bonner, Phil. 1991. The politics of black squatter movements on the Rand, 1944-1952. In *History from South Africa. Alternative visions and practices* edited by Joshua Brown, Patrick Manning, Karin Shapiro, Jon Weiner Belinda Bozzoli & Peter Delius. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bonner, Philip, Delius, Peter, Posel, Deborah. 1993. The shaping of apartheid. Contradiction, continuity and popular struggle. In *Apartheid's genesis, 1935-1962* edited by Philip Bonner, Peter Delius & Deborah Posel. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Bottomore, Tom. 1984. *The Frankfurt School*. London: Tavistock.

Boulle, LJ. 1987. Race and the franchise. In *Race and the law in South Africa* edited by AJ Rycroft, LJ Boulle, MK Robertson, PR Spiller. Cape Town: Juta.

Brand, Danie. 2003. The proceduralisation of South African socio-economic rights jurisprudence, or 'What are socio-economic rights for?' In *Rights and democracy in a transformative constitution* edited by Henk Botha, Andre van der Walt, Johann van der Walt. Stellenbosch: Sun Press.

Brand, Danie. 2005. Introduction to socio-economic rights in the South African Constitution. In *Socio-economic rights in South Africa* edited by Danie Brand & Christof Heyns. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press.

Brand, Danie, & Heyns, Christof. 2005. *Socio-economic rights in South Africa*. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press.

Bromley, Daniel W. 2007. Sow seeds of a new conversation. *Business Day*. 7 August. (online edition)

Browett, John. 1982. The evolution of unequal development within South Africa: an overview. In *Living under apartheid. Aspects of urbanization and social change in South Africa* edited by David M Smith. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Brown. 2008. SACP calls for a 'strategic' partnership. *Business Day*. 29 September. (online edition)

Brown, Karima. 2005. ANC wants land summit to speed up reforms. *Business Day*. 25 July. (online edition)

Brown, Karima. 2006. Poor delivery could hurt ANC in local poll - Lekota. *Business Day*. 27 February. (online edition)

Bryant, Jacob. 2008. Towards delivery and dignity. Community struggle from Kennedy Road. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 43(1): 41-61.

Budlender, Debbie. 1998. *The people's voices. National Speak Out on Poverty Hearings, March-June 1998*. Johannesburg: Community Agency for Social

Enquiry.

Buhlungu, Sakhela. 2007. Upstarts or bearers of tradition?. The Anti-Privatisation Forum of Gauteng. In *Voices of protest. Social movements in post-apartheid South Africa* edited by Richard Ballard, Adam Habib & Imraan Valodia. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Built Environment Support Group. 1999. *Towards the right to adequate housing*. Pietermaritzburg & Durban.

Bunsee, Bennie. 2002. Time running out to make changes. *Business Day*. 15 February. (online edition)

Burgess, Rod. 1977. Self-help housing: a new imperialist strategy? A critique of the Turner school. *Antipode* 9(2): 50-59. September.

Burnett, John. 1978. *A social history of housing. 1815-1970*. London: David & Charles.

Burr, Vivien. 1995. *An introduction to social constructionism*. London: Routledge.

Burton, Frank, & Carlen, Pat. 1979. *Official discourse. On discourse analysis, government publications, ideology and the state*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Business Day. 2001. Forces to remain in Philippi. 7 August. (online edition)

Business Day. 2001a. Court ruling on squatters today. (online edition)

Business Day. 2001b. Police block Hout Bay land invasion. 21 May (online edition)

Business Day. 2004. Langa fire claims eight lives. 15 March. (online edition)

Business Day. 2004. Fire measures may lead to worse blazes. 31 March. (online edition)

Business Day. 2004. Vavi warns on land grabs if targets are missed. 28 May. (online edition)

Business Day. 2004. Gauteng to get tough on land invasion. 10 June. (online edition)

Business Day. 2004. Gauteng is best place in SA for jobs. 6 July. (online edition)

Business Day. 2004. MEC slams 'racist opposition to Cosmo City. 11 October. (online edition)

- Business Day*. 2004. Kgalema's complaint. 4 November. (online edition)
- Business Day*. 2004a. Diepsloot erupts into violence. (online edition)
- Business Day*. 2007. Manuel says ANC race won't change policy. 2 November. (online edition)
- Calhoun, Craig, Gerteis, Joseph, Moody, James, Pfaff, Steven & Virk, Indermohan (eds). 2002. *Contemporary sociological theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Calland, Richard. 2006. *Anatomy of South Africa. Who holds power?* Cape Town: Zebra Press.
- Callinicos, Alex. 1984. Marxism and politics. In *What is politics?* edited by Adrian Leftwich. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Callinicos, Alex. 1986. Marxism and revolution in South Africa. *International socialism*. 2(31) Spring:3-66.
- Callinicos, Alex (ed). 1992. *Between apartheid and capitalism. Conversations with South African socialists*. London: Bookmarks.
- Callinicos, Luli. 2004. *Oliver Tambo. Beyond the Engeli mountains*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Cameron, Deborah, Elizabeth Frazer, Penelope Harvey, Ben Rampton & Kay Richardson. 1999. Power/knowledge: the politics of social science. In *The discourse reader* edited by Adam Jaworski & Nikolas Coupland. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, Tom. 1983. *The Left and Rights. A conceptual analysis of the idea of socialist rights*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Carmody, Pádraig. 2002. Between globalisation and (post) apartheid: the political economy of restructuring in South Africa. *Journal of southern African studies*. 28(2):255-275.
- Carroll, Rory. 2004. Black tycoons fail to mask gap in SA equality. *The Guardian*. (online edition) <http://guardian.co.uk/>
- Cape Argus*. 2005. Speed up housing crisis solutions. 19 March. (online edition)
- Cape Argus, Weekend Argus*. 2005a. Expert says property rights ensure spread of wealth. 7 May. (online edition)
- Cape Times*. 2004. Weekend shack fires leave 4 dead, over 900 homeless. 29 March:11.

Centre for Applied Legal Studies. 2005. Johannesburg inner city evictions. (Letter to Johannesburg Mayor, Amos Masondo). 19 July.

Centre for Applied Legal Studies. nd.
[http://www.law.wits.ac.za/cals/Inner City Judgement/](http://www.law.wits.ac.za/cals/Inner%20City%20Judgement/)

Centre for Development and Enterprise(CDE). 2001. *The Bredell land invasion: why did this happen, and what can we learn from it*. Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.

Center for Development and Enterprise (CDE). 2005. *Land reform in South Africa. A 21st century perspective*. Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.

Centre for Development Studies. 1990. *Housing*. Bellville: University of Western Cape.

Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE). 2005. Any room for the poor?. Forced evictions in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Charlton, Sarah. 2009. Housing for the nation, the city and the household: competing rationalities as a constraint to reform? *Development Southern Africa*. June. 26(2): 301-315.

Charlton, Sarah & Kihato, Caroline. 2006. Reaching the poor? An analysis of the influences on the evolution of South Africa's housing programme. In *Democracy and delivery. Urban policy in South Africa* edited by Udesch Pillay, Richard Tomlinson & Jacques du Toit. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Chiloane, Thabang. 2004. This is the people's contract the government talks about. *The Star*. Thursday 5 August:17.

Chouliaraki, Lilie, & Fairclough, Norman. 1999. *Discourse in late modernity. Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Christopher, AJ. 1983. From Flint to Soweto: reflections on the colonial origins of the apartheid city. *Area*. 15(2):145-9.

Chuenyane, Baldwin. 2002. Tshwane focus on housing. *Sowetan*. Wednesday, 27 February:4.

Clapham, David. 2002. Housing pathways: a post modern analytical framework. *Housing, Theory and Society*. 19:57-68.

Clapham, David, Peter Kemp, & Susan J Smith. 1990. *Housing and social policy*. London: Macmillan.

Cobbett, William. 1989. Trade unions, migrancy and the struggle for housing. In

South African Review 5 edited by Glenn Moss & Ingrid Obery. Johannesburg: Ravan Press. 322-34.

Coetzee, David. 2004. South Africa's new social movements. In *Globalizing resistance. The state of struggle* edited by François Polet. London: Pluto Press.

Cohen, Tammy. 1995. Land and housing. *South African human rights yearbook 1995*. 6:131-147.

Cokayne, Roy. 2002. Estate agents lash out at minister. *The Star, Business Report*. Tuesday 13 August:5

Colebatch, H K. 1998. *Policy*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Collier, Andrew. 1981. Scientific socialism and the question of socialist values. In *Issues in Marxist philosophy. Vol. IV. Social and political philosophy* edited by John Mepham & David-Hillel Ruben. Sussex: Harvester Press.

Collinge, Joan. 1991. Negotiating the shape of future local governments. *Work in Progress*. no. 72. January/February:24-6.

Community Law Centre. 2003. Global survey on evictions. Seven million left homeless as forced evictions double in two years. 19 June. http://communitylawcentre.org.za/ser/esr2003/2003sept_survey.php

Connell, PH, Irvine-Smith, C, Jonas, Kantorowich, R & Wepener, FJ. 1939. *Native housing. A collective thesis*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Cook, Louise. 2001. Eviction costs hobble land owners. *Business Day*. 2 August. (online edition)

Cook, Louise. 2002. Farm workers threaten to invade vacant land. *Business Day*. 19 June. (online edition)

Cook, Louise. 2002a. Draft law will compel banks to lend to poor. *Business Day*. 21 May. (online edition)

Cook, Louise, & Ernest Mabuza. 2001. Court to rule today on fate of Kempton Park squatters. *Business Day*. 9 July. (online edition)

Cook, Louise, & Tefo Mothibeli. 2001. DA lays fraud charges against PAC. *Business Day*. 6 July. (online edition)

Cook, Louise, & Mothibeli, Tefo. 2001a. Another cold night of uncertainty for squatters. *Business Day*. 10 July. (online edition)

Corder, Hugh. 1994. Towards a South African Constitution. *Modern law review*.

57(4):491-533.

COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions). 2003. *COSATU submission on the draft Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Amendment Bill, 2003*. COSATU Parliamentary Office.

Cotterrell, Roger. 1984. *The sociology of law. An introduction*. London: Butterworths.

Coulthard, Malcolm. 1985. *An introduction to discourse analysis*. London: Longman.

Cousins, Ben & Hornby, Donna. 2007. De Soto solution not for SA. *Business Day*. 17 January. (online edition)

Cox, Anne. 2002. People are still living there City plans new policy as informal settlements spread. *Saturday Star*. 12 October:13.

Cox, Anne. 2005. Residents will mix-and-match at Cosmo City. *The Star*. 13 May.(online edition)

Cox, Anna & Seale, Lebogang. 2008. Court's eviction ruling a victory for homeless on housing rights. *The Star*. 20 February:7

Crane, Diana. 1967. The gatekeepers of science: some factors affecting the selection of articles for scientific journals. *American sociologist*. vol. 1:195-201.

Craven, Matthew. 1995. *The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. A perspective on its development*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Criminal Justice Monitor. 2003. *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into farm attacks*. South African Police Services. 26 September.

Cronje, Frans. 2007. Joblessness in SA and the poverty 'consensus'. *Business Day*. 28 November. (online edition)

Crosby, Theo. 1975. What is housing? In *Housing People*. Proceedings of a Housing 7 conference held in Johannesburg in October 1975, and arranged by the Institute of South African Architects edited by Michael Lazenby. AD Donker Publisher. 24-32.

Cullinan, Kerry. 1996. Watchdog waking? *Democracy in action*. 10(5):14-15.

Curtis, Fred. 1988. Race and class in South Africa: socialist politics in the current conjuncture. *Rethinking Marxism*. 1(1):108-134.

Daniel, John, Adam Habib, & Roger Southall. 2003. *State of the nation. South Africa 2003-2004*. Pretoria. HSRC Press.

Dant, Tim. 1991. *Knowledge, ideology and discourse. A sociological discourse*. London: Routledge.

Davenport, TRH. 1977. *South Africa. A modern history*. 2nd ed. Johannesburg: Macmillan.

Davenport, TRH, & Saunders, Christopher. 2000. *South Africa. A modern history*. 5th ed. Johannesburg: Macmillan.

Davies, Robert H. 1984. *The struggle for South Africa. A reference guide to movements, organizations and institutions. Vol 1*. London: Zed Books.

Davis, Dennis M. 1992. The case against the inclusion of socio-economic rights in a bill of rights except as directive principles. *South African journal on human rights*. 8(4):475-90.

Davis, Dennis. 1999. *Democracy and deliberation*. Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd.

Davis, Mike. 2004. Planet of slums. *New Left Review*. 26: March-April.

de Carlo, Giancarlo. 1975. What is housing? In *Housing People*. Proceedings of a Housing 7 conference held in Johannesburg in October 1975, and arranged by the Institute of South African Architects edited by Michael Lazenby. AD Donker Publisher. 33-40.

de Klerk, FW. 1990. *Address by the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, DMS, at the opening of the Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Cape Town, 2 February 1990*.
<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1996/101348690.htm>

Democratic Alliance. 2007. *The Democratic Alliance's vision and core values*.
<http://www.da.org.za/da/Site/Eng/About/vision.asp> (accessed 21 August 2007)

Dempster, Carolyn. 2001. *South Africa's rumbling land issue*. BBC News. 11 July.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1433522.stm>

Desai, Ashwin. 2002. *We are the poors: community struggles in post-apartheid South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Desai, Ashwin. 2003. Neoliberalism and resistance in South Africa. *Monthly Review*. 54(8):16-28.

Desai, Ashwin. 2004. South Africa: (Un)civil society and the ANC. *Green Left Weekly*. 17 March. <http://www.greenleft.org.au.back/2004/575/575p16.htm>

de Soto, Hernando. 2000. *The mystery of capital. Why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else*. New York: Basic Books.

Devenish, GE. 1999. *A commentary on the South African Bill of Rights*. Durban: Butterworths.

Devenish, GE. 2005. Landgrab ruling has many lessons for us all. *The Star*. 27 May:13

de Vos, Pierre. 2001. *Grootboom*, the right of access to housing and substantive equality as contextual fairness. *South African journal on human rights*. 17(2):258-76.

de Vos, Pierre. The essential components of the human right to adequate housing - a South African perspective. In *Exploring the core content of socio-economic rights: South African and international perspectives* edited by Danie Brand & Sage Russell. Pretoria: Protea Book House.

de Vos, Pierre. 2005. The right to housing. In *Socio-economic rights in South Africa* edited by Danie Brand & Christof Heyns. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press.

Diamond, Larry. 1994. Civil society and democratic consolidation: building a culture of democracy in a new South Africa. In *The bold experiment. South Africa's new democracy* edited by Hermann Giliomee, Lawrence Schlemmer, & Saurita Hauptfleisch. Johannesburg: Southern publishers.

Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing democracy. Toward consolidation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dibetle, Monako. 2008. PAC to split again over 'power grab'. *Mail & Guardian*. 11 to 17 July:17.

Dlamini, Jacob. 2003. Mabandla is no cliché, says daughter. *Business Day*. 26 February.

