

**AN ANALYSIS
OF THE CAUSES AND ISSUES SURROUNDING
BACKYARD SHACK DEVELOPMENT
AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY :
THE CASE OF UMLAZI**



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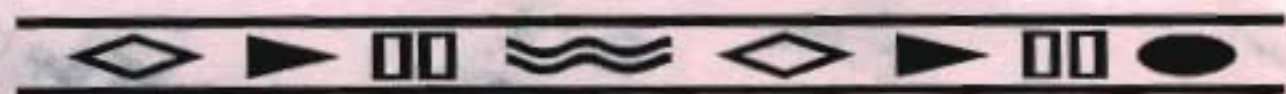
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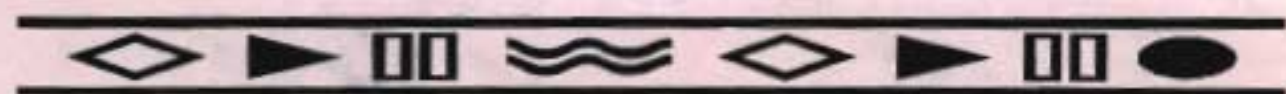
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ABSTRACT



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Over the past decade the construction of shacks on formally developed residential sites within the predominantly african residential townships of South Africa have been increasing in number. These informal structures have become commonly known as backyard shacks and have been constructed, mainly by the urban poor, in response, inter-alia, to the restrictions and difficulties placed upon them by the policies of the past government, in respect to access to land and housing. Research on this housing option is limited and has unfortunately either concentrated on quantifying the extent of the development or has been overshadowed by investigation and debate on other methods of informal housing.

Therefore this dissertation sets about, by reason of research in Umlazi (one of the largest, predominantly african townships within South Africa), to contextualise, identify and place firmly on the agenda, the issues and needs of the backyard shack residents. In support thereof, a review of the spatial development of backyard shacks over the past decade in Umlazi, is also provided.

From this study it has then been possible to formulate recommendations for housing policy and town planning so as to address these issues and needs. With specific reference, as this dissertation recognises the extent of the housing crisis and the role that backyard shacks play in providing shelter for the urban poor within the urban centres of the country and hence the likely permanency of this housing option; recommendations, including the densification of the urban centres as a means of providing land for housing, the formalisation of the backyard shack as a secondary dwelling unit, the re-defining of subsidies in relation thereto and the delivery of services, are put forward.

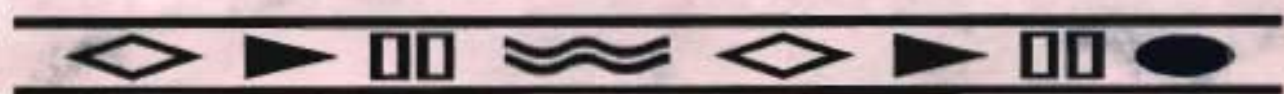


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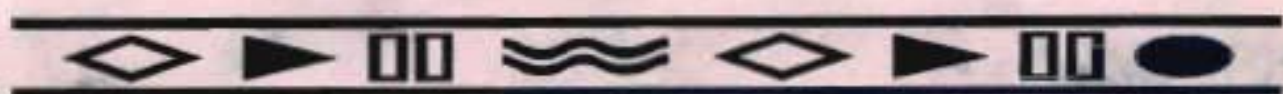
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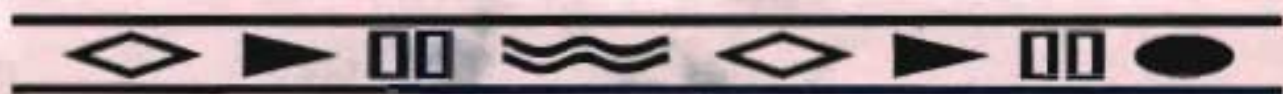
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Shack, backyard shack, outbuilding, and more recently secondary dwelling unit.... all structures erected by persons within various contexts to provide shelter. Of all these types of housing delivery it is the development of backyard shacks that is the least researched and recognised housing option of the urban poor within South Africa. Whilst there are a variety of estimates as to the extent of the housing backlog within South Africa and the rate of housing construction that will be required to address this need, it is safe to say that the delivery of housing to meet this backlog has fallen far behind demand. The urban poor have therefore been forced to provide their own housing, hence the growth of informal settlements on vacant land both within and outside of existing residential townships, and more significantly the construction of backyard shacks on residential sites within residential townships, and in particular the predominantly african townships.

Until recently, scant attention has been paid to recognising and understanding the extent and issues surrounding the development of backyard shacks within formal townships. Whilst not attempting to undermine the literature and recommendations made regarding informal housing, and in particular that surrounding informal settlements, it can be argued that these debates have failed to recognise and adequately address the issues surrounding the development of backyard shacks and the extent to which this informal housing option provides accommodation for the urban poor within South Africa.

Despite this lack of research, certain literature, and in particular newspaper articles have established that backyard shacks have existed in many of South Africa's formal townships for at least the past decade. Further, recent studies, such as that of the Urban Foundation (1990) in the formerly known Transvaal, have found that backyard shacks as a housing option account for a significant proportion of the housing stock of african townships.

Hence this study sets about to take up this challenge and identify and address the issues surrounding the development of backyard shacks by reviewing the growth of this housing option within Umlazi over the past decade.

1.1. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The broad aim of this study is to gain an understanding of and highlight the issues surrounding the development of backyard shacks and the implications thereof for the national housing policy and consequently policy and planning in the Durban Functional Region (DFR). Specific objectives of this broad aim are as follows;

(i) Objective 1 :

To develop a conceptual framework that contextualises the growth of backyard shacks within formal townships in South Africa.

(ii) Objective 2 :

To investigate the density and the issues surrounding the development of backyard shacks within Umlazi over the past decade; with specific reference to the extent to which factors such as access to facilities, rentals relationships between the residents of the backyard shack and the formal dwelling, and proximity to land invasions play a role.

(iii) Objective 3 :

To formulate recommendations for national housing policy and in turn the DFR, which will actively address the issues surrounding backyard shack development.

(iv) Objective 4 :

To assess the implications of the development of backyard shacks for town planning in the DFR.

1.2. THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

As outlined above both international and local literature on informal housing options have focused on the issues surrounding informal settlement development and have focused on debates regarding self-help options and upgrading as means of addressing the provision of housing for the urban poor.

It is only since the early 1990's that research, such as that carried out by the Urban Foundation, that an indication of the growth of backyard shacks within african townships has been established. However, even this research has been restricted to an assessment of the extent of backyard shack development within the townships situated within Gauteng and the Eastern Cape.

Clearly it can be argued, that there is a 'gap ' in the housing literature with respect to understanding the issues surrounding backyard shack development within the DFR. Thus, in order to contribute to filling the gap by providing a greater understanding and recognition of backyard shacks as a significant housing option, the issues surrounding their development, and the implications for policy is the basis for which the need for this study founded.

1.3. METHODOLOGY

There are many methods which may be used in research and data collection, each with their advantages and disadvantages. However, the nature of the research question determines the most appropriate methods to employ and the level of detail that is relevant and possible to relate.

Thus, for the purposes of this study the five main methods of obtaining primary data were as follows;

- i) Review of literature and previous research on backyard shacks.

- ii) Analysis of aerial photographs :

-
- (a) analysis of black and white aerial photographs of Umlazi flown in June 1985 and July 1990, and
 - (b) as a result of (i) above an analysis of black and white aerial photographs of Sections J, H, F, and V flown in September 1992 and compiled on August 1993.
- iii) Review of the recently completed population estimates (1995) carried out by the Urban Strategy section of the Durban Metropolitan Council.
- iv) Windscreen surveys
- v) Interviewing and discussion at three levels :
- (a) with residents of backyard shacks and residents of the formal houses accommodating backyard shacks,
 - (b) with members of the Umlazi Branch of the South African National Civic Association, and
 - (c) with officials of the township manager's office.

There is no question that it would have been ideal to have taken the research to a detailed level with an in-depth investigation of each section of Umlazi and further to have completed a detailed analysis of other townships within the DFR. However, such investigation was beyond the scope of this study.

In employing the above methods of data collection there are certain advantages and disadvantages that need to be outlined. They are as follows;

(i) Review of literature and secondary data:

Given the relative lack of literature relating specifically to the research topic, it was necessary to identify general issues that were relative to the topic, such as the literature on urbanisation and the housing crisis. This literature would assist, albeit in a limited way, in providing a basis not only for the research topic and would but also for comparative analysis and the testing of findings.

