



**AN EVALUATION OF THE PROCESS FOLLOWED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT IN TRANSFORMING INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS INTO FORMAL
SETTLEMENTS**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study interrogates the process followed by the South African government in transforming informal settlements into formal settlements, with specific reference to Khayelitsha Township, located just outside of Cape Town. Three informal settlements within Khayelitsha Township (Nkanini in Makhaza, RR and BM both in Site B) were identified for purposes of conducting this study. This study aims to interrogate the government's effort to eradicate informal settlements. It employed a quantitative tradition where a structured questionnaire was distributed to 100 subjects. These included ward councillors, government managers, researchers on Community-Based-Organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations.

The study revealed that research participants believed that there were no changes taking place in the informal settlements and they are growing in a fastest pace. The study findings also depicted that in order to transform informal settlements all key stakeholders should work in collaboration with each other. This study will contribute to the body of knowledge as there is paucity of data regarding the transformation of informal settlements to formal housing.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my late mother who played an enormous role in my upbringing by guiding and encouraging me to be a visionary person in life.

To my children, you have been my yardstick in testing my courage. This work is to guide you towards a brighter and more responsible future

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GLOSSARY

Term/Acronym/Abbreviation	Definition/Explanation
Adequate shelter	A structured house that is within a serviced area meant for human settlement (Department of Housing, 2004:1).
Authority	Government power to make binding decisions and issue obligatory commands. Such power must be perceived by citizens as rightful or acceptable and therefore to be obeyed. Individuals or groups in positions of authority have power based on the general agreement that they have the “right” to issue decisions or commands which others must obey (Jackson & Jackson, 1997:10).
BP	Building Project
Budget constraint	The effect of having a limited amount of money to spend for housing, food, etc (Morris & Winter, 1978:162).
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CHP	Community Housing Project
Constitution	The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 as the supreme law of the Republic, law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid, and the obligations imposed by it must be fulfilled (South Africa, 1996:3).
Coroneis	Landlords who had power over the land or property and who owned slaves or peasants in Brazil during the time of colonialism (Keen & Haynes, 2000:244)
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
Direct relationship	In a direct relationship, a variable influences another

	variable directly without the intervening influence of other variables, the influence may be either positive or negative, to be contrasted with indirect relationship. For example, decreases in household size have a direct effect on the occurrence of residential alterations (Morris & Winter, 1978:189).
Fazendeiros	Landlords in Brazil who had Portuguese ancestry during colonial period between 16 th and 18 th century (Keen & Haynes, 2000:244).
GIS	Geographic Information System
Housing	Refers to a decent house for human settlement (Department of Housing, 2004:1).
Household	All people living together in a house (Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary, 1995:580).
IDP	Integrated Development Plans
Informal settlement	Refers to a place that is not planned in terms of infrastructure and not meant for human settlement, but there are people living there in shacks as their means of shelter (Department of Housing, 2004:5).
Limits	The point, line, or level beyond which something does not continue (Oxford Students' Dictionary, 2002:596).
Migration	Refers to intercommunity, intermetropolitan, or long-distance moving, usually for purposes other than housing adjustment (Morris & Winter, 1978:81).

Minifudio peasants	Brazil's peasants during colonialism who were from uneconomical small plots and worked with primitive techniques (Keen & Haynes, 2000:244).
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSDP	National Spatial Development Perspective
Poverty line	Point of demarcation or criterion line established by the Social Security Administration or other agency on the basis of family income, family size and composition, and residence (farm or nonfarm) to distinguish between poverty and non-poverty population (Morris & Winter, 1978:291).
PR	Public Representatives
Rental	The amount paid to or received by landlord as a rent from a tenure (Oxford Students' Dictionary, 2002:876).
Tenure	Is the mode of holding or possessing housing. Ownership and rental are common tenure types. Ownership may be divided into conventional ownership, condominium ownership, and co-operative ownership. In addition, a form of rental tenure may involve payment of no rent as in the case of a family permitted to occupy a dwelling at no cost. There are also "salary in kind" arrangements as in parsonages provided for ministers and "tenant" houses for farm laborers as a part of their pay (Morris & Winter, 1978:123).

Segregate	To cause, or to become separate or to keep apart, often for social reasons and especially because of race or sex for an example in South Africa apartheid led to the segregation based on race (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 1995:1285).
Social	Is concerning the organisation and relations between people and communities or any activity that relates to the society "for an example social economic conditions" (Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary, 1995:1127).
Social integration	Is the behavior and interactional system of a subgroup is meshed with and congruent with that of the greater society or with other subgroups within that society (Morris & Winter, 1978:41).
Social mobilisation	Is a process of raising awareness or consciousness amongst people of diverse interests and cultural backgrounds so that they can organise themselves to take collective action around common problems (Taylor, 1997:22).
Society	Is a large group of people who live together in an organised way, making decision about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done. All people in a country, or several similar countries can be referred to as a society (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 1995:1370)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Considerable energy has been focused on the redevelopment of areas like Khayelitsha which were previously excluded from the broader development embarked upon by the former apartheid government. As this area almost constitute a third of the residents of Cape Town and is designated as development node under the Presidential Urban Renewal Programme, it is imperative that informal settlements in this township be transformed into formal settlements for people living in these areas to equally enjoy the fruits of this development (City of Cape Town, 2005a:9).

Disgruntled residents of 15 informal settlements in Khayelitsha threatened to continuously stage service delivery protests if the City of Cape Town did not respond to their demands to be relocated to sites with better living conditions. Informal housing lobby group, Abahlali baseMjondolo, highlighted the fact that protesters would make Khayelitsha and the city ungovernable until the city council responded to their demands. About 150 informal dwellers marched to the Civic Centre to hand over a memorandum of concerns to the Mayor of the City of Cape Town. Each community included its own demands and amongst issues they raised was the relocation to better serviced sites where they would be given houses (Lewis, 2009:4).

This study evaluated the transformation process of informal settlements into formal settlements by the South African government, looking at Khayelitsha Township as a specific reference. Khayelitsha is one of the biggest townships on the outskirts of the city. The majority of the people live in informal houses and a large portion of these informal houses are located within informal settlements. Established in 1994, Khayelitsha has increased in population and informal settlements continue to grow. According to Lewis (2009:4) the number of informal settlement areas contained within Khayelitsha Township alone, now stands at 15.

The study sought to evaluate whether government had delivered on transforming informal settlements into formal settlements, and to identify available resources at the disposal of government, which could be utilised for the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements. Direct interaction with stakeholders working within informal settlements was one of the focus points of collecting the data at grass roots level about the experience of life within

informal settlements. The role of three spheres of government was interrogated in order to evaluate the level of co-operation among these government departments in the process of transforming informal settlements into formal settlements.

The Department of Housing (South Africa. Department of Housing, 2004:1) mentions that:

Within the urban context, there has been rapid growth. One fifth of urban residents are new-comers to urban areas. The country's urban areas are expected to grow at a rate of 2.7% per annum with Gauteng experiencing twice the national population growth rate, followed by the Western Cape, KwaZulu Natal and Mpumalanga.

According to the above citation, migration into the cities of South Africa by those who leave rural areas, leads to the housing shortage.

Between 15 and 20% of the City's residents live in informal settlements in an estimated 100 000 informal structures. Given the housing backlog of 240 000 units and still growing, there is little chance of formalizing these settlements in the near future. However, the City is committed to a policy of urgent *in situ* upgrading of these areas (City of Cape Town, 2005a:9). According to the situation in Cape Town as cited above, townships in South Africa are faced with the problem of multiplication of informal settlements. This causes difficulties and delays in delivery of houses by government to citizens who have been waiting for house for extended periods of time. Formalisation of these informal settlements is limited as planning of local government is at times interrupted by growing numbers of people that cannot afford to rent or build their own houses.

An article in the *Cape Argus* on 17 July 2009 reported:

Residents of the flooded QQ informal settlement in Khayelitsha who staged fierce service delivery protests earlier this week will only be relocated to dry land next year, says the Mayor of the City of Cape Town. The mayor also mentioned that, about 300 families from the QQ and RR sections in Site B Khayelitsha would be moved to the Bardale temporary relocation area in October 2009. The above mentioned informal settlements are amongst old informal settlements that do not get transformed into formal settlements (Hweshe, 2009:4).

Based on the above report by Hweshe, the problem statement for this study may be described as below.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The City of Cape Town initiated a policy to re-block the mushrooming of informal settlements it is called Proactive Re-blocking of Informal Settlements (Policy number 13282). This shows the panic from the side of the City of Cape Town about the pace in which informal settlements are growing. The City of Cape Town (2013:5) cites that, "The policy serves to inform the City's activity in the re-blocking of informal settlements". National and Provincial Governments have failed to eradicate informal settlements by 2014 as stipulated in one of government policies (Breaking New Grounds). Housing backlog has grown exponentially since 1994 and this left informal settlements mushrooming under extreme poverty conditions (Mukorombindo, 2014:2)

This study connotes that, there is a notable stagnation in the process of the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements in South Africa. The City of Cape Town (2013) and Mukorombindo (2014) are in support of this problem statement.

1.3 KEY QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO THE STUDY

- What is an impact of economic, political and social on the establishment of informal settlements?
- What is an international experience on the transformation of informal settlements?
- Does the South African government meeting its constitutional obligation to provide adequate shelter for its citizens?
- What is an international experience with regards to the transformation of informal settlements?

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Brynard and Hanekom (2006:36) argue that:

The research methodology (i.e. a group or body of methods) of collecting data necessitates a reflection on the planning, structuring and execution of the research in order to comply with the demands of truth, objectivity and validity. Hence, research methodology focuses on the process of research and the decisions that the researcher has to take to execute the research project.

Methodology connotes a set of rules and procedures to guide research against which its claims can be evaluated. It is therefore fundamental to the construction of all forms of knowledge. While it is too simplistic to liken it to a recipe, it could be thought of as a set of guidelines that are widely known and generally adhered to. These procedures as they have been built up over time help both to define a subject discipline and to differentiate it from others. These rules and conventions give the researcher a structure of enquiry and a set of rules of influence drawing conclusions from evidence (Miller & Brewer, 2003:192).

Qualitative researchers are interested in meaning, how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world. Qualitative research involves fieldwork and the researcher physically goes to the people, setting sites or institutions to observe or record behaviour in its natural setting (Creswell, 1994:145).

There are important differences between quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Quantitative research wants to evaluate objective data, while qualitative research is concerned with subjective data. In dealing with numbers, quantitative research uses complex structured methods for analysis, while qualitative research uses flexible and explorative methods. Quantitative research deals with an abstraction of reality. Qualitative research bases its results on the behaviour of people. Quantitative research tries to understand the facts of an investigation from an outsider's perspective, while qualitative research tries to get an insider's perspective of the investigation (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005:8).

Due to the nature of the research project undertaken, quantitative approach was considered appropriate for this study. The questionnaire has been distributed to Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community-Based Organisations (CBOs), Government Officials (GOs) and Public Representatives (PR) related to informal settlements.

A questionnaire was utilised as the instrument for data collection. No field workers were tasked with the distribution, collection and administering of the questionnaires. All administration of questionnaire was undertaken by the researcher.

1.4.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a document; which includes questions and other types of items that are designed to solicit data that is appropriate for analysis. In using closed-ended questions, the respondent must select an answer from a list of multiple-choice answers provided by the researcher. Because the questions are closed-ended, responses are uniform and more easily processed than responses to open-ended questions. Data obtained from a Likert-type questionnaire may then be converted into numbers (given a numerical value), to interpret and conduct statistical analysis (Babbie, 2010:256).

A questionnaire must be presented to each respondent in exactly the same way to minimise the role and influence of the interviewer and to enable a more objective comparison of the results. In order to be useful and reliable, a questionnaire must satisfy a certain number of criteria. Questionnaires can be used without direct personal contact with respondents, that is, without the help of an interviewer. These are self-administered questionnaires to be filled in by respondents themselves. This can be done by distributing the questionnaire and collecting it after it has been completed by the respondents (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995:107-108).

Questionnaires have an advantage over interviews, because interviews require a researcher to have undergone particular training that will equip him or her to understand the dynamics of conducting an interview. Questionnaires usually consist of many items that when combined, produce more reliable measures of construct than would any single item. Different techniques exist for combining items to produce single scores. Usually, the researcher wants a summary number that reflects a single underlying dimension measured by all of the items. The questionnaire can start from strongly agree to strongly disagree to show how the respondent feels about the question. This seeks to express the experience of the respondent on the issue as asked in the questionnaire (Dooley, 1995:103).

Data collected must be valid, consistent and representative of the population from which the sample respondents were derived. A Likert-type questionnaire was used for the study, with closed-ended questions and multiple-choice answers.

The questionnaire was distributed to stakeholders working within the housing environment. These are stakeholders such as NGOs, CBOs, GOs and Public Representatives (PRs), for

example councilors who are based within the areas where research is conducted as well as Western Cape and City of Cape Town officials working in housing environment. The researcher selected 100 participants who responded to the questions raised in the questionnaire. These respondents were people who have knowledge about housing and the environment of informal settlements.

1.4.2 Data analysis and interpretation

Data can be explained as statistics (facts) gathered for reference or analysis. Data interpretation is a process which allows conclusions to be drawn about the data which has been obtained and analysed.

According to Tesch (1990) cited in Creswell (1994:153):

Several components might comprise the discussion about the plan for analysing the data. The process of data analysis is eclectic; there is no right way. Data analysis requires that the researcher be comfortable with developing categories and making comparisons and contrasts. It is also required that a researcher be open to possibilities and see contrary or alternative explanations for the findings. Also the tendency is for beginning researchers to collect much more information than they can manage or reduce to a meaningful analysis.

A proper conclusion is grounded on careful analysis and interpretation of data gathered in the light of the basic question being researched. According to Bouma (2000:204) four basic questions guide the activities of data analysis and interpretation:

1. What did you ask?
2. What did you find?
3. What do you conclude?
4. To whom do your conclusions apply?

Based on these four questions by Bouma, a researcher may be guided in analysing and interpreting data, avoiding bias or subscribing to the views of individuals or certain ideologies.

Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:99-100) argue that:

Data can be classified under different aspects, referring to the way in which it has been collected or to some of its intrinsic properties. When researchers collect their own data for the particular purpose of their research, such data are called primary data. Data collected in this way are the most adequate to fulfill the aims of the research, since the gathering of the data is directed towards answering precisely the question raised by the researcher.

Very often, however, the researchers have to use data collected by other investigators in connection with other research problems (or as part of the usual gathering of social data, as in the case of population census). This constitutes secondary data. The adequacy of such data for the particular research problem may not be very good, since the purpose of its collection might have been slightly different from that of the present research. The data might also have been based on different operational definitions and little may be known of other possible biases in the data collection, such as sampling biases.

It is important to adhere closely to a simple description of the data, leaving speculation and discussion for the next section. Data is presented that are relevant to the issues you raised and clarified before. It is important to present the findings that are relevant to the hypothesis or question guiding your research in a consistent manner (Bouma, 2000:220).

Data was collected by using a questionnaire to gather the views of the participants in preparation for analysis, report generation, presentation of findings lastly to generate recommendations for the study. The researcher then analysed and interpreted this data, taking information that was relevant to the issues raised in this study and that would guide the formulation of the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Pampallis (1991:183) argues that, “the other pillar of the new apartheid state was provided by the Group Areas Act of 1950 which designated specific urban areas for occupation by particular racial groups. When an area was set aside for a particular group, all non-members of that group could be forced to move. The Group Areas Act was used to remove hundreds of thousands of black people from their homes and businesses to various townships in their own group areas”.

Segregational laws created by the apartheid government made the majority of South African people especially Africans to find themselves in unpleasant situations. The study seeks to provoke awareness amongst communities affected by the problem as well as to the authorities that have an obligation of providing services to the citizens that, there is a problem pertaining to the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements. The outcomes of this study could serve as part of the literature that may be used in further studies relating to this field. This

study provides recommendations that may be used for policy review towards the process of the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Below are the objectives of this study.

- To interrogate the economic, political and social issues of informal settlements;
- To explain the international trends in the conversion of informal settlements to formal settlements;
- To describe the legislative framework, the role of the three spheres of government and current and future plans towards the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.
- To conduct an empirical study to have recommendations that could assist in the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.

1.7 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The focus of this study was on the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements within South African townships, with specific reference to three informal settlements of Khayelitsha township. These three informal settlements are Nkanini informal settlement in Makhaza and RR and BM informal settlements in Site B sections of Khayelitsha township.

1.8 ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

The study is divided into five chapters, as outlined below.

Chapter one

Chapter One introduces the study and gives the background. It further describes the research problem and the key questions pertaining to the research and the objectives of the research study are delineated. The significance of the study is discussed. Additionally, the chapter explains the research methodology and design.

Chapter two

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the evolution of informal settlements by comparing Brazil and South Africa and international trends are also discussed. It interrogates the contributing factors to the existence of informal settlements. It also focuses on the process of transforming informal settlements.