Donnelly, Jack. 1990. Human rights and Western liberalism. In *Human rights in Africa. Cross-cultural perspectives* edited by Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im & Francis M Deng. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Dreyer, Lynette. 1989. *The modern African elite of South Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Dubow, Saul. 1992. Afrikaner nationalism, apartheid and the conceptualization of 'race'. *Journal of African history*. 33(2):209-37.

Dugard, John. 1978. *Human rights and the South African legal order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Dunleavy, Patrick, & O'Leary, Brendan. 1987. *Theories of the state. The politics of liberal democracy*. London: Macmillan.

du Plessis, Henri. 2005. City police on alert after violent protests. *Cape Argus*. 24 May. (online edition)

du Plessis, Jean, & Albertyn, Cathi. 2005. *Johannesburg inner city evictions (letter to Mayor Amos Masondo)*. 28 September. Johannesburg: Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of Witwatersrand.

du Preez, Max. 2004. Time to separate state from ruling party. *The Star*. Thursday, 5 January:18.

du Preez, Max. 2004a. Wealth doesn't trickle down. *The Star*. Thursday, 5 August:14.

Dworkin, Ronald. 1983. Taking rights seriously. In *The Western idea of law* edited by JC Smith & David N Weisstub. London: Butterworths.

Eagleton, Terry. 1991. *Ideology. An introduction*. London: Verso.

Ebrahim, Hassen. 1998. *The soul of a nation: constitution-making in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Edmundson, William A. 2004. *An introduction to rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eide, Asbjørn. 1989. Realization of social and economic rights and the minimum threshold approach. *Human rights law journal*. 10(1&2):35-51.

Ellis, Stephen, & Sechaba, Tsepo. 1992. *Comrades against apartheid. The ANC & the South African Communist Party in exile*. London: James Currey.

Encyclopedia Britannica. nd. *Human rights*.
http://www.stoesel.ch/hei/dip/human_rights_encyclopedia_britannica.htm

Engels, Friedrich. 1942. *The housing question*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Enzor, Linda. 2004. Raise housing and land-reform budgets coalition. *Business Day*. 17 February. (online edition)

Enzor, Linda. 2005. State, banks in deal on housing funds. *Business Day*. 25 May. (online edition)

Enzor, Linda. 2005a. Bank has R1,2bn to ease Cape housing backlogs. *Business Day*. 19 May. (online edition)

Enzor, Linda. 2006. Housing officials 'shock' Sisulu. *Business Day*. 19 June. (online edition)

Enzor, Linda. 2006a. Bills aim to clarify stance on evictions. *Business Day*. 12

December. (online edition)

Ensor, Linda. 2007a. Shake-up due for chapter 9 bodies. *Business Day*. 25 April. (online edition)

Ensor, Linda. 2007. Time to take an unflinching look at SA's watchdogs. *Business Day*. 1 February. (online edition)

ESR Review (Economic and social rights in South Africa). 1998. From the margins to the mainstream. *Socio-economic rights in South Africa*. 1(1):1.

Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering development. The making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Essop, Philda. 2005. Backyard dwellers a powderkeg, warns NIA. *Cape Argus*. 2 June. (online edition)

Evans, Ivan. 1997. *Bureaucracy and race. Native administration in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Evans, Peter. 1995. *Embedded autonomy. States and industrial transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Evans, Peter. 2005. International human rights as power/knowledge. *Human rights quarterly*. 27(3):1046-68.

Fagan, Eduard. 1998. The constitutional entrenchment of memory. In *Negotiating the past. The making of memory in South Africa* edited by Sarah Nuttall & Carli Coetzee. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1963. The pitfalls of national consciousness. In *The wretched of the earth* by Frantz Fanon. London: Penguin.

Fast Facts. 1994. Farmworker housing: whose responsibility? no11:1. Johannesburg: SAIRR.

Fast Facts. 1994. What is the housing backlog? no.12:1-2. Johannesburg: SAIRR.

Fast Facts. 1996. Uncertainties about the scope of unemployment in South Africa. no.4:4. Johannesburg: SAIRR.

Fast Facts. 1998. Who gets how much for what, and when. no.4. Johannesburg: SAIRR.

- Fast Facts*. 2000. Provincial profiles: Gauteng. no.2:4. Johannesburg: SAIRR
- Fast Facts*. 2000. Highs and lows, ups and downs. no.8:1-2. Johannesburg: SAIRR
- Fast Facts*. 2001. Mbeki promises comprehensive reform. no.3:2. Johannesburg: SAIRR
- Fast Facts*. 2001: Socio-economic and labour indicators. no.4:5. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Fast Facts*. 2001. Black empowerment and corporate governance: is press reporting fair and free of racial slant? no.6:9 Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Fast Facts*. 2001. Socio-economic and labour indicators. no.8:9. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Fast Facts*. 2001: Socio-economic and labour indicators. no.10:9. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Fast Facts*. 2002. Spending patterns over seven years. no.3:6. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Fast Facts*. 2004. South Africa. National profile. no.8:3. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Fast Facts*. 2004. Gauteng. Provincial profile. no.8:6. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Fatton, R. 1984. The African National Congress: the limitations of a revolutionary strategy. *Canadian journal of African studies*. 18(3):593-608.
- Fay, Brian. 1975. *Social theory and political practice*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- February, Judith. 2005. The people are claiming their voice. *The Star*. 15 August:8.
- Flynn, Norman. 1989. The 'new right' and social policy. *Policy and politics*. 17(2):97-109.
- Forrest, Drew. 2001. Housing policy to favour urban areas. *Mail & Guardian*. 7 to 13 December:13.
- Forrest, Drew. 2003. Social movements: 'ultra-left' or 'global citizens'? *Mail & Guardian*. 31 January to 6 February:8-10.
- Fotopoulos, Takis. 1991. *Towards a new synthesis in the conception of human rights?* October.
http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/fotopoulos/brvarious/synthesis_oct_91.htm

- Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of knowledge*. London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. History of systems of thought. In *Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault* edited by Donald F Bouchard. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977a. Intellectuals and power. In *Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault* edited by Donald F Bouchard. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1988. Truth and power. In *Michel Foucault. Power/knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977* edited by Colin Gordon. Great Britain: Harvester Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1994. Genealogy and social criticism In *The postmodern turn* edited by Steven Seidman. Cambridge: Cambridge.
- Foucault, Michel. 2005. The history of sexuality, vol. 1: An introduction. In *Continental philosophy of science* edited by Gary Gutting. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fowler, Roger. 1981. *Literature as discourse. The practice of linguistic criticism*. London: Batsford.
- Franklin, Bridget J. 1998. Constructing a service: context and discourse in housing management. *Housing studies*. 13(2):201-16.
- Fraser-Moleketi, Geraldine. 2007. Towards a common understanding of corruption in Africa. *International journal of African renaissance studies*. 2(2):239-49.
- Freedon, Michael. 1991. *Rights*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Friedman, Steven (ed). 1993. *The long journey. South Africa's quest for a negotiated settlement*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Friedman, Steven. 2001. We're too worried about delivery. *Mail & Guardian*. 20 to 26 July:24.
- Friedman, Steven, & Mottiar, Shannon. 2005. A rewarding engagement? The Treatment Action Campaign and the politics of HIV/AIDS. *Politics & society*. 33(4):511-65.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. The End of History? *The National Interest*. Summer:3-18.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. The End of History? *The National Interest*. Summer:3-18.

Fukuyama, Francis. 2001. The limits of liberal democracy. In *Oxford companion to politics of the world* edited by Joel Krieger. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fuphe, Dan. 2004. Housing time bomb to go off in Tembisa. *Sowetan*. Monday 18 October:6

Fuphe, Dan. 2005. Housing protest in Tembisa. *Sowetan*. Tuesday 31 May:7.

Gabru, Fatima. 2008. Land availability contributes to housing delivery woes. *Engineering News*. 1 August. <http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article/land-availability-contributes-to-housing-del...>

Gastrow, Sheila. 1985. *Who's who in South African politics*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Gerhart, Gail M. 1978. *Black Power in South Africa. The evolution of an ideology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ghai, Dharam. 1997. Economic globalization, institutional change and human security. In *Social movements in development. The challenge of globalization and democratization*. Edited by Staffan Lindberg & Arni Sverrisson. London: Macmillan.

Gibson, Nigel C. 2008. Introduction. A new politics of the poor emerges from South Africa's shantytowns. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 43(1): 5-17.

Gibson, Nigel C. 2008a. Upright and free: Fanon in South Africa, from Biko to the shackdweller's movement (Abahlali baseMjondolo). *Social Identities*. November. 14(6): 683-715.

Giddens, Anthony. 1979. *Central problems in social theory. Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. London: Macmillan

Gilbert, Alan. 1984. The housing of the urban poor. In *Cities, poverty, and development. Urbanization in the Third World* edited by Alan Gilbert & Josef Gugler. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gilbert, Alan. 2002. 'Scan globally; reinvent locally': reflecting on the origins of South Africa's capital housing subsidy policy. *Urban studies*. 29(10): 1911-1933.

Giliomee, Hermann. 1989. The ideology of apartheid. In *South African perspectives. Essays in honour of Nic Olivier* edited by Pierre Hugo. Pretoria: Sigma Press.

Giliomee, Hermann. 1994. A society transformed or the return of history? Selected perspectives from the past with consequences for the future. In *The bold experiment. South Africa's new democracy* edited by Hermann Giliomee, Lawrence Schlemmer, & Saurita Hauptfleisch. Johannesburg: Southern

publishers.

Giliomee, Hermann. 1995. Democratization in South Africa. *Political science quarterly*. 110(1):83-104.

Giliomee, Hermann, & Schlemmer, Lawrence (eds). 1985. *Up against the fences. Poverty, passes and privilege in South Africa*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Ginsburg, David. 1996. The democratisation of South Africa: transition theory tested. *Transformation*. 29:74-102.

Glover, Glenda. 2001. Poor still seen as surplus. *Business Day*. 18 July. (online edition)

Goldstone, Carvin. 2005. Violence erupts in informal settlements. Durban protestors, police clash. *Natal Mercury*. Tuesday, 15 November. (online edition)

Good, Kenneth. 2003. Democracy and the control of elites. In *Limits to liberation in southern Africa. The unfinished business of democratic consolidation* edited by Henning Melber. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Gordon, Robert W. 1998. Some critical theories of law and their critics. In *The politics of law. A progressive critique* edited by David Kairys. 3rd ed. New York: Basic Books.

Gough, Ian. 1979. *The political economy of the welfare state*. London: Macmillan.

Gouws, Rudolf. 1991. Economic policy challenges for a new South Africa. In *Transition to democracy: policy perspectives 1991* edited by Robin Lee & Lawrence Schlemmer. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Gqubule, Thandeka. 1988. My life, by Mayekiso. *Weekly Mail*. 9-15 September:5.

Gqubule, Thandeka. 1988a. Court told of plan for 'worker party'. *Weekly Mail*. 9-15 September:5.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.

Green, Jillian. 2005. Red Ants swarm over an inner city 'deathtrap'. *The Star*. 15 July:7.

Greenberg, Stanley. 1980. *Race and state in capitalist development. South Africa in comparative perspective*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Greenberg, Stephen. 2004. *The Landless People's Movement and the failure of post-apartheid land reform*. Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Greenstein, Ran. 2003. *State, civil society and the reconfiguration of power in post-apartheid South Africa*. Paper presented at the WISER seminar, University of the Witwatersrand. 28 August.

Greenstein, Ran. 2004. Socio-economic rights, radical democracy, and power. South Africa as a case study. In *From the margins of globalization. Critical perspectives on human rights* edited by Neve Gordon. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Greenstein, Ran, Heinrich, Volkhart, Naidoo, Kumi. 1998. *The state of civil society in South Africa: past legacies, present realities, and future prospects*. Johannesburg: Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

Gumede, Vusi. 2006. Research missed poverty line. *The Star*. 18 April. (online edition)

Gumede, William-Mervin. 1996. Civics at the crossroads. *Democracy in action*. 10(5):16-17.

Gumede, William-Mervin. 1998. Implosion on main street. *Siyaya*. Issue 1(Autumn):50-1.

Gunnion, Stephen. 2006. Banks held up by land shortage in meeting target. *Business Day*. 11 July. (online edition)

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1970. *Why men rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gutto, Shadrack BO. 2001. *Equality and non-discrimination in South Africa. The political economy of Law and Law Making*. Cape Town: New Africa Education.

Habedi, Dan. 2004. And we call this democracy... . *Sowetan*. Thursday, 15 July:14.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1981. Modernity versus Postmodernity. *New German critique*. 22:3-14.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1987. The critique of reason as an unmasking of the human sciences: Michel Foucault. In *The philosophical discourse of modernity. Twelve lectures* by Jürgen Habermas. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1987a. Some questions concerning the theory of power: Foucault again. In *The philosophical discourse of modernity. Twelve lectures* by Jürgen Habermas. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1996. *Between facts and norms. Contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Habermas, Jürgen. 2002. Civil society and the political public sphere. In *Contemporary sociological theory* edited by Craig Calhoun, Joseph Gerteis, James Moody, Steven Pfaff & Indermohan Virk Oxford: Blackwell Publishers:358-76.
- Habib, Adam. 1995. The transition to democracy in South Africa: developing a dynamic model. *Transformation*. 27:50-73.
- Habib, Adam. 2003. State-civil society relations in post-apartheid South Africa. In *State of the nation. South Africa 2003-2004* edited by John Daniel, Adam Habib, & Roger Southall. Pretoria: HSRC Press.
- Hall, Peter, Saayman, Gina, Molatedi, Dudu, & Kok, Pieter. 1993. *A profile of poverty in the PWV*. vol.I. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Hall, Stuart. 1984. The state in question. In *The idea of the modern state* edited by Gregor McLennan, David Hall, & Stuart Hall. Milton Keynes, Eng: Open University Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1986. The problem of ideology: marxism without guarantees. *Journal of communication inquiry*. 10(2):28-44.
- Ham, Christopher, & Hill, Michael. 1984. *The policy process and the modern capitalist state*. 2nd ed. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Harber, Anton. 2008. Two newspapers, two nations? In *Go home or die here: violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa* edited by Shireen Hassim, Tawana Kupe & Eric Worby. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Hardie, Graeme, & Hart, Timothy. 1986. A black perspective on the sale of state-owned houses. *Planning and building developments*. March. No. 80:17-20.
- Hardt, Michael & Negri, Antonio. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, MASS: Harvard University Press.
- Harries, Patrick. 1982. Kinship, ideology and the culture of pre-colonial labour migration: labour migration from the Delagoa Bay hinterland to South Africa, up to 1895. In *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa. African class formation, culture, and consciousness, 1870-1930* edited by Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone. New York: Longman.
- Hartley, Aziz. 2004. Call for caution after fire leaves 200 homeless in Joe Slovo. *Cape Times*. 21 October. (online edition)
- Hartley, Wyndham. 2004. New neighbourhoods to be one-fifth low-cost housing. *Business Day*. 14 October. (online edition)

- Hartley, Wyndham. 2005. Housing bill targets organisers of land invasions. *Business Day*. 26 May. (online edition)
- Hartley, Wyndham. 2005a. Didiza 'takes note' of land summit's call. *Business Day*. 14 September. (online edition)
- Hartley, Wyndham & Radebe, Hopewell. 2005. State failure to deliver is behind recent protests - DA. *Business Day*. 31 May. (online edition)
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford.
- Hassen, Ebrahim-Khalil. 2002. The people's budget. Budgeting for social change. *Indicator SA*. 18(1):43-9.
- Hastings, Annette. 2000. Discourse analysis: what does it offer housing studies? *Housing, theory and society*. 17: 131-139.
- Hastings, Annette. 2002. Making discourse analysis explicit. *Housing, theory and society*. 19: 19.
- Hayden, Patrick. 2001. *The philosophy of human rights*. St Paul, MN: Paragon House.
- Haysom, Nicholas. 1992. Constitutionalism, majoritarian democracy and socio-economic rights. *South African journal on human rights*. 8(4):451-63.
- Haysom, Nicholas. 1992a. Negotiating a political settlement in South Africa. In *South African review 6* edited by Glenn Moss & Ingrid Obery. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Heese, Karen, & Allan, Kevin. 2007. Need to see grey areas in the city. *Business Day*. 30 March. (online edition)
- Hegel, GWF. 1983. Philosophy of Right. In *The Western idea of law* edited by JC Smith & David n Weisstub. London: Butterworths.
- Heidenheimer, Arnold, Hecllo, Hugh, & Adams, Carolyn Teich. 1983. *Comparative public policy. The politics of social choice in Europe and America*. 2nd ed. New York: St Martin's Press. (Chapter 4 on "Housing":88-121)
- Held, David. 1984. Central perspectives on the modern state. In *The idea of the modern state* edited by Gregor McLennan, David Hall, & Stuart Hall. Milton Keynes, Eng: Open University Press.
- Henkin, Louis. 1998. *The age of rights*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 1997. Prospects for elite-driven democracy in South Africa. *Political science quarterly*. 112(4):595-615.