(ii) Analysis of aerial photographs:

It should be noted that a decision was taken after reviewing the aerial photographs for 1985 and 1990 not to include Sections Z, AA and BB in this study. The reason for this decision was primarily due to the fact that residential development therein occurred during the late 1980's and early 1990's and was geared toward persons in the higher income groups. Brief analysis these areas did not accommodate any backyard shacks. It should be noted however, that recent research by the Urban Strategy Section of the now dissolved Durban City Council has revealed that since the mid-1990's a few backyard shacks hve been constructed in these sections. Section CC was also excluded from the analysis as it accommodated an informal settlement.

In employing this methodology two levels of analysis were done. Firstly, aerial photographs at a scale of 1:11000 and flown of Umlazi during 1985 and 1990 (but excluding those sections identified above) were analysed with assisted magnification. Having completed counts of the number of backyard shacks within each section and their density on

sites, it was decided on the basis of either the presence of high or low densities of backyard shacks, or increases or decreases in the number of backyard shacks between 1985 and 1990, to complete a more detailed analysis of specific sections. Such sections were J, H, F, and V. Thus for the second level of analysis aerial photographs at a scale of 1:5000 flown in 1992 and compiled in 1993 were used.

This method has significant advantages in that with a degree of certainty it is possible to obtain an objective and unbiased representation of the spatial arrangement of backyard shacks within Umlazi. This was especially evident with the aerial photographs for 1992/3 where with the naked eye it was possible to distinguish between various structures on the ground. In addition, this method also provides a sound base from which questions develop and certain conclusions can be drawn. Thereafter being ratified, dismissed or developed further with field checking and interviewing.

However, given the size of Umlazi and the financial constraints of enlarging the aerial photographs for both 1985 and 1990 the disadvantages of using aerial photographs at a scale of 1:11000 come to the fore. Accordingly, given topographical features, the angle of the sun when the photographs were taken, and that such photographs are two-dimensional and produced in various shades of grey means that there was a degree of distortion and difficulty experienced in interpreting the type of structure on the ground and whether such structures were in fact being used for residential purposes. A further, obvious restriction is that aerial photograph interpretation does not explain fully the processes at work in causing a variety in spatial arrangements and densities between the various sections of Umlazi.

Despite the above comments it is considered, in reflection, that the results of the aerial photograph analysis and the conclusions drawn therefrom provide a relatively accurate representation of the situation on the ground and thus a sound base from which to embark on the research method of field checking and interviewing.

(iii) Population estimates compiled by the Urban Strategy Unit.:

As the findings of this study became available in early 1996 these counts and projections provide an invaluable tool from which to test the findings of the counts completed for 1985, 1990 and 1992/3 by this researcher. However, whilst extensive in the methods of compiling and assimilating the data, there is nonetheless an element of error in their study. In addition, given the extent of the study, there are limitations in that the counts can not be extensively tested on the ground, as opposed to that which was possible in the work carried out by the author of this document. In addition, these population estimates do not provide an understanding of the issues on the ground and therefore are restricted to being a quantitative, albeit very useful, research document.

(iv) Windscreen surveys:

Having gained an overall understanding of the density and spatial arrangement of backyard shacks within Umlazi, this method allows for both a general understanding of the situation on the ground and a confirmation of the findings and assumptions of the aerial photograph analysis.

(v) Interviewing:

Having identified, by way of the methods outlined in (i), (ii) and (iii) above, the spatial differences between the residential sections in Umlazi, four sections were chosen for further research by way of interviewing. This interviewing process was also to be reinforced by the more detailed aerial photograph interpretation.

With respect to using interviewing as a research methodology it was decided from the outset not to use a structured interview as more often than not the responses to the questions are staid and result in a quantitative analysis. Thus, it was preferred to identify key issues and then discuss them on a less formal basis so as to gain further information and an insight into the issues surrounding the development of backyard shacks. Accordingly, and with the invaluable assistance of the Umlazi Civic Organisation interviews were conducted with residents of both backyard shacks and those formal township houses accommodating backyard shacks.

To a great extent these interviews were conducted on the basis of those persons willing to give of their time to hold discussions and be interviewed. Although only a relatively small sample was used when compared to the total population of Umlazi, (ie : 100 people), it is considered that of those persons within the four sections interviewed that these interviews were sufficient in confirming the findings of the aerial photograph analysis. In addition, it was repeatedly confirmed by the interviewees that the issues they raised are common for the majority of people either resident in backyard shacks or accommodating backyard shacks on their sites.

There are a number of disadvantages and advantages of using this method. Firstly, with respect to the former, difficulties were experienced at a number of levels. Foremost was that of gaining access and assistance with the interviews. In certain instances, organisations and individuals were either sceptical of the research or did not want to commit their organisation or themselves to the research. Possibly, for fear of raising false hopes in the minds of their members and the residents of the areas in which they were active.

A further concern of this researcher and one which can easily present itself, was that of bias and political viewpoints coming to the fore in the interviews. However, given the politicisation of issues on the ground and the nature of the research topic it has to be acknowledged that these viewpoints will permeate the study. Despite the above difficulties and after having approached a number of people and organisations; and at one point a real concern that this part of the research study would not get off the ground, invaluable support and assistance was found in the Umlazi Branch of the South African National Civic Association.

In terms of the advantages of using this research methodology these far outweigh the disadvantages in that a far greater understanding of the issues, needs and expectations of a particular group of people can be gained. Thus, together with the previous methods identified a holistic understanding of the issues at hand can be gained.

1.5. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS :

(i) Durban Functional Region (DFR) :

The Durban Functional Region has been defined as to include the metropolitan area of Durban and those areas which are functional linked to Durban on a daily basis. Accordingly, the boundary of the DFR is almost semi-circular, extending from Umkomaas in the south to Mapumulanga in the west and Salt Rock to the north. A total area of 2 940 km².

(ii) Durban Metropolitan Region (DMR) :

The Durban Metropolitan Region (DMR) is smaller in extent than the DFR and comprises the six Substructures or Local Councils which make up the Metropolitan Council. Consequently, the boundary of the DMA follows the outer boundary of these six local council areas.

(iii) Backyard Shack :

An informal dwelling constructed of wattle and daub, packaging cases, timber, corrugated iron and/or a combination thereof, erected within the backyard of the township residential site which accommodates a formal township dwelling. They are either rented as a source of income or erected to accommodate family overspill or other family members; all of which, for various reasons, have been forced to find shelter in this form of housing.

(iv) Formal Township Dwelling :

The formal dwellings within the townships are called 'four-roomed houses' by the residents of the townships and refer to the 51/6 and 51/9 houses built as part of the government's public housing programme of the 1960's and 1970's.

(vi) Family Overspill :

This term is used to illustrate the instance where the number of people in a household has outgrown the size of the formal township house and therefore as a result of the extent of the housing crisis the older members, usually the young adults who are starting families of their own, find shelter either by moving into an informal settlement or in the context of this study by erecting a backyard shack.

(vii) Lessor :

A person who rents a backyard shack to a tenant.

(vi) Lessee :

A person or persons who rent a backyard shack with consumption costs for water and electricity either included or excluded from such rental.

(vii) Informal Settlement :

For the purposes of this study an informal settlement is defined as being a settlement comprising informal structures on land, to which ordinarily there is no legal right had by the residents thereon.

(viii) Land Invasion :

The moving onto vacant land by persons residing in informal structures and consequently the residents thereon having no legal right to such land.

(ix) Section/s :

As is common in all african townships built during the apartheid era, the townships were divided into sections or in effect residential suburbs. Each section was lettered or numbered and referred to as such. Any reference to a suburb name has been formulated by the residents therein.

(x) Circular Migration :

For the purposes of this study circular migration is the movement of people between the residential sections of Umlazi.

1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION :

This research has eight major components :

- (i) Chapter 2 : Conceptual Framework

- (ii) Chapter 3 : Review of legislation and policies and how they have affected housing delivery within the DFR.

- (iii) Chapter 4 : Consideration of both the history of that area of land on which Umlazi is developed and thereafter the nature of formal and informal residential development within the township since construction commenced.

- (iv) Chapter 5 : Analysis of the development of backyard shacks within Umlazi for the period between 1985 - 1990 and the formulation of initial assumptions as to the variations in density and spatial arrangement of backyard shacks.

- (v) Chapter 6 : Detailed analysis of four sections of Umlazi and the formulation of certain conclusions regarding the issues generated by the development of backyard shacks.

- (vi) Chapter 7 : Formulation of recommendations for national housing policy, and in turn the DFR and identification of the issues for planning.

- (viii) Chapter 8 : Evaluation of the research study.



CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Prior to assessing the development of and issues surrounding backyard shacks within Umlazi and the implications thereof for housing policy and planning, this chapter develops a conceptual framework as to the growth of informal methods of housing provision. It is considered important to recognise that due to the lack of research on the development of backyard shacks that it is easy to try and review all debates that could be relevant. These include, those pertaining to urbanisation, the role of the state, land invasions, market forces and rentals.