Chapter three

This chapter interrogates the legislative framework by making comparison between mandate provided by the Constitution and the existing legislations that seek to address the issue of housing provision to South African citizens. It also investigates existing plans of the government that seek to transform informal settlements into formal settlements.

Chapter four

This chapter discusses the research methodology applied to the study.

Chapter five

This chapter discusses the

Chapter six

Chapter Five concludes and makes recommendations based on the study findings.

1.9 SUMMARY

Chapter One identified the research problem as being a notable stagnation in the process of transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements. A qualitative research approach in the form of a questionnaire survey among a sample of officials from government, NGOs and CBOs was the preferred methodology for the project. The study was confined to three informal settlements within Khayelitsha township. It is expected that the research will generate information that could be useful in policy review for accelerating transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.

CHAPTER TWO

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON THE EVOLUTION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN BRAZIL AND SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two offers a comparative analysis of the evolution of informal settlements between Brazil and South Africa. Brazil has historic background of poverty, slums and economic development trends that are identical to those of South Africa. Brazil is one of the largest developing countries in the world with a lot of similarities to South African living conditions. Its colonisation and industrialisation developments led to the urbanization that gave birth to shantytowns with similar elements to a manner in which South African informal settlements were established.

This chapter focuses on the theory for the study, enquiring how Brazilian informal settlements evolved as compared to the evolvement of South African informal settlements. International trends on informal settlements are also examined to see the linkage between these two countries and other incidents as transpiring worldwide.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Hartman and Hedblom (1979:134-135) state that:

The data collection stage is one of the most crucial steps in the research process. Data collection is occasionally mandated by the nature of the research problem addressed, but more commonly, an area of choice exists. The relative strengths and weaknesses of each choice must be carefully weighed with regard to the amount of the time and money available for completion of the project. Although combinations of collection methods are equally possible in whatever data collection technique utilized, it is mandatory that some form of control be employed in handling data. This is true whether one is engaged in library research or handling data collection by questionnaires, observation, secondary data records, or any other source.

Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:22) argue that:

In order to conceive the research topic in a way that permits a clear formulation of the problem and hypothesis, some background information is necessary. This is obtained mainly by reading whatever has been published that appears relevant to the research topic. This process is called literature review. Although acquaintance with different theories and models as well as research results takes place, literature review is an ongoing process. This is the case not only because the relevant research results can be published at any time but also because, in the course of research, new aspects and problems arise requiring new information.

Literature review is valuable for the validation of the findings of the study. This assists in prevention of the duplication of the work and affords a researcher an opportunity to engage in new ways that can be employed in improving the lives of the people. For this study the literature review assisted in linking this study with previous studies in a similar field and revealed new aspects and problems around the delays in transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements within South African townships. The researcher collected and analysed the data obtained from various sources that are relevant to this study. Literature used for this study comprised published books, government policies, plans and reports, and newspaper articles.

2.3 INTERNATIONAL TRENDS

According to Abrams (1964) cited in Herbert and Thomas (1997:55):

The poor live in situations of extreme hardship. In terms of housing there were three classes of poor urbanites. First, the homeless or street sleepers often numbered hundreds of thousands and included the recent migrants, refugees, disabled or elderly people and abandoned children, all living in abject poverty. Second, the slum or tenement dwellers, especially in South Asia, occupy densely built-up areas of the old cities. Their problems are overcrowding in multi-occupied buildings with severe shortages of basic facilities, "home" could be a small, windowless cubicle, shared by between six and ten people, in the centre of a tenement block. Third, the squatter, or occupants of the shantytown, are, by definition, illegal occupants of urban space though many, through length of tenure, have achieved a kind of de facto legality.

Perhaps the most extreme case of social segregation which manifests itself today is that of the segregation of many of the New Commonwealth immigration in the world's cities. In their more extreme form, these areas, particularly those housing coloured immigrants, have come to be called ghettos. The ghetto was the quarter of medieval city reserved for the Jews and takes its name from Ghetto in Venice. It implies an extreme degree of segregation produced by a variety of forces. In South Africa racial and economic divide played an enormous role in the development of informal settlements. South African cities are, without doubt, the most rigidly segregated, although most developed western countries do seem to show some measure of ethnic and cultural segregation. A study of the coloured population in Birmingham based on the 1961 and 1971 census has shown how those classified by the census as New Commonwealth (Indian, Pakistan, Bangladeshi and West Indian) have concentrated their residences in distinct parts of the city. In 1961 most West Indian districts had only 36% of residents born in West Indies, whereas 61% had been born there by 1971. The main areas were to the north and west of the centre in an area of multiple occupancy of lodging houses or poor quality housing, such as Sparkbrook and Handsworth (Burtenshaw, 1983:64-65).

UN-Habitat (2005) cited in Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006:1) states that:

In most developing countries, informal settlements have marked the urban landscape for at least half a century. As cities have expanded, so have the informally developed residential areas. Where development has been uneven, particularly in situations of war and large-scale displacement, informal development has overtaken the formal, resulting in a majority of the sub-Saharan African urban population residing in informal settlements.

According to Gilbert and Gugler (1982:89), as a broad definition, spontaneous settlements (informal settlements) fall normally into two or more of the following categories:

First, most of the dwelling was built by family which originally occupied or now occupy it;

Second, the spontaneous settlement as originally founded suffered from some degree of illegality or lacked planning permission;

Third, when the settlement was first formed most forms of infrastructure and services were lacking and in many settlements services are still lacking; and

Fourth, the settlements are occupied by the poor, however defined.

According to Huchzermeyer (2004:7-8) "enquiries into the question of informal settlement intervention have traditionally fallen into either the Marxist or the liberal framework, although common uncertainties associated with a rapidly changing globalising future appear to have more recently reduced the paradigmatic divides between scholars. Both the liberal and the Marxist frameworks have contributed to an understanding of the informal settlement question. Concerned primarily with the contradictions in the capitalist mode of production, the Marxist framework has enabled an understanding of informal settlements as a manifestation of social exploitation by the dominant capitalist class. Marxist studies have focused on the socio-political rather than physical dimension of informal settlement, emphasising the informal settlement mobilisation as a means to incite fundamental societal change that would bring an end to capitalist exploitation. From the perspective of this framework, the alleviation of physical conditions within informal settlements (through measures such as infrastructural upgrading) is critiqued in its perpetuation of the status quo, and more strategically in its potential for quietening protest.

The liberal framework, in turn, implicitly accepts the capitalist continuum and its inherent exploitation, which leads to the on-going formation of new informal settlements. Its studies on informal settlements intervention have sought not to fundamentally challenge the structure of society, but to reduce the consequences of exploitation in the reproductive sphere. Scholars working within this framework have enabled a better understanding of the coping mechanisms through which informal settlement residents survive on their minimal share in the economy. In the 1960s, such enquiries led social researchers to conclude that conventional "squatter removal" and re-housing were doing more damage than good in the absence of meaningful economic upliftment of the beneficiaries. They suggested, instead, approaches that would build on processes already existing within informal settlements. This includes dwellers' involvement in an approach broadly termed "self-help". Neither of these frameworks, however, informed the informal settlement paradigm in South Africa. Indeed, internationally, mainstream informal settlement intervention since the 1970s has been driven not by Marxist or liberal insights, but by a separate framework that is "market driven", or neo-liberal".

UN Habitat, 2003 in Ziblim (2013:4) argue that, "The last two decades has been increasing global attention on the need to tackle the emergence and growth of slums or informal settlements across the world's cities. The third United Nations (UN) Conference in Istanbul in June 1996, which gave birth to the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements, marked a

significant turning point in the global policy discourse on the need to ensure adequate shelter for all. This policy agenda was later given fresh impetus within the framework of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which provides under Goal 7 Target 11, to significantly improve the lives of over 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020”.

The migration into cities due to search of economic opportunities resulted in the establishment of shantytowns. The notion of establishing industries in cities forced those that are in rural areas to migrate into cities in search of jobs. There is a relationship between poverty and the establishment of informal settlements. Economic situation in rural areas forces people to migrate into cities with the hope of getting jobs as soon as they arrive into cities. Whilst looking for the job or at early stages after obtaining the job, there is another element that those migrated into cities are faced with that of looking for an accommodation. This resulted in a situation where they have to devise cheaper means of accommodation hence shantytown were established. This argument is supported by the sentiments that are argued by the following authors: Herbert and Thomas, Burtenshaw, Huchzermeyer and Karam, Gilbert and Gugler and Huchzermeyer as cited above. In their arguments, all of these authors cite the relationship between the establishment of informal settlements and poverty.

The emergence and growth of slums poses a threat to the governments of the world. There is a lack of policy position that seeks to address the issue of slums and improve the lives of slum dwellers. Most of the countries that are affected by the challenges of slums including South Africa have not met UN Millennium Development Goals which amongst others is to significantly improve the lives of slum dwellers. This is supported by the UN arguments in Ziblim as cited above and this study seeks to investigate the process that the South African government is following to transform informal settlements into formal settlements.

2.4 BRAZIL AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

In Brazil, like any other developing country that was colonised, the political and social changes have been influenced by an economic system that has been introduced by the mother colony. Models of these political and social changes premise from colonialism that created high levels of segregation in the country. It is imperative to understand developments of informal settlements within Brazil from this historic context in order to employ relevant mechanisms in transforming these settlements into formal settlements (Agnew, Mercer & Sopher, 1984:79).

The colonial rule in Brazil shaped Brazilian living conditions to be that of poor and rich where people have to live in two worlds within one country. This situation forces the poor to depend on industries and move from rural areas into cities where economic opportunities have been created. Since the focus of Brazil's populace changed from that of rural areas to urban areas, Brazil too had to change its policies especially policies that deal with housing and urban development. These policy changes seek to accommodate poor people that moved from rural areas to cities in search of jobs. Government had to create conducive grounds for poor people to be able to live in cities, and these provisions had to be cheap in order to suit the environment of poor people. Although government realised the need for policy adjustments to address accommodation needs of those migrated into cities could not be able to curb the establishment of informal settlements (Keen & Haynes, 2000:236).

According to Ember and Ember (2001:289), "by far the most important change in Brazil's history has been its shift from a predominantly rural to an urban society. As recently as 1940, more than two-thirds of Brazilians lived in rural areas, in 2000 the proportion of rural dwellers had dropped to 22%. The "urban designation", however, includes many small cities as well as the large population centers of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. With urbanisation has come a number of intractable social problems. The large cities of southern Brazil have long attracted migrants from the impoverished north, but the economies of these cities have not expanded rapidly enough to absorb all these migrants. Unemployment, underemployment at subsistence wages, poverty, and crime have been the results. So, too, has been the growth of shantytowns, such as the famed hillside favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Favelas are extralegal settlements consisting of makeshift dwellings that lack urban services".

Brazilian poor people migrate from rural areas into cities and when they arrive in these cities they opt to stay in favelas or shantytowns as these are cheap places in which to live. The favelas are one of the most striking features of Brazilian cities. Every major city has them, housing about a fifth of Brazil's urban population. The largest and oldest favelas like Jacarezinho in Rio de Janeiro are the size of large towns, with over 32 000 residents. The large favelas occupy locations on the fringes of cities where there is plenty of available land. However, the most urgent need of the residents (the favelados) is money, so more often than not they build their shacks in smaller favelas on vacant land closer to opportunities for work. They are found around the city centres, on building sites, by railways and factories or anywhere that offers some hope of employment (Reed, 1989:71).

The argument by Agnew, Mercer and Sopher, Keen & Haynes, Ember and Ember and Reed affirm that Brazil's informal settlements are perpetually growing and is one of the developing countries that the majority of its population becomes urbanised. These informal settlements are at the periphery of the cities and people living in those are under poor conditions. This urbanisation put pressure to government

2.4.1 Brazil's economic issues related to the emergence of informal settlements

Keen and Haynes (2000:359) argue that:

Industrialisation and urbanisation weakened the foundation of neocolonial order, which was based on the primacy of agriculture and dependence on foreign markets and loans, but it emerged from the war essentially intact, although its stabilisation proved temporary and precarious. A chronically adverse balance of trade and a declining rate of exchange against foreign currencies gave the Brazilian industry a competitive advantage in goods of popular consumption. It continued to grow, but it had little support from a central government dominated by the coffee interests. Bitter debates between the friends and foes of tariff protection for industry marked the political life of the 1920s.

Brazil is often in the news; the reports in Brazilian newspapers are usually about new factories and power stations, football matches and the high life in the cities and outside Brazil the news is different. The fact is that Brazil is changing very rapidly, but the way in which Brazil is changing has raised many important issues about the style of development. In its bid to develop its

economic wealth, Brazil has forgotten about the lives of ordinary people who are affected by the changes. While foreign companies are quick to exploit Brazil's rich resources, they are very slow to show any concern for the damage that they are doing to the environment. People of Brazil remain poor hence they largely depend on informal settlements as a form of accommodation in the periphery of cities (Reed, 1989:9).

Brazil has changed from being rural-dominant where agri-business has been leading the country's economy as a source of income, to urban areas where people depend on industries as a source of income. This changing character of Brazil forced people to migrate from rural areas into urban areas due to the better economic opportunities that prevail in cities. New factories and developments that are taking place in cities enticed poor people. This movement into cities brought new challenges as poor people have to look for cheap accommodation whilst they are in the city looking for jobs. Due to the challenge of limited resources for those that migrate into cities from rural and poor backgrounds, they opt to stay in shantytowns (informal settlements) as this is a cheaper form of accommodation. Staying in informal settlements is the better option for poor people whilst in cities looking for economic opportunities because they do not have the means to rent or buy town houses. This discussion is supported by Keen and Haynes in their discussion as to how industrialisation and urbanisation have affected the social formation of Brazil.

2.4.2 Brazil's political issues related to the emergence of informal settlements

Brazil had its own revolution where alliances were formed and these alliances were formed to defeat dictatorship. The liberal revolution of 1930 represented a victory for the urban bourgeois group who favoured industrialisation and the modernisation of Brazil's economic, political and social structures. But the bourgeoisie had gained that victory with the help of allies whose interests had to be taken into account. Gaúlio Vargas presided over a heterogeneous coalition that included conservative *fazendeiros* who had joined the revolution from jealousy of the overweening Paulista power but feared radical social change and intellectuals and tenets who called for agrarian reform, the formation of co-operatives and the nationalisation of mines. Women's groups and others disadvantaged by oligarchical rule and market forces pressured Vargas to endorse their campaign for liberation. The Brazilian Black Front, established in 1931, organised massive protests against racial discrimination, advocated laws to require racial

integration of all public places, educated Afro-Brazilians about Pan-Africanist political movements and sought Black representation in the national Congress. The working class, as vital as it is towards the development of capitalism, remained a potential threat to the endeavors of capitalism. Finally, Vargas had to take account of foreign capital interests, temporarily weakened but capable of applying great pressure on the Brazilian economy when the capitalist world emerged from the depths of the Great Depression. Vargas's strategy of attempting to balance and reconcile these conflicting interests helps to explain the contradictions and abrupt shifts that marked his political career on the expense of the poor who happened to be victims of industrialisation. These poor masses were forced to adapt to industrialism that repositioned them from rural areas to city as the source of income was rapidly changing from agrarian to industrialism (agrarian in rural areas and industries in cities) (Keen & Haynes, 2000:363).

According to Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006:19):

Informal housing, even if based on the illegal occupation of land, is recognised by some as a more affordable and more immediately accessible solution to the housing deficit. However, unplanned occupation, while meeting certain shelter needs, often leads to conditions that pose a risk to the inhabitants. These settlements therefore require technical and socio-economic intervention. Such intervention, however, does not happen in isolation from urban, often national and even global politics. The political decision for intervention may be top-down and at times repressive, or, at the other extreme, may be the result of intense mobilisation, internationally, nationally or on the part of informal settlement residents.

Brazil's political landscape repositioned people from rural areas to cities. This process of repositioning led to a situation where people who could not afford to rent or buy town houses had to opt to build informal settlements in the outskirts of the cities. This became a cheaper way for the poor to access accommodation in the cities. The introduction of industrialism over the agrarian way of the economy has been dominated by foreign ideas and this system had no provisions for poor people of Brazil hence they were systematically sidelined from accessing accommodation in the city. This is what mostly happens in third world countries when industrialisation is introduced.

According to Keen and Haynes (2000:376):

The first acts of military leaders of the self-proclaimed "democratic revolution" on April 1964 revealed their long-range intentions. On April 9, the Supreme Revolutionary Command issued the First Institutional Act, permitting the president to rule by decree, declare a state of siege, and deprive any citizen of civil rights for a period of ten years. A docile Congress approved the military's choice for president, General Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco. Like many of his colleagues, Castelo Branco was a product of the Escola Superior de Guerra (School of High Military Studies), dominated in recent years by advocates of linha dura (hard line), whose main tenets were fanatical anticommunism, favourable treatment of foreign capital, and acceptance of the leadership of the United States in foreign affairs.