Herbstein, Samore. 2006. We are seeing the rebirth of forced removals. *Business Day*. May 19. (online edition)

Heyns, Christof, & Brand, Danie. 1999. Introduction to socio-economic rights in the South African constitution. In *A compilation of essential documents on economic, social and cultural rights* edited by Gina Bekker. Pretoria: Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria.

Heywood, Andrew. *Political ideologies. An introduction*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hindson, Doug, & Parekh, Bharati. 1993. *Urbanisation, housing and poverty. A national literature survey, 1980-1993*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, South African Labour and Development Research Unit.

Hindson, Doug. 1987. *Pass controls and the urban African proletariat in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Hirsch, Alan. 2005. *Season of hope. Economic reform under Mandela and Mbeki*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Hirschl, Ran. 2004. *Towards juristocracy. The origins and consequences of the new constitutionalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hirschmann, David. 1990. Of monsters and devils, analyses and alternatives: changing black South African perceptions of capitalism and socialism. *African Affairs*. 89(356):341-369.

Hirson, Baruch. 1979. *Year of fire, year of ash. The Soweto Revolt: roots of a revolution?* London: Zed Press.

Hobbes, Thomas. 1968. *Leviathan*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Hofstatter, Stephan. 2005. Weeding out misplaced fears. *Business Day*. 10 November. (online edition)

Hofstatter, Stephan. 2005a. Top judge gets tough on land invasions. *Cape Argus, Weekend Argus*. 14 May. (online edition)

Hogan, Gerard. 2001. Judicial review and socio-economic rights. In *Human rights, the citizen and the state. South African and Irish approaches* edited by Jeremy Sarkin & William Binchy. Round Hall Sweet & Maxwell: Dublin.

Hohfeld, Wesley Newcomb. 1966. *Fundamental legal conceptions*. New Haven, CONN: Yale University Press.

Holmes, Stephen, & Sunstein, Cass. 1999. *The cost of rights: why liberty depends on taxes*. New York: WW Norton.

Hoogvelt, Ankie MM. 2001. *Globalisation and the postcolonial world. The new political economy of development*. 2nd ed. London:Macmillan.

Hopkins, Kevin G. 2003. Democracy, government policy, and law in South Africa: a reply to Marie Huchzermeyer. *Urban Forum*. January-March. 14(1): 108-118.

Howarth, David. 2000. *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2001. Housing for the poor? Negotiated housing policy in South Africa. *Habitat International*. 25:303-331.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2003. Housing rights in South Africa: invasions, evictions, the media, and the courts in the cases of Grootboom, Alexandra, and Bredell. *Urban Forum*. 14(1):80-107.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2003a. Low income housing and commodified urban segregation in South Africa. In *Ambiguous restructurings of post-apartheid Cape Town. The spatial form of socio-political change* edited by Christoph Haferburg & Jürgen Oßenbrügge. Transaction Publishers: London.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2003b. Addressing segregation through housing policy and finance. In *Confronting fragmentation. Housing and urban development in a democratising society* edited by Philip Harrison, Marie Huchzermeyer & Mzwanele Mayekiso Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2004. *Unlawful occupation. Informal settlements and urban policy in South Africa and Brazil*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press Inc.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2004a. From “contravention of laws” to “lack of rights”: redefining the problem of informal settlements in South Africa. *Habitat International* 28: 333-347.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2006. The new instrument for upgrading informal settlements in South Africa: contributions and constraints. In *Informal settlements. A perpetual challenge* edited by Marie Huchzermeyer & Aly Karam. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Huchzermeyer, Marie. 2009. The struggle for *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements: a reflection on cases in Gauteng. *Development Southern Africa*. March. 26(1): 59-73.

Huchzermeyer, Marie & Karam, Aly. 2006. The continuing challenge of informal settlements: an introduction. In *Informal settlements. A perpetual challenge* edited by Marie Huchzermeyer & Aly Karam. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Huchzermeyer, Marie, Karam, Aly, Stemela, Ian Lamla, Siliga, Nkhangweleni & Frazenburg, Sierajodean. 2006. Policy, data and civil society: reflections on South African challenges through an international review. In *Informal settlements*.

A perpetual challenge edited by Marie Huchzermeyer & Aly Karam. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Hudson, Peter. 2000. Liberalism, democracy and transformation in South Africa. *Politikon*. 27(1):93-102.

Hudson, Peter. 1986. The Freedom Charter and the theory of National Democratic Revolution. *Transformation*. 1:6-38.

Hudson, Peter. 1998. Images of the future and strategies in the present: the Freedom Charter and the South Africa Left. In *State, resistance and change in South Africa* edited by P Frankel, N Pines, & M Swilling. London: Croom Helm.

Hudson, PA. 1990. The concept of class and the class content of National Liberation in South Africa - empiricism and essentialism in the theory of the South African revolution. In *Views of the South African state* edited by Mark Swilling. Pretoria: HSRC.

Hunt, Alan. 1990. Rights and social movements: counter-hegemonic strategies. *Journal of law and society*. 17(3):309-28.

Hunt, Alan & Gary Wickham. 1994. *Foucault and law: towards a sociology of law as governance*. London: Pluto Press.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave. Democratization in the late twentieth century*. London: University of Oklahoma Press.

iafrica.com. 2004. *No land, no vote - landless people*. 13 April.
<http://iafrica.com/news/sa/315683.htm>

Independent online. 2006. SA citizens fed up with corruption. 13 October.

Independent online. 2007. Squatters get interdict against police. 20 August.

Indicator SA. 2000. Housing: targeting delivery. 17(2):31-7.

International Freedom of Expression Exchange. 2005. *FXI welcomes commencement of trial of Landless People's Movement torture case*.
<http://www.ifex.org/en/content/view/full/68841>

Isa, Mariam. 2007. IMF doubts SA will reach 6% growth. *Business Day*. 8 August. (online edition)

Ismail, Summaya. 2007. City challenges housing verdict. *Mail & Guardian Online*. 17 February.

Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements. General Assembly resolutions 51/177 of 16 December 1996 and 53/242 of 28 July 1999.

<http://www.unhabitat.org/unchs/english/hagenda/partners/index.html>

Jacobs, Sean. nd. *Interview with Andile Mngxitima of the Landless People's Movement*. Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu Natal. <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/>

James, Deborah. 2001. Land for the landless: conflicting images of rural and urban in South Africa's land reform programme. *Journal of contemporary African studies*. 19(1):93-109.

James, Wilmot. 1992. Group Areas and the nature of apartheid. *SA Sociological Review*. 5(1):41-57.

Jaworski, Adam & Coupland, Nikolas (eds). 1999. *The discourse reader*. London: Routledge.

Jeffreys, Candice, Mametse, D, & Russouw, S. 2003. Urbanisation outstrips capacity to provide housing. *Thisday*. Wednesday 8 October:3.

Jenvey, Nicola. 2001. Banks must accept low earners. *Business Day*. 28 September. (online edition)

Jessop, Bob. 1982. *The capitalist state*. Oxford: Martin Robinson.

Jessop, Bob. 1990. *State theory. Putting capitalist states in their place*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Jhatam, Mohammed Saeed. 1991. The political mythology of Black urban housing. In *Knowledge and power in South Africa. Critical perspectives across the disciplines* edited by Jonathan D. Jansen. Johannesburg: Skotaville.

Joffe, Hilary. 2006. De Soto's notion of 'dead capital' seems to be dead wrong in SA. *Business Day*. 6 June. (online edition)

Johns, Sheridan, & Davis, R Hunt (eds). 1991. *Mandela, Tambo, and the African National Congress: the struggle against apartheid, 1948-1990: a documentary survey*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, Krista. 2003. Liberal or liberation framework? The contradictions of ANC rule in South Africa. In *Limits to liberation in southern Africa. The unfinished business of democratic consolidation* edited by Henning Melber. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Jones, Gareth A, & Datta, Kavita. 2000. Enabling markets to work? Housing policy in the 'new' South Africa. *International planning studies*. 5(3):393-416.

Jones, Peris, & Stokke, Kristian (eds). 2005. *Democratising development: the politics of socio-economic rights in South Africa*. Leiden: Marthinus Nijhoff

Publishers.

Joseph, Norman. 2005. Cop hurt in land invasion furore. *Cape Argus*. 23 May. (online edition)

Joubert, Pearlie. 2007. Bulldozing the Gateway. *Mail & Guardian*. 30 March to 4 April:14.

Joubert, Pearlie. 2008. Sanco chief in war over RDP houses. *Mail & Guardian*. 6 to 12 June:10.

Joubert, Pearlie. 2008a. Grootboom dies homeless and penniless. *Mail & Guardian*. 8 to 14 August:35.

Jung, Courtney & Shapiro, Ian. 1995. South Africa's negotiated transition: democracy, opposition, and the new constitutional order. *Politics & Society*. 23(3):269-308.

Kahl, Jeff. 1995. Thomas Hobbes and the seeds of liberalism. *Res Publica*. 6(1).

Kamenka, Eugene. 1978. The anatomy of an idea. In *Human rights* edited by Eugene Kamenka & Alice Ehr-Soon Tay. London: Edward Arnold.

Kane-Berman, John. 2002. The case for a liberal strategy. *Fast Facts*. September, no.9:2-7.

Kaplan, Dave. 1980. The South African state: the origins of a racially exclusive democracy. *Insurgent sociologist*. 10(2):85-96.

Kaplinsky, Raphael. 1991. A growth path for a post-apartheid South Africa. *Transformation*. 16:49-55.

Karis, Thomas G. 1984. Revolution in the making: black politics in South Africa. *Foreign Affairs*. 62(2):378-406.

Karis, Thomas, Carter, Gwendolen M, Johns, Sheridan. 1972. *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. Volume 1, Protest and Hope, 1882-1934*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

Karis, Thomas, Carter, Gwendolen, & Gerhart, Gail M. 1977. *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. Volume 3, Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

Karis, Thomas, & Gerhart, Gail M. 1997. *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1990. Volume 5, Nadir and resurgence, 1964-1979*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

- Kassiem, A'eysha. 2005. Mayor lashed out at city officials over 'underspending'. *Cape Times*. 1 June. (online edition)
- Keating, Candes. 2005. Joe Slovo teens upset over exposure to sex in tents. *Cape Argus*. 17 May. (online edition)
- Kelly, Kevin. 1985. Capitalism, socialism, barbarism. Marxist conceptions of the Soviet Union. *Review of radical political economics*. 17(4):51-71
- Kemeny, Jim. 1984. The social construction of housing facts. *Scandinavian housing and planning research*. 1:149-64.
- Kemeny, Jim. 1988. Defining housing reality: ideological hegemony and power in housing research. *Housing Studies*. 3(4):205-218.
- Kemeny, Jim. 1992. *Housing and social theory*. London: Routledge.
- Kendall, Gavin & Wickham, Gary. 1999. *Using Foucault's methods*. London: Sage.
- Kennedy, Duncan. 2002. The critique of rights in critical legal studies. In *Left legalism/left critique* edited by Wendy Brown & Janet Halley. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Khan, Firoz. 2003. Continuities, ambiguities and contradictions: The past, present and (possible) future of housing policy and practice in South Africa. In *Housing policy and practice in post-apartheid South Africa* edited by Firoz Khan & Petal Thring. Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- Khan, Firoz & Thring, Petal (eds). 2003. *Housing policy and practice in post-apartheid South Africa*. Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- Khangale, Ndivhuwo. 2003. Temporary home for evicted families. *The Star*. 12 June. (online edition)
- Khosa and Others v Minister of Social Development and Others; Mahlaule and Another v Minister of Social Development and Others*. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2004(6):569-574. Durban.
- Khumalo, Buhle. 2002. Negotiations take over from violence after police quell angry mob. *The Star*. Wednesday 26 June:2.
- Kiloh, Margaret. 1997. South Africa: democracy delayed. In *Democratization* edited by David Potter, David Goldblatt Margaret Kiloh, & Paul Lewis. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

- Klaaren, Jonathan. 2005. A second look at the South African Human Rights Commission, access to information, and the promotion of socioeconomic rights. *Human rights quarterly*. 27(1):539-61.
- Klare, Karl E. 1998. Legal culture and transformative constitutionalism. *South African journal on human rights*. 14:146-88.
- Klug, Heinz. 2000. *Constituting democracy. Law, globalism and South Africa's political reconstruction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kotzé, Dirk. 1996. The New (Final) South African Constitution. *Journal of theoretical politics*. 8(2):133-57.
- Kotzé, Hennie. 2001. A consummation devoutly to be wished? The Democratic Alliance and its potential constituencies. In *Opposition and democracy in South Africa* edited by Roger Southall. London: Frank Cass.
- Kruger, J. 2001. A dangerous precedent. *Business Day*. 2 August. (online edition)
- Kruser, Earl. 2005. 1 000 Joe Slovo fire victims living in tents as winter looms. *Cape Argus*. 3 May. (online edition)
- Kudryavtsev, VN. 1986. Human rights and the Soviet Constitution. In *Philosophical foundations of human rights*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kunnie, Julian. 2000. *Is apartheid really dead? Pan-Africanist working-class cultural critical perspectives*. Boulder, COL: Westview.
- Kymlicka, Will. 1990. *Contemporary political philosophy. An introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Laburn-Peart, Catherine. 1994. Entitlement or empowerment? A critical look at an attempt to house the urban poor in South Africa. Paper presented at *Second Symposium Housing for the urban poor*. International Convention Centre, Birmingham, United Kingdom. 11th -14th April. European Network for Housing Research.
- Lacey, Marian. 1981. *Working for boroko. The origins of a coercive labour system in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 1993. Discourse. In *A companion to contemporary political philosophy* edited by Robert E Goodin & Philip Pettit. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Land Research Action Network. 2003. Stop forced removals & evictions. Stop privatisation. Press statement. 26 March.
<http://www.landaction.org/>

Landless People's Charter. 2001. Durban 30 August. United Nations World Conference Against Racism.