However, such review is beyond the scope of this study and thus whilst not attempting to undermine the importance of and inter-relationship between the various theoretical considerations, attention is rather paid to contextualising the growth of backyard shacks as being a response by the urban poor to the housing crisis. Which crisis is attributed to theories of capital in conjunction with the legislation of the apartheid era and shifts in government policy.

2.1. CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

Capitalism has as its roots the organisation of social relations by the separation of the worker from the means of production and the attaining of surplus value

by the owners of the means of production (Castells 1978 in Wilkinson : 28). In turn the capitalist relations of production are based on the production and exchange of commodities with such commodities having both a use-value and an exchange value. Consequently, commodities are produced by workers for capitalists who buy the worker's labour power as a commodity on the market. This relationship forms the central conflict in any capitalist society between the capitalist class who own and control the means of production and the working class who can only own and control their labour power.

According to Marx, (in Ratcliffe : 1) capital has only one driving force, namely to create a surplus value by extracting the maximum benefit from the use value of the labour power employed so as to accumulate productive capital. This productive capital then allows for the reproduction of the capitalist system by the continuation and expansion of the means of production and labour power. In ensuring these relations of production there is an overriding need by the capitalists class to maintain hegemony amongst the working class by way of domination and the "institutionalisation of a hegemonic ideology which legitimises (and conceals) the essentially exploitative nature of capitalism by representing the class interests of the bourgeoisie as the 'general interests' of society as a whole" (Wilkinson : 25). Thus, through this aim the capitalist state plays the role of promulgating policies which support the accumulation of capital. In other words, the state is seen by the Marxists as being an instrument of the ruling class, and it ensures that conditions prevail for capitalist development and increased poverty.

Within the capitalists mode of production the concept of housing as contributing to the maintenance of the capitalists social relations is constituted in the following manner.

- (i) *Housing is seen as a commodity having both a use value and an exchange value with the latter forming the significant extension of the process of capital accumulation, namely the housing market.*

Within the housing market there are a variety of actors involved in the production and exchange of housing as a commodity. Such actors include capitalists involved in the construction and building industries, landlords, real estate agents, financiers, state agencies and more significantly the individual home owner. The inter-relationship between all of the actors is that all are concerned with the exchange value of housing and the manner in which the surplus value from the production thereof is distributed amongst them; be it by profit, interest or rent. Thus, as capitalists are profit motivated; and housing is seen as a commodity, the state reinforces this principle by failing to correct the distorted market for the benefit of the urban poor. For example, just as the building industry has been dominated by white capitalists.

Consequently, as noted by Wilkinson

“by merely embodying exchange value, housing contributes to the reproduction, in terms of providing additional areas in which the basis of capital accumulation may be expanded”. (Wilkinson : 27)

- (ii) *Housing is part of the necessary consumption of workers and consequently, forms part of the reproduction of labour power.*

Housing takes on a role aside from that of providing shelter, in that it only becomes habitable with the provision of certain basic necessities such as

maintenance of public health through the supply of clean water and collection and disposal of household waste, public transport, road systems, educational facilities, recreational and community facilities. These are organised and provided on a collective basis and can be seen to be the support for the reproduction of labour power or as Castells terms the 'means of collective consumption' (Castells, in Wilkinson : 26).

In this regard the goods and services provided for collective consumption are not directly provided by capital, but rather by the state as it is seen by the former to not be profitable to provide such goods and services. Thus their provision within the capitalist society remains the responsibility of the state so as to ensure the reproduction of labour power in the interests of capital.

Therefore, housing and its associated services are seen to be central to ensuring that a worker is able to sustain and reproduce their labour power for the capitalists end. However, the standard of the provision of housing and its associated services is determined by the ongoing struggles of the working class.

(iii) The forms in which housing is provided is embedded in the maintenance of the social relations of capitalism.

In order for the maintenance of the labour power, capital requires that its labour supply be accommodated in close proximity and in a stable environment so that such labour power may reproduce without disruption. Housing is thus used as a mechanism of social control.

Evidence of this proliferates the capitalists society and South Africa has been no exception. Evidence of this can be found in the mine compound system and company town accommodation that was provided for the working class. According to Marxists, state policies in South Africa during the apartheid era supported the interests of the white capitalists to the detriment of black labour. Thus the Nationalist government can be seen to be main cause of the housing crisis of today due to its apartheid ideology and reluctance to provide housing for the urban poor.

(iv) Due to the existence of the contradictory nature of capitalism, the housing system is an arena for social class conflicts and various forms of state intervention.

In this regard, and albeit outlined briefly, given the inability of the capitalist system to adequately provide housing for lower income groups a conflict arises between the capitalist and worker classes with the result that the state intervenes by way of legislation to control the working class.

In South Africa this intervention had been inextricably linked with the apartheid ideology of the previous Nationalist Government, such that maintenance of the capitalist relations of production were overridden by this ideology. The influx control legislation is a classic example of such ideology.

2.2. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE APARTHEID IDEOLOGY

Having outlined above the maintenance of the social relations of production through housing, it is necessary to consider the development of the capitalist system so as to gain further understanding of the existence of the housing shortages within the major cities of the capitalist systems. Aside from symptoms such as increases in population, there is also the prevalence of urbanisation. This means that with the effort of the capitalist system to accumulate capital by dispossession of both the producers of their land and of other resources, as well as the concentration of capital, there arises a concentration of labour power within the urban areas. Accordingly, and not to suggest that urbanisation is only particular to capitalist systems, the processes of urbanisation and capital accumulation can be seen to be inextricably linked.

However, in South Africa the typical urbanisation pattern of capitalist countries has been distorted by the institutionalisation of policies in the past, of influx control borne out by the establishment of the migrant labour system and the Reserves. Further, within these policies there was a clear inter-relationship between influx control and housing. The Stallard Commission Report of 1921 and as a consequence thereof, the Urban Areas Act of 1923, set down a number of principles which encompassed this relationship (Ratcliffe : 6). In terms of this Act it was stated that the urban african working-class would not be treated as a permanent population and therefore the state would not be responsible for the provision of sub-economic housing.

Despite this policy, increases in movement of people to the urban areas during the 1930's and 1940's occurred at a rapid rate, particularly due to the employment opportunities generated by World War II. The response of the

state was the promulgation of the Slums Act of 1934 where local authorities were forced to declare slum areas and build some family housing. However, given the lack of financial support could not keep up with demand. Consequently, the state introduced the Native Laws Amendment Act in 1937, which allowed magistrates to control the influx of workers into the urban areas of South Africa. Further, in 1945 the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act stipulated that no african person could reside in any of the areas prescribed by the state for longer than 72 hours unless such person/s could prove that they 'qualified' to be there. It is clear therefore that these regulations had as their primary aim to regulate a sufficient number of people within the urban areas for the labour requirements of capital (Ratcliffe : 7).

With the gaining of political power in 1948 of the Nationalists Party, this government set about controlling both the supply of labour and the sectors to which such labour would be allocated. At that same time the state embarked on a massive public housing construction programme to house the working class. However, this programme could not keep up with demand and thus the first informal settlements started developing within the urban areas of South Africa.

As a result of the increasing concentration of capital within South Africa by the 1960's, the state set about to control the movements of the working class and its access to permanent urban residence. Briefly, these controls were manifested in the form of attempts to prevent further african urbanisation by means of the establishment of border industries and the development of the homelands, the provision that future family housing would only be provided in the homelands, forced removals and the re-settlement of surplus population from the squatter areas and in 1972 the removal of the administration of the african townships from the local authorities to central government.

Despite the above regulations the extent of urbanisation had grown significantly. In the eyes of the state the public housing programmes were seen to encourage the movement of people to the cities. In response thereto the state embarked on its policy of "grand apartheid" which included the decreasing of its public housing programme so as to curtail the movement of people to the cities.

2.3. CHANGE IN POLICY - TOWARD SELF-HELP

At this point it is necessary to turn to the nature of the international debate on housing. With the increase in informal settlements within the developing countries the debate on housing sifted from those favouring public housing programmes to a new approach, which supported a change in attitude to facilitating informal housing processes. Thus, it was considered by theorists such as Turner (1976) that left to their own devices people would have the will and ingenuity to provide their own housing. Accordingly, the emphasis would be placed on site-and-service schemes and in-situ upgrading. In response thereto critiques were offered by theorists such as Burgess (1982) who argued that the "self-help" option allowed governments and capital to relinquish responsibility for providing double-exploitation of these groups of people. Aside from having to produce surplus value for the capitalists, the working class would also have to spend time on providing their own reproduction needs.