The First Institutional Act passed to allow the president to rule by decree, declare a state of siege and deprive citizens any civil rights, was introduced to protect the interests of foreign capital and prevent protests that might be staged by Brazil's poor people that happened to be the victims of industrialism. The suppression of civil rights was to ensure that Brazil's citizens that happened to be excluded by the industrialisation process, do not demand land within cities and are forced to come and work for industries owned by foreign capital. As citizens were denied rights, this act also denied them an opportunity to have access to adequate shelter. The argument by Keen and Haynes show the historic dictatorship that suppressed the rights of poor people especially around cities.

Tomlinson (1990:84) states that:

During the 1950s and much of the 1960s, government attempts to address housing shortages took the form of public sector construction. This was a mimicking in colonial countries of practice in the metropolitan countries. Even so, attention to the housing problem was not as pronounced as it is today. For one thing, the colonial authorities felt little pressure to prioritise the problem, partly because the extent of the urbanisation process getting under way was yet to be realised and the size of the forthcoming housing demand pressure on services was still unanticipated. A related reason was that during this period the attention of the World Bank, which was to become a central actor in self-help housing programmes, was directed at national and sectoral economic objectives, not at the growth of cities and the welfare of the poor. Public housing efforts are generally considered to have failed: not enough houses were constructed, they were constructed to

too high a standard, they were too expensive, and they were usually allocated unfairly, with the most common beneficiaries being civil servants.

2.4.3 Brazil's social issues related to the emergence of informal settlements

Lambert (1959) cited in Wheeler and Beatley (2009:45) argues that:

The Brazilians are divided into two systems of economic and social organisation. These two societies did not evolve at the same rate. The two Brazils are equally Brazilian., but they are separated by several centuries. In the course of the long period of colonial isolation, an archaic Brazilian culture was formed, a culture which keeps in isolation the same stability which still exists in the indigenous cultures of Asia and the Near East. The dual economy and the dual social structure which accompanies it are neither new nor characteristically Brazilian, they exist in all unequally developed countries.

Brazil, like any developing country, has enormous social problems. These social problems range from lack of houses, high rate of crime, poverty, economic inequalities and many other problems that are associated with developing countries. Like any developing country, Brazil is divided between have and have-nots, making the country's populace to have different approaches on the matter of transforming Brazil's informal settlements. The scenario of the majority of Brazil's populace being poor, makes it difficult for Brazilian authorities to house poor people within cities especially those that migrate into cities. Hence there is a large number of poor people pushed to the periphery of the cities (Ember & Ember, 2001:294).

The form of shelter that is accessible to poor people who are pushed out to the city's periphery is called slums. These slums are built on unoccupied land that is not designated for human settlement. This is the land that is not serviced by authorities as people living there are illegal occupants of the land. After these people have occupied the land it becomes difficult for government to remove them. The only thing that the government can do is to formally recognise them and make provisions for the delivery of services.

Brazil's development in cities is stewed favoring the rich over the poor. Those who can afford are able to live in city centers and those that are poor can only live in sprawling shanty towns (informal settlements). From being a rural dominated population to urban dominated population, Brazil is faced with societal challenges such as urban occupations, living conditions and values.

The transformation from rural to urban society has resulted in the massive growth of Brazil's major cities. This movement into the city is due to industrialisation and search of economic opportunities and this increases social problems as authorities have to provide houses and other services that are of a human need (Reed, 1989:65).

Herbert and Thomas (1997:292) state that:

The emergence and subsequent increase of social problems has been associated with the growth of cities. To some extent this association is an inevitable consequence of the scale and intensity of urbanisation, society's problems become starkly evident within an urban environment as problems in the city mirror conditions in the society of which it is part. There is also an argument that some problems are products of the city and the set of conditions which urbanisation creates, they are placed-problems. Societies contain inequalities that find sharp expression in urban areas, conflicts arise as material and social aspirations are not matched by opportunities.

2.4.3.1 Poverty

The differences in housing conditions in different Third World cities are a function of differing levels of per capita income, the distribution of wealth, the rate of urban growth, and the form of societal organisation. They also reflect differences in the responses of the poor in each city. Such responses vary dramatically according to the poor's own expectations of their life chances, their own view, reasonable or untenable, of what kind of housing they want and the degree to which they are organised to improve their housing situation. It is difficult for the poor to escape their poverty given the economic and social conditions in most Third World countries, hence levels of poverty are too high within informal settlements (Gilbert & Gugler, 1982:83-84).

Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004:166) argue that:

Brazil has very considerable problems of inequality and poverty. In 1999, it had the highest concentration of income among 174 nations. The monthly per capita income of the poorest 40 per cent of Brazilians is 125 Brazilian reals (US\$70), while the average monthly income of the richest 10 per cent is 2478 Brazilian reals (US\$1380), equal to 19 Brazilian minimum salaries. The average income of the richest 20 per cent is 32 times that of the poorest 20 per cent. In countries with greater social justice this ratio is less than 10:1 for example, in Canada the figure is 7:1.

In Brazil, like many third world countries, there are imbalances that separate those that are rich from those that are poor. Problems of poverty and inequality are problems that face the country and they lead to lack of houses for the poor who happen to be the majority in the country. Brazil's poor people are living under inhumane conditions that are indistinguishable to those of other third world countries, especially countries in Africa. Informal settlements are an option form of accommodation for those that migrate into city. The discussion by Gilbert and Gugler (1982) and Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004) support this argument, Miltlin and Satterthwaite as cited above argue that, Brazil has considerable problem of inequality and poverty.

2.4.3.2 Housing

Repositioning of Brazil's poor people into cities led to a situation where municipalities could not handle the pressure of providing houses to the new inhabitants.

Large numbers of urban dwellers live in poor quality homes in dangerous or high risk areas, for example, along the margins of polluted water courses, on slopes, in waterlogged areas (including mangrove swamps) and without access to minimum basic services. In 1999, around 57 million Brazilians, 35% of the population, lived in conditions of poverty (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2004:166).

The percentage shown above indicates that the problem of housing and poverty remains high amongst the people of Brazil. Like many third world countries, Brazil is faced with challenges of balancing the lives of those that are poor with those that are rich. It remains the responsibility of government to ensure that there are policies to transform the lives of those that are poor. In the process of transforming the lives of poor people, provision of proper housing remains the cornerstone of transforming people's lives. The provision of houses to poor families is not just the provision of shelter, it is also the transformation of living conditions and the restoration of the dignity of the family.

2.5 SOUTH AFRICA AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

From 1902 onwards there was a change in official approach inspired by the Milner regime's Teutonic concern for orderliness in the face of African urbanisation, an era marked by industrial growth and dominated by a fear of health hazards. The Lagden Commission recommended that there has to be segregation of Africans, but where the towns were concerned, this was only roughly sketched out. The recommendation from the commission was that Africans must have

exclusive residential locations and only be entitled by employment, to be in town. The commission gave options for the towns to house Africans. One option was that Africans must build homes of an acceptable standard or live in council houses under supervised locations purged of vagrants, alcoholics and prostitutes. Specific legislation accompanied this segregational ideological vision that was established in various provinces. For example, the Native Reserve Locations Act in the Cape 1902, the Native Locations Act in Natal 1904 and the Orange Free State Municipal Ordinance of 1903 which took the 1893 legislation further by tightening restrictions on Africans who could not prove that they are employed. These Acts were created to prevent Africans from staying in cities and ensure that only those Africans who are employed by white people have access to cities (Swilling, Humphries & Shubane, 1991:1).

According to Turok, 2004 in Huchzermeyer (2011:47), “for urban policy-makers whose overarching objective is for cities to become and remain economically competitive, the challenge is to create and sustain conditions which attract and retain capital. This requires investment in both a high level of transport and communications infrastructure and high-quality living environments that ensure the attraction and retention of appropriately skilled people”.

Desmond (1969:23) states that:

The lot of Africans in South Africa is a hard one at the best of times with the poor wages, grinding poverty, families separated because of the migrant labour system, and continual harassment over Passes and registration, but it is greatly aggravated by removals.

Though Turok in Huchzermeyer and Lagden Commission in Swilling et al as cited above are from different perspective they are in agreeing that policy makers have a power to change the environment. In this case changes that should be directed in striving for solutions on challenges which are facing people living within informal settlements.

Africans were not given an opportunity to stay in towns and this is what led to lack of delivering basic services for those that they found themselves living in informal settlements within South African cities. They were subjected to harassment so that they felt unwelcome in cities, and if they are not employed they were forced to leave the cities and return to rural areas. These strategies put pressure on them so that they cannot demand services like infrastructure and houses. Though government of apartheid did not support the establishment of informal settlements, they were seen as a form of housing that would be temporary for poor Africans that

migrated from rural areas to cities. This discussion is supported by the argument of Desmond as cited above.

Current housing policy in South Africa contains no specific instruments to address informal settlements. Implicitly, the assumption is that informal settlements will be replaced by standardized housing units with freehold title, delivered through the product-linked household-based capital subsidy to which low-income households are entitled. (Huchzermeyer, 2004: 594).

Breaking New Grounds was introduced by the South African Government to 'fast track' housing delivery by introducing more effective and responsive housing programmes. The new policy focused on the quality of housing products and the development of sustainable human settlements by introducing a variety of alternative and innovative housing programmes. The key objective of the policy was to eradicate informal settlements by 2014. South Africa is also a signatory of the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals which targets "slum-free cities by 2014 (Mukorombindo, 2014:1).

The challenge to the structured features of the apartheid city, features that government had worked hard to build, was the existence of unplanned "spontaneous settlements," or squatter shantytowns. In each and every South African city these features reflect, especially in cities where there is a high level of economic activity. This shows that the apartheid government did not have plans for the future and the concentration was based on the aspiration of the minority that happened to be rich (Western, 1996:278). Here Western demonstrates that it is due to the laws of the apartheid system that squatter camps or informal settlements came into existence. These shantytowns about which Western talks are due to segregational laws like the Group Areas Act that were aimed to secure certain areas for Whites only. In Cape Town, areas like Khayelitsha, Langa, Nyanga Crossroads and other townships, are areas that were allocated for African people so that they can be far removed from the areas reserved for Whites and industries. The removal of black people from District Six which is close to the inner city to, other areas that are further away from the inner city, is a demonstration of the aims of segregational laws.

According to Western (1996:84-85), socio-spatial planning in the Republic of South Africa aims toward a goal opposite to what in the United States and the United Kingdom are almost

unconsciously professed basic ideals. Although the ideal is not achieved, public figures in American and British societies continually stress the conventional wisdom that somehow a "mix" of social strata in a given area is societally wholesome: whether of classes in British new towns or of races in American cities, whether the voice is a white United States senator's or of the Afro-Americans' National Urban Coalition. The publicly expressed opinions of the National Party in South Africa are the very opposite: that a "mix" is undesirable and that racially or ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods are for everyone's good, White and Non-whites. Accordingly, in the South African Parliament in 1977 Senator P.Z.T. van Vuuren claimed:

We make no apology for the Group Areas Act and its application. And if 600,000 Indians and Coloureds are affected by the implementation of that Act, we do not apologise for that either. I think the world must simply accept it. The Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 and said it would implement residential segregation in South Africa. And we shall implement that policy. We put that act on the Statute Book and as a result we have in South Africa, out of the chaos which prevailed when we came to power, created order and established decent, separate residential areas for our people.

A central justification for this viewpoint, that segregation is in the interest of all, is enshrined in the "friction theory". The belief is simply that any contact between the races inevitably produces conflict. Thus, the Minister of the Interior, introducing the Group Areas bill to parliament on 14 June 1950, stated:

Now this, as I say, is designed to eliminate friction between the races in the Union because we believe, and believe strongly, that points of contact-all unnecessary points of contact-between races must be avoided. If you reduce the number of points of contact to the minimum, you reduce that possibility of friction. The result of putting people of different races together is to cause racial trouble.

In the South African context, there is a relationship between apartheid that was for securing the interest of Whites and the development of informal settlements. Material conditions under the government of the apartheid system compelled black people to dwell in informal settlements. Segregational laws of the apartheid system led to the failure of the then-government to provide housing for needy people, especially those who were pushed to the periphery of cities (black people). These laws focused on addressing the interests of white people "the minority within South Africa" who have continued to be economically advantaged, and ignoring the interests of African people who have always been denied their human rights. Urbanisation is one of the

contributing factors in the development of informal settlements due to the movement of people towards cities in search of jobs.

For the apartheid government to have policies that segregated Africans and delegated certain areas within the city to be areas for Africans only, created housing problems that were faced by the ANC government post-1994 elections. For example, to build houses for all its citizens especially for the groups that were denied an opportunity to own a house. This notion of segregation perpetrated marginalisation of poor people from the better services that were provided to white people by the apartheid government. Townships were formulated to be uninhabitable places, subjected to all sorts of social ills like crime and violence, joblessness, overcrowding, lack of services and high levels of poverty.

Shacks became popular amongst Africans who happened to be located in townships as government was not willing to help them or build acceptable shelter and infrastructure for them. This action by the apartheid government led to the growth of informal settlements due to the lack of will from government to house those Africans who came to the cities for various reasons. People who were pushed to the city's periphery remained without amenities. This is a major concern for human settlement which still haunts the present government. For the current democratic government to progress on transforming informal settlements, it has to come up with an integrated housing development plan that includes all necessary amenities for human habitation.

Tomlinson (1990:21) argues that:

What the government is doing is deliberately accentuating the cost of land close to cities, although it can be argued that land prices ordinarily decline with distance from the city, in this case the situation is greatly exaggerated. Black townships, especially informal settlements, are being located at sites that are unnecessarily distant from places of work. At the same time, rigorous controls have been instituted to prevent squatting on land not approved for this purpose. Access to convenient residential sites will be possible only for those who can afford the related land and service costs and, whereas previously rationing of housing and restrictions on the right to be in urban areas kept Blacks out, now cost and affordability are being pushed to centre-stage. The Blacks living in urban areas will be those with jobs and relatively high skills. The less well-off will be pushed out to the urban periphery, and the unemployed, who are unable to afford land, will either rent rooms or live in shacks and be subject to enormous overcrowding, or be denied urban residence. For them, even the government's site and service schemes will be too expensive.

The argument by Tomlinson demonstrates that informal settlements are a deliberate move that was created by the apartheid government to place African people on the urban periphery so that they can be far from where there is economic vibrancy (city centres). Overcrowding and lack of service delivery is what people living in informal settlements face daily and this has been created so that African people can go back to their reserves after they are done with rendering services that were required from them in cities. People living in these areas are faced with an unhealthy environment and this is due to overpopulation, climatic conditions, fires and illiteracy.

Because of the apartheid spatial planning and Blacks being the majority, low cost housing tended to be associated with black people in these socially and economically deprived areas. With no possibility of racial integration, this creation polarised communities (Department of Housing, 2004:1). Government realised that there has to be integrated housing development in South Africa so as to address imbalances of the past and eradicate informal settlements as they are the creation of the apartheid government. Spatial planning in big cities of South Africa is the direct result of the apartheid system where black people were pushed to the outskirts of the cities while white people, the minority, enjoyed the privilege of occupying the space in city centres and being closer to the economic harbour. During the apartheid era, government had no intention of developing these peripheral areas. As a result, people living in these areas opted to build shacks as a form of shelter to stay with their families. In most cases these shacks are built in areas that are not suitable for human settlement and this leads to high density of shacks and the population in informal settlement areas.

2.5.1 South African economic related to the emergence of informal settlements

Seekings and Nattrass (2006:66) argue that:

The complex articulation of urban and agrarian societies makes it difficult to sketch clearly the shape of the class structure. There is little problem with Coloured, Indian, and White households, which can be easily defined in terms of their position in the labour market. But many African households had one foot in the labour market and the other on the land. Most African men spent part of their life as migrant workers and the rest on their land. Scholars who apply class labels have wrestled with the fact that the African population was incompletely dispossessed of its land and incompletely proletarianised.

The economic future of a developing country lies in the productivity of its cities. This growing international consensus indicates that making cities more productive has become a necessity for developing countries in the 1990s (Urban Foundation, 1993:10).

The economic situation in rural areas forces people to migrate to cities where there is economic vibrancy. South African cities like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and other large cities have attracted a large number of immigrants. This is due to the economic status that these cities have managed to develop over years through concentrated investment efforts by the then-government (apartheid regime) towards the infrastructural development in these cities than in rural areas. This economic vibrancy had a great impact on the population growth within South African cities due to the migration into cities by people from rural areas. When people from rural areas arrive in cities they create families and these families give birth to babies that will grow as citizens of the city, adding to economic challenges that face the city. Initially, the Xhosa or their forebears came from the Cape border regions, over 800 kilometres to the east of Cape Town, where the Ciskei and Transkei homelands were established. These homelands were predominantly rural with no major economic activities taking place and people living in these areas faced high levels of poverty. After a century of conflict, the final subjugation of the Xhosa and the collapse of their economy during the third quarter of the nineteenth century left them with little means of substance, but their labour that many had to sell in Cape Town (Western, 1996:288).