Landless People's Movement. 2002. *Interim Constitution*. March. Johannesburg.

Landless People's Movement. 2002. *Crisis in South Africa land reform movement*. 18 July.

<http://www.landaction.org/display.php?article=91>

Landless People's Movement. 2003. *Benoni ruling a victory for South Africa's 26 million landless people*. Press statement. 25 February.

<http://www.landaction.org/>

Landless People's Movement. 2007. Press release. 27 September.

<http://www.abahlali.org/taxonomy/term/511>

Language, F.J. 1950. Native housing in urban areas. *Journal of racial affairs*. 1(2): 27-38.

Lauren, Paul Gordon. 1998. *The evolution of international human rights. Visions seen*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Laurence, Patrick. 2005. New coalition is Cosatu battalion. *The Star*. 16 August:12.

Lazar, John. 1993. Verwoerd versus the 'Visionaries': The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) and Apartheid, 1948-1961. In *Apartheid's genesis, 1935-1962* edited by Philip Bonner, Peter Delius & Deborah Posel. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Lazar, David. 1996. Competing economic ideologies in South Africa's economic debate. *British journal of sociology*. 47(4):599-626.

Leary, Virginia A. 1990. The effect of Western perspectives on International Human Rights. In *Human Rights in Africa. Cross-cultural perspectives* edited by Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im & Francis M Deng. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Leckie, Scott. 2001. The human right to adequate housing. In *Economic, social and cultural rights* edited by Asbjørn Eide, Catarina Krause, & Allan Rosas. Dordrecht: Marthinus Nijhoff Publishers.

le Roux, Mariette. 2005. Housing delivery strategy an 'expensive gamble'. *Mail & Guardian online*. 1 November.

le Roux, Mathabo. 2006. Low cost sector derelict due to cut throat margins. *Business Day*. 11 July. (online edition)

le Roux, Pieter. 1997. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR): a critical discussion. *Africanus*. 27(2):45-66.

Leftwich, Adrian. 1984. Politics: people, resources and power. In *What is politics?* edited by Adrian Leftwich. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Legassick, Martin. 1974. South Africa: capital accumulation and violence. *Economy & Society*. 3(3):253-91.

Legassick, Martin. 1974a. Legislation, ideology and economy in post-1948 South Africa. *Journal of southern African studies*. 1(1):5-35.

Legassick, Martin. 2002. *Armed struggle and democracy. The case of South Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Legassick, Martin. 2003. Armed struggle in South Africa: consequences of a strategy debate. In *Limits to liberation in southern Africa. The unfinished business of democratic consolidation* edited by Henning Melber. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Legassick, Martin. 2004. *Housing battles in post-apartheid South Africa*. Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZuluNatal. <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>

Leshabane, Joseph. 2007. Interview with Joseph Leshabane, Deputy Director General, Department of Housing. Radio Metro. 1 August. <http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/Media%20Desk/Media%20Alerts/>

Lester, Alan, Nel, Etienne, & Binns, Tony. 2000. *South Africa, past, present and future. Gold at the end of the rainbow*. London: Pearson Education.

Lesufi, Ishmael. 2001. The people's budget campaign. *NGO Matters*. 6(1):8-9.

Letsoalo, Essy M. 1987. *Land reform in South Africa. A black perspective*. Johannesburg: Skotaville.

Levin, Peter. 1996. *Making social policy. The mechanisms of government and politics, and how to investigate them*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Lewis, Jon E. 2003. *The new rights of man. An anthology of the events, documents and speeches that have shaped Western civilization*. London: Constable & Robinson.

Liebenberg, Sandra. 1997. Human rights and economic development: the constraints and obligations imposed by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In *Democracy, human rights and economic development in southern Africa* edited by Nico Steytler. Johannesburg: Lex Patria Publishers.

Liebenberg, Sandra. 1997a. Review of The constitutional enforceability of economic and social rights: the meaning of the German constitutional model for South Africa by Erika de Wet. *South African journal on human rights*. 13(2):163-8.

Liebenberg, Sandra. 1998. Socio-economic rights. In *Constitutional law of South Africa* edited by Matthew Chaskalson, J Kentridge, J Klaaren, G Marcus, D Spitz, & S Moolman. Kenwyn: Juta.

Liebenberg, Sandra. 1999. Foreword. In *A compilation of essential documents on economic, social and cultural rights* edited by Gina Bekker. Pretoria: Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria.

Liebenberg, Sandra. 2001. Violations of socio-economic rights: the role of the South African Human Rights Commission. In *The post-apartheid constitutions. Perspectives on South Africa's basic law* edited by Penelope Andrews & Stephan Ellman. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Liebenberg, Sandra. 2005. The value of human dignity in interpreting socio-economic rights. *South African journal on human rights*. 21(1):1-31.

Liebenberg, Sandra, & Pillay, Karrisha (eds). 2000. *Socio-economic rights in South Africa. A resource book*. Community Law Centre: University of the Western Cape.

Lindberg, Staffan. 1997. Farmer's movements and agricultural development in India. In *Social movements in development. The challenge of globalization and democratization* edited by Staffan Lindberg & Árni Sverrisson. London: Macmillan

Locke, John. 1955. *Of civil government. Second treatise*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company.

Lodge, Tom. 1981. Organised black political resistance. *Reality* 13(2) March:15-20.

Lodge, Tom. 1983. *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Lodge, Tom. 1987. The African National Congress after the Kabwe Conference. In *South African Review 4* edited by Ingrid Obery & Glenn Moss. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Lodge, Tom. 1989. People's war or negotiation? African National Congress strategies in the 1980s. In *South African Review 5* edited by Ingrid Obery & Glenn Moss. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Lodge, 1996. South Africa: Democracy and development in a post-apartheid society. In *Democracy and development* edited by Adrian Leftwich. Cambridge: Polity.

Lodge, Tom. 1999. *Consolidating democracy: South Africa's second popular election*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Lodge, Tom. 2002. *Politics in South Africa. From Mandela to Mbeki*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Loewenstein, Karl. 1972. Constitutions, Constitutional Law. In *Marxism, Communism and Western society. A comparative encyclopedia* edited by CD Kernig. New York: Herder & Herder.

Louw, Anna & Terreblanche, Christelle. 2005. 'Zimbabwe won't come to Benoni'. *The Star*. 16 May. (online edition)

Louw, Raymond. 1989. *Four days in Lusaka. Whites in a changing society*. Cape Town: Five Freedoms Forum.

Lupton, Malcolm, & Murphy, Stuart. 1995. Housing and urban reconstruction in South Africa. In *The geography of change in South Africa* edited by Anthony Lemon. New York: John Wiley.

Luxemburg, Rosa. 1970. Reform or revolution. In *Rosa Luxemburg speaks* edited by Mary-Alice Waters. New York: Pathfinder Press.

Mabaso, Lennox & Mchunu, Harry. 2006. Shackdwellers 'under the sway of an agent provocateur'. 24 September. <http://www.abahlali.org/node/1722>

Mabin, Alan. 1983. 'State homes for sale': re-examining home ownership. *Work in Progress*. no.26:4-7.

Mabin, Alan. 1991. Shacking up with private capital. *Work in Progress*. no.72. January/February:28-31.

Mabuza, Ernest. 2004. Court finds Port Elizabeth squatters have time on their side. *Business Day*. 4 October. (online edition)

Mabuza, Ernest. 2005. First expropriation as farmer digs in. *Business Day*. (online edition)

MacKinnon, Rod & Lewis, Sharon. 1997. Brick by brick. Low cost housing developers. *Indicator SA*. 14(1):75-80.

Macozioma, Sakumzi. 2005. *The black middle class in South Africa - the real questions*. Speech at the Black Management Forum (BMF) Annual Conference, 13 October, Sandton Convention Centre, Johannesburg.

MacShane, Denis, Plaut, Martin, & Ward, David. 1984. *Power! Black workers, their unions, and the struggle for freedom in South Africa*. Boston: South End Press.

Mail & Guardian. 2002. 2,5 million housed in Gauteng since 1994. 11 September. (online edition)

Mail & Guardian. 2004. A security imperative. 9 to 15 July:28.

Mail & Guardian. 2005a. Gauteng residents rate local govt performance. 19 September. (online edition)

Mail & Guardian. 2005b. Protest over housing backlog. 4 June. (online edition)

Mail & Guardian. 2005. The A to F of Mbeki's cabinet. 24 December to 6 January:4-15.

Mail & Guardian. 2006a. Housing officials told not to plead poverty. 23 June. (online edition)

Mail & Guardian. 2006. The A to F of Mbeki's cabinet. 23 December to 5 January:4-14.

Mail & Guardian. 2007. 'Speak to us and not for us'. 30 March to 4 April:30-1.

Mail & Guardian. 2007a. Service delivery protests. 6-12 July:5.

Mail & Guardian. 2007b. Towards a more civil service. 2 to 8 November:4-14

Makgetla, Neva Seidman. 2004. The post-apartheid economy. *Review of African political economy*. 100:263-81.

Makgetla, Neva. 2005. Thanks for the growth, but where's the strategy on jobs and poverty? *Business Day*. 25 February. (online edition)

Makgetla, Neva. 2007. Finding perspective in debate on poverty. *Business Day*. 5 December. (online edition)

Makgoba. MW. 1998. Oppositions, difficulties, and tensions between liberalism and African thought. In *Ironic victory. Liberalism in post-liberation South Africa* edited by RW Johnson & David Welsh. Cape Town: Oxford Press.

Malefane, Moipone. 2004. Gauteng's five-year housing plan revealed. *The Star*. 10 November.

Malefane, Moipone. 2005. Election protestors rock Free State. *The Star*. 16 August:2. (In ch 8: conclusion)

Malefane, Moipone. 2005. 'Squables and lack of skills hampering delivery'. *The Star*. 26 July:6.

- Malefane, Moipone. 2005a. MEC blamed over housing backlog. *The Star*. 15 July:2.
- Malinga, Phineas. 1986. Sanctions - imperialism looks after its own. *The African Communist*. no. 104. 1st quarter:50-8.
- Maloka, Eddy. 2001. 'White' political parties and democratic consolidation in South Africa. In *Opposition and democracy in South Africa* edited by Roger Southall. London: Frank Cass.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and subject. Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 2000. The Truth according to the TRC. In *The politics of memory: truth, healing and social justice* edited by Ifi Amadiume & Abdullah An-Na'im. London: Zed Books.
- Mandel, Ernest. 1978. On the nature of the Soviet Union. *New Left Review*. 108:23-45.
- Mandela, Nelson. 1988. *Address by Nelson Mandela to Parliament*. 6 February. <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/speeches/1998/sp0206.html>
- Mandela, Nelson. 1996. *Opening address by President Nelson Mandela to the Third Session of Parliament*. 9 February. <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/speeches/1996/sp0209.html>
- Mandela, Nelson. 1996a. *Mandela address on the occasion of the budget debate*. 20 June. <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/speeches/1996/sp0620.html>
- Mandela, Nelson. 1996b. *Mandela speech at the Opening of Protea Glen Ext 11*. 5 December <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/speeches/1996/sp1205.html>
- Mandela, Nelson. 1997. *Report by the President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela to the 50th National Conference of the African National Congress*. Mafikeng, 16 December.
- Mangcu, Xolela. 2005. Blackness and identity, beyond the bricklayer and the billionaire. *Business Day*. 03 November. (online edition)
- Mangcu, Xolela. 2007. Questions we must start asking to bring SA back from the brink. *Business Day*. 15 March. (online edition)
- Mangena, Mosibudi. 1989. *On your own. Evolution of Black Consciousness in South Africa/Azania*. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers.

Manuel, Trevor. 1997. Foreword II. In *Democracy, human rights and economic development in southern Africa*. edited by Nico Steytler. Johannesburg: Lex Patria Publishers.

Maphumulo, Solly. 2004. Buildings burn as mob anger spills over. *The Star*. 6 July. (online edition)

Maphumulo, Solly. 2006. Homeless vent their angry over poor services. *The Star*. 9 January:2.

Maphumulo, Solly. 2007. Angry shack-dwellers block Golden Highway. *The Star*. 5 July. (online edition)

Maphumulo, Solly. 2008. Angry protesters barricade highway. Independent online. 16 September.
<http://www.iol.co.za/>

Marais, Hein. 1996. All GEARed up. *The African Communist*. Third Quarter:30-42.

Marais, Hein. 2001. *South Africa: limits to change. The political economy of transition*. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Marais, Lochner, and Skip Krige. 2000. Who received what, where in the Free State? An assessment of post-apartheid housing delivery and policy (1994-98). *Development Southern Africa*. 17(4):603-619).

Marks, Shula. 1980. South Africa: "the myth of the empty land". *History Today*. 30(1):7-12.

Marks, Shula, & Rathbone, Richard (eds). 1982. *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa. African class formation, culture and consciousness 1870-1930*. New York: Longman.

Marrs, Dave. 2005. Break dependency that harms SA's housing bid. *Business Day*. 10 October. (online edition)

Marrs, Dave. 2005a. You don't need a spook to tell you cause of unrest. *Business Day*. 6 June. (online edition)

Marrs, Dave. 2005a. Quick-fixes will not ease Cape's housing crisis. *Business Day*. 14 March. (online edition)

Marshall, TH, and Tom Bottomore. 1992. *Citizenship and social class*. London: Pluto.

Marston, Greg. 2002. Critical discourse analysis and policy-oriented housing research. *Housing, Theory and Society*. 19:82-91.

Marx, Anthony W. 1992. *Lessons of struggle. South African internal opposition, 1960-1990*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Marx, Anthony W. 1997. Apartheid's end: South Africa's transition from racial domination. *Ethnic and racial studies*. 20 (3) July: 474-496.

Marx, Karl. 1978. On the Jewish Question. In *The Marx-Engels reader* edited by Robert C Tucker. 2nd ed. New York: WW Norton & Co.

Marx, Karl. 1978a. The German ideology. Part I. In *The Marx-Engels reader* edited by Robert C Tucker. 2nd ed. New York: WW Norton & Co.