In South Africa the change in the governments' public housing policy and the implementation of the new apartheid legislation was evident in the Riekert Commission of 1979 and Viljoen Commission of 1981, where aside from

recognising the urban rights for people who 'qualified', they also suggested a streamlining of the system of influx control. Consistent with international debates the government announced in 1983 that greater reliance would be placed on self-help and the private sector. Further entrenchment of these policies and using the two aforesaid commissions as guidelines, the government promulgated in 1986 the White Paper on Urbanisation. This policy proposed that the provision of shelter be the responsibility of the individual, the employer or the private sector. In short, the state acted around three issues; the sale of rental accommodation and the upgrading of existing townships, deregulation and the lowering of standards coupled with private sector involvement in the provision of housing and lastly controlled squatting.

During the 1976 Soweto uprisings the growth of the civic organisations within South Africa gained momentum. Issues such as rentals were actively used as mechanisms for mobilising support. As is noted by Smit (1993) the intellectuals behind the civic movement were significantly influenced by the work of Manuel Castells who argued that aside from the struggles within the workplace against capitalist exploitation, the urban terrain and the activities of the urban social movements provided a site for an extension of the workplace struggles. Accordingly, it was important to organise the working class in the living environment with an overriding aim of transforming the apartheid and capitalist state. Thus, for obvious reasons the new government policy of the 1980's was met with opposition from the political left.

On the whole however, there was no serious effort by the state during the 1980's at encouraging housing delivery at a scale to address the extent of the housing backlog that had developed within the country. In fact the government withdrew from the provision of housing for the urban poor, which meant that it was financially and legally impossible for the urban poor to

formally access land and housing. The government remained driven by the principles of orderly urbanisation as contained in the White Paper. Thus 'in-situ' upgrading was avoided as it would imply that the government was recognising the permanency of informal settlements. Accordingly, it was not until 1991, after the political developments of the previous year, that the government started changing its attitude toward recognising informal housing delivery programmes as means to address the housing backlog.

This change in attitude was manifested in the formulation of the Independent Development Trust which set about a 100 000 site-and-service programme. However, many of these site-and-service schemes have not been developed. The reason being that they were located far from job opportunities and therefore resulted in high transport costs for the urban poor. Consequently, the scheme has created dormitory suburbs at great distances from places of employment, commercial and recreational facilities. Site-and-service schemes still do not effectively address the social environment of the very poor as only a willing buyer of site-and-service schemes can pay the expenses generated. By virtue of this fact the willing buyer has more often than not been the middle income group.

This emphasis on site-and-service schemes was continued in the de Loor (1992) recommendations for a national housing policy. However, as a result of changing political circumstances and in effect interim government, the recommendations were released for 'discussion purposes'. These recommendations included, *inter alia*, that all existing housing subsidy schemes be phased out and replaced by a "comprehensive housing assistance" scheme (in Smit, 1992). With respect to this scheme, four categories of assistance packages were to be provided so as to target different levels of the urban poor.

2.4. THE GOVERNMENT IN TRANSITION - NEW STRATEGIES :

In 1993, the National Housing Forum was established which together with the government devised the formation of the Housing Subsidy Scheme to be managed by a National Housing Board. The formation of this Board meant that a single housing body had been constituted and which replaced the National Housing Commission, the South African Housing Advisory Council, the Development and Housing Board (House of Assembly), Housing Development Board (House of Delegates), Housing Board and Development Board (House of Representatives). Consequently by 1994, South African had for the first time in almost half a century, one body that would set about addressing the provision of land and housing for the urban poor. The central manner in which this would be achieved would be the provision of subsidies to the urban poor.

Within the structures of the National Housing Board, provincial structures have been constituted under the title of Provincial Housing Boards. These provincial structures are responsible for the allocation of subsidies within their area of jurisdiction. In 1995, almost R3 billion was set aside for subsidies within the country.

In addition, the new democratic government established partnerships with various private sector agencies including the Mortgage Indemnity Fund, Servcon, the National Homebuilders' Registration Council, the National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency and the National Housing Finance Corporation.

However, development in terms of subsidies has not met its target in that it has been ascertained that less than 21 percent of the funds available had in fact

been spent during the 1995/96 financial year. In other words that only 30 000 houses had been built (in Local Government Digest, 73 : August 1996). The consequence of this is that the funds have been rolled over and consequently the money set aside for the 1996/97 financial year has been reduced by almost R 2,1 billion from an overall total of R 3,6 billion to R 1,5 billion.

Thus, whilst almost R 391 million has been granted in subsidies by the government (which translates at approximately 45 000 housing units) and a further 230 000 subsidies are being processed (in Local Government Digest, 74 : August 1996) this can by no means be considered a sufficient rate at which to address the housing crisis within the country.

In terms of new strategies, the government in July 1996 published its White Paper on Housing. This document sets out, inter alia, a framework for guiding housing development, to rationalise the governments role as being one of facilitator and co-ordinator of the various structures of government involved in the delivery of housing, to define the responsibilities of the various role players in the housing sector. In doing so, the National Housing Board is to be abolished and replaced by an advisory body to be known as the South African Housing Board and the assets thereof will be transferred to local authorities. Initially the assets will continue to be vested with the Provincial Housing Boards and they will continue to administer them until the administrative capacity within the local government structures has been created.

Despite the introduction of a new policy on housing, attention is nonetheless drawn to the fact that for the urban poor their expectations are high, particularly with respect to the delivery of housing and land. Therefore, the effectiveness of this new housing policy will be eagerly anticipated by the urban poor, as unless the rate of housing delivery is increased the housing

crisis (created by the combined effect of the past Nationalist governments' ideology and the support they gave to maintaining the capitalist relations of production by entrenching black people as a working class) this basic need of the urban poor will not have been addressed and they will be forced to continue seeking alternative means of finding shelter.



CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF
AFRICAN HOUSING IN DURBAN
(1960 - 1995)



CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AFRICAN HOUSING IN DURBAN

1960 - 1995

Having contextualised the nature of the housing crisis and the growth of informal methods of housing provision it is necessary to consider, albeit briefly, the effect of apartheid legislation on african housing in Durban. In doing so an understanding of both the context within which Umlazi finds itself and in turn the growth of backyard shacks within this area can be achieved.

3.1. PRE - 1948

Whilst it was not until the coming into power of the Nationalist Party in 1948 that whites and blacks were formally separated in almost all aspects of their lives, it is nonetheless noticeable from various literature that Durban was no exception in the desire of the colonial society to segregate the race groups.

The need for accommodation for africans in Durban was felt as early as 1863 (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975 : 11). However, it was only at the turn of the century that some form of housing was provided, viz. Municipal barracks for dockworkers at the Point in 1903 and the Depot Road Location (which later developed into the Somtseu Road Location) in 1913. This accommodation was provided for male migrants only and it was not until the establishment of Baumannville in 1915/16 that an attempt was made to provide family housing. Thereafter africans were in most instances housed

haphazardly in employers' backyards, in store-rooms, wash-houses or private compounds.

In 1920 the government introduced the Housing Act. This provided for low interest rates on state loans for the development of assisted housing. However, the loans were only for specific race groups and the housing had to be provided by the local authorities. Therefore, as Hendler, Mabin and Parnell state;

“even before more specifically racist legislation, working-class people were residentially segregated by the state through its control of housing funds”

(Hendler, Mabin and Parnell, 1986 : 197)

As noted previously, in reaction to the increase in rural-urban migration the state formed the Stallard Commission in 1921 and thereafter promulgated the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act. This Act laid down a number of principles for african housing; which included defining a relationship between influx control and housing (Ratcliffe, 1976 : 6). Through the Act no permanent rights in the cities would be afforded to the african population. Accordingly, the policy entrenched the principle that the urban working-class would not be treated as a permanent population and therefore the state would not be responsible for the provision of sub-economic housing. This meant that all africans except those employed as domestic servants in urban areas, or those exempted under the Act, had to reside in a 'location', hostel, or in premises that had been licensed by the local authority for african accommodation.

The Slums Act of 1934 forced local authorities to declare slum areas and build some family housing within its boundaries, but in segregated areas. In Durban

during the period 1923-37, 46 000 migrant workers were housed in hostels and compounds.

In 1930 the Durban Corporation purchased 3 000 acres of Clairwood estate for the residence of africans. During 1933 the first houses of the Lamontville Location (Lamont) were constructed. Whilst until 1939 hostel accommodation for men was provided at Dalton Road, Point, Jacobs and Sometsue Road and hostel accommodation for african women was provided at Grey Street and Jacobs.

Despite this housing construction programme, it became evident after the outbreak of World War II in 1932 that the enlargement of the Durban municipal area together with the increase in urbanisation meant that the provision of adequate as housing would have to be priority.