According to Western's argument as discussed above, the ignorance of the apartheid government to leave rural areas underdeveloped and without industries, led to economic backlog in areas like Ciskei, Transkei, Venda, Bophutatswana, and many other rural areas where African people were located. This backlog forced African people to leave these areas and flock to cities with the hope of getting jobs in order to sustain their families. The land that they had was no longer relevant for them to produce and they had to live according to standards that the new system introduced to them. New market trends that the system introduced made African people lose their value of being humans, and their style of living to be regarded as outdated. This new situation subjected them to depend on the economy that was determined by their counter parts (white people) who owned means of production. The agrarian system that had been used by African communities was deliberately destroyed. This was done to weaken the only economy that these communities depended upon in order to force them to go and work for the capitalist economy. African people had to go to cities and establish new relations with material conditions of cities and be subjected to restrictions, like not being allowed to build

permanent structures for shelter purposes, they had to be employed by a White person in order to be allowed to stay within the municipal area.

Gugler (1997:57-58) states that:

In Maharashtra today, increased urbanization and migration to cities appears to be a fact of life in the immediate future of much of the rural population. This is to be observed in the lives of Sugao families. In the late fifty or so years that we have obtained a fine-grain understanding of Sugao life and Sugao people, the village has become more and more closely tied to the world around it. With planned decentralization of industries, corridors of industrialization have been made to spread from Bombay out to the south and north-east. But the shifting of industrialization from megalopolis, to two emerging metropolises have done little to change the basic economy of village entities such as Sugao. Fingers of urban-industrial development spread out along corridors such as the Pune-Satara highway. They edge by Sugao. The nearest village on the Pune-Satara highway has become a very large truck-stop experiencing all the monetary benefits and social problems that result from participation in the "highway culture". But few new jobs have become available for Sugao people in the immediate vicinity of the village allowing them to enjoy the relative tranquility of the village environment as they earn a living in off-farm occupations. Most Sugao men would seize such opportunities were they to become available. They are acutely aware of the personal, physical costs they incur as they travel to Bombay to make a living there. They are financially better off with this movement, but they know in intimate detail the price they pay for their survival and success.

The argument by Gugler gives lessons to many countries about the importance of decentralisation of industries to reach rural areas. His argument is that if industries existed in rural areas, lower numbers of people would migrate to cities from rural areas and this would reduce the housing backlog that leads to the perpetual establishment of informal settlements. Those that move to urban areas can do so with full understanding that somewhere somehow they will lose, because they will incur costs that could be prevented if they were to remain in their areas of origin. For the governments of the world to prevent migration into cities by people from rural areas, it is advisable that they develop industries in rural areas in order to bring economic vibrancy that will automatically retain people in their areas of origin. To heed Gugler's argument of decentralisation of industries for economic benefits to rural areas, can greatly benefit governments of the world. In order for the governments of the world to retain people in their

places of origin they have to ensure that the infrastructural development that is taking place in cities is also so transferred to rural areas.

Breese (1966:39) advances the argument that:

Carving up or delimitation of the Western African area into the sphere of influence by strong European powers has become necessary to establish small settlements as centers of administration for trade and colonial development. Wherever village and town life had pre-existed, inevitable enlargement of the settlement has been there in part to provide food stuffs and services for the settlers, whether temporary or permanent, and in part to provide headquarters and organization for the collection of goods from the interior and the distribution of whatever materials were taken in trade for the products exported. During the earlier period of independence from influences outside the local area, trading was scarce and the necessary goods to be exchanged were relatively small in number and variety. With the emergence of interdependence, it became necessary that market facilities are set up and functionaries are established and developed to act as agents of exchange and recorders of agreements between foreigners and native population.

According to the above argument as advanced by Breese, colonialism has contributed to the changing of the societal ways of economic exchange. It changed the way in which villages and towns pre-existed, and it brought inferiority and superiority amongst South African society that those who are not economically well-off are denied rights to stay in areas of their choice. This system led to the status quo that exists in South Africa, two economies: unpleasant living conditions for poor people and the comfortable life lived by rich people. The influence of imperialism on South African society created the mentality that Blacks do not have rights to stay in areas that are regarded as areas for rich people and this led them to feel unashamed of being located in informal settlements without any basic services. In South Africa there is a relationship between economic status and the place in which a person resides.

At a city level there are many constraints to economic productivity. The World Bank isolates four in particular: namely, deficient infrastructure, weak municipalities and authorities, unbalanced laws, and inadequate financial services. A specific set of policies is needed in most cities to remove these barriers. According to the Urban Foundation (1993:10-11) the most appropriate way to tackle these is through city policies aimed at the following areas:

- strengthening how urban infrastructure is used and managed;
- improving the body of regulations and laws governing the city;

- enhancing the financial and technical capacity of municipalities; and
- bettering financial services for urban development

In light of the Urban Foundation's argument as stated above, it is incumbent upon government to ensure that the level of the economy is improved in cities to ensure that poor people have access to adequate basic services like water, electricity, sanitation and housing. As economic competitors of the world, the South African government must ensure that progress is made in the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements so as to attract the interest of foreign investors. In a country where informal settlements are prevalent, there is a perception of high levels of crime which scares off foreign investors. As government has an agenda to transform the lives of the people, it is imperative therefore to change the economic status of the people living in informal settlements. The process of developing the economy includes infrastructural development. For government to uplift the economic status of people living in informal settlements, it is important to first transform these settlements into formal settlements.

To successfully accommodate Cape Town's growing population and increased demand for residential space and economic development, there is a need for an integrated and more equitable settlement pattern, guided by the concept of defined and co-ordinated growth. This plan needs to proactively direct growth within a range of unpredictable future scenarios (City of Cape Town, 2005b:36).

Even the City of Cape Town noticed some issues that need to be addressed in order to meet the goal of provision of housing to all South African citizens. According to the City of Cape Town as cited above, economic development and growth within society can only be realised if there are equitable settlement patterns that seek to integrate social activities towards addressing future scenarios. This must be done in order to ensure that there is economic stability and authorities are able to co-ordinate the issue of distribution of resources amongst people living within the City. This redistribution has to be done equitably to be able to address the imbalances that exist and try to improve the economic status of the poor.

2.5.2 Political issues

After ten years of democracy one of the major challenges facing government is to address the housing backlog affecting 2.4 million households (Department of Housing, 2004:1).

The large number of informal settlements in South African townships shows that there is a need to embark on programmes and employ mechanisms to address constraints that face the country. The growth of informal settlements shows that there is still a gap between poor and rich and the legacy of apartheid continues to exist. Mechanisms that can be employed to deal with challenges that face the country range from research, integration of resources and skills, commitment by the government, private sector and people on the ground to ensure that the transformation of informal settlements is accelerated. Government and the private sector have to work together as the problem affects both parties (Department of Housing, 2004:1).

Informal housing is a long-standing problem in South Africa, but in recent years it became an increasing concern for the Housing Department and other authorities, a concern that is primarily the product of the socio-political changes taking place in this country and realisation that the coercive measures of the past have failed. This evolves from the colonial point where Britain left matters of political rights and activities in the hands of Afrikaners (Emmett, 1992:1).

Smith (1982:18-19) argues that:

The move to extend the principles of territorial segregation was launched as a two-pronged attack. One prong was legislation passed to restrict black settlement. The Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 prohibited the movement of Indians across provincial boundaries and placed restrictions upon landownership by them outside of Natal. Similarly, Black landownership was confined first to only 7% of South Africa's land area (the Scheduled Areas of the Native Land Act 1913) and then to 13% (the reserves) with the addition of the Released Areas (land "released" from the restricted provision of 1913 Act by the Native Trust and Land Act 1936). One of the intentions of these Acts was to foreclose the option of choice for Blacks living in "white" rural areas and so force them to seek temporary wage-employment in the "white" economy. The second prong was legislation against the permanent residence of Blacks in "white" urban areas and against the presence there of economically inactive Blacks. According to the Stallard Commission of 1922, nonwhites should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far their presence is demanded by the wants of the White population. This was necessary for, if the Native is to be regarded as a permanent element in municipal areas there can be no justification for basing their exclusion from the franchise on grounds of colour. The Native should be allowed to enter the urban areas when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart there when he ceases so to minister.

Many of the campaigns undertaken by civic movements centred around housing issues. These revolved around the poor maintenance of council houses, the quality or cost of services provided, forced removals from areas like Cato Manor in Natal, District Six and Harfield Village in the Western Cape, or the absence of any housing at all for African people (Taylor, 1997:97).

It is both political and historical that South Africa had problems around provision of housing to the majority of poor people that happened to be Blacks in general and Africans in particular. The conduct of ensuring that Africans do not get houses in cities was a political move to ensure that their dignity is not recognised, so that they feel inferior and become demoralised to stay in industrialised areas (cities). Instead of African people leaving cities back to the rural areas, they made themselves comfortable in the city's periphery by building shacks in informal areas that are not conducive for human settlement, so that they can be close to industrial areas where they can seek jobs.

Data shows that the urban poor total 330 million people or 25% of the world's total urban population. In developing world cities, the urban poor comprises between 30 and 60% of the population. For this reason it is predicted that urban poverty will become the most significant and politically explosive problem in the next century (Urban Foundation, 1993:11).

The issue of informal settlements and poverty in cities is something that cannot be politically ignored. Politicians have to make political decisions in ensuring that people of the world are located in houses as living in informal settlements is associated with poverty and many other social ills. The South African Government has a Constitutional mandate to ensure that all citizens who qualify to have a house are housed in decent shelter.

Lemon (1991:102) argues that:

Unless the negotiations between the government and the African National Congress and other elements of the "mass democratic movement" result in a radical change to the political-economic order, racial discrimination will be replaced to the greater degree by class discrimination in South African cities, and this will reduce the likelihood of rapid and major socio-demographic change in most of the currently white suburban areas of cities such as Pietermaritzburg, where for example, low incomes will inhibit the opinions of the bulk of the city's population in the early post-apartheid phase. Municipal estimates in 1986 suggest that only about 20 per cent of Indian and Coloured households had incomes of more than R800 per month, while 80-90 per cent of the African households within the

metropolitan area earn less than R450 per month. Thus while the pressure to relocate will be very strong indeed, only a very selected minority will be able to do so, and the physical effects of political reform will thus be constrained by poverty.

There is a relationship between politics and the current status quo of informal settlements within South African townships. This needs political intervention in order to accelerate the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements. In South Africa informal settlements are the result of a deliberate political move that has been seeking to separate South Africans on racial lines and undermine the dignity of Africans who were not supposed to reside in cities. Post- the apartheid government, South Africa continues to experience growth of informal settlements, even though the country had obtained democracy. Informal settlements grow continuously because of a political climate that created no economic opportunities in rural areas. Government is not capacitated enough to provide houses to all those living in cities because of the continuous influx of people into cities. This situation has been created deliberately to ensure that the legacy of apartheid remains even after the majority of the people have obtained democracy. It is difficult for the current government to implement drastic changes to bring about a balance between the poor and the rich. This is informed by the agreements that the country undertook when it was preparing for the new government (Lemon, 1991:102).

2.5.3 Social issues

According to Seekings and Natrass (2006:49):

Apartheid policies of systematic racial discrimination and segregation had a deep and enduring influence on inequality in South Africa. But inequality predated apartheid, and the core components of its distributional regime predated the system itself. By 1948, the state had developed a set of policies concerning welfare, the labour market, and the growth path that structured patterns of inequality. State policies shaped but did not determine the massive social and economic changes in South African societies. The nation at this time was still a largely agrarian society, albeit one in which a large part of the rural population had become dependent on remittances sent by migrant workers. The economy was essentially capitalist and increasingly industrial, but large numbers of African people strove to retain access to land and cattle and preserve features of an agrarian society. They participated in the market and resisted complete proletarianisation. This was to have

important implications for the development of inequality and the social structure during the apartheid period.

According to the Western Cape Department of Local Government and Housing (2009:7):

The housing demand is considered in terms of the extent to which existing dwellings satisfactorily support the occupants-thus inhabitants of informal settlements, overcrowded conditions and backyard shacks are taken into account when estimating the backlog. Similarly, 2001 census data likewise inform estimates of housing need in so far as calculations are based on those earning within or under the existing subsidy bands. Furthermore, information regarding the tenure status is likewise considered and therefore rented accommodation (both privately-owned and public stock that is rented) is also taken into account.

City of Cape Town (2013:5) state that:

Informal settlements are characterised by lack of formal tenure, insufficient public space and facilities, inadequate access to municipal services, poor access ways, and non-compliance with planning and building regulations. Although the City has made good progress in decreasing the service delivery gap in informal settlements, the organic form of informal settlements makes it very difficult to provide municipal utility services such as water, sanitation, electricity access and waste removal within the required national guidelines. As a result of the compactness of a result of the compactness of informal settlements, communal services are often provided on the outskirts of the settlement, locations which are often not easily accessible for many of the dwellings. Informal settlements are also confronted by health threats due to the lack of disposal of grey water, the prevalence of rodents and other environmental health risks. Informal settlements are at the greater risk from the effects of disasters.

In order for government to be able to transform informal settlements into formal settlements, it is imperative to understand why informal settlements are in existence. People opt for informal settlements, leaving their areas of origin due to social constraints that threaten their livelihood. It is important therefore that when government addresses the issue of informal settlements, it has to concurrently address these social constraints by creating job opportunities, addressing poverty, creating economic opportunities and developing rural areas.

Providing sufficient land and shelter in growing cities is one of the most important challenges of urban management. Across the developing world, various countries and cities have used a wide range of markedly different strategies for land and shelter which now present many policy options. It is important, however, that the ultimate goal of any of these strategies should be to create what the World Health Organisation calls a "health-promoting home environment" (Urban Foundation, 1993:11).

According to Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006:5-6):

Both in South Africa and Kenya, the current piloting of new informal settlement upgrading programmes (in the informal settlements Kibera in Nairobi and along the N2 freeway in Cape Town) is taking the approach of formal redevelopment to standards that, in market terms, are not within the reach of most original informal settlement dwellers. The informal settlement residents realistically fear their displacement from the informal settlement location. Here, the rhetoric of international targets and goals, notably MDG 7, Target 11, is readily used to legitimise local agendas of beautifying the city to better attract international tourism and investment. The pervasive market directly and indirectly determines much of the informal settlement intervention that leads to displacement and thereby the perpetuation of the need for informal settlements, rather than ensuring the alleviation of poverty within informal settlements for the resident population.

One of social constraints facing people who live in informal settlements is that, during upgrading of informal settlements some people are displaced due to the size and population of the area that is developed. This displacement means that people have to start new lives with new neighbours and at times they are far from their working places, transport and schools which their children attend. This leads to a situation where government is met with resistance from affected communities and in most cases this resistance delays upgrading of informal settlements. An example of this resistance is Joe Slovo (N2 informal settlement eradication project in Cape Town). Continuous strikes occur about the development of the area due to the relocation of some people who cannot find houses in this project, being moved to temporary structures built in Delft. These are constraints that government is confronted with when upgrading or building houses for people who are living in rural areas, this argument is supported by the discussion of Huchzermeyer & Karam, (2006) as cited above.

There is a significant demand for houses in Khayelitsha township, hence informal settlements still exist. Government failure to provide adequate houses to all citizens led to continuous establishment of informal settlements. In order for informal settlements to be transformed, government should provide land and understand issues underpin perpetual establishment of informal settlements. Government should address the root cause of informal settlements as their establishment is informed by number of factors, Urban Foundation (1993) as cited above is in support of this discussion.

2.5.3.1 Poverty

The trajectory of political and social struggles created an environment in which an improvement in the overall quality of life of the poorest was seen as a necessary result of democracy. The need to respond to popular aspirations to eradicate poverty and reduce inequality is the major challenge today. It has become clear to civic structures and community-based organisations that control over political decision-making will not necessarily result in control over redistribution of resources at all levels of government (Taylor, 1997:115).

This argument of Huchzermeyer and Karam shows that where there is no proper housing there is a high level of poverty. People living in informal settlements cannot accumulate assets. This disadvantages them as they have no collateral against loans from financial institutions to start businesses or any other activity that would generate revenue. These informal settlement dwellers have no security, no proper residential addresses and this disables them from contributing towards economic development within their areas.

According to the Western Cape Department of Local Government and Housing (2009:37):

Human settlement development is a poverty alleviation tool, which enables the creation of employment opportunities while creating assets for citizens through housing, thus ultimately promoting social cohesion and leveraging economic growth.

Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006: viii) argues that, “informal settlements are shameful feature of poverty and inherited inequalities in South Africa. The researcher further argues that ‘settlements of the urban poor developed through the unauthorized occupation of land’, they are regarded by many as unhealthy and overcrowded blights on the urban landscape ‘squatter camps’ in common parlance”.

Poor and large segments of low and moderate-income groups have no choice but to rely on informal settlements for access to land and shelter, thus fostering the expansion of irregular settlements around cities. Informal land and housing delivery systems remain the only realistic alternative for meeting the needs of low-income households. In South Africa poor people have to go to informal settlements when they arrive in cities in order for them to have access to shelter and land (Western Cape Department of Local Government and Housing, 2009:37).