Mashabela, Harry. 1990. *Mekhukhu. Urban African cities of the future*. Johannesburg: SAIRR.

Matsena, David. 2002. Protest against forced removals falls on deaf ears. *The Star*. 7 November.

May, Tim. 1997. *Social research. Issues, methods and process*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Mayekiso, Mzwanele. 1996. *Township politics. Civic struggles for a new South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Mayekiso, Moses & de Vos, Tobie. 1994. *Revolution in the provision of homes: a people's strategy*. Botshabelo. 27 October.

Maylam, Paul. 1986. *A history of the African people of South Africa: from the early Iron Age to the 1970s*. London: Croom Helm

Mbeki, Moeletsi. 2006. Who is the dominant class in SA? *Mail & Guardian*. 28 July to 3 August. 2, 7.

Mbeki, Thabo. 1984. The Fatton thesis: a rejoinder. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. 18(3):609-612.

Mbeki, Thabo. 2002. *Statement of the President of the African National Congress, Thabo Mbeki, at the ANC Policy Conference*. Kempton Park, Johannesburg. 27 September.

Mbeki, Thabo. 2007. The truth will prevail!. *ANC Today*. Online voice of the African National Congress. 7(45) 16-22 November. <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2007/at45.htm>

Mboyane, Sphiwe. 2004. Gauteng links housing grant to income. *Business Day*. 10 November. (online edition)

- Mboyane, Siphwiwe. 2004a. Gauteng to get tough on land invasion. *Business Day*. 10 June. (online edition)
- McClain, Charlotte Vuyiswa. 2002. The SA Human Rights Commission and socio-economic rights. Facing the challenges. *ESR review*. 3(1):8-9.
- McLeod, Ian. 1999. *Legal theory*. London:Macmillan.
- McDonald, David A. 2002. The theory and practice of cost recovery in South Africa. In *Cost recovery and the crisis of service delivery on South Africa* edited by David A McDonald & John Page. Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.
- McDonald, David A. 2002a. The bell tolls for thee. Cost recovery, cutoffs, and the affordability of municipal services in South Africa. In *Cost recovery and the crisis of service delivery on South Africa* edited by David A McDonald & John Page. Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.
- McHoul, Alec, & Grace, Wendy. 1993. *A Foucault primer. Discourse, power and the subject*. New York: New York University Press.
- McInnes, Peter. 2005. *Making the kettle boil: rights talk and political mobilisation around electricity and water services in Soweto*. MA Thesis, Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand.
- McKinley, Dale T. 2004. *A disillusioned democracy: South African elections ten years on*. Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu Natal. <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/>
- McKinley, Dale & Veriava, Ahmed. 2007. Voices cry from under new myths about 'ordinary' SA. *Business Day*. 1 October. (online edition)
- Mde, Vukani. 2006. Business fuelling ANC split, says SACP. *Business Day*. 18 May. (online edition)
- Mde, Vukani, & Brown, Karima. 2006. Mbeki faces open revolt from angry ANC, allies. *Business Day*. 26 May. (online edition)
- Mendus, Susan. 1995. Human rights in political theory. In *Politics and human rights* edited by David Beetham. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Merten, Marianne. 2003. Report fingers housing officials. *Mail & Guardian*. 10-16 October:9
- Merten, Marianne. 2005. Banking on new foundations. *Mail & Guardian*. Analysis. 2-8 December:6.
- Merten, Marianne. 2005a. Banks back off housing pledge. *Mail & Guardian*. 2-8 September:6.

- Merten, Marianne. 2005b. Servcon shuts up shop. *Mail & Guardian*. 20-26 May:4.
- Merten, Marianne. 2005c. Waiting patiently for their own homes. *Mail & Guardian*. (Supplement: "Western Cape"). 20-26 May:2.
- Merten, Marianne. 2005d. Housing for sardines? *Mail & Guardian*. 6-12 May:8.
- Meth, Charles, & Dias, Rosa. 2004. Increases in poverty in South Africa, 1999-2002. *Development Southern Africa*. 21(1):59-85.
- Mgibisa, Mbuyusi. 2006. R.I.P. Sanco. *Mail & Guardian*. 15-20 December:11.
- Mhlongo, Sam. 1981. An analysis of the classes in South Africa. In *Political economy of Africa. Selected readings* edited by Dennis L Cohen & John Daniel. London: Longman. 130-154.
- Michaels, Jeremy, & Charles Phahlane. 2004. We're a stable country - Mbeki. *The Star*. 6 February.
- Michie, Jonathan, & Padayachee, Vishnu. 1997. South Africa's transition: the policy agenda. In *The political economy of South Africa's transition. Policy perspectives in the late 1990s* edited by Jonathan Michie & Vishnu Padayachee. London: The Dryden Press.
- Michie, Jonathan, & Padayachee, Vishnu. 1997a. The South African policy debate resumes. In *The political economy of South Africa's transition. Policy perspectives in the late 1990s* edited by Jonathan Michie & Vishnu Padayachee. London: The Dryden Press.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1910. *Utilitarianism, liberty, & representative government*. London: JM Dent & Sons.
- Mills, Sara. 2003. *Michel Foucault*. London: Routledge.
- Mishra, Ramesh. *The welfare state in crisis. Social thought and social change*. New York: St Martins Press.
- Mkhabela, Mpumelelo. 2005. *Housing gets fraud-busters*. News24. 06 November. <http://www.news24.com/News24/South Africa/News/>
- Mngxitima, Andile. 2002. *Meeting Marti, Neruda, and Langa in the streets ...* . Centre for Civil Society. 31 July. <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/>
- Mngxitama, Andile. 2002a. The LPM Youth and the CCF: a solidarity experience <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/>
- Modjadji, Ngwako. 2001. Land occupations are 'inevitable'. *Mail & Guardian*. 27 July to 2 August:13.

Moellendorf, Darrel. 1998. Reasoning about resources: *Soobramoney* and the future of socio-economic rights claims. *South African journal on human rights*. 14:327-333.

Mokate, Lindiwe. nd. *Monitoring economic and social rights in South Africa: the role of the SAHRC*.
http://www.inwent.org/ef-texte/human_rights/mokate.htm

Mokgoro, Yvonne (Justice). 1998. Ubuntu and the law in South Africa. *Buffalo human rights law review*. no.15:15-23.

Moleketi-Fraser, Geraldine. 2003. The interaction between governance, policy and public service reform in democratic South Africa. In *Governance in southern Africa and beyond. Experiences of institutional and public policy reform in developing countries* edited by Dele Olowu & Royson Mukwena. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers.

Moll, Peter G. 1991. Introduction. In *Redistribution. How can it work in South Africa?* edited by Peter Moll, Nicoli Natrass & Lieb Loots. Cape Town: David Philip.

Moll, Peter G. 1991a. *The great economic debate. The radical's guide to the South African economy*. Johannesburg: Skotaville publishers.

Møller, Valerie. 2000. Democracy and happiness. Quality of life trends. *Indicator SA*. 17(3): 22-32.

Molosankwe, Botho. 2005. Activist tells of torture by the police. *The Star*. 25 August:11.

Monare, Moshoeshoe. 2005. Mbeki seeks Cosatu's support ahead of poll. *The Star*. 16 August:2.

Monare, Moshoeshoe. 2005. Land reform 'ignoring urban needs'. *The Star*. 27 May:6.

Moodie, Graeme C. 1984. Politics is about government. In *What is politics?* edited by Adrian Leftwich. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Morris, Pauline. 1980. *Soweto. A review of existing conditions and some guidelines for change*. Johannesburg: Urban Foundation.

Morris, Pauline. 1981. *A history of black housing in South Africa*. South Africa Foundation.

Mothibeli, Tefo & Cook, Louise. 2001. Clergy separate squatters, police. *Business Day*. 13 July. (online edition)

- Mothibeli, Tefo & Cook, Louise. 2001a. Bredell squatters set to fight eviction. *Business Day*. 11 July. (online edition)
- Mothibeli, Tefo & Cook, Lousie. 2002b. Religious groups appeal for soft stance on Bredell squatters. *Business Day*. 12 July. (online edition)
- Motlanthe, Kgalema. 2004. Empowerment vs enrichment. *Business Day*. 4 November. (online edition)
- Mouffe, Chantal. 2005. *The return of the political*. London: Verso.
- Mthembi-Mahanyele, Sankie. 1996. *Budget address by Minister of Housing*. <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/speeches/1996/sp0620a.html>
- Muller, Johan. 1987. People's education and the National Education Crisis Committee. In *South African Review 4* edited by Glenn Moss & Ingrid Obery. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Munslow, Barry, & Fitzgerald, Patrick. 1997. Search for a development strategy: the RDP and beyond. In *Managing sustainable development in South Africa* edited by Patrick Fitzgerald, Anne McLennan & Barry Munslow. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Oxford.
- Mureinik, Etienne. 1992. Beyond a charter of luxuries: economic rights in the constitution. *South African journal on human rights*. 8(4):464-74.
- Murphy, John. 1992. Second generation rights and the Bill of Rights debate in South Africa. *South African sociological review*. 4(2):30-53.
- Murphy, Stuart. 1993. *Housing, politics, and civil society*. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Murray, Colin. 1988. Displaced urbanisation. In *South Africa in question?* edited by John Lonsdale. London: James Currey.
- Murray, Martin. 1987. *South Africa: time of agony, time of destiny. The upsurge of popular protest*. London: Verso.
- Musgrave, Amy. 2005. State looks to summit to speed up land reform. *Business Day*. 27 July. (online edition)
- Naidoo, Jay. 1990. Interview. Our economy needs restructuring. *Sechaba*. 24(2):17-20.
- Naidoo, Ravi. 2000. The budget. Will it deliver on jobs and poverty? *Indicator SA*. 17(1):29-35.
- Ndaba, Baldwin. 2002. Homes torn down in forced relocation. *The Star*. Tuesday, 8 January:3.

Ndima, DD. 2002. Socio-economic delivery: is it a political or judicial function? *Codicillus*. 43(2):29-35.

Ndletyana, Mcebisi. 1999. The civic movement. A toothless watchdog? *Indicator SA*. 16(3):34-8.

Neocosmos, Michael. 2002. Democracy, rights discourse, national healing and state formation. Theoretical reflections on the liberation transition in South Africa. In *Political cultures in democratic South Africa* edited by Henning Melber. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Neocosmos, Michael. 2006. Can a human rights culture enable emancipation? Clearing some theoretical ground for the renewal of a critical sociology. *South African journal of review of sociology*. 37(2):356-79.

Neocosmos, Michael. 2007. *Civil society, citizenship and the politics of the (im)possible: rethinking militancy in Africa today*. Paper presented at School of Graduate Studies, College of Human Sciences, University of South Africa. 1 November. <http://www.abahlali.org/files/Neocosmos%202007%20citizenship%20and%20politics.pdf>

Neuman, Lawrence W. 2000. *Social research methods. Qualitative and quantitative methods*. 4th ed. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Newman, Dwight G. 2003. Institutional monitoring of social and economic rights: a South African case study and a new research agenda. *South African journal on human rights*. 19(2):189-216.

News24. 2001. 1000 killed in farm attacks. 7 September. http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/

News24. 2004. *Squatters 'gone in 10 years'*. 02 September. http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/Politics/

News24. 2005. *Sisulu: Kutsoane is welcome*. 04 May. http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/

News24. 2005. *Probe housing laws – minister*. 17 May. http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/Politics/

News24. 2005. *Cops quell township riots*. 25 May. http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News

News24. 2005. *Riots a 'threat to democracy'*. 26 May. http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/Politics/

News24. 2005. *Sisulu: Don't sacrifice quality*. 27 September. http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/

News24.2005. Sisulu: Demand exceeds supply. 14 October.
<http://www.news24.com/News24/South Africa/Politics/>

News24. 2007. Ngqakula to face arrest? 30 August
http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/

News24. 2007. Judgment reserved on evictions.
<http://www.news24.com/News24/South Africa/News/>

Newton, Deborah. 1989. Forced removals in South Africa. In *South African Review* 5 edited by Glenn Moss & Ingrid Obery. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Ngonyama, Percy. 2005. Mbeki's neo-liberal vision of South Africa. *Socialist Worker*. 26 February. (online edition)

Ngwane, Trevor. 2003. The Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). *South African labour bulletin*. 27(6):31-32.

Ngwane, Trevor. 2003a. Sparks in the township. *New Left Review*. July/August:37-56.

Nicol, Mike. 1997. *The making of the constitution. The story of South Africa's constitutional assembly, May 1994 to December 1996*. Cape Town: Churchill Murray.

Njobeni, Siseko. 2006. Succession rift widens as Mbeki ally gets the chop. *Business Day*. 19 June. (online edition)

Nkuzi Development Association. 2005. *Summary of key findings from the national evictions survey*.

Nolutshungu, Sam. 1982. *Changing South Africa. Political considerations*. New York: Africana Publishing House.

Nozick, Robert. 1992. Distributive justice. In *Communitarianism and individualism* edited by Shlomo Avineri & Avner de-Shalit. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nozick, Robert. 1983. Anarchy, state, and utopia. In *The Western idea of law* edited by JC Smith & David N Weisstub. London: Butterworths.

Nthambeleni, Bernard M. 2007. *The South African National Civic Organisation: a two tiered social movement*. Paper presented in Department of Anthropology and Development Studies, University of Johannesburg. 25 May.

Ntsebeza, Lungisile. 2007. Address the land question. *Mail & Guardian*. 17-23 August: 23.

- Ntsebeza, Lungisile. 2007a. Land redistribution in South Africa: the property clause revisited. In *The land question in South Africa. The challenge of transformation and redistribution* edited by Lungisile Ntsebeza & Ruth Hall. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Ntsebeza, Lungisile & Hall, Ruth (eds). 2007. *The land question in South Africa. The challenge of transformation and redistribution*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Nuttall, Jolyon. 1997. *The first five years. The story of the Independent Development Trust*. IDT: Cape Town
- Nyatumba, Kaizer M. 1992. Azapo and the PAC. Revolutionary watchdogs? In *South African Review 6* edited by Ingrid Obery & Glenn Moss. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- O'Brien, Conor Cruise. 1986. What can become of South Africa? *The Atlantic Monthly*. March:41-68.
- O'Connor, James. 1973. *The fiscal crisis of the state*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Odendaal, André. 1984. *Vukani Bantu! The beginnings of black protest politics in South Africa to 1912*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo & Schmitter, Philippe C. 1986. *Transitions from authoritarian rule. Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- O'Dowd, MC. 1977. The stages of economic growth and the future of South Africa, in *Change, reform and economic growth in South Africa*, edited by L Schlemmer & E Webster. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Offe, Claus. 1984. *Contradictions of the welfare state*. Cambridge, MASS: The MIT Press.
- Oldfield, Sophie. 2005. Moving beyond polemics: civil society politics in South Africa. *Critical dialogue* 2(1):12-19.
- Oliver, Lenore. 2005. Home is a backyard shack and despair. *Cape Argus*. 19 March. (online edition)
- Olivier, NJJ. 1954. *Apartheid - a slogan or a solution?* Stellenbosch: South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA).
- Olsen, Frances. 2001. Politics without a movement. *Cardozo law review*. 22(3/4):1105-1112.