Apart from the influx of people from the poverty stricken Reserves, the war was also stimulated the city's labour requirements in the commercial and shipping activities. However, the war also placed restrictions on building activities which meant that large-scale construction of **housing** for all population groups did not occur. All these factors together with the fact that africans could not own land within the urban areas resulted in increased congestion of existing accommodation and the development of unauthorised 'shanty towns' and squatter camps and shack areas.

Although since 1928 the Cato Manor area had accommodated a handful of shacks, during the war period the new arrivals to the city tended to locate here. Due to restrictions against ownership of land, africans were forced to rent sites from the Indian landowners in Cato Manor. The result was that squatting in the area grew from 2 500 people in 1936 to more than 17 000 in 1943. By

1950 it was estimated in the Durban Housing Survey that in Durban there were 8 000 shack dwellings, housing approximately 67 500 people. Of this number there were in Cato Manor alone, approximately 6 000 shacks accommodating between 40 000 and 50 000 people.

3.2. 1948 - 1970

As a result of the growth in shack housing a committee was established by the Durban City Council to identify the post-war housing needs. The investigation found that 2 300 houses would have to be built in the five years proceeding the war, whilst a further 1 500 houses would be required in the five years thereafter. It was considered by the committee that there was no land near the city sufficient in extent to accommodate this number of houses and thus suggested the Umlazi Mission Reserve area as being the most suitable. However, representations by the City Council to acquire all or part of the Reserve were refused by the new National Party government in 1949. Despite this refusal, the new government announced in the same year of its own plans to develop the area independently of the Durban City Council.

In 1950 the City Council resolved to establish a permanent housing scheme in Cato Manor by acquiring portions of land therein. However, such ambitions were also rejected by the government in anticipation of the zonings of the Group Areas Act.

Pending the implementation of the Group Areas Act there were attempts to provide housing in the main urban areas in the form of controlled "emergency camps" (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975 : 16). Within these emergency

camps africans would be allowed to erect temporary structures until permanent accommodation could be built elsewhere. Whilst such an emergency camp was established at Cato Manor, on land acquired by the Durban Corporation, it soon became evident that with the rapidly growing population in this area, that it would be totally inadequate. At its peak it was estimated that Cato Manor housed some 120 000 people.

Whilst some attempts to provide housing were made, these developments were either only for male accommodation (for example, at Umlazi Glebe) or were compromised by the state in anticipation of the Group Areas Act. For example, it was not until 1956 that an area 18 kilometres north of Durban and acquired by the Durban City Council in 1953 for the development of an african township known as KwaMashu was proclaimed a municipal housing scheme and development could begin.

With the coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948 and the entrenchment of the apartheid ideology, the government introduced further racial legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Influx Controls. This legislation would permanently affect the spatial arrangement of the South African landscape and would have far reaching implications for african housing within the country.

The 1960's saw an increase in unemployment and further urbanisation, with the state responding by controlling even further the movement of the urban working class and their access to permanent residence. Such controls included, inter-alia, the development of the homelands and peripheral industries and the accommodation of all future african family housing within the homelands, forced removals and the resettlement of the surplus population from squatter camps, further constraints on the provision of urban housing and

finally in 1972 the transfer of the administration of african townships to the Administration Boards which were accountable to the Department of Bantu Affairs, and thus central government.

In Durban the removal programme, operating under the new legislation, began in March 1958 and was almost complete by mid-1965. By this date some 95 000 people, of which 82 000 came from Cato Manor, had officially been resettled within the new townships of KwaMashu or Umlazi. However, what is of significance is that this programme only re-housed those families which had the necessary permits to be in Durban. Consequently, it has been suggested that between 30 000 and 40 000 people "disappeared" (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975 : 61) and found accommodation by taking up illegal accommodation elsewhere in the city, remaining in other areas of Cato Manor or returning to the rural areas.

By May 1962 the first houses became available at Umlazi for the residents of Cato Manor and those relocated from KwaMashu. The primary principle for where people were relocated to was in terms of where they were employed. Thus, those employed in the southern areas of Durban were relocated to Umlazi, whilst those employed in the north were relocated to KwaMashu.

Aside from Cato Manor there were other areas cleared in terms of the Group Areas Act. In total it would appear the some 95 000 people were officially resettled from the shack areas within Durban and a further 9 450 people from Baumanville and the barracks at Bell Street and Ordinance Road.

During the period 1957 - 1970 there were some 33 360 houses planned and built by the Durban City Council in the townships. In terms of the administration of the townships, with the exception of Umlazi, they fell under

the responsibility of the Durban City Corporation acting as agent for the South African Bantu Trust. In the case of Umlazi, the township fell under the control of the Department of Bantu Administration and thus the central government.

The following Table 1 illustrates the distribution of family accommodation within Durban and Umlazi; whilst Table 2 indicates the distribution of the type of housing found within these areas.

TABLE 1

**DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY HOUSES IN DURBAN AND UMLAZI
(1957 - 1970)**

AS AT 31 JULY	LAMONT & EXTENS'N	CHESTER- VILLE	BAUMANN- VILLE	UMLAZI GLEBE	KWA- MASHU	UMLAZI	TOTAL
1957	2 158	1 265	120	734	-	-	4 277
1958	2 700	1 265	120	734	384	-	5 203
1959	2 709	1 265	60	735	1 595	-	6 364
1960	2 717	1 265	60	735	5 115	-	9 892
1961	2 727	1 265	60	732	8 788	-	13 572
1962	2 744	1 265	-	746	10 405	1 255	16 415
1963	2 760	1 265	-	748	11 517	3 342	19 632
1964	2 762	1 265	-	748	12 502	7 368	24 645
1965	2 762	1 265	-	748	14 059	9 482	28 316
1966	2 762	1 265	-	748	13 144	11 205	29 124
1967	2 762	1 265	-	425	13 914	14 458	32 824
1968	2 762	1 265	-	-	14 072	15 945	34 044
1969	2 762	1 265	-	-	14 742	17 351	36 120
1970	2 762	1 265	-	-	15 256	18 254	37 537

(source : Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1976 : 65)

TABLE 2

**DISTRIBUTION OF STATE AND PRIVATE ACCOMMODATION
IN DURBAN AND UMLAZI
1957 - 1970**

AS AT 31 JULY	RAILWAY & GOVT. COMPOUNDS	LICENSED PREMISES	DOMESTIC SERVANTS	AFRICAN OWNED PROPERTY	SHACKS	UMLAZI (STATE)	TOTAL
1957	8 000	29 500	30 000	500	22 000	-	90 000
1958	8 000	29 500	30 000	500	32 000	-	100 000
1959	8 000	29 500	30 000	500	31 500	-	101 500
1960	8 000	31 000	31 500	1 000	8 500	-	80 000
1961	8 000	32 000	31 500	4 800	1 800	-	78 100
1962	8 000	32 000	31 500	4 500	2 500	-	78 500
1963	8 000	32 000	31 500	6 500	2 500	861	80 500
1964	7 300	25 200	31 500	6 500	2 507	861	80 861
1965	7 300	25 200	31 500	1 100	4 507	861	77 461
1966	7 000	24 500	31 500	250	1 507	861	71 261
1967	6 400	24 300	31 500	200	-	7 861	70 261
1968	6 400	24 300	31 500	200	-	7 861	70 261
1969	6 400	24 000	30 000	-	-	7 861	68 261
1970	6 400	24 000	30 000	-	-	7 861	68 261

(note : excludes Cato Manor Emergency Camp)

(source : Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975 : 69)

3.3. AFTER 1970

After the massive low income construction programme of the 1960's the only low income housing planned for the 1970's were at KwaNdengezi and Clermont (to the west of Durban) and Ntuzuma (to the north-west). However, these townships were considerably smaller than those of Umlazi and KwaMashu. As rural-urban migration increased the result was twofold; existing township houses began to accommodate more and more people, mainly as sub-tenants of the 'official' tenants and secondly, people started to squat. However, the enforcement of the Group Areas Act meant that africans were prevented from moving closer to Durban into the white, coloured or indian Group Areas (as defined by the Act). Whilst the Slums Act prevented them from squatting on land within the townships. Consequently, the only land available for people to squat were the tribal areas and the old indian and african owned freehold areas outside the proclaimed townships. These included, the Inanda freehold areas to the north of Durban, St. Wendolins and KwaDabeka to the west and Malukazi and Mgaga to the south of Umlazi, which rapidly developed into fairly concentrated informal settlements.

Whilst during the 1980's there was no single document which explicitly stated the government's housing policy, there were two significant documents which through the inter-relationship between urbanisation and housing in South Africa illustrated the government's position on housing.