The Government of the Western Cape suggests that there is a relation between poverty alleviation and the development of human settlements. In informal settlements, poverty is a significant phenomenon that dominates the lives of people. Addressing the issue of providing proper houses for people who are living in informal settlements is not just housing them, but also assists in rescuing them from the bondage of poverty. It is imperative therefore that when government approaches the issue of transforming informal settlements, to take cognisance of the poverty status of the community and arrives at an integrated spatial development strategy that seeks to address a range of issues broader than just building houses.

2.5.3.2 Housing

In the year 2000, the housing backlog within the City of Cape Town alone was estimated to be around 240 000. Poverty and diseases are prevalent in informal settlements. It is imperative therefore that the City takes serious measures in ensuring that people are located to decent areas (City of Cape Town, 2005c:30).

According to Smith (1982:32-33):

Spontaneous settlement has a long history in the Cape Town area. It has re-emerged as a phenomenon of major proportions in recent years, with a public housing programme unable to keep pace with the demands of natural population increase on the part of both Africans and Coloureds, in-migration of Africans and Group Areas evictions (which have displaced about 50 000 Coloured people). Under the prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, all persons living in wood and iron or substandard structures are defined as squatters and are acting illegally. However, the local authorities in the Cape have surveyed and numbered all shacks erected

before 1975, their existence thus being legitimised until their occupants can be rehoused. The local authority may put in communal water points and rudimentary lighting, and remove sewage, for which payment is exacted from the residents. Squatter settlements not officially recognised may be removed. Squatting provided homes for both African and Coloured families in various parts of Cape Town metropolitan area and its fringes. For Africans, it is a way of avoiding the harsh township environment, or the single-sex hostel in the case of men who wish to live with their families and prevented from doing so by the laws regulating African residence rights (which are particularly stringent in the Cape). For Coloureds, squatting is a way out of the overcrowded public housing areas for those unable to buy their way into the private housing sector.

Lack of housing led to the establishment of informal settlements as poor people lost faith in the government of apartheid. Eviction of people from areas that are close to towns or city centres and lack of will by the apartheid government to develop areas occupied by African and Coloured people, led to the situation where government was not able to keep up with the pace of providing houses. These evictions meant that people have to live in Cape Town and other big cities as temporary residents who could not benefit from development that took place within the city. This disadvantaged people living in informal settlements as they were unable to build houses for themselves.

Many residents of informal settlements have been living under extreme conditions since before 1994. The unfulfilled promises are now beginning to be replied to through protest action. In a review of service delivery protests as an indicator of the potential for revolution, most immediate problem is linked to the frustration of promises not kept regarding service delivery (Hough, 2008:6)

While national and provincial housing ministers continue to promise the 'eradication' of informal settlements, this is unlikely because of a number of aspects such as the scarcity of affordable and well located land, the complexity and often incompatibility of regulations and funding mechanisms, increasing community mistrust of promises made by government, parallel housing initiatives of governments, and the inadequacy of resources (Mistro & Hensher, 2009: 335).

Programmes that the government has committing itself to in eradicating informal settlements are not met. Whilst government is not able to fully eradicate informal settlements, social ills continue to strikes those that find themselves within informal settlements. Protests by those that are staying in informal settlements continue to express their dissatisfaction on lack of service delivery. Whilst politicians continue with their unfulfilled promises, informal settlements continue to grow under extreme conditions of poverty. The discussion by Mistro and Hensher, (2009) is in agreement with the above argument by the researcher.

2.6 GOVERNMENT PROGRESS

There is a relationship between poverty and informal settlements. There are two programmes that lead government's effort to alleviate poverty and these are land and housing. From 1994 to 2008, 3 132 769 housing subsidies were approved and 2 358 667 units were completed at an expenditure of R48.5 billion. This brought housing to 9.9 million citizens who could access state-subsidised housing opportunities. By 2006, however, the programme was barely keeping pace with the expanding number of households. Difficulties in obtaining the release for housing development of strategic land, often privately owned, that is well-located in urban areas, constitutes a major challenge with significant implications. Municipal sale of land for short-term financial gain has contributed to this problem. Many new housing settlements are located far from work opportunities, perpetuating urban sprawl and a mismatch between the location of accommodation and economic activity. Insufficient spatial concentration in urban areas brings added costs (South Africa. The Presidency, 2008:27-28).

According to the Western Cape Department of Local Government and Housing (2008:8) the mandate of the Department is to facilitate the creation of sustainable human settlements and to support local government to fulfill its Constitutional mandate. To this end the Department has finalised its Human Settlement Strategy, called *Isidima* (giving dignity), and has implemented it in the Five Year Strategic Agenda for Local Government. These two key strategic objectives have informed the day-to-day work of the Department.

There are number of internal and external (global and local) challenges that have contributed to the government's (national and provincial) failure to eradicate the housing backlog by 2014. According to the Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI) the housing backlog has grown exponentially since 1994 and the National Department refers to the housing backlog as a moving target (Mukorombindo, 2014:2).

During the 2007/08 financial year the Department made good progress with the Isidima Strategy. The Strategy was formally launched in June 2007, and a detailed implementation plan was developed. One of the highlights of Isidima is the list of lead and pilot projects that are intended to showcase Isidima best practices. One of these is the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative, which has developed a holistic development plan for Grabouw that encompasses various aspects of social and economic development. Another highlight is the land rationalisation study, which has identified national, provincial and municipal land that is suitable for human settlements (Western Cape. Department of Local Government and Housing, 2008).

The Department of Housing developed the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP). This spatial perspective is also to assist municipalities when they formulate their Integrated Development Plans (IDP). The starting point of the NSDP is that economic growth is a prerequisite for achieving other policies' objectives, particularly those linked to poverty alleviation. Government spend on fixed investment, beyond basic services such as water, electricity, health and education, should be focused on localities of economic growth and/or economic potential to attract private sector investment, stimulate sustainable economic activities and/or create long-term employment opportunities. The effort to address past and current inequalities should focus on people, not on places. This means that in areas where there are both high levels of poverty and development potential there must be inclusion of fixed capital investment beyond basic services to exploit the potential of those localities. In localities where there is low development potential, government spending beyond basic services should focus on providing social transfers, human resource development and labour market intelligence. In order to overcome the spatial distortion of apartheid, future settlement and economic development opportunities should be channeled into activity corridors and nodes that are adjacent to or link the main growth centres. This NSDP will play an enormous role in ensuring that the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements follows a new archetype that the democratic government has introduced. This new archetype is that of ensuring that human

settlements are developed in an integrated manner where all needs of the community have to be closer to where they are needed the most, for example, human settlements that have amenities like clinics, sports fields, educational facilities, transport, work places, etc (South Africa. Department of Housing, 2008b:17).

The City of Cape Town Housing Department (2003:15) argues that:

In addressing the housing challenge Cape Town strives to establish a dignified, accessible, safe and caring city. As highlighted in the Community Housing Project, a fundamental shortcoming of housing delivery to date is that it has given inadequate attention to the creation of enabling living environments for the poor. In new housing subsidy projects upfront, attention is usually given to installing services and building roads and starter homes, but what is often neglected are the play areas and sports fields the schools and libraries, a police station and other important community facilities. Quality living environments require the timeous provision of all these ingredients. This is especially of importance in the City's poorer residential neighbourhoods, as local residents do not have the mobility to access these essential facilities in other parts of the city.

It is for these reasons that a cornerstone of the Community Housing Project (CHP) is the suite of sustainable settlement programmes introduced, all targeted at improving the quality of the living environment for Cape Town's poor communities. Within this suite of programmes, the Integrated Housing Development programme is specifically aimed at synchronising housing investment with complementary investment in essential community facilities. Complicating the integration of the City's housing capital programme with community facility capital programmes, is that community facility provision is the responsibility of a range of public agencies spanning national and provincial government as well as parastatals. The multi-year Community Housing Project emphasises use of the IDP process to align the City's housing investment with complementary investment by others (The City of Cape Town, 2003:15).

The Department of National Treasury (2010:18) states that:

The human settlements grant is one of the faster growing items in the budget. Supported by rising spending on water and sanitation, these investments are critical to reshaping our townships, cities, informal settlements and rural areas. The State of the Nation address correctly identified a key gap in the housing market where middle income people cannot

access sufficient finance to afford homes. Government and the banks will work together to find appropriate financing support measures so that more people can access home loans.

The progress as noted above from various spheres of government shows the need to move towards integrated spatial development. Though the progress is stated, there are significant constraints that hamper the authorities to fast-track the building of houses, especially for people living in informal settlements. The 2010 budget from Treasury's office shows commitment in transforming informal settlements into formal settlements, however there is a notable increase in the establishment of informal settlements. This argument is in line with the discussion by Mukorombindo (2014) when stating that, the National Department of Human Settlement term the housing backlog as a moving target. This means that though government has plans in place, there are blockages that hamper the significant progress on the transformation of informal settlements.

2.7 SUMMARY

This chapter interrogated different views that could guide the researcher to arrive at an outcome which is based on scientific findings pertaining to this study and discussed the history of urbanisation as the result of the existence of informal settlements worldwide. It looked at the cities created by apartheid and how they impacted on housing problems that face South Africa. Economic, political and social factors were investigated to discover their role in the development of informal settlements within South African townships and Brazil.

South Africa and Brazil's economies are influenced by external countries since these two countries were both colonized. There is evidence that the economy of these two countries is controlled by the few who happen to have foreign interests. These economies deny poor people an opportunity of accessing houses within the city as prices of renting or buying town houses are too expensive for the poor. Poor people of these countries largely depend on government for service delivery and betterment of their lives.

In both countries the previous political landscape that was created by mother colonies, led to the bad situation in which indigenous people of the land find themselves today. This political landscape forced indigenous people of the land to migrate into cities from rural areas. This migration process led to the establishment of the informal settlements as people who are from

rural areas could not afford to buy town houses or those that could afford, were not allowed to buy. This political landscape forced indigenous people of the land to give up agrarian activities and focus on working for wages in newly established industries. Policies that were developed did not recognise the rights of indigenous people of the land who happened to be the majority in these countries.

When industrialisation began, social imbalance was created as those who were not in the position of controlling the means of production were denied access to most of the social upliftment programmes undertaken by authorities. Laws of separation were established to ensure that the wealthy and the poor did not reside in the same suburbs. Rates were raised in certain areas, thereby further disallowing people who did not have money, to live in those areas. Services were focused in certain areas that were regarded as areas for those who have money. Poor people opted to live in informal settlements as being the cheapest accommodation option in cities whilst looking for jobs. In both South Africa and Brazil informal settlements are located on the outskirts of cities with minimal or no services at all. Authorities are struggling to eradicate informal settlements by transforming them into formal settlements.

The next chapter discusses the legislative framework relating to housing in South Africa. It focuses on government policies and plans in relation to the provision of houses, especially to those that are living within informal settlements.

CHAPTER THREE

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK RELATING TO HOUSING IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses government processes towards transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements. It interrogates government policies and plans that are related to the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements or housing provision to needy citizens. It aims at relating the study to realities that take place in the Republic of South Africa, by interrogating the relevance and practicality of government policies and plans related to the provision of houses that can lead to the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.

3.2 POLICIES AND THEIR ROLE IN TRANSFORMATIONAL PROCESSES

Rust and Rubenstein (1996:71-72) state that:

Previous housing policy involved interaction between various ineffective actors which meant a virtual delivery impasse. This impasse resulted in overcrowding, increasing land invasions, squatter settlements and urban sprawl. It has also been linked to frustration, insecurity, high criminality as well as instability in many communities. However, at the most personalised level, the concept of "home" (as opposed to house) has been lost to many South Africans. The important transformation of "home" as a physical structure to one where the objective quality is less important than the "sense of belonging" may have been prevented. It could be argued that the lack of a coherent approach to housing (and broader socio-economic development) has a psychological as much as a physical impact. Housing has a direct bearing on the ability or inability of the individual to satisfy his or her social, physical, mental and interactive needs. More importantly, the home-base is the nucleus of individual existence (as opposed to only "living") and a societal microcosm. Ultimately, place identity may be linked to self-identity. The current government's housing policy seeks to embrace the principle of the "built environment", where the physical setting in which a house is situated is seen to be as important as the house itself. There has been a shift emphasis from house as a physical structure to the concept of creating habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments (including access to economic opportunities, health and educational amenities etc) for viable household,

communities and societies. This is a move away from a purely technocratic/substance orientation of the concept "house" to one of the process, interaction and relationship between a house and setting and by implication between individual, neighbourhood, community and society. This interaction between person and environment is not only expected to start once the built environment is "in place", but whilst it is created. By involving individuals and communities in a number of ways and creating a "people-driven" housing process it is hoped that communities can shape their own existence. Ultimately this may help to restore not only the physical environment but instill a sense of self (worth) and meaning which arises at best from the ability to shape one's own fate. This will hopefully mean that the person has been factored into the otherwise (technical) housing equation.

The above argument by Rust and Rubenstein shows that there is a relation between policy and housing citizens. There is a backlog in the provision of houses in South Africa due to the historic housing policy that was driven by the apartheid government which excluded the majority of African people from owning properties, including houses. The continuous establishment of informal settlements and societal ills associated with these settlements came about as a result of housing policy of the previous apartheid government. This government did not take seriously the issue of providing houses for Africans who form the majority of the country's populace. It is the responsibility of the current government to ensure that there is equitable share in the provision of houses, especially for those who cannot afford to build houses for themselves. This responsibility of government is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa to ensure that government does not discriminate when providing houses to citizens. It is the role of the policy to ensure that there is integrated development of the housing environment where people can have access to amenities, there is economic viability and there is social cohesion. The attainment of democracy in 1994 brought the possibility for South Africa to address poverty and inequality and to restore the dignity of citizens. In line with the democratic Constitution, new policies were put in place to improve people's quality of life. This has entailed a systematic effort to dismantle the social and economic relations of apartheid and create a society based on equality, non-racialism and non-sexism.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) outlined the key objectives as follows:

- meeting basic needs
- building the economy

- democratising the state and society
- developing human resources
- nation-building

Since 1994, government has elaborated these objectives into more specific priorities and consolidated them since 1999 into the priorities of five Cabinet clusters. Since 2004, the government annual Programme of Action, informed by the cluster priorities, has been published on the government website and progress in implementation updated every two months. The rationale behind the injections of the 2004 popular mandate and the resulting government Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF), derived from the observation that great progress had been made in the First Decade of Freedom but that government would have to improve its performance.

There are profound effects on settlement policy throughout the world, although in modified and often distorted form. To understand these and other influences on policy formation it is necessary to examine in greater detail the basic problem posed by the theory to policy-makers in the field of regional development, namely, how the processes of development in underdeveloped areas are initiated and diffused. In most cases, those who happened to have money dominate these developments and shape them towards the direction that will benefit them. Poor people become the victims of these policies that are influenced by people who do not have an interest in changing their status quo (Dewar, Todes & Watson, 1986:21).

Huchzermeyer & Karam (2006:20) argue that:

Most governments would agree that informal settlements are an indication of a failure of the public sector, the legislative framework and the economy to provide conditions through which the poor may be housed formally, whether this is through government programmes or private means. It follows that the scale of informal settlements is an indication of the performance of a number of sectors of government and of the economy. Policy to address informal settlements, therefore, should reach into these sectors, rather than simply deal with symptoms. Due to the interpretation of informal settlements as larger national performance indicators, most governments are concerned about the presence of such settlements in their cities, but policies often tend to focus on eradicating the symptoms.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is a document that is authoritative in nature and it guides all those that are within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa. This document

is also a guiding tool for policy formulation. All policies that are formulated by government have to address the fundamentals of the Constitutional principles in order for them to be valid and legal. No one is allowed to act outside the Constitutional framework of the Republic of South Africa, whilst within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa, such person is breaking the law of the country and he or she can face criminal charges. Amongst the Bill of Rights as guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, access to adequate housing for every South African that qualifies to get a house as per the law of the land, is regarded as one of the rights that government has to provide means to ensure it becomes a reality. This shows that government has a responsibility to ensure that all citizens have access to adequate shelter and no one stays in the informal settlements.

Sections 10 and 11 of the Constitution state that “Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected. Everyone has the right to life”. The dignity of a human being means that there has to be a shelter over his or her head. If one does not live in adequate shelter, dignity is undermined and this is not in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The right to life as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is not guaranteed for those who live in informal settlements due to the health-threatening conditions that these individuals face. The notion of right to life for those who do not have access to adequate shelter, raises concerns as conditions in informal settlements put their lives in danger. Crime is a big factor which poses a threat. People living in shacks are vulnerable to infectious and opportunistic diseases such as flu, tuberculosis and other diseases associated with cold and dust. They face dangers from natural disasters such as floods, fires, gale force winds. In informal settlements people are subjected to life threatening circumstances on a daily basis and this is not in line with Constitutional provisions, especially provisions made in chapter 2 under the Bill of Rights.

3.3 LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

Managing large and growing cities, especially for a country which is experiencing expanding urbanisation, is one of the most important items on the policy agenda of countries throughout the developing world. The international experience shows that in broad policy terms effectively managing cities requires policy initiatives to alleviate poverty in cities. The importance of getting the basic policy framework right, creating a national urban policy which is linked to the country’s economic development goals within which cities may be managed, was highlighted by the

experiences of several developing countries which have managed urbanisation in a successful and beneficial way (Urban Foundation, 1993:10).