O'Malley, Kierin. 1996. The 1993 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa - the Constitutional Court. *Journal of theoretical politics* 8(2):177-91.

O'Meara, Dan. 1975. The 1946 African mine worker's strike and the political economy of South Africa. *Journal of commonwealth and comparative politics*. 13:146-73.

O'Meara, Dan. 1983. *Volkskapitalisme. Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner nationalism, 1934-1948*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Ontario Human Rights Commission, nd. *Human rights commissions and economic and social rights*. Research Paper, Policy and Education Branch.

Outhwaite, William. 1994. Habermas. *A critical introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pakulski, Jan & Waters, Malcolm. 1996. *The death of class*. London: Sage.

Pan Africanist Congress. 1992. *The land policy of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania*. Pretoria: Department of Land and Environmental Affairs.

Parekh, Bhikhu. 1982. *Contemporary political thinkers*. Oxford: Martin Robinson.

Parnell, Susan & Hart, Deborah. 1999. Self-help housing as a flexible instrument of state control in 20th century South Africa. *Housing studies*. 14(3): 367-386

Parsons, Raymond. 1994. Are socio-economic policies possible to promote growth and consolidate democracy? In *The bold experiment. South Africa's new democracy* edited by Hermann Giliomee, Lawrence Schlemmer, & Saurita Hauptfleisch. Johannesburg: Southern publishers.

Patel, Raj. 2008. A short course in politics at the University of Abahlali baseMjondolo. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 43(1):95-112.

Payze, Catherine. 1994. Land and politics: policy viewpoints. In *Access to and affordability of land in South Africa: the challenge of land reform in the 1990s* edited by Anthony Minnaar. Pretoria: HSRC.

Peattie, Lisa. 1979. Housing policy in developing countries: two puzzles. *World Development*. 7(11/12):1017-1022.

Perraton, Jonathan, Goldblatt, David, Held, David, & McGrew, Anthony. 1997. The globalisation of economic activity. *New political economy*. 2(2) July:257-77

Phasiwe, Khulu. 2004. Housing subsidy boost for low-income group. *Business Day*. 9 April. (online edition)

- Phasiwe, Khulu. 2005. Group says Johannesburg evictions violate human rights. *Business Day*. 18 February. (online edition)
- Pieterse, Marius. 2004. Coming to terms with judicial enforcement of socio-economic rights. *South African journal on human rights*. 20(3):383-417.
- Pieterse, Marius. 2007. Eating socio-economic rights: the usefulness of rights talk in alleviating social hardship revisited. *Human rights quarterly*. 29(3):796-822.
- Pigou, Piers, Greenstein, R & Valji, N. 1998. *Monitoring socio-economic rights in South Africa: public perceptions*. Johannesburg: Community Agency for Social Enquiry.
- Pithouse, Richard. 2006. Struggle is a school. The rise of a shack dweller's movement in Durban, South Africa. *Monthly Review*. February. 57(9).
- Pithouse, Richard. 2008. A politics of the poor. Shack dweller's struggles in Durban. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 43(1): 63-94.
- Pillay, Devan. 1996. Social movements, development and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. In *Reconstruction, development and people* edited by Jan K Coetzee & Johann Graaff. Johannesburg: International Thompson Publishing.
- Pillay, Judge Ariranga G. 2002. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Time for South Africa to ratify. *ESR review*. 3(1) July:3-4.
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1987. The idea of a constitution. *Journal of legal education*. 37:167-9.
- Plaatje, Sol T. 1982. *Native life in South Africa. Before and since the European war and the Boer rebellion*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- PLANACT. 1989. *The Soweto rent boycott*. Johannesburg.
- Plant, Raymond. 1991. *Modern political thought*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Platzky, Laurine, & Walker, Cheryl. 1985. *The surplus people. Forced removals in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Porter, Bruce. 1999. Socio-economic rights advocacy - using international law. Notes from Canada. *ESR review*. 2(1):1-2.
- Posel, Deborah. 1991. *The making of apartheid 1948-1961. Conflict and compromise*. Oxford: Clarendon Paperbacks.
- Posel, Deborah. 1993. Influx control and urban labour markets. In *Apartheid's genesis, 1935-1962* edited by Philip Bonner, Peter Delius & Deborah Posel. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

- Posel, Deborah. 1995. The meaning of apartheid before 1948: conflicting interests and forces within the Afrikaner Nationalist alliance. In *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa* edited by William Beinart and Saul Dubow. London: Routledge.
- Pressley, Donwald. 2002. Cape Town faces land conundrum. *Business Day*. (online edition)
- Pressley, Donwald. 2002a. Millions in SA live in squalor. *Business Day*. 24 May. (online edition)
- Pressley, Donwald. 2006. The rise and rise of SA's shacks. Mail & Guardian online. 6 January
- Pressly, Donwald. 2008. Municipalities still lack capacity to fill their functions. *The Star, Business Report*. 2 April:19.
- Pretorius, Sam & Minnaar, Anthony. Squatters and the urban dynamics of land. In *Access to and affordability of land in South Africa: the challenge of land reform in the 1990s* edited by Anthony Minnaar. Pretoria: HSRC.
- Prinsloo, CW. 1950. Bantoehuise vir die Bantoe. *Journal of racial affairs*. 1(3): 12-18.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the market. Political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2001. Socialism and social democracy. In *Oxford companion to politics of the world*. 2nd ed. Edited by Joel Krieger. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pugh, Cedric. 1986. Housing theory and policy. *International journal of social economics*. 13(4/5).
- Purvis, Trevor, & Hunt, Alan. 1993. Discourse, ideology, discourse ideology, discourse, ideology... . *British Journal of Sociology*. 44(3):473-499.
- Radebe, Hopewell. 2003. Law set to stop land invaders in their tracks. *Business Day*. 3 September. (online edition)
- Radebe, Hopewell. 2005. Gauteng's housing backlog drops. *Business Day*. 8 March. (online edition)
- Radebe, Hopewell. 2005a. Under Shilowa, Gauteng is becoming a better place to be a child. *Business Day*. 8 March. (online edition)

- Radebe, Hopewell & Hartley, Wyndham. 2003. Government moves to close eviction loophole. *Business Day*. 3 September. (online edition)
- Radebe, Sibonelo. 2001. Minister spells out home policy. *Business Day*. 3 October. (online edition)
- Radebe, Sibonelo. 2001a. Contributors at front of queue. *Business Day*. 16 August. (online edition)
- Rakoff, Robert M. 1977. Ideology in everyday life: the meaning of the house. *Politics and society*. 7(1):85-104.
- Randall, Peter (ed). 1972. *Power, privilege and poverty*. Report of the economics commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society. Ravan Press: Johannesburg.
- Rantete, Johannes. 1998. *The African National Congress and the negotiated settlement in South Africa*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.
- Rantete, Johannes, & Giliomee, Hermann. 1992. Transition to democracy through transaction?: Bilateral negotiations between the ANC and NP in South Africa. *African Affairs*. 91(365):515-542.
- Rawls, John. 1983. A theory of justice. In *The Western idea of law* edited by JC Smith & David N Weisstub. London: Butterworths.
- Rawls, John. 1992. Justice as fairness: political not metaphysical. In *Communitarianism and individualism* edited by Shlomo Avineri & Avner de-Shalit, Avner. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rein, Martin, & Schön, Donald. 1993. Reframing policy discourse. In *The argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning* edited by Fischer, Frank, & Forester, John. London: Duke University Press.
- Riordan, Rory. 1988. The Freedom Charter and the nationalisation of industry. In *The Freedom Charter and the future* edited by James A Polley. Johannesburg: AD Donker Publisher.
- Ritchken, Edwin. 1989. Trade unions and community organisations. Towards a working alliance? *Transformation*. no. 10:40-53.
- Robinson, Vicki. 2003. Civil society: diversity or disintegration? *Mail & Guardian*. 7-13 November:33.
- Robinson, Vicki. 2005. Shooting at the moon. *Mail & Guardian*. 12-18 August:9
- Robinson, Vicki. 2007. ANC braces for NEC revamp. *Mail & Guardian*. 13-19 April:2.

Robinson, Vicki, & Tabane, Rapule. 2005. 'Cancer in our midst'. *Mail & Guardian*. 1-7 July:3

Rose, Rob. 2002. 'SA can't staff land needs'. *Business Day*. 21 May. (online edition)

Rose, Rob. 2002. Incentives a possibility for housing finance bill. *Business Day*. 4 September. (online edition)

Rose, Rob. 2005. Absence of property titles slows integration - De Soto. *Business Day*. 6 May. (online edition)

Royston, Lauren. 2006. Barking dogs and building bridges: a contribution to making sense of Hernando de Soto's ideas in the South African context. In *Informal settlements. A perpetual challenge* edited by Marie Huchzermeyer & Aly Karam. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Roux, Edward. 1948. *Time longer than rope. A history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Russell, DEH. 1974. *Rebellion, revolution and armed force. A comparative study of fifteen countries with special emphasis on Cuba and South Africa*. New York: Academic Press Inc.

Rust, Kecia. 1996. The National Housing Forum. In *Mandate to build. Developing consensus around a national housing policy in South Africa* edited by Rust, Kecia, & Rubenstein, Sue. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Rust, Kecia, & Rubenstein, Sue (eds). 1996. *Mandate to build. Developing consensus around a national housing policy in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Ryan, Ciaran. 1997. Point of no return. *The South Africa report*. 3rd quarter.

Rycroft, AJ. 1987. Citizenship and rights. In *Race and the law in South Africa* edited by AJ Rycroft, LJ Boule, MK Robertson, & PR Spiller. Cape Town: Juta.

Sachs, Albie. 1990. *Protecting human rights in a new South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford.

Sachs, Albie. 1992. *Advancing human rights in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford.

Sachs, Albie. 2003. The judicial enforcement of socio-economic rights: the Grootboom case. *Current Legal Problems*. v.56:579-601.

Sachs, Michael. 2003. 'We don't want the fucking vote'. Social movements and demagogues in South Africa's young democracy. *South African Labour Bulletin*. 27(6):23-27.

Sachs, Michael. 2004. Voting patterns in the 1999 and 2004 elections compared. *Election Synopsis* 1(4):8-12.

Sadie, JL. 1950. The political arithmetic of the SA population. *Journal of racial affairs*. 1(4): 3-8.

SAIRR. 1961. *A survey of race relations in South Africa 1959-1960*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1963. *A survey of race relations in South Africa 1962*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1978. *A survey of race relations in South Africa 1977*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1981. *Survey of race relations in South Africa 1980*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1986. *Race relations survey 1985*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1986a. *Race relations survey 1986. Part 1*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1988. *Race relations survey 1987/88*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1993. *Race relations survey 1992/93*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1995. *Race relations survey 1994/95*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1996. *South Africa survey 1995/96*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1997. *South Africa survey 1996/97*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1998. *South Africa survey 1997/1998*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 1999. *South Africa survey 1999/2000*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 2001. *South Africa survey 2000/01*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 2001a. *South Africa survey 2001/2002*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 2003. *South Africa survey 2002/2003*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 2004. *South Africa survey 2003/2004*. Johannesburg.

SAIRR. 2006. *South Africa survey 2004/2005*. Johannesburg.

Sarkin, Jeremy. 1998. The development of a human rights culture in South Africa. *Human rights quarterly*. 20:628-665.

Sarkin, Jeremy. 2001. The role of human rights institutions in post-apartheid South Africa. In *Human rights, the citizen and the state. South African and Irish*

approaches, edited by Jeremy Sarkin & William Binchy. Dublin: Round Hall Sweet & Maxwell.

Saugeres, Lise. 1999. The social construction of housing management discourse: objectivity, rationality and everyday practice. *Housing, theory and society*. 16:93-105.

Saul, John. 1986. South Africa: the question of strategy. *New Left Review*. no.160. November/ December:3-22.

Saul, John S, & Gelb, Stephen. 1981. *The crisis in South Africa. Class defense, class revolution*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Saunders, Peter, & Williams, Peter. 1988. The constitution of the home: towards a research agenda. *Housing studies*. 3(2):81-93.

Savage, Mike.1986. The imposition of pass laws on the African population in South Africa, 1916-1984. *African Affairs*. 85(339):181-205.

Schejtman, Alexander. 1997. Peasants and structural adjustments in Latin America. In *Social movements in development. The challenge of globalization and democratization* edited by Staffan Lindberg & Árni Sverrisson. London: Macmillan.

Schneider, Hans-Peter. 1997. Democracy, human rights and economic development: relations and tensions regarding the role of the state. In *Democracy, human rights and economic development in Southern Africa* edited by Nico Steytler. Johannesburg: Lex Patria Publishers.

Scott, Craig & Philip Alston. 2000. Adjudicating constitutional priorities in a transnational context: a comment on Soobramoney's legacy and Grootboom's promise. *South African Journal on human rights*. 16(2):206-268.

Sechaba. 1990. Post-apartheid economic policy. Recommendations from the ANC/COSATU conference. 24(10):18-25.

Seekings, Jeremy. 1992. Civic organisations in South African townships. In *South African Review 6* edited by Glenn Moss & Ingrid Obery. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Seekings, Jeremy. 2000. The origins of social citizenship in pre-apartheid South Africa. *South African journal of philosophy*. 19(4):386-484

Seekings, Jeremy. 2000a. After apartheid. Civic organisations in the "new" South Africa. In *From comrades to citizens. The South African civics movements and the transition to democracy* edited by Glenn Adler & Jonny Steinberg. London: MacMillan.

Seekings, Jeremy. 2000b. *The UDF: a history of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Sefara, Makhudu. 2003. Government spending fell short by R6bn. *The Star*. Tuesday 4 February:3.

Seleoane, Mandla. 2001. *Socio-economic rights in the South African Constitution. Theory and practice*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Sen, Amartya. 1996. Welfare economics and two approaches to rights. In *Current issues in public choice* edited by José Pardo & Frederick Schneider. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Sennet, Richard, & Cobb, Jonathan. 1977. *The hidden injuries of class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seria, Nasreen. 2002. Court's ruling places eviction burden on state. *Business Day*. 24 November.

Seria, Nasreen. 2002a. A ruling to cheer private landowners. *Business Day*. 22 November.

Seria, Nasreen. 2002b. Ruling on squatters backs property rights. *Business Day*. 21 November.

Seria, Nasreen. 2002c. Farmers speak out against Mbeki. *Business Day*. 11 October.

Seria, Nasreen. 2002d. Benoni farmer seeks eviction of squatters. *Business Day*. 18 September.

Seroke, Jaki. 1992. CODESA - a Forum for deception. *African law review*. 4(1):25-6.

Sewart, John. 1980. Jürgen Habermas's reconstruction of critical theory. *Current perspectives in social theory*. vol.1:323-56.

Shabalala, Siphosiso. 1994. The Interim Constitution. An epitome of political fraud. *African law review*. 5(2):10-12.