The first of these documents was the Circular Minute No. 1 of 1983 issued by the Department of Community Development. Essentially this document saw the provision of housing for low income people as being the responsibility of the private sector, which included a reliance on self-help initiatives in communities. Further, the role of the government would be one of facilitating

the private sector and self-help initiatives. However, to a large extent this programme was underpinned by the government's decision to relinquish its role as the major landlord in the townships so as to reduce the extent to which civic organisations within the townships could mobilise around housing issues.

In achieving this aim the government embarked on a programme of selling 500 000 state-owned houses, the majority of which were located within the black townships. In an effort to induce tenants of the standard township houses to purchase their homes the government introduced massive rent increases. The consequence of this sale of houses was that those who could not afford to purchase found themselves renting from the new owners of these houses or having to relocate to informal settlements.

In 1986 the government reinforced these principles in the White Paper on Urbanisation. Within this document the government introduced policies with respect to land and infrastructure provision, financing, standards and alternative housing. Essentially, however, the document emphasised the role of the private sector in the housing delivery process and encouraged the notion of self-help as a solution to the housing crisis. Thus, the government had effectively withdrawn from its responsibility of providing housing for the low-income group and transferred the fiscal burden of providing such housing onto the private sector and ultimately the low income earners.

For those low-income persons moving to the urban areas this policy required that they obtain approved accommodation or acquire an approved site. However, the likelihood of the urban poor being able to fulfil this requirement was remote, particularly given the costs associated with acquiring a surveyed site and the justifiable stigma attached to having to reside on an allocated site as opposed to a chosen one. The above statements are well illustrated in

Lincoln (1987) where in a study of the housing delivery process for africans in the DMR it was found that whilst they had as their target market those households earning less than R800 per month, the private sector housing companies noted that the majority of their clients were from the middle and upper income groups. Therefore, it is quite evident that many of the White Paper proposals on housing did nothing to assist the low income earners and rather had as an underlying aim the use of housing as an instrument for influx control.

In response to the inability of this policy to adequately provide housing for the low income earners, such people living in and moving to the urban areas were in most instances forced to consider other housing options such as the erection of backyard shacks on the sites of formal township houses or move onto vacant land. In the case of the former option, newspaper articles dating back to the mid-1980's clearly indicate the growth of these structures within many of the townships of the DFR. From research carried out for the purposes of this study it has been established that in Umlazi alone, backyard shacks accounted for 17% of the housing in the township by the mid-1980's. In addition, whilst not significant in the early 1980's given the enforcement of the regulations pertaining to squatting, the development of informal settlements was nonetheless obvious.

However, when the influx controls were repealed in 1986 the housing shortage and the resultant over-crowding of township houses had become so significant that any attempts to enforce the regulations still in place with respect to squatting and land invasions, were virtually impossible. The response to the overcrowding of the townships was the de-densification to vacant land near the townships. In the DFR for example, the Inkatha Institute indicated in December 1986 that almost half the population lived in informal settlements.

Furthermore, this research showed that more than half of the shack dwellers interviewed were born in the DFR.

In 1990 the Urban Foundation, as a result of research spanning the latter part of the 1980's, provided a statement of housing policy in the document *Housing for All*, which had a strong emphasis on informal methods of housing provision. Based largely on the Urban Foundation's capital subsidy proposals the Independent Development Trust (IDT) commenced in 1991 a 100 000 site informal housing delivery programme. In contrast to the government's intent of not recognising informal and illegal settlements during the late 1980's, the IDT programme included a number of "in-situ" upgrading initiatives. Many of these programmes only addressed upgrading of formal township infill areas and further did not even start to recognise the needs of the residents of backyard shacks. This emphasis on site-and-service programmes predominated even into the 1990's with these principles being found in the de Loor recommendations in 1992 on national housing policy.

Whilst there had been some indication of the government's policy toward low income housing in documents such as the de Loor report and the introduction of IDT financing, the Nationalists government had by the early 1990's still not developed a significant and effective document outlining the government's position on housing for the majority of the country's residents. Accordingly, given the increasing rate of population growth and the continued migration of people to the Durban area, as a result of the search for employment, the impact of violence and the inability of the lower income group to gain access to housing, the trend in informal methods of housing provision continued to increase on a daily basis within the DFR and within the country as a whole.

Even with the shift in government policy toward subsidies for the urban poor, the rate of land and housing provision has not caught up with demand. Whilst this policy can not be disputed as **an essential** means of attaining land and housing for the urban poor, these subsidies neither take into account the variety of needs of the urban poor nor provide a variety of subsidised housing options.

Consequently, given the extent of the housing crisis (a legacy of the apartheid regimes' housing and land policies), a continued increase in population growth and the effect of violence within KwaZulu-Natal, the only immediate solution to the housing needs for the majority of the urban poor have been informal methods of housing provision. The growth of existing and new informal settlements and backyard shacks has been significant. Examples of this can be found in areas such as Cato Manor where the informal settlements therein have mushroomed and in Umlazi where virtually all vacant land is squatted on. In the case of backyard shacks it is estimated that 12 % of the formal houses within Umlazi accommodate backyard shacks (see Chapter 6).



CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF UMLAZI



CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF UMLAZI

This chapter aims to outline the history and development of the study area. In doing so this chapter is divided into **two** parts. The first part briefly considers the early history of Natal as it affected **that** area of land on which the township is developed. Whilst the latter part outlines the development of the new township of Umlazi, as it is known, after construction commenced in 1956.

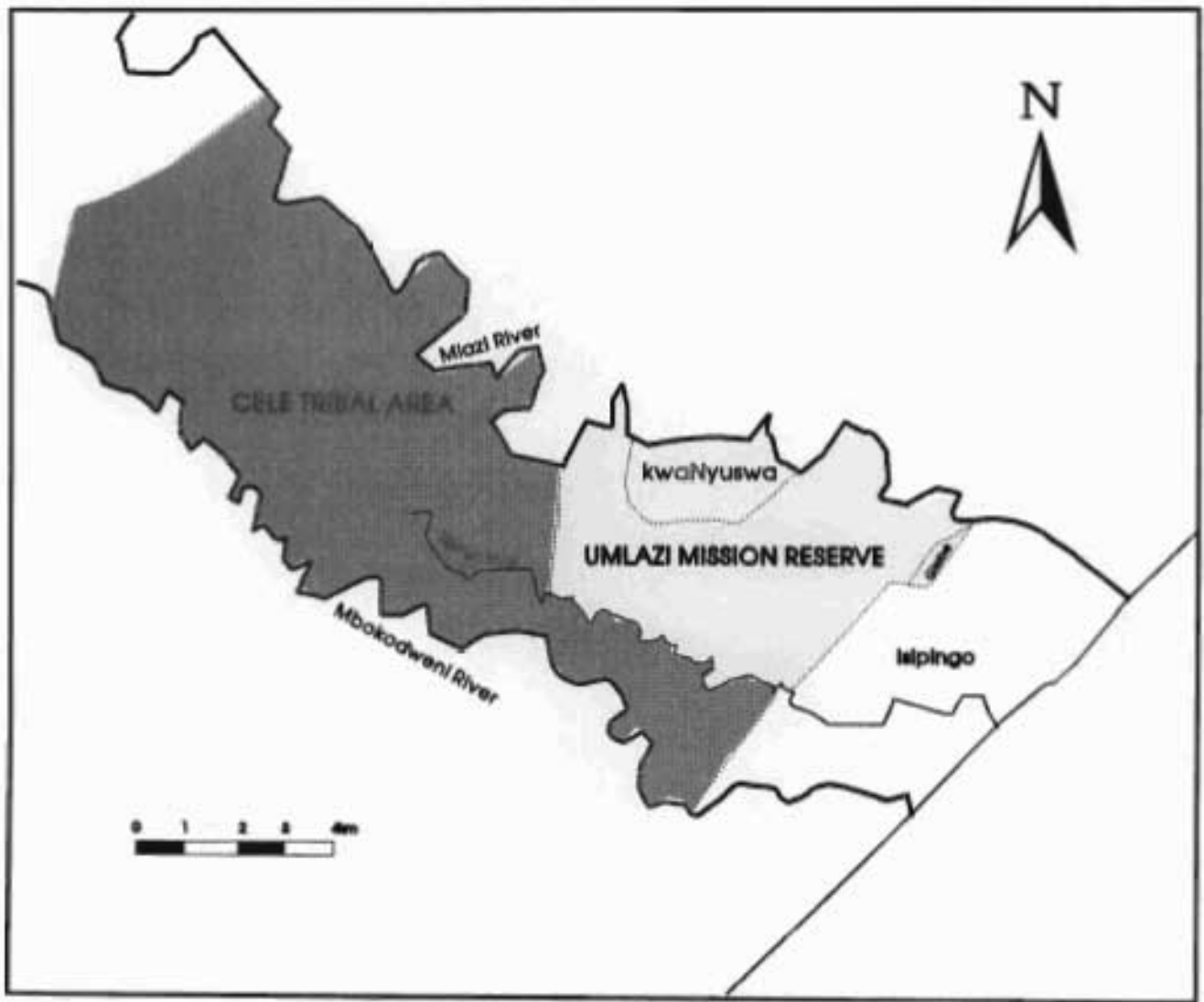
4.1. EARLY HISTORY

Although Port Natal was established in 1824, the area was not recognised as part of the British Empire until 1844, when as a result of the sending of British authorities from the Cape to resolve the conflict between the Boers and the Zulus, Natal was annexed as an autonomous district of the Cape Colony. This meant that those Zulu tribes that had moved south of the Thukela River to avoid conflict with Shaka's successor, Dingaan, fell within the jurisdiction of the governor of Natal, who in turn was accountable to the governor of the Cape Colony.