The Housing Act of 1997 is the custodian of housing development for citizens of the Republic of South Africa and it guides the process of distributing houses to citizens previously excluded by the then-apartheid government. It ensures that a quota system is in place in order to address imbalances of the past and deliver houses to those that need houses and who cannot afford to build houses for themselves (South Africa, 1997). It delegates responsibilities to all three spheres of government so as to be clear as to who has to do what. This Act complements the Constitution and it seeks to address the mandate in the Constitution to ensure that all citizens of the Republic of South Africa have access to adequate housing. It categorises the manner in which each sphere of government has to participate in the development of housing within the country. All plans of provincial and local governments have to be complementary to those of National Government, which the Constitution has mandated to uphold all plans. To ease administration and accelerate delivery of houses, it is imperative for the National Government to share this responsibility with provincial and local governments as spheres of government that are closer to day-to-day provincial and local dynamics.

3.3.1 South African Housing Act, No. 107 of 1997

South Africa has nine provinces that operate interdependently from National Government. These provinces each have their own housing departments that deal with the provision and administration of houses for their citizens. They prepare budgets for the housing needs as identified by each province. The work of these provincial departments is supposed to be complementary to the work done by the National Housing Department as the custodian of housing provision to the citizens as prescribed by the Housing Act (South Africa, 1997).

3.3.2 Functions of National Government

According to the National Department of Housing (South Africa. Department of Housing, 2008a:8) the Department of Housing aims to meet government's Constitutional responsibilities of ensuring that every South African has access to adequate housing with secure tenure, privacy, protection from the elements and access to basic services. Among the key challenges faced by the housing sector are inadequate intergovernmental co-ordination for the accelerated delivery,

specifically in relation to the capacity of provinces and local government to deliver on national priorities, and the lack of capacity to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the housing subsidy system. The displacement of capacity in the construction sector remains an ongoing concern, along with the erosion of affordability resulting from interest rate movements and related economic challenges.

The Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements, approved in 2004, remains the mainstay of the Housing Department's programmes and is a new integrated residential development programme aimed at promoting sustainable and integrated human settlements. The programme promotes economic, social and spatial integration of communities as well as improved urban efficiency (South Africa. Department of Housing, 2008a).

Having identified provincial and municipal capacity constraints as a barrier to accelerating housing delivery, the Department will support provinces and municipalities in housing project planning, management and implementation. The Housing Development Agency will also act as a project manager for housing development, thus supplementing the capacity of provinces and municipalities.

The strategic review of the internal service delivery environment of the Department provided the opportunity for a closer alignment of the organisational design to place the emphasis on the Department's mandate. Thus, the Department is better positioned to respond robustly to the changing housing market and housing needs of citizens as articulated in the comprehensive plan.

The Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements, Breaking New Grounds (BNG), continues to be a central strategic anchor for all undertakings of the Department. In terms of the ethos of BNG, the task of delivering housing to the nation is no longer seen as the responsibility of the state alone. In accordance with this new paradigm, the Ministry of Housing continues to champion and mobilise partnerships for the acceleration of housing delivery through multiple stakeholders in the housing sector.

The department seeks to reduce the operational distance between the three spheres of government by moving closer to points of delivery and becoming more interventionist by providing direct facilitation and a hands-on approach, thus unblocking delivery bottlenecks in identified areas. This approach does not present a change in the scope of the Department's

activities, but a growing emphasis, aimed at accelerating housing delivery within the context of sustainable human settlements.

As mandated by the Constitution, National Government has to oversee the wellbeing of all citizens and in this wellbeing, housing citizens is one of the priorities. This is the sphere of government that has to devise means of uplifting the standard of living of all citizens. Through revenue that the State collects, this sphere of government has to ensure that the money is distributed accordingly to suit the needs of the country's citizens. Amongst those needs housing remains the priority, to ensure that everyone is housed and there is no one that cannot have access to housing because he or she cannot afford to build houses of their own. As guaranteed by the Constitution that everyone is entitled to access to adequate housing, government has to mobilise resources for this purpose and ensure that there is policy that guides housing development for all citizens of the Republic of South Africa.

The following are the functions of National Government according to the Housing Act (South Africa, 1997:8-12).

1. The National Government acting through the minister must, after consultation with every MEC and the national organisation representing municipalities as completed in section 163 (a) of the Constitution, establish and facilitate a sustainable national housing development process.
2. For the purpose of subsection (1) the minister must:
 - a) determine national policy, including national norms and standards, in respect of housing development;
 - b) set broad national housing delivery goals and facilitate the setting of provincial and where appropriate, local government housing delivery goals in support thereof;
 - c) monitor the performance of the National Government and, in co-operation with every MEC, the performance of the provincial and local governments against housing delivery goals and budgetary goals;
 - d) assist provinces to develop the administrative capacity required for the effective exercise of their powers and performance of their duties in respect of housing development;
 - e) support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to manage their own affairs, to exercise their powers and perform their duties in respect of housing development;

- f) promote consultation on matters regarding housing development between the National Government and representatives of:
 - 1. civil society
 - 2. the sector and subsectors supplying or financing housing goods or services
 - 3. provincial and local government
 - 4. any other stakeholder in housing development
- g) promote effective communication in respect of housing development.
- 3. For the purpose of subsection (2)(a) “national norms and standards” include norms and standards in respect of permanent residential structures, but are not limited thereto.
- 4. For the purposes of performing the duties imposed by subsection (1) and (2) the minister may:
 - a) establish a national institutional and funding framework for housing development;
 - b) negotiate for the national apportionment of the state budget for housing development;
 - c) prepare and maintain a multi-year national plan in respect of housing development;
 - d) allocate funds for national housing programmes to provincial governments, including funds for national housing programmes administered by municipalities in terms of section 10;
 - e) allocate funds for national facilitative programmes for housing development;
 - f) obtain funds for land acquisition, infrastructure development; housing provision and end user finance;
 - g) institute and finance national housing programme;
 - h) establish and finance national institutions for the purposes of housing development, and supervise the execution of their mandate;
 - i) evaluate the performance of the housing sector against set goals and equitableness and effectiveness requirements; and
 - j) take any steps reasonably necessary to:
 - 1. create an environment conducive to enabling provincial and local governments, the private sector, communities and individuals to achieve their respective goals in respect of housing development, and
 - 2. promote the effective functioning of the housing market.
- 5. The following assistant measures, which were approved for financing out of the fund in terms of section 10A, 10B, 10C or 10D of the housing Act, of 1966 are deemed to be national housing programs instituted by the minister under the subsection (4)(g):
 - a) the housing subsidy scheme;

- b) the guidelines for the discount benefit scheme to promote Home Ownership, subject to section 17;
 - c) the Hostel Redevelopment Programme: Policy for the Upgrading of Public Sector Hostels; and
 - d) the criteria and procedures governing the allocation of the bulk and Connector Infrastructure Grant until it is phased out on a date determined by the minister in consultation with the minister for provincial affairs and Constitutional development.
6. The following national institutions financed out of the fund in terms of section 10A, 10B, 10C or 10D of the Housing Act, 1966, are deemed to be national institutions established and financed by the minister under subsection (4)(h):
 - a) the Mortgage Indemnity Fund (Pty) Ltd;
 - b) the National Housing Finance Co-operation; and
 - c) the National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency.
 7. Every provincial government and municipality must, in accordance with the procedure determined by the minister, furnish such reports, returns and other information as the minister requires for the purpose of this Act.
 8. When exercising any executive authority in terms of this section, the minister must co-ordinate with the other ministers in question and may not encroach upon the executive authority of any of such ministers.

These functions of the National Government clearly stipulate the manner in which National Government must address the issue of housing in the country, as well as the way in which this sphere of government relates to other two spheres of government (local and provincial). National Government also table housing institutions that have to be established and financed by the government through the minister of housing so that they can fast trek the process of providing houses to the needy citizens. Provision of houses to the citizens of the Republic of South Africa is a Constitutional mandate hence there is a department and policies that deal with this mandate.

3.3.3 Functions of Provincial Governments

The Housing Act of 1997(South Africa, 1997:16-18) further states that:

1. Every provincial government must, after consultation with the provincial organisations representing municipalities as contemplated in section 163(a) of the Constitution, do

everything in its power to promote and facilitate the provision of adequate housing in its province within the framework of national housing policy.

2. For the purposes of subsection (1) every provincial government must:
 - a) Determine provincial policy in respect of housing development;
 - b) Promote the adoption of provincial legislation to ensure effective housing delivery;
 - c) Take all reasonable and necessary steps to support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to effectively exercise their powers and perform their duties in respect of housing development;
 - d) Co-ordinate housing development in the province;
 - e) Take all reasonable and necessary steps to support municipalities in the exercise of their powers and performance of their duties in respect of housing development;
 - f) When a municipality cannot or does not perform a duty imposed by this Act, intervene by taking any appropriate steps in accordance with section 139 of the Constitution to ensure the performance of such duty; and
 - g) Prepare and maintain a multi-year plan in respect of the execution in the province of every national housing programme and every provincial housing programme, which is consistent with national housing policy and section 3(2)(b), in accordance with the guidelines that the minister approves for the financing of such a plan with money from the fund.

The functions listed above demonstrate that provincial governments have to operate within the framework of National guidelines and seek to fast-track national housing programmes. Though provincial governments have the prerogative of operating independently, their housing programmes according to the Housing Act as quoted above, have to be drawn largely from the National Government. The Act also provides for the functions of local government or municipality and these functions are also required to be complementary to those of the national and provincial governments. There has to be a synergy in the work that is done by national, provincial and local governments towards the provision of houses to the citizens as this is one of the essential services that government has to offer to the public. Resources that are meant for this kind of service have to be combined and be used wisely to ensure that the service reaches the intended beneficiaries. All spheres of government have to better their administration systems in order to ensure that housing delivery reaches the intended beneficiaries.

3.4 GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR TRANSFORMATION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS INTO FORMAL SETTLEMENTS

At different levels, government has plans to deal with the issue of informal settlements. These plans start from national to local levels where issues relating to service delivery are mostly implemented. Plans from provincial and local levels have to complement those of national level so that there can be significant impact pertaining to the provision of houses in South Africa.

Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006:6) argue that:

The international prioritization of informal settlements through various initiatives should be welcomed. However, greater attention needs to be given to the way these targets and campaigns are translated into programmes on the ground. The nature of pilot projects needs to be reviewed, particularly where they result from high-level partnership. In South Africa, the N2 Gateway pilot project involves a high-level of intergovernmental partnership, and, in Kenya, the Kibera-Soweto pilot project involves a high-level partnership between the Kenyan government and UN-Habitat. Contradictions are emerging in both pilot projects placing significant constraints on the extent to which these capital-intensive projects will benefit the residents living in the informal settlements. Piloting is a first in the implementation of a new policy. It is intended for testing and subsequent refining of policies, before full-scale implementation. Both the Kenyan and South African pilot projects are ambitious in scale and serve the political purpose of demonstrating government commitment to the new programmes.

Contradictions are bound to emerge where there is collaboration in a project, as cited above. It is upon government to come up with a plan that seeks to minimise these contradictions in order for the project to benefit those that are intended to benefit, in this case people living in informal settlements.

Bond (2002:41) states that:

Apartheid-era urban planning was mainly attuned to the expansion of suburban land use associated with natural market forces in a context of severe income inequality. This left large garden plots, with consequent wastage of water, for white people and extremely densely-settled black townships often many kilometers from black workers' jobs and from legal commercial and recreational sites. The transport and pollution implications are

enormous, as are the infrastructural costs and hence wastage of water and energy. Arable lands have been another victim of encroaching suburban sprawl, and in Johannesburg and other mining areas the rational use of land is made difficult by mine dumps, slime dams, sink holes and undermined surfaces. Land speculation and warehousing has been widespread, unhindered by taxation or zoning measures. Post-apartheid planning has offered rhetorical critiques of these problems, but no substantive interventions aimed at offsetting the abuse of land that follows from economic power and market processes.

According to Bond's argument that planning by the apartheid government led to the current state of affairs in South Africa, there are divisions in terms of how and where people live. The situation in which the majority of South African people find themselves is as a result of spatial planning by the apartheid government. It is incumbent upon the post-apartheid government to develop substantive interventions through planning that seeks to redress the current state of affairs. This government has to develop underdeveloped areas in order to balance the imbalances that were deliberately created to elevate the status of white people over that of African people. Providing land for the development of houses for those that were denied this right remains a focal point amongst areas of development that government has to prioritise.

3.4.1 Sustainable Human Settlement

Sustainable Human Settlement is a document introduced by the Department of Housing stating its plan to deal with various aspects pertaining to the development of human settlements. Its development came after there had been instruction from the President that the Department has to deliver a comprehensive plan dealing with human settlement and social infrastructure (South Africa. Department of Housing, 2004:1). This plan encompasses a number of items pertaining to human settlement but it does not address the issue of the transformation of informal settlements alone; it also touches on a number of aspects related to human settlements. As a result of this plan provincial and local governments have to develop plans which complement the national ones.

The plan also deals with problems associated with informal settlements, such as congestion, poverty, lack of amenities and health hazards. In addition, the granting of security of tenure for those who live in informal settlements is a priority. With the implementation of the plan, disadvantaged communities will begin to have access to essential services, greater choice in type of housing and, more importantly, a better life. The objective is to ensure that in ten years

time many of the informal settlements will have been replaced with formal housing structures. This is a new phase development approach that will firstly address emergency service and shelter needs, and ultimately deliver full services to people living in informal areas. The N2 Corridor Project in Cape Town is a pilot project for this informal settlement eradication. Each province will have two sites that they will develop as pilot projects. One will be the eradication of informal settlements and the other one the establishment of human settlements.

- There will be concerted and co-ordinated drive towards eradicating informal settlements within a determined time frame.
- Informal settlements will be upgraded on an area wide basis on suitable land.
- On unsuitable land, people will have to be relocated to safer ground.
- There will be certainty, access to proper services, security, choices and formal top structures for inhabitants (South Africa. Department of Housing, 2004:5)

The plan recognises that people living in informal settlements do not have access to essential services and the level of health and poverty will need urgent interventions. It also recognises that government has responsibility to eradicate informal settlements and establish human settlements that will be developed to address problems identified in informal settlements currently. The issue of social amenities that do not exist in informal settlements is one of the things strongly identified to make life difficult for people living in these areas. Sustainable human settlements as a plan, seeks to ensure that when there is development of human settlement there has to be integrated social development. This integrated social development must not only consider the building of houses, it must also look on other aspects that are required for societal life for example building of clinics, schools, shopping areas and sport fields is essential in order to address the imbalances of the past where areas for black people were not planned to have these facilities.

3.4.2 Integrated Human Settlement Plan

The plan has been adopted in 2005 and it aims at addressing problems of human settlements through an integrated development approach. According to the plan the City of Cape Town's additional programmes aim at achieving the following aspects:

1. Progressive informal settlement upgrading.
2. Promoting densification and integration.
3. Enhancing location of new housing projects.

4. Urban renewal and inner city regeneration.
5. Expand scope of the housing mandate.
6. Develop social and economic infrastructure.
7. Rental Housing.

The above aspects are great if there will be implementation, because there is variety of issues pertaining to housing development. In the progressive informal settlement upgrading, the City is looking on upgrading those informal settlements that are located on the land that can be upgraded in terms of infrastructural installation and building of houses. Whilst the land is getting prepared for human inhabitation, people that were occupying the land are temporary moved to temporal structures and returned back when the land is ready. One of the aspects that perpetrates the establishment of informal settlements is that, some people come to the City of Cape Town to look for work not to permanently settle. It is on this understanding that in its plan the City of Cape Town decided to build rental houses so that those that are in the City for job purposes can be able to rent houses that are owned by the municipality (City of Cape Town 2005b:2).

For the new wave of thinking about providing services in cities are six general policy approaches often used in different combinations, these approaches are as follows:

- expanding direct government provision of services;
- using the market to make the suppliers of services operate more efficiently;
- lowering service costs by changing the way they are delivered and regulated;
- supporting self-help services by the poor;
- increasing public-private co-operation and the role of the private sector; and
- making the demand for services a part of creating jobs and income for the poor (Urban Foundation, 1993:11).

For the policy makers, it is imperative to consider the above aspects when they make their plans on human settlement development as raised above by the Urban Foundation.

3.4.3 City of Cape Town's Integrated Development Plan

This is the document that has been developed to guide new developmental programmes within Cape Town. City of Cape Town (2005a:7) states that:

The Integrated Development Plan contains the strategy of the City of Cape Town and gives direction to the myriad needs addressed by the City of Cape Town in a financial year. These in turn influence budget allocations and council expenditure.

The plan speaks on a number of issues that the City of Cape Town seeks to address pertaining to service delivery. It states clearly as to how issues of delivery will be tackled by the City and it shows how it will relate these issues to the broader development that the country is following ranging from issues of housing, local economic development, public transport and health and safety. The list of issues that the City wants to address through the integrated development plan is broken down in the plan as single items so as to give meaning on how these developments link to each other.