Shapiro, Ian. 1993. Democratic innovation. South Africa in comparative context. *World politics*. 46. October: 121-150.

Shaw, Gerald. 2005. Get rid of poverty through political action not violence. *Cape Times*. 1 June. (online edition)

Shivji, Issa. 1989. *The concept of human rights in Africa*. London: Codesria book series.

Shubane, Khehla. 2007. Black economic empowerment: myths and realities. In *South Africa in Africa: the post-apartheid era* edited by Adekeye Adebajo, Adebajo Adedeji & Chris Landsberg. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Shubin, Vladimir. 1999. *ANC. A view from Moscow*. University of Western Cape, Bellville: Mayibuye Books.

Sihlongonyane, Mfaniseni Fana. 2003. *Monitoring Paper Part I & II: Land occupation in South Africa*. 20 November.
<http://www.landaction.org/display.php?article=137>

Sihlongonyane, Mfaniseni Fana. 2005. Land occupations in South Africa. In *Reclaiming the land. The resurgence of rural movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America* edited by Sam Moyo & Paris Yeros. London: Zed Books.

Silk, Andrew. 1981. *A shanty town in South Africa: the story of Modderdam*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Simkins, Charles. 1983. *Four essays on the past, present & possible future of the distribution of the Black population of South Africa*. Cape Town: South African Labour Development Research Unit.

Simkins, Charles. 1996. Problems of reconstruction. *Journal of democracy*. 7(1) January:82-95.

Sisk, Timothy, D. 1994. Review article: perspectives on South Africa's transition: implications for democratic transition. *Politikon*. 21(1): 66-75.

Sisulu, Lindiwe. 2005. Housing delivery and the Freedom Charter. The beacon of hope. *New Agenda*. 18(2): 67-70.

Sisulu, Lindiwe. 2007. *Speech by LN Sisulu Minister of Housing at the handover ceremony of houses at the Olievenhoutbosch Housing Project*. 30 March.
<http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/Media%20Desk/Speeches/>

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and social revolutions. A comparative analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Slovo, Joe. 1968. *The Freedom Charter - the South Africa of the future*. Paper read at one-day conference, Human rights and the struggle against apartheid. Saturday 19 October, Africa Centre, King St. W62. London: Anti-apartheid movement.

Slovo, Joe. 1992. Negotiations: what room for compromise? *African Communist*. 3rd quarter:36-40.

Slovo, Joe. 1994. *Speech by Housing Minister, Joe Slovo, at the Opening of the Community Bank in Benoni.*

<http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/speeches/1994/sp0723.html>

Smit, Dan, & McCarthy, Jeff. 1990. Planning an urban policy. *Work in Progress*. no.68. August:31-2.

Smit, Warren. 2003. Housing finance policy in South Africa. In *Housing policy and practice in post-apartheid South Africa* edited by Firoz Khan and Petal Thring. Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Smith, Andrew. 2005. The shack in my backyard. *Business Day*. 3 June. (online edition).

Smith, David M. 1995. Redistribution and social justice after apartheid. In *The geography of change in South Africa* edited by Anthony Lemon. New: John Wiley.

Smith, Ken. 1988. *The changing past. Trends in South African historical writing.* Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers.

Soggot, Mungo. 2001. Budget surplus in SA's reach. *Mail & Guardian*. August 17 to 23:2.

Sogoni, Slumko. 1990. Towards a post-apartheid economy. *Sechaba*. 24(10):13-15.

Somerville, Peter. 1997. The social construction of home. *Journal of architectural and planning research*. 14(3):226-45.

South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA). 1952. *Integration or separate development?* Stellenbosch: SABRA.

South African Communist Party. 2000. The BEE Commission report. *The African Communist*. Third and fourth quarter: 26-8.

South African Labour Bulletin. 2003. Social movements. A fancy name or rebels with a cause?. 27(6):8-32.

Southall, Roger. 1987. Post-apartheid South Africa: constraints on socialism. *Journal of modern African studies*. 25(2):345-374.

Southall, Roger. 2000. The state of democracy in South Africa. *Commonwealth and comparative politics*. 38(3):147-170.

Southall, Roger. 2001. *Opposition in South Africa: issues and problems.* In, *Opposition and democracy in South Africa* edited by Roger Southall. London: Frank Cass.

Southall, Roger. 2003. The state of party politics: struggles within the Tripartite Alliance and the decline of opposition. In *State of the nation. South Africa 2003-2004* edited by John Daniel, Adam Habib, & Roger Southall. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

Sowetan. 2002. Housing for all SA people is Makhuzwayo's fond hope. 27 February:21.

Sowetan. 2005. Concern over unrest. Riots a sign of general dissatisfaction. 30 May:6.

Sparks, Allister. 1994. *Tomorrow is another country: The inside story of South Africa's negotiated revolution*. Sandton, Johannesburg: Struik Publishers.

Sparks, Allister. 2005. SA needs an economic miracle. *The Star*. 18 May. (online edition)

Spitz, Richard, & Chaskalson, Matthew. 2000. *The politics of transition. A hidden history of South Africa's negotiated settlement*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Stadler, Alf. 1987. *The political economy of modern South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Stadler, Alf. 1979. Birds in the cornfield: squatter movements in Johannesburg, 1944-1947. *Journal of Southern African studies*. 6(1):93-123.

Statistics SA. 1999. *October household survey*. Pretoria: STATSSA.

Steinberg, Jonny. 2001. Stakes getting higher for squatters and government. *Business Day*. 12 July. (online edition)

Steinberg, Jonny. 2002. Obeying letter rather than spirit of the law? *Business Day*. 18 May. (online edition)

Steinberg, Jonny. 2005. Court meets needs of homeless wanderers by a tortuous route. *Business Day*. 31 May. (online edition)

Steytler, Nico (ed). 1997. *Democracy, human rights and economic development in southern Africa*. Johannesburg: Lex Patria Publishers.

Stoddard, Ed. 2006. Black middle class adds extra rung to SA's economy. *Business Day*. 11 July. (online edition)

Strange, Susan. 1986. *Casino capitalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Strong, CF. 1972. *Modern political constitutions. An introduction to the comparative study of their history and existing forms*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.

Sukhraj, Penny. 2006. Belief in government promises is a key to local elections. *The Star*. 9 January:2.

Sunstein, Cass. R. 2001. *Designing democracy. What constitutions do*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Suttner, Raymond. 2004. A conversation with Raymond Suttner: reflecting on a decade of freedom in South Africa. *The Australasian review of African studies*. 26(1):8-17.

Suttner, Raymond, & Cronin, Jeremy. 1985. *30 years of the Freedom Charter*. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Swanson, Maynard W. 1977. The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony. *Journal of African history*. 18(3):387-410.

Swilling, Mark. 1990. Planning a democratic urban policy. *Work in Progress*. no. 67. June 1990:27-30.

Tabane, Rapule. 2002. Charter at odds with needs of squatters. *The Star*. Thursday 27 June:5.

Tabane, Rapule. 2003. Landless people plan more marches to halt evictions. *The Star*. 11 March.

Tabane, Rapule. 2003a. We must shelter squatters, MEC insists. *The Star*. 26 February. (online edition)

Tabane, Rapule. 2003b. Squatters set to hear that long wait is over. *The Star*. 13 February. (online edition)

Tabane, Rapule. 2005. "We will invite the ANC to join us". *Mail & Guardian*. 12-18 August:4.

Tabane, Rapule & Moya, Fikile-Ntsikelelo. 2002. R43m spent on ghost houses. *The Star*. Wednesday 11 December. (online edition)

Tabane, Rapule & Sefara, Makhudu. 2003. "Government is failing the poor". *The Star*. 23 April. (online edition)

Tabb, William K. 1997. Globalization is an issue, the power of capital is the issue. *Monthly review*. 49(2):20-31.

Tay, Alice Ehr-Soon. 1987. Marxism, socialism and human rights. In *Human rights* edited by Eugene Kamenka & Alice Ehr-Soon Tay. London: Edward Arnold.

Taylor, Mandy. 1998. Agonising choices. *Siyaya*. Issue 1(Autumn):24-5.

Tapscott, Chris. 1997. Current development discourses in South Africa. *Africanus*. 27(2): 86-95.

Teeple, Gary. 1995. *Globalization and the decline of social reform*. New Jersey: Humanities Press.

Terreblanche, Sampie (Solomon Johannes). 2002. *A history of inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Thale, Thomas. 2002. *Jo'burg plans to end informal settlements*.
http://www.joburg.org.za/june_2002/housing.stm

The Citizen. 2005. Minister speaks out on housing. 4 June:3.

The Maastricht Guidelines on violations of economic, social and cultural rights. 1998. *Human rights quarterly*. 20(3):691-704.

The Star. 2001. Land invasion law due soon. Tuesday 11 September:1.

The Star. 2002. Landless people reject PAC's call. Thursday 25 July:6.

The Star. 2002a. Bullets fly in reluctant relocation. Wednesday 17 July:2.

The Star. 2004. The state of the South Africa. 3 November. (online edition)

The Star. 2004. State of the nation. 9 February. (online edition)

The Star. Proper homes. 5 June. (online edition)

The Star. 2005. Jozi could be world's 12 largest city. 15 July:2.

The Star. 2005. Heed the people's cries. 1 June. (online edition)

The Star. 2005. Laws are not enough. 18 May. (online edition)

The Star. 2007. Jordan slams ANC's fat cats. 5 November. (online edition)

The Star. 2005. Municipalities and services. 26 July:12.

The Star. 2008. Score of municipalities under probe. 8 September. (online edition)

Thompson, Edward Palmer. 2001. The rule of law. In *The essential EP Thompson* edited by Dorothy Thompson. New York: The New Press.

Thompson, John B. 1984. *Studies in the theory of ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thompson, Leonard. 1985. *The political mythology of apartheid*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tilly, Louise & Tilly, Charles (eds). 1981. *Class conflict and collective action*. London: Sage.

Tolsi, Niren. 2006. On the far side of the left. *Mail & Guardian*. 8-14 December:18.

Tomlinson, Mary R. 1998. South Africa's new housing policy: an assessment of the first two years, 1994-96. *International journal of urban and regional research*. 22(1):137-146.

Tomlinson, Richard. 1988. South Africa: competing images of the post-apartheid state. *African studies review*. 31(2):35-60.

Tomlinson, Richard. 2006. Planning for a dwindling Gauteng. *Business Day*. 22 June. (online edition)

Trafalgar Inner City Report. 2006.

Tsedu, Mathatha. 2004. "We brought order to chaos". *The Star*. 9 February.

Tuck, Richard. 1979. *Natural rights theories. Their origin and development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, Bryan S. 1990. Outline of a theory of citizenship. *Sociology*. 24(2):189-217.

Turner, Bryan S. 1993. Outline of a theory of human rights. *Sociology*. 27(3):489-512.

Turner, Bryan S. 1999. The sociology of citizenship. In *Classical sociology* edited by BS Turner. London: Sage. chapter 15:262-275.

Turrell, Rob. 1984. Kimberley's model compounds. *Journal of African history*. 25: 59-75.

United Nations. 1977. *Programme of action against apartheid*.

United Nations Development Programme. 2003. *South Africa human development report 2003. The challenge of sustainable development in South Africa: unlocking people's creativity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Urban Foundation. 1978. *Information Bulletin*. No. 4 April.

Urban Foundation. 1980. *Information Bulletin*. No. 8 January.

Urban Foundation. 1982. *Annual Review*. Johannesburg: The Foundation.

Urban Foundation. 1987. *My uncle's house is not mine. The evolution of two housing schemes*. 62-65.

Urban Foundation. 1990. *Housing for all: proposals for a national urban housing policy. Urban debate 2010. No.9*.

Urban Foundation. 1994. *Annual Review 1994*. Johannesburg: The Foundation.

Urban Sector Network. 2003. *Expanding socio-economic rights and access to housing*. Pretoria: Mega-Tech.

Ullman, Walter. 1983. Juristic obstacles to the emergence of the concept in the Middle Ages. In *The Western idea of law* in JC Smith & David N Weisstub. London: Butterworths.

van der Berg, Servaas. 1998. Consolidating South African democracy: the political arithmetic of budgetary redistribution. *African Affairs*. 97:251-264.

van der Merwe, CG, & Pienaar, JM. 2002. Law of Property. *Annual survey of South African Law*. 406-525.

van der Reijden, Demian. 2006. Red Ants evict city squatters living in squalor. *The Star*. May 10. (online edition)

van der Walt, AJ (ed). 2005. *Theories of social and economic justice*. Stellenbosch:Sun Press.

van Deventer, Kim. 1994. *Affordable housing: strategies to beat the backlog*. Cape Town: Development Action Group.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1990. Discourse and Society: a new journal for a new research focus. *Discourse and society*. 1(1):5-16.

van Huyssteen. Elsa. 2003. *The Constitutional Court, human rights and democracy in South Africa. A sociological analysis*. D Phil thesis. Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education. University of Witwatersrand.

van Schalwyk, A. 1998. Legal aspects of development on dolomite land in South Africa. *Environmental Geology*. 36(1-2):167-9.

van Tonder, Deon. 1993. 'First win the war, then clear the slums': The genesis of the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1940-1949. In *Apartheid's genesis, 1935-1962* edited by Philip Bonner, Peter Delius & Deborah Posel. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

van Zyl Slabbert, Frederik. 1992. *The quest for democracy. South Africa in transition*. London: Penguin.

Vasak, Karel. 1977. A 30 year struggle. The sustained efforts to give force of law to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. *UNESCO Courier*. November. 30(11):29-32.

Verwoerd, HF. 1961. *The truth about South Africa*. Address by the Hon. Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa before the South Africa Club in the Savoy Hotel, London. Friday 17 March. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerspers Beperk.

Vinassa, Andrea. 2003. High cost of cheap housing. *Mail & Guardian online*. 10 September.

wa ka Ngobeni, Evidence. 2001. E Rand council moves illegal? *Mail & Guardian*. 20 to 26 July:8

wa ka Ngobeni, Evidence. 2001a. ANC, Sanco fight for 'God's paradise'. *Mail & Guardian*. 20 to 26 July:8.

wa ka Ngobeni, Evidence, & Deane, Nawaal. 2001. Bredell squatters challenge evictions. *Mail & Guardian*. 27 July.

Waldmeir, Patti. 1997. *Anatomy of a miracle: the end of apartheid and the birth of the new South Africa*. New York: WW Norton & Co.

Waldron, Jeremy. 1993. Rights. In *A companion to contemporary political philosophy* edited by Robert E Goodin & Philip Pettit. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Walton, John. 1990. *Sociology and critical inquiry. The work, tradition, and purpose*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CAL: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Walton, John. 2003. Globalization and popular movements. In *The future of revolutions. Rethinking radical change in the age of globalization* edited by John Foran. London: Zed Books.

Walton, Tony. 1984. Justifying the welfare state. In *The idea of the modern state* edited by Gregor McLennan, David Hall, & Stuart Hall. Milton Keynes, Eng: Open University Press.