After annexation, Theophilus Shepstone was appointed Diplomatic Agent to the "Native Tribes" of Natal. Upon his appointment he set about defining the african tribes of Natal into six locations. The Umlazi location was one of

MAP 1

CELE TRIBAL AREA AND UMLAZI MISSION RESERVE



these areas and was gazetted in 1847. It had as its border the Mlazi River to the north and Mbokodweni River to the south (see Map 1) and included a number of african tribes, the largest being the Cele tribal area which stretched between these two rivers.

As with other locations and as part of the campaign of Christianity, a number of "Mission Reserves" were defined in the Umlazi location. One of these reserves was the Umlazi Mission Reserve which was granted to the Anglican Church (see Map 1). Until the early 1940's both the Umlazi Mission Reserve and the Cele tribal area fell under the jurisdiction of the Pinetown district. Thereafter these two areas were incorporated into the new district of Umbumbulu. With the establishment of this district the Umlazi Mission Advisory Board, consisting of five members elected from five wards, was formed. This Board reported to the Superintendent of all the Mission Reserves.

It was in the early 1940's as a result of the government's decision to relocate those people staying in the Cato Manor area, because in their eyes the area was turning into a slum, that the first hints were made for developing the Umlazi township within the area of the Umlazi Mission Reserve. This proposal of the Smut's government was met with much opposition from both the residents of the Umlazi Mission Reserve and the Advisory Board. Despite both their representation to the government in Cape Town and an agreement that only the Umlazi Glebe area and a small portion of the Umlazi Mission Reserve would be used for the development of the township, the government took over the entire area of Umlazi Glebe and the Umlazi Mission Reserve for township development. The decision to take over the entire Umlazi Mission Reserve area was again met with opposition. However the government

disregarded the complaints and proceeded to dissolve the Advisory Board in 1955.

Initially, all the locations fell under the control of the Natal Native Trust and later the South African Bantu Trust. As identified in Chapter 3 the development of the new townships of Umlazi and KwaMashu was the responsibility of the Durban City Council. Thus, acting as an agent for the South African Bantu Trust, the Durban City Council initiated the development of Umlazi with the construction of more than 700 houses in Umlazi Glebe. Although this construction was completed by 1957, it was not until after 1960 with the removal of the residents of Cato Manor that the construction programme gained momentum.

In acquiring the land to develop the township the established tribal areas were expropriated and compensation was paid in certain instances for such land. These compensations were, as has been the case in similar instances in South Africa's history, insignificant. Although claims ranged between R 60,00 and R 4 000,00 in 1964 with a slight increase to not more than R 10 000,00 in 1975, it has been considered, in retrospect by those tribesmen who received compensation, that whilst the claim may have appeared to be a large sum of money at the time, they did in fact receive very little for their land (Townsend 1991 : 26). A reproduction of the compensation schedule for the Cele tribal landowners is contained in Table 3.

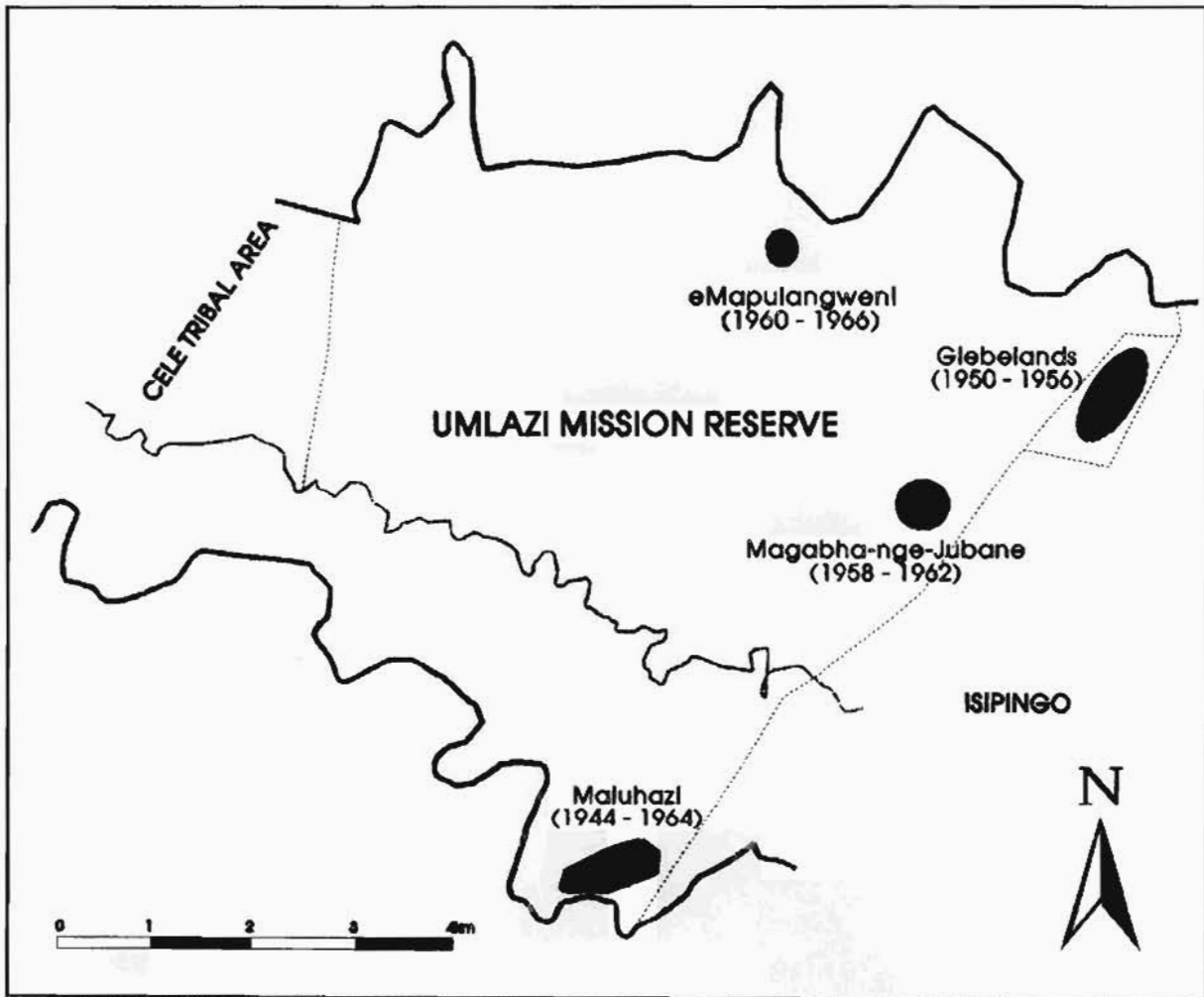
TABLE 3
COMPENSATION SCHEDULE FOR CELE TRIBAL LANDOWNERS
(1960 AND 1970)

FEATURE		IN 1964	IN 1975
i) wattle & daub house (per sq.m)		25c to 75c	R 1,50
ii) arable land (per hectare)		R 30,00	no payment
iii) sugar cane (per ton)		R 4,50	
iv) <u>fruit trees</u> :			
banana	- small	R 0,05	R 0,38
	- medium	R 0,30	R 0,75
	- large	R 0,45	R 1,50
guava	- small	-	R 0,25
	- medium	R 0,05	R 0,05
	- large	R 0,08	R 1,00
avocado	- small	R 0,15	R 1,00
	- medium	-	R 2,00
	- large	-	R 4,00
peach	- small	R 0,10	R 1,00
	- medium	-	R 2,00
	- large	-	R 4,00
pineapple	- small	R 0,10	R 4,00
	- medium	R 0,05	R 0,55
	- large	R 0,08	R 1,10
mango	- small	R 0,15	R 1,00
	- medium	-	R 2,00
	- large	-	R 4,00
chilli	- small	-	R 0,05
	- medium	-	R 0,10
	- large	R 0,70	R 0,20
granadilla	- small	R 0,10	R 0,50
	- medium	-	R 1,00
	- large	-	R 2,00
pawpaw	- small	-	R 0,30
	- medium	-	R 0,60
	- large	-	R 1,20