The City of Cape Town plans to upgrade informal settlements within its boundaries, however it is noticed that between 15 and 20% of city residents live in informal settlements in an estimated 100 000 informal structures. Given the housing backlog of 240 000 units and growing scenario of informal settlements there is little chance that the City can formalize these settlements in the near future. The commitment from the side of the City is on policy that seeks to upgrading of informal settlements. Informal settlements have been provided with emergency free basic services of about 95% at the end of 2004. Work still remains in terms of improving service levels and co-ordinating internal resources to implement upgrading programmes. Issues of accessing national funding identifying and acquiring suitable land for development and solving tenure problems remain a challenge. The City engages in a major inter-governmental initiative (N2 Gateway Project) started at Joe Slovo as a pilot project seeking to upgrade informal settlements along the N2 corridor which will see the re-housing of 100 000 people during 2005, making a significant impact on the housing problem. Khayelitsha informal settlements are part of informal settlements that have to be upgraded since they are also along the N2 corridor (City of Cape Town, 2005a:9).

3.5 SUMMARY

Three spheres of government have a clear mandate that is drawn from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa to ensure that poor people who are unable to build adequate houses on their own, are allocated necessary resources for this purpose. It is demonstrated in various citations in this chapter that government has a responsibility to provide access to houses for

poor people who are unable to provide shelter for themselves, especially citizens who were denied an opportunity to own houses. This chapter interrogated the Housing Act of 1997 and various government plans that are related to the transformation of informal settlements through housing provision. Through this interrogation process, it came to light that although there is progress towards the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements, there are a number of constraints facing government. Amongst these constraints is the lack of capacity from local and provincial governments to address national priorities relating to the provision of houses.

Government progress towards provision of housing and subsequently transformation of informal settlements has been looked at in this chapter. There are progressive moves and policy review processes that government has engaged in, to come with better plans that seek to fast-track the development of houses and subsequently transform informal settlements into formal settlements with adequate houses. In all three spheres of government, there is a move towards integrated development of human settlement that strives to bring better services to where people live especially poor people that were marginalised. There are long and short-term plans that all three spheres of government formulated. As the issue of building new houses and transforming informal settlements is a long process that needs to be addressed in a systematic way due to community dynamics and complexity, government has to undergo serious policy review that will allow proper planning to improve living conditions for communities. Due to these community dynamics and complexities, government encounters difficulties at times to move people from informal settlements to new places where formal houses are built, hence the move toward integrated human settlements, to ensure that all necessary services and amenities are provided and accessible to people, thereby improving their living conditions.

CHAPTER FOUR RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study embraced the interpretivist perspective as prescribed by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007, p. 103) as it investigates the perspectives of community stakeholders on transformation of the informal settlement in the City of Cape Town. This chapter discusses the research methodology employed by this study. The quantitative methodology that was followed in this study is extensively discussed in relation to the published literature. The sampling approach used in this study is also discussed. In this chapter, the research methodology for the collection and organising of appropriate research data for this study is discussed. The research methodology used in this study begins with the research design which dwells on the plan used to conduct this research. Due to the fact that the research focuses on numeric and textual data, the orientations of the research design which is grounded in the quantitative research tradition (case study and survey) is discussed.

4.2 Research objectives

The primary objectives of this study are, *inter alia*:

Below are the objectives of this study.

- i. To interrogate the economic, political and social issues of informal settlements;
- ii. To explain the international trends in the conversion of informal settlements to formal settlements;
- iii. To describe the legislative framework, the role of the three spheres of government and current and future plans towards the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements; and
- iv. To conduct an empirical study to have recommendations that could assist in the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.

A quantitative approach (Cresswell, 2009) was employed along with both a structured questionnaire that reached a large number of employees in leadership positions (government and NGOs) which made possible for the quantification of the findings. Quantitative designs deal with a large number of respondents, use numbers to generalisable comparisons and conclusions about populations (Ghauri & Gronhaug,

2005) as the case in this study. The empirical study was conducted by means of a survey questionnaire which provided for the collection of large amounts of data. This study focused on the stratified random sampling which is a modification of random sampling in which a research divides the population into two or more relevant and significant strata based on one or number of attributes (Lewis, Kaufman & Christakis, 2008, 215-223). According to Brynard and Hanekom (2006), questionnaires provide respondents with an opportunity to carefully consider their responses to the various questions in the questionnaire.

The study employed a stratified random sampling of 100 respondents, ideal to test for the finding's reliability and validity, distributed equitably between government and NGOs. A host of researchers (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005 and De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delpont, 2005) argue that a sample can only be described as representative if it has the same properties or characteristics as the population relevant to the research in question. This application of the stratified random sampling method is consistent with the assertions of De Vos *et al.* (2005). This type of sampling is known to ensure that the different segments of a population are given sufficient representation in the sample. The sample size is selected in proportion to the number of persons in the stratum; in other words, larger samples from larger strata and smaller samples from smaller strata (De Vos *et al.*, 2005). A structured questionnaire using a five-point Likert scale was developed with a range from (1) strongly disagree, (2) disagree, and (3) undecided, to (4) agree, and (5) strongly agree, allowing for the perspectives and views of the sampled university leaders to be captured through responses to leading statements.

4.3 Data collection

The data were collected over a three-month period from January to June 2014. Of the total of 100 questionnaires distributed, 100 responses were received representing a 100% percent response rate. To maintain confidentiality, the questionnaires were distributed and collected by the researcher. The Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha values for individual dimensions were high and a reliability coefficient of 0.947 was recorded.

4.4 Data analysis

The quantitative data collected from the respondents was analysed using SPSS, version 12 for data capturing, presentation, analysis and interpretation.

4.5 THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES

Research is the manner in which we attempt to solve problems in a systematic effort to push back the frontiers of human ignorance or to confirm the validity of the solutions to the problems that others have presumably resolved. Ultimately, research is a way of thinking. It is a way of looking at accumulated facts so that those data become meaningful in the total process of discovering new insights into unsolved problems and revealing new meaning. For those who have never processed data or pursued facts to fresh interpretations, research can be a highly exhilarating experience. Research is the thrill that comes with the making of a new discovery. Research is a process that enlists the assistance of the scientific method in solving perplexing problems and resolving unanswered questions (Leedy, 1985:4).

According to Huff (2009:87-88):

Significant research is characterised by a particular kind of duality by both organic and mechanistic processes, by both linear and nonlinear thinking. Organic processes characterise the investigator's immediate world, and include letting things happen that can converge and be exciting. The choice process for selecting research is often nonlinear, and is based on intrinsic interest and intuition. The research outcome, on the other hand, might be characterised as mechanistic. The successful project ends up as a clearly defined, logical, rational product for diffusion to colleagues and the broader public. Perhaps this is why so much theoretical effort is required to translate the poorly understood to the well understood.

(Huff, 2009:179-80) further argue that:

A critical review of literature in the study's area of interest provided information on how theory and empirical data interact. The productive path of explanation moved back and forth between theoretical arguments and empirical evidence. It is imperative therefore that, researchers read arguments of various authors on the same area of research interest in order to sharpen their understanding and be able to advance argument at interplay between theoretical argument and empirical evidence.

A research project has to be informed by theoretical and philosophical grounds and these are grounds that can be established through the research process (scientific approach). South Africa proceeds with a broader transformational agenda, trying to address imbalances of the past created by the apartheid regime. It is imperative to engage with research processes as this is one of the tools that theoretically inform the path to be followed by these transformational processes. Huff's argument is in support of this discussion, the author made mention of the vitality of literature review in order to be able to engage meaningfully on the area of study.

Informal settlements remain the phenomenon that has harsh realities for those that find themselves in this environment. It is in the interest of the researcher to contribute to the process of transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements by interrogating the situation, using the theoretical and scientific tools of a research process. Transformation of informal settlements in South Africa started after the 1994 democratic breakthrough, when the Government of National Unity came into play. Though government committed itself to the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements through provision of houses to all citizens that qualify to own a house, the process has been by complex challenges that are linked with informal settlements.

The researcher investigated the challenges facing the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements and the conclusions reached in this study informed the recommendations that may be used in addressing these challenges in the near future. This study sought to contribute to the body of knowledge, policy and programme review pertaining to the transformation of informal settlements or provision of houses to the people living in informal settlements. Leedy (1985) sentiments as cited in this study that the research process is a scientific tool in solving perplex problems and answer unanswered question, is in support of the sentiments of this discussion

4.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Miller and Brewer (2003:92) argue that:

Methodology is centrally concerned with how we conceptualise, theorise and make abstractions as it is with the techniques or methods which we utilise to assemble and analyse information. These conventions are neither fixed nor infallible, although they might appear so at times.

Research design is the basic plan which guides the data collection and analysis phases of the research project. It is the framework which specifies the type of information to be collected, the sources of data, and the data collection procedure. A good design will ensure that the information gathered is consistent with the study objectives and that the data are collected by accurate and economical procedure. There is no standard or idealised research design to guide the researcher, since many different designs may accomplish the same objective. Research designs are typically classified according to the nature of the research objectives or types of research. While this classification is far from perfect, it will organize our discussion of research design (Erwee, 1995:4).

In social science researches, it is imperative that the researcher carefully chose the type of research methodology as this guides the steps of the investigation conducted. This guide the manner in which the data have to be collected, analysed, interpreted and used in guiding the researcher on scientific approach to reach to the outcomes of the research. The type of research methodology to be chosen should be guided by the research objective so as to allow the researcher to link the study with scientific standards. This is in line with the discussions by Brewer (2003), Erwee (1995) and Bryman (2004) as cited above.

4.7.1 Research population

A population consists of individuals, groups, organisations, human products and events, or the conditions to which they are exposed. A research problem relates to a specific population and the population encompasses the total collection of all units of analysis about which the researcher wishes to make specific conclusions (Welman *et al.*, 2005:52).

The population is a specified aggregation of the research element from which the sample is chosen. A researcher must define the population before determining who will participate in the study. The population for this study from which the sample respondents were derived, comprised dwellers in informal settlements within Khayelitsha Township, Cape Town According to (Babbie & Mouton, 2010:173).

4.7.2 Sampling

A sample is a portion of the population selected for a study. Purposive sampling was deemed the most appropriate method for this study. Three ward councillors from Khayelitsha Township (wards 91, 93 and 95), 17 managers from housing departments of both the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Provincial Government, 39 researchers from various CBOs and 41 researchers from various NGOs were selected. These 100 selected people formed the sample for this study.

Researchers rely on their experience to obtain units of analysis in a manner that the sample may be considered as being representative of the relevant population. In this regard, the researcher used his own knowledge of the informal settlements of Khayelitsha Township to select the NGOs, CBOs, PRs and GOs as participants in this survey. The rationale for this selection was to obtain relevant responses from people who are knowledgeable about the environment of informal settlements (Welman *et al.*, 2005:69).

4.7.3 Research instrument

Babbie and Mouton (2010:647) state that, research methodology comprises methods, techniques and procedures that are employed in the process of implementing the research design or research plan, as well as underlying principles and assumptions.

The measurement of respondents' attitudes requires the use of scale. The use of dichotomous questions and the Likert-type scale are two of the most common scales used in research, and are also the scales used in this research project. The guidelines of dichotomous questions and the Likert-type scale were considered and applied in the design of the questionnaire used for this study. A covering letter requesting participation from respondents (Appendix A) was attached to the questionnaire. The first section of the questionnaire comprised biographical data and the second section of the questionnaire dealt with statements to which a Likert-type scale for answers was linked. Instructions on how to complete the questionnaire appeared at the beginning of both sections. Respondents were required to select an answer that best reflected their personal opinions. According to Brewerton and Millward (2001:102) a Likert-type scale contains the following columns:

- 1 = Strongly agree
- 2 = Agree

3 = Disagree

4 = Strongly disagree

The questionnaire is attached as Appendix B.

As all participants were competent, they were capable of completing the questionnaires unassisted. The statements that were included in the questionnaire used in this study were formulated in accordance with the guidelines by Huchzermeyer (2004:7-8); Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006:1); Gilbert and Gugler (1982:89); UN Habitat, 2003.

4.7 INTERPRETIVISM

The condition your data are in will undoubtedly change during the process of analysis. However poor, ill-organised or inadequate you may think it is at the beginning, you are likely to find strengths in it as you proceed. Similarly, even if you start from the position that you have all the data you need, you are likely to recognise deficiencies as you get into the depths of analysis. Data analysis is about moving from chaos to order, and from order to chaos, often simultaneously. Data which seem under control are likely to become somewhat more disorganised, at least for a time; while some semblance of order will be found, or imposed upon, even the most chaotic collection. Your data may, at any time during the process of analysis, appear to be both messy and structured. By the end of the process, however, you should at least be able to reorganise both. Areas where you think your data add to an understanding of the topic you are researching may be seen as ordered, while areas which your work has raised more questions than answers, may appear as more chaotic (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 1996:175-76).

Leedy (1985:231) opines:

All too frequently, researchers feel that having once presented the facts and figures, they have done all that needs to be done. This is self-delusion and a misunderstanding of the research process. To do only that is to have done nothing more than a grand exercise in compiling minutiae. To display the data is certainly important, but it is the interpretation of the data which is the sine qua non of research. In teaching for thinking, the following passage epitomizes the point: "the teacher who asks what the data are (the who, what, when, where questions) is concerned with a lower mental process, albeit he elicits the responses with pedagogical flourish. The teacher who gives the student some data and then asks what they mean is concerned with a higher mental process. In fact, without inquiring into the intrinsic meaning of the data, no resolution of the research problem or its attendant sub-problems is possible.

According to Tesch (1990) cited in Creswell (1994:153):

Several components might comprise the discussion about the plan for analysing the data. The process of data analysis is eclectic, there is no right way as data analysis requires that the researcher be comfortable with developing categories and making comparisons and contrasts. It is also required that a researcher be open to possibilities and see contrary or alternative explanations for the findings. Also the tendency is for beginning researchers to collect much more information than they can manage or reduce to a meaningful analysis.

Bouma (2000:2070) argues that “interpreting your data means restating the relationships depicted in your tables, graphs, or calculations of averages as clearly as possible in words”.

It is imperative that a researcher collects information as this is vital for any research project. To collect the data for any research is not enough as some data may be misleading and not able to unmask the problem as identified in a research topic. Analysing and interpreting the data remains the cornerstone for researchers as this leads to the writing of the research report. This stage of data analysis and interpretation also shows the capabilities and understanding of a researcher on the research topic. In this stage of a research process it is revealed whether the researcher has been biased to certain theories or followed research practices as required by the scientific world. Wrong analysis and interpretation might lead to wrong conclusions and recommendations for the study.

4.8 VALIDITY OF THE STUDY

In order for the study to be valid, a researcher has to follow a scientific approach. Intensive reading and analysis of information is imperative in order for the researcher to gather opinions and views from various scholars in the field of research. Researchers must not be biased towards certain views and cannot reach conclusions before gathering and analysing information from various sources.

Validity has long been a key issue in debates over the legitimacy of research. If studies cannot consistently produce valid results, then policies, programmes or predictions based on these studies cannot be relied upon. Proponents of quantitative and experimental approaches have frequently criticised the absence of "standard" means of assuring validity, such as quantitative measurements, explicit controls for various validity threats, and the form testing of prior hypotheses (Huberman & Miles, 2002:37).

It is imperative that researchers validate their studies by following research processes as agreed upon by the scientific world. This gives credibility to recommendations made by a researcher as these research outcomes can be used in changing the current situation that the study seeks to investigate. Outcomes of quantitative studies can be used to inform policy positions, societal activities, developmental programmes and many other aspects of human life.

4.9 RESEARCH APPROACH

There are important differences between quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Quantitative research evaluates objective data, while qualitative research is concerned with subjective data. In dealing with numbers, quantitative research uses complex structured methods for analysis, while qualitative research uses flexible and explorative methods. Quantitative research deals with an abstraction of reality. Qualitative research bases its results on the behaviour of people. Quantitative research tries to understand the facts of an investigation from an outsider's perspective, while qualitative research tries to get an insider's perspective of the investigation (Welman *et al.*, 2005:8).

According to Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (2006:44) "There are some kinds of information that cannot be adequately recorded using quantitative data. In many cases language provides a far more sensitive and meaningful way of recording human experience. In these cases, words and sentences are used to qualify and record information about the world. The research is qualitative in nature".

This study is about the human experience, transforming informal settlements into formal settlement. Informal settlements are places where human beings are living with their families. It is a phenomenon that affects the lives of the people. In investigating this phenomenon the researcher chose qualitative approach to collect data. A questionnaire was formulated and distributed to 100 participants to gather their experience on different questions that were carefully crafted to address the objectives of this study. In this case, the selection of qualitative approach is in line with the argument of Bless *et al.* (2006) as cited above that, the research is qualitative in nature especially when human experience is recorded.