- wa Mutua, Makau. 1997. Hope and despair for a new South Africa: the limits of a rights discourse. *Harvard human rights journal*. 10(63):63-114.
- wa Sepotokele, Themba. 2003. R1,2bn to build proper houses for the poor in Gauteng. *The Star*. 4 June. (online edition)
- wa Sepotokele, Themba, & Sefara, Makhudu. 2003. Joburg boss demoted over housing shambles. *The Star*. 5 June. (online edition)
- Webster, Eddie. 1988. The rise of social-movement unionism: the two faces of the black trade union movement in South Africa. In *State, resistance and change in South Africa* edited by P Frankel, N Pines & M Swilling. London: Croom Helm.
- Wegerif, Mark. 2005. Land still in hands of a few in South Africa. *Socialist Worker*. 17 September. Issue 1968. (online edition)
- Welsh, David. 1984. Constitutional changes in South Africa. *African Affairs*. 83(331):147-62.
- Welsh, David. 1994. The making of the constitution. In *The bold experiment. South Africa's new democracy* edited by Hermann Giliomee, Lawrence Schlemmer, & Saurita Hauptfleisch. Johannesburg: Southern publishers.
- Wesson, Murray. 2004. Grootboom and beyond: reassessing the socio-economic jurisprudence of the South African Constitutional Court. *South African journal of human rights*. 20(2):284-308.
- Whiteford, Andrew, Posel, Dori, & Kelawateng, Teresa. 1995. *A profile of poverty, inequality and human development*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Williams, Lindsay. 2006. Johannesburg ghetto? *Business Day*. 03 March. (online edition)
- Williamson, John. 1998. *Globalization: The concept, causes and consequences*. Keynote address to the Congress of the Sri Lankan Association for the Advancement of Science.
<http://www.iie.com/publications/papers>
- Williamson, John. 2004. *A short history of the Washington Consensus*. Institute for International Economics. Washington, DC.
- Wilson, Monica, & Thompson, Leonard Montearth. 1969. *The Oxford history of South Africa. Volume 1, South Africa up to 1870*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wilson, Nick. 2006. Making room to move in SA's housing pinch. *Business Day*. 11 July. (online edition)

Wilson, Nick. 2006a. Aid of R37 bn fails to meet housing needs. *Business Day*. 10 July. (online edition)

Wilson, Nick. 2007. Housing gets R2,6bn boost from ABSA. *Business Day*. 2 April. (online edition)

Wilson, Nick & Marrs, Dave. 2004. Informal settlements are on the way out. *Business Day*. 3 September. (online edition)

Wilson, Stuart, & du Plessis, Jean. 2005. *Statement No.3: Housing and evictions in Johannesburg's Inner City: Forced evictions are not a legitimate tool of development*. Statement to the cities and slums workshop, held at the World Housing Congress, 25 September. University of Witwatersrand: Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Wodak, Ruth. 1989. *Language, power, and ideology. Studies in political discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Wolpe, Harold. 1972. Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid. *Economy and society*. 1(4) November:425-456.

Wolpe, Harold. 1988. *Race, class & the apartheid state*. London: James Currey.

Wolpe, Harold. 1995. The uneven transition from apartheid in South Africa. *Transformation*. 27:88-101.

Worden, Nigel. 1994. *The making of modern South Africa. Conquest, segregation and apartheid*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Worker's List Party. 1994. How should we resolve the land question. *African law review*. 5(2):13.

World Bank. 1991. *Aide Memoire. South African urban sector reconnaissance World Bank Mission*. 6 December.

World Bank. 1993. *Housing: enabling markets to work*. Washington, DC.

Wright, Erik Olin. 1997. *Class counts. Comparative studies in class analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, Erik Olin. 2001. Class and politics. In *Oxford companion to politics of the world* edited by Joel Krieger, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

www.2010cup.co.za. *Joburg pre-World Cup evictions violate rights*. Saturday 19 February. <http://www.2010cup.co.za/index>

Xundu, Xolani. 2001. Housing could get R1,3bn boost. *Business Day*. 18 December.

Xundi, Xolani. 2001a. Ekurhuleni mayor faces up to tough job. *Business Day*. 1 August.

Yin, Jing. 2007. The clash of rights. A critical analysis of news discourse on human rights in the United States and China. *Critical discourse studies*. 4(1):75-94.

Zabalaza, unfinished struggles against apartheid: the shack dweller's movement in Durban. nd.

Zikode, S'bu. 2006. *The greatest threat to future stability in our country vs the greatest strength of Abhlali Basemjondolo Movement*. Harold Wolpe Lecture, Howard College. 29 June. Centre for Civil Society, University of Natal. <http://www.nu.ac.za/ccs/>

Zikode, S'bu. 2006a. We are the Third force. 19 October. <http://www.abahlali.org/node/17>

Zikode, S'bu. 2008. Sekwanel!Sekwanel! (Enough is enough!). *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 43(1): 119-124.

Žižek, Slavoj. 1989. *The sublime object of ideology*. London: Verso.

Žižek, Slavoj. 2004. Knee deep. *London Review of Books*. 2 September. http://www.lrb.co.uk/v26/n17/zize01_.html

Zuern, Elke. 2004. Is SANCO a sleeping giant? *South African Labour Bulletin*. 28(5):10-17.

11.2 CASES CONSULTED

Budlender, Geoff. 2001. *Heads of argument on behalf of the amici curiae. In the Constitutional Court of South Africa, Case No. CCT 11/00, in the matter between Government of the Republic of South Africa, Premier of the Province of the Western Cape, Cape Metropolitan Council, Oostenberg Municipality, and Irene Grootboom and other applicants. The Human Rights Commission of South Africa and Community Law Centre intervening as amici curiae*. 30 January. <http://www.law-lib.utoronto.ca/Diana/fulltext/Groot2/htm>

City of Johannesburg v Rand Properties (Pty) Ltd and others [2006] 2 All SA 240 (W). High Court.

City of Johannesburg v Rand Properties (Pty) 2007 (1) SA 78 W, 2006 (6) Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports 728 (W).

City of Johannesburg v Rand Properties (Pty) Ltd 2007 SCA 25 (RSA).

Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others v Grootboom and Others. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2000 (11):1169-1210. Durban.

Grootboom v Oostenberg Municipality and Others. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2000(3):277-294. Durban.

Minister of Health and Others v Treatment Action Campaign and Others (1). Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2002(10):1033-1074. Durban.

Modder East Squatters and Another v Modderklip Boerdery (Pty) Ltd; President of the RSA and Others v Modderklip Boerdery (Pty) Ltd. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2004(8):821-843. (SCA) Durban.

Modderklip Boerdery (Edms) Bpk v President van die RSA en Andere. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2003(6):638-40. (T). Durban.

Mthembi-Mahanyele v Mail & Guardian Ltd and Another. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2004(11):1182-91. Durban.

Occupiers of 51 Olivia Road, Berea Township and Others v City of Johannesburg and Others. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2008(5):475-95. Durban.

Port Elizabeth Municipality v Various Occupiers. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2004(12):1268-1297. Durban.

President of South Africa and Another v Modderklip Boerdery (Pty) Ltd and Others. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2005 (8):786-811. (CC). Durban.

Soobramoney v Minister of Health, KwaZulu-Natal. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 1997(12):1696-1715. Durban.

State v Makwanyane and Another. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 1995. (6):665. Durban.

Treatment Action Campaign and Others v Minister of Health and Others. Butterworths Constitutional Law Reports. 2002(4):356-388. Durban.

Tswelopele non-profit organisation and 23 Others v City of Tshwane, Minister of Home Affairs, and Minister of Safety and Security. Supreme Court of Appeal of South Africa. Case:303/2006.

11.3 LEGISLATION, GOVERNMENT REPORTS, COMMISSIONS

de Loor, JH. 1992. *Housing South Africa. Proposals on policy and strategy. Report of the Task Group on national housing policy and strategy.* Pretoria: Perskor.

Department of Agriculture & Department of Land Affairs. 2005. *Report of the National Land Summit. 27-30 July 2005, NASREC, Johannesburg, Gauteng.*

Department of Housing. 1995. *Housing the nation. Annual report. 1994.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 1996. *Housing the nation. Annual report. 1995.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 1997. *Annual report. 1996.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 1998. *Annual report. 1997.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 1999. *Annual report. 1998.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 2000. *Housing the nation. Annual report. 1999.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 2001. *Annual report. 2000/2001.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 2003. *Annual report. 2002-2003.* Pretoria.

Department of Housing. 2004. *Adjustment of the Quantum of the Housing Subsidy for the new Financial Year.*

<http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/media-desk/Press%20Release>

Department of Housing. 2004a. *Breaking New Ground. A comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements.* 2 September.

Department of Housing, Gauteng. 2000. *Multi-year management plan. 2000\2001 to 2004\2005.* Johannesburg.

Department of Housing, Gauteng. 2001. *Review. 2000/2001.* Johannesburg.

Department of Housing, Gauteng. 2003. *Annual report. 2002/2003.* Johannesburg.

Department of Housing, Gauteng. 2004. *Strategic Plan. 2004-2007.* Johannesburg.

Department of Housing, Gauteng. 2005. *Registration of the informal settlements in Gauteng.* September.

Department of Housing, Gauteng. 2006. *Annual report 2006/2007.* Johannesburg. (online edition)

Department of Housing, Gauteng. 2008. *Budget speech for 2008/09 financial year presented by the MEC for Housing in Gauteng, Ms Nomvula Mokonyane, Gauteng Legislature, Johannesburg. 24 June.* http://www.info.gov.speeches/2008/080625_15151001.htm

Department of Provincial and Local Government. 2006. *Annual report 2005/6.* Pretoria.

Department of Land Affairs. 2003. *Land reform statistics.1994-March 2003.*

Department of National Treasury, RSA. 2005. *Provincial budgets and expenditure review.*

Herenigde Nasionale Party. 1947. *Verslag van die Kleurvraagstuk-Kommissie van die Herstigte Nasionale Party.*

Human Rights Commission.1999. *Economic and social rights report. Baseline information. 1997-1998.* Johannesburg.

Human Rights Commission. 2000. *2nd Economic and social rights report. 1998-1999.* Johannesburg.

Human Rights Commission. 2001. *3rd Economic and social rights report. 1999/2000.* Johannesburg.

Human Rights Commission. 2001a. *3rd Economic and social rights report. 1999/2000. Executive summary.* Johannesburg.

Human Rights Commission. 2004. *Economic and social rights. 5th report.* Housing. Johannesburg.

Human Rights Commission. 2006. *6th Economic and social rights report. 2003-2006.* Johannesburg.

Human Rights Commission. 2007. *Annual report, April 2006-March 2007.* Johannesburg.

NEDLAC. 2001. *Nedlac Annual Report 2000-2001. Socio-economic report.* http://www.nedlac.org.za/docs/reports/annual/2001/socio-economic_section.html

Province of Transvaal. 1922. *Report of the Local Government Commission (1921).* Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

Republic of South Africa. 1961. *Urban Bantu Councils Act. Act No. 79 of 1961.* Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. 1978. *Bantu (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1978. Act No. 97 of 1978*. Government Gazette, 30 June.

Republic of South Africa. 1978. *Financial Institutions Act, 1978. Act No. 80 of 1978*. Government Gazette, 21 June.

Republic of South Africa. 1978. *Legislation affecting the utilisation of manpower (excluding the legislation administered by the Departments of Labour and Mines)*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. 1980. *Report of the commission of inquiry into the riots at Soweto and elsewhere from the 16th June 1976 to the 28 of February 1977*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. 1982. *Black Local Authorities Act, 1982. Act No. 102 of 1982*. Government Gazette, 7 July.

Republic of South Africa. 1994. *The RDP White Paper*.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/white.html>

Republic of South Africa. 1994a. *A new housing policy and Strategy for South Africa*. Department of Housing.

Republic of South Africa. 1994b. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act No. 200 of 1993*.

Republic of South Africa. 1996. *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Act No. 108 of 1996*.

Republic of South Africa. 1996. *Debates of the National Assembly: Index to interpellations, questions and replies*. Hansard. Cape Town: Government Printer.

RSA, Hansards. 1996. *Debates of the National Assembly*. Thursday 20 June. Cape Town: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. 1997. *Debates of the National Assembly*. Hansard. Cape Town: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. 1997. *Housing Act, 1997. Act No. 107, 1997*. Government Gazette, 19 December.

Republic of South Africa. 1998. *Prevention of illegal eviction from and unlawful occupation of land Act, 1998. Act No. 19, 1998*. Government Gazette, 5 June.

Republic of South Africa. 2001. *Debates of the National Assembly*. Hansard. Cape Town: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. 2003. *Broad-based black economic empowerment Act, 2003, Act No. 53, 2003*. Government Gazette, 7 January 2004.

Republic of South Africa. 2008. *Prevention of illegal eviction from and unlawful occupation of land amendment bill*.
http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Item_ID=216&DocumentNumber=57

South African Human Rights Commission. 2000. *Statement on "the Grootboom case"*. 10 May. South African Government Information.
<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/000511955a1002htm>

South African Human Rights Commission. 2006. *Annual report 2005/2006*.

South African Law Commission. 1991. *Summary of the most important conclusions and recommendations of the South African Law Commission in its interim report regarding group and individual rights, August 1991*.

South African Law Commission. 1991a. *Report on constitutional models*. 3 volumes. Pretoria.

South African Law Commission. 1994. *Final report on Group and Human Rights*. October 1994.

South African Native Affairs Commission. 1905. *Report of the Commission. Volume 1 with Annexures and Appendices A and B*. Cape Town: Government Printers.

Union of South Africa. 1913. *Natives Land Act, 1913. Act no. 27 of 1913*. Government Gazette, 16 June.

Union of South Africa. 1920. *Housing Act, 1920. Act No. 35 of 1920*. Government Gazette, 16 August.

Union of South Africa. 1923. *Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923. Act No. 21 of 1923*. Government Gazette, 14 June.

Union of South Africa. 1936. *Native Trust and Land Act, 1936. Act No. 18 of 1936*. Statutes of the Union of South Africa. Cape Town: Government Printer.

Union of South Africa. 1948. *Report of the Native Laws Commission, 1946-48*. Department of Native Affairs. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Union of South Africa. 1950. *Group Areas Act. Act No. 41 of 1950*. Parow, Cape Town: Government Printer.

Union of South Africa. 1950a. *Immorality Amendment Act. Act No. 21 of 1950*. Parow, Cape Town: Government Printer.

Union of South Africa. 1951. *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. Act No. 51 of 1951*. Parow, Cape Town: Government Printer.

Union of South Africa. 1955. *Summary of the Report of the Commission for the socio-economic development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Union of South Africa. 1957. *Housing Act. Act No. 10 of 1957*. Parow, Cape Town: Government Printer.

Wilson, Stuart. 2007. *Comment on General Notice 1851 of 2006. Prevention of illegal eviction from and unlawful occupation of land amendment bill*. Johannesburg: Centre for Applied Legal Studies. 20 February.