4.10 SUMMARY

This chapter reflected on research methodology outlining the approach chosen for this study. It engaged on primary objectives of the study, data collection and analysis, theoretical and philosophical perspective, research methodology, techniques chosen for the study, data collection, interpretivism, validity and the approach selected for this study. The next chapter will look on data presentation, analysis and discussion, it will formulate findings of the study out of the process of data analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt with research methodology, it touched on techniques used for this study. This chapter presents the data and provides analysis and discussion. It also provides the report of the study giving demographics of the participants

5.2 REPORT FOR THE STUDY

This report was based on responses to a questionnaire that was distributed to and collected from 100 participants. The questionnaire needed to be returned to the researcher by a stipulated date. The researcher collected the questionnaire from participants and also dealt with the administration of this questionnaire. The data gathered from the questionnaire was then analysed and interpreted.

5.2.1 Tabulated demographic information of respondents

Table 5.2.1. (a): Age group of respondents

	Percent
21-30 years	35
31-40 years	40
41-50 years	15
51-60 years	10
Total	100

Table 5.2.1 (a) shows the sample had 40% of the people who were between 31-40 years; 35% (21-30); 15% (41-50) and 10% (51-60).

Table 5.2.1 (b): Gender of respondents

	Percent
Male	43
Female	57
Total	100

The sample shown in table 5.2.1 (b) comprised of 57% females and 43% males.

Table 5.2.1 (c): Marital status of respondents

	Percent
Never married	43
Married	49
Divorced	5
Widowed	3
Total	100

The majority of the sampled residents were married (49%); 43% (never married); 5% divorced and 3% (widowed).

Table 5.2.1 (d): Highest educational qualifications of respondents

	Percent
Doctorate	2
Masters degree	25
Honours degree/ Advanced Diploma	35
Degree	20
Diploma	3
Other	15
Total	100

Table 5.2.1(d) shows educational levels of respondents, 2% obtain doctorates, 25% Masters, 35% Honours Degree, 35% Advanced Diploma, 3 % Diploma and 15% either Matric certificate or post Matric certificate.

Table 5.2.1 (e): Work experience of respondents

		Percent
Valid	1-5 years	15
	6-10 years	13
	11-15 years	30
	16-20 years	27
	21-25 years	10
	25-30 years	3
	31 years and more	2
	Total	100

Table 5.2.1 (e) indicates 30% of the researcher participants who had 11-15 years of experience; 27% (16-20); 13% (6-10); 15% (1-5); 10% (21-25); 3% (25-30) and 2% (31 years and more).

Table 5.2.1 (f): Stakeholder status of respondents

Types	Percentage
NGOs	42
CBOs	45
PR	5
GO	8
Total	100

Table 5.2.1 (f) show the degree of stakeholder participation of which 42% is NGOs, 45% is CBOs 5% PR and 8% GO

5.3 Data presentation, analysis and research findings presentation

The study findings revealed 86% of the researcher participants who believed that after 20 years of democracy there were few or no changes made to people living in the informal settlements. Only 14% who had opposite views regarding this statement. This finding has been corroborated by Bennet and Fiew (2012); SDI (2012) that the expansion of slums has exceeded government's government official's efforts. This has also agreed by Huchzermeyer (2004) that housing policy in South Africa contains no specific instruments to address informal settlements.

There was a total of 87% respondents believed that informal settlements were growing at an increasing rate, despite government housing programmes that are in place. Only 13% had opposite views. This has been confirmed by the high percentage (66%) of the respondents who believed that the provision of adequate housing takes a long period to reach the people living in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha Township. There was only 34% who had opposite views. These latter finding is supported by Ziblim and Sumeghy (2013:15) that in 2007, informal settlements have continued to grow at 5-7% each. The government failure to provide adequate formal housing as shown by this finding is against Habitat Agenda (1996) and Goal 7 of Target 11 of the MDGs which aims to ensure that the lives of the slum dwellers are significantly improved. This finding also violates Article 26(1) of the Constitution and the Article 26(1) of the Housing Act of 1997 which promotes access to formal housing.

The study revealed the majority of the research participants (87%) who believed that at times, people living in informal settlements go to the streets and protest because their problems are not addressed by the government. Only 13% who had negative opinions. Most of the challenges on the informal settlements are attributed to poverty as confirmed by the study findings that 70% were in the views that those who happen to live within informal settlements are poor people. The third of the respondents disagreed with this statement. This has been concurred by Huchzermeyer (2006) that informal settlements are features of poverty.

There was a total of 93% of the respondents who were in the opinion that there was a relationship between the establishment of informal settlements and economic status of the poor people in South Africa. Only 7% who were against. This finding is in agreement with Ziblim and Sumeghy (2013) that the Breaking New Ground (BNG) Policy which saw housing as a catalyst to achieve socio-economic goals.

There was equal percentage regarding that informal settlements had or no amenities that are needed for human utilisation. This finding is in accord with Huchzermeyer (2011) that these informal settlements still lack community facilities.

This study also shows 74% of the research participants who believe that informal settlements are contaminated by social ills that degrade human dignity. Only 26% had different views. The City of Cape Town (2013:5) concurs with this finding, on its problem statement, it alludes that, informal settlements are confronted by health threats, fires. This shows that the human dignity is compromised when people are allocated in informal settlements.

All research participants agreed that there was potential to transform informal settlements only if stakeholders can work together. This finding is accordance with Ziblim and Sumeghy (2013) that non-governmental actors positively contribute on slums upgrading. Though Mistro and Hensher (2009) acknowledges that spheres of government promises on the eradication of informal settlements while there is an increasing community mistrust of promises made by them.

Almost a quarter (27%) of respondents believed that there is conflict between authorities and those who live within informal settlements with this statement whilst 73% disagreed. This is in disarray with Alfreds (2010)'s account in Huchzermeyer (2011:171) where the City of Cape Town with the assistance of the provincial government resolved violently to evict households into the informal settlements. There was a total of 96% of the research participants who agreed that

Government has policies that can be used as a framework to transform informal settlements. Only 4% who had opposite views. Almost equal respondents agreed and disagreed that government plans are not fully implemented to fast-track the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements. There was a total percentage of 68% who were opposite regarding that the City of Cape Town is not willing to implement political decisions that are taken by the National Government. Only a third of the research participants were opposite.

The study revealed 66% of the research participants who disagreed that the Western Cape Provincial Government does not give full co-operation to the National Government. Only 34% who believed that. The majority of the research participants (66%) who were opposite regarding this statement was in congruent with Mistro and Hensher (2009) that the Western Cape province had housing backlog due to lack of financial and human resources which could be resolved by 2030.

The majority (67%) of the respondents believed that budgetary processes do not address the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements. Only 33% had opposite views. The views of the majority of respondents are in opposite views with those of Mukorombindo (2014:3), in author's argument there is a big portion of the budget that goes to housing of which the informal settlements are catered for. There could be other factors that might play a centre stage in hampering the progress of transforming informal settlements into formal settlements. Mukorobindo (2014:5) further argues that, for the past four years the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlement, for the past four years it has failed to spend its entire budget. This concludes that the problem is not budgeting for housing but can be linked to number of other factors that might be hampering the progress.

There was a total percent of 77% of the research participants who believed that government does not take stock of the people living in informal settlements. Only 23% who had opposite views. This finding is in line with the arguments of the City of Cape Town (2013:5), though it take stock of the number of informal settlement that are within the city it estimate 145 000 households of which there is no exact number of people living within these households.

There was 69% of the respondents who disagreed that government undermines the constitutional provisions that seek to ensure that every citizen who qualifies to have a house, is provided with an adequate house. Only 29% had opposite views. The majority of respondents

are backed by Mukorombandi (2014:2) argument, the author cites the fact that government spheres have failed to fulfil its own policy (Breaking New Grounds) requirements in pursuit of the constitutional obligation of providing adequate houses to the people.

There was the highest number of the research participants (80%) believed that provincial and Local Governments must consider what is done by the National Government in transforming informal settlements. Only 20% had different views. This majority that are in support of this statement are backed by the argument of Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006:6) when they allude to the fact that, N2 Gateway Pilot Project involves a high-level partnership which is full of contradictions. The nature of spheres of government involved in this pilot project and the background of the constituency that voted those who are in political power at these levels form basis of contradictions. At times these pilot projects are ambitious in scale and serve political purposes to attract electorate.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the research methodology and dealt with the report of the study. Based on the findings and discussion, this chapter draws a conclusion to the research. Recommendations are made as to how Government may expedite the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.

6.2 CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

This study observed the highest rate in which the informal settlements are increasing with limited financial and human resources to alleviate them which suggest that informal settlements in South Africa will be part of the formal housing system in foreseeable future. This study has shed light that informal settlements in Khayelitsha are increasing at a high rate which proves that the Western Cape government and The City of Cape Town had no plans in place to either eradicate/alleviate or stop their mushrooming. This study concludes that the lack in provision of formal housing is not only due to financial constraints or the scarcity of land and uncontrollable immigration. The shortage of qualified staff might be an issue as ineffectiveness and inefficiency was cited by the research participants that, promised houses took time to reach informal settlement residents. This is also attested by some of the authors, where the budget is not fully utilised for two or more budget cycles whilst the need is not addressed. This study has espoused the link between poverty and economic status in these informal settlements. This suggests that people who reside in informal settlements are poverty stricken with little opportunity for their financial sustainability. The contradictory statements between the respondents who claim that informal settlements residents embark on protests because of unfulfilled promises with the same who attest that both residents and authorities relate very well without conflicts. This suggests that these informal settlements protests are instigated by third forces who have their agenda to make the City of Cape Town ungovernable.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The major limitation of the study was access to information of the three spheres of government regarding their plans on changing informal settlements to formal. To interview middle and senior officials in the three tiers of government with the aim to triangulate the study empirical findings was a major limitation of this study. The refusal of these officials to be interviewed was a limitation to this study as they have claimed that this is a thorny issue which is political motivated. There was also a paucity of published materials in both developing and developed countries the plans to change informal settlements to formal.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study is an enquiry attempting to investigate a problem(s) in the informal settlements in relation to formal housing. The research allows the researcher to explain, defend and share the outcomes of the orderly nature of the inquiry to practitioners. Furthermore, limitations were prevalent in the literature, methodology and access to government officials. For future research it is suggested that:

1. Future researchers should expand the literature by investigating the government officials in three tiers of government.
2. Future researchers should conduct the in-depth interviews with the civil society organisations dealing with informal settlements.
3. This study should be replicated to other informal settlements within the City of Cape Town.

To respond to the gaps revealed by the research findings of this study. The following recommendations should be advanced:

1. To curb the ongoing establishment of informal settlements by those who migrate from rural areas into cities, government must strengthen rural economies by establishing job opportunities and industries in rural areas.
2. Agriculture as a main economic sector in rural areas has to be strengthened in order to be able to enhance skills and absorb the labour force. For example, in order to create more job opportunities in rural areas, government must initiate the establishment of agri-processing industries in these areas.

3. Government must rally towards activities that will attract the interest of professionals in rural areas.
4. Infrastructure must be strengthened in rural areas to allow the interaction between farms, villages and urban market.
5. Rural towns must be assisted with resources to build market centres which will give them the status of urban areas.
6. Amenities must be provided in rural areas. This will assist in retention of human capital and minimise migration by people from rural areas into cities. This migration increases the housing demand in big cities that absorb a large portion of the labour force.
7. Partnerships need to be forged between government and the private sector in order to mobilise resources towards the curbing of informal settlements.
8. All spheres of government have to work together in providing the land to build houses for the people living within informal settlements.
9. Government must provide information to the people living within informal settlements about roles played by each sphere of government in transforming informal settlements into formal settlements.
10. When people are moved from an area where there was once a squatter camp, municipalities have to utilise such land in order to prevent the rebuilding of shacks on the open space.
11. To accelerate the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements, government has to place a moratorium on the selling of public land, especially in big cities. This will create more space for the development of houses for those who are living in informal settlements
12. Individuals buying land for private use must be given a timeframe of one year within which all technical and environmental assessments must have been satisfied by the municipality to utilise such piece of land. If this deadline is not met and the land is not utilised, government must take back the land without refunding the money paid by an individual.
13. Government must accelerate the integration of communities in order to allow sharing of resources, especially for the provision of amenities.
14. Government has to put in place clear and practical deadlines for the transformation of informal settlements.
15. Government budgeting must seek to address the transformation of informal settlements by putting more emphasis on building houses, especially for those who live in informal settlements.

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APPENDIX A: COVERING LETTER TO RESPONDENTS



Dear Participant

The attached questionnaire is part of a survey amongst stakeholders working in the housing environment and within informal settlements in Khayelitsha Township to evaluate the role played by the South African Government in transforming informal settlements into formal settlements. The survey can produce the information that could be used by the government to transform informal settlements into formal settlements. Your co-operation is crucial to the success of the survey.

This survey is part of a research project that I need to submit to the Cape Peninsula University of Technology as part of the requirements for my Masters' degree in Public Management.

Your participation in this survey is voluntary, and you are assured that all information shall be handled in confidentiality and anonymity is guaranteed. Feedback contained in the attached questionnaire cannot be used for any purpose either than the purpose of this survey.

Instructions are given on each page of the questionnaire, and you are kindly requested not to consult with any other person in providing your responses. The questionnaire should take about ten minutes to complete, and I wish to emphasise that the success of this exercise depends on your co-operation. I would therefore like to humbly request that you complete the questionnaire and mail it in the self-addressed envelope provided.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Siyabulela P Thwalani

Masters student

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APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic information

INSTRUCTIONS: Please indicate with a cross (X) what is applicable to you.

1: Age

21-30	
31-40	
41-50	
51-60	
61 and above	

2: Gender

Male	
Female	

3: Marital status

Never married	
Married	
Divorced	
Widowed	

4: Highest Educational Qualifications

Doctorate	
Master's degree	
Honours degree/ advanced diploma	
Degree	
Diploma	
Other	

5: Total working experience within housing environment

1-5	
6-10	
11-20	
21-30	
31 years and more	

6: Stakeholder status

NGO	
CBO	
Public Representative	
Government Official	

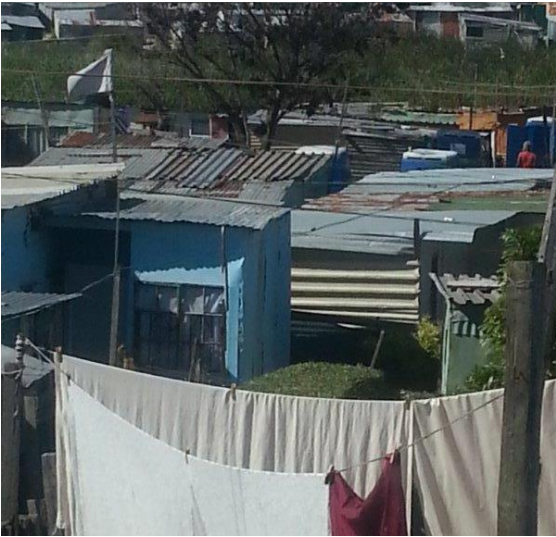
INSTRUCTIONS: Please indicate with a cross (X) in the appropriate column on the right your response to the statement to the left.

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecide	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
7	After 20 years of democracy, there are few or no changes made to the people living in informal settlements.					
8	Informal settlements are growing at a faster pace despite government housing programmes that are in place.					
9	Provision of adequate housing takes longer period to reach to the people living in informal settlements of Khayelitsha Township.					
10	At times, people living in informal settlements go to the streets and toyi-toyi because their problems are not addressed by the government.					
11	Those who happen to live within informal settlements are poor people.					
12	There is a relationship between the establishment of informal settlements and economic status of the poor people in South Africa.					
13	Informal settlements do not have amenities that are needed for human utilisation.					
14	Informal settlements are contaminated by all social ills that degrade a human dignity.					
15	There is a potential to transform informal settlements only if stakeholders can work together.					
16	There is a conflict between authorities and those who live within informal settlements.					

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
17	Government has policies that can be used as a framework to transform informal settlements.					
18	Government plans are not fully implemented to fast-track the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.					
19	The City of Cape Town is not willing to implement political decisions that are taken by the National Government.					
20	The Western Cape Provincial Government does not give full co-operation to the National Government.					
21	Budgetary processes do not address the transformation of informal settlements into formal settlements.					
22	Government does not take stock of the people living in informal settlements.					
23	Government undermines the Constitutional provisions that seek to ensure that every citizen that qualifies to have a house is provided with an adequate house.					
24	Government has a responsibility of ensuring that the dignity of everyone is respected and promoted as alluded in section 10 of the Constitution Act 108 of 1996.					
25	Provincial and local governments must not consider what is done by the National Government in transforming informal settlements.					

APPENDIX C: PHOTOS OF SHACKS - KHAYELITSHA INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS





APPENDIX D: LETTER FROM GRAMMARIAN

1 Side Street
Napier
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October 2014

EDITING & PROOFREADING

Cheryl M. Thomson

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that the Master's dissertation of SIYABULELA PATRICK THWALANI, student number 202076342, at the CAPE PENINSULA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, was proof-read and edited by Cheryl Thomson in preparation for submission of dissertation for assessment.

Yours faithfully

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