(source : records kept in the Umlazi township manager's office)

MAP 2

EARLY SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS OF UMLAZI (1950 - 1966)



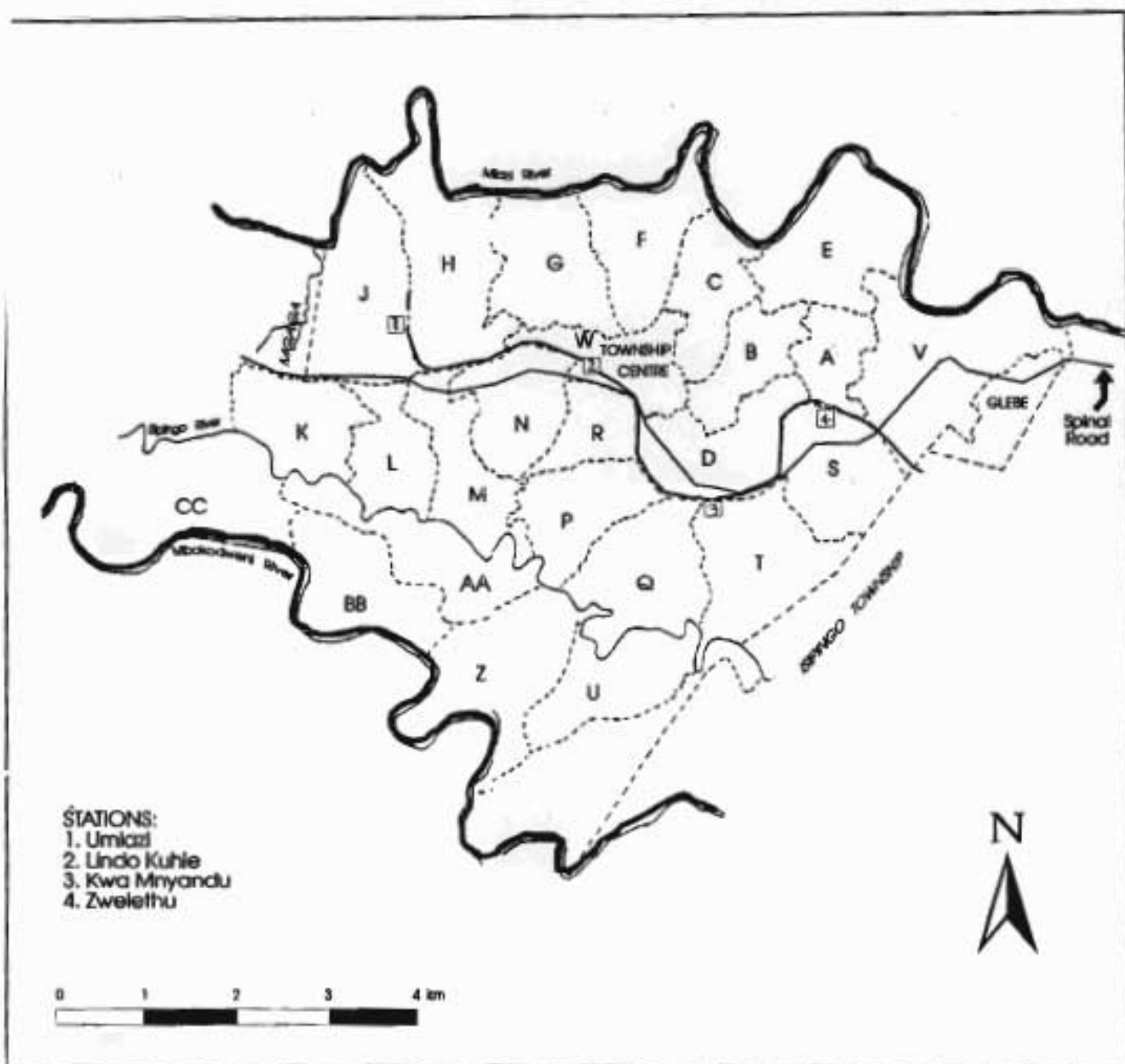
For those tribesmen who opted to remain in the area, formal township houses were allocated. Whilst those people who decided not to remain in the new township moved south to Folweni. However, when it was found that land situated both between the Sipingo and Mbokodweni Rivers and in certain areas of the township was not to be used immediately for the building of houses, many of the original landowners started renting out their land to newcomers. With the increase in the demand for housing, particularly as a result of the clearing of Cato Manor, a number of "tintowns" or informal settlements started to develop both within and around the Umlazi township (see Map 2). Such tintowns were situated at Umlazi Glebe, which was later developed for hostel accommodation; Malukazi which was demolished in 1964 and the residents thereof given houses within various sections of Umlazi, particularly section D; and eMapulangweni situated around the Section C shopping centre.

4.2. THE NEW TOWNSHIP

The new township of Umlazi was from its inception proposed to be the largest african township to be built within a South African bantustan and would upon completion comprise 26 sections each developed with between 1 000 and 2 000 houses. As is common with many of the townships in South Africa no names were given to either the suburbs or roads within the township. Rather each area was identified as being a Section or Unit **with a letter** of the alphabet or numbering being the distinguishing element between the various sections. The sections began at the letter A with the corresponding numbers starting at 1 and ended with the letter AA and BB, but excluded the letter I and O. Thus, for example, Section A was also known as Unit 1, Section V as Unit 19 (see Map 3). As there were to be no names attached to the roads, sites were

MAP 3

UMLAZI TOWNSHIP



identified by a number usually painted on the front of the house. Within each section, it was proposed that minor facilities such as a primary school and crèche would be provided. Whilst the major facilities would be provided within particular sections serving the needs of a number of sections. Many of these facilities, were however, never provided with the result being that the township has a significant scarcity of these much needed facilities.

Section V was the first section to be built, with building work commencing in 1956. Sections A, B, C and D, followed thereafter. To a large extent the development of the township followed in alphabetical order. In most instances the housing built was the standard state built 51/6 or 51/9 four-roomed house measuring 40,4 m² and 44,0 m² respectively.

In terms of the low income housing development, the construction programme of the state came to an end in 1968. For the remainder of the township the only housing built was in Sections AA, BB, Z and W during the 1980's and was for the middle and upper income groups. With respect to privately built houses land was made available from 1971. Yet again, most of this housing was for the middle and upper income groups by developers or owner-builders.

However, with the state not providing low income housing and any privately built housing being unaffordable to many of the people moving into or already living within the township, many of the 51/6 and 51/9 houses (which were rented from the township manager's office) started deteriorating and becoming overcrowded (Townsend, 1991 : 32). Further, informal settlements such as Mgaga and Malukazi started to develop on the edges of the township; and of equal importance since the mid-1980's the development of shacks within the backyards of the formal township houses. Despite enforcement of government legislation by the township manager's office it has been established that by

1985 approximately 3735 backyard shacks had been constructed within Umlazi (see Chapter 5).

With the repeal of the influx control laws in 1986 africans for the first time since the early 1900's had a legal right to reside within the urban areas. However, no significant attempt was made by the state to attend to the provision of low income housing within South Africa. The initial implication for the Umlazi township was that many of the tenants, sub-tenants and lodgers living in the formal township houses chose to move either onto vacant land or into the established informal settlements both within and abutting Umlazi (see Map 4). Accordingly, these people appeared to constitute the majority of the new land invaders (Townsend, 1991 :33). Consequently, by 1990 there had been a slight decrease in the number of backyard shacks within township (vide Annexure 3 and Chapter 5).

After 1990 the process of densification of the township gained momentum. With respect to the new land invasions the emphasis has been on the smaller pockets of land as most of the larger areas **had** already been squatted on. Further, these new land invasions started to establish closer to the entrance of Umlazi (such as Section A and near **Glebelands**). Whilst harsh action was taken to try and prevent these new land invasions these tactics could not withstand the pressure for very long. With the result being that virtually all the infill areas within the township and that vacant land abutting the township have been squatted on.

In terms of the backyard shack housing option the growth thereof has been significant since 1990 such that it has been estimated that by 1995, 12 % of the existing formal township houses accommodated backyard shacks (see Annexure 3 and Chapter 6).

The combined effect of these informal methods of housing provision was that by 1995 the number of informal dwellings within the township almost equals the number of four-roomed houses built by the government during the 1960's and 1970's.

A synopsis of the development of both formal and informal housing within Umlazi during the period 1960-1995 is illustrated in Table 4. It is noted that counts of informal settlements between 1991 and 1995 are not available as no significant studies have been completed to update this information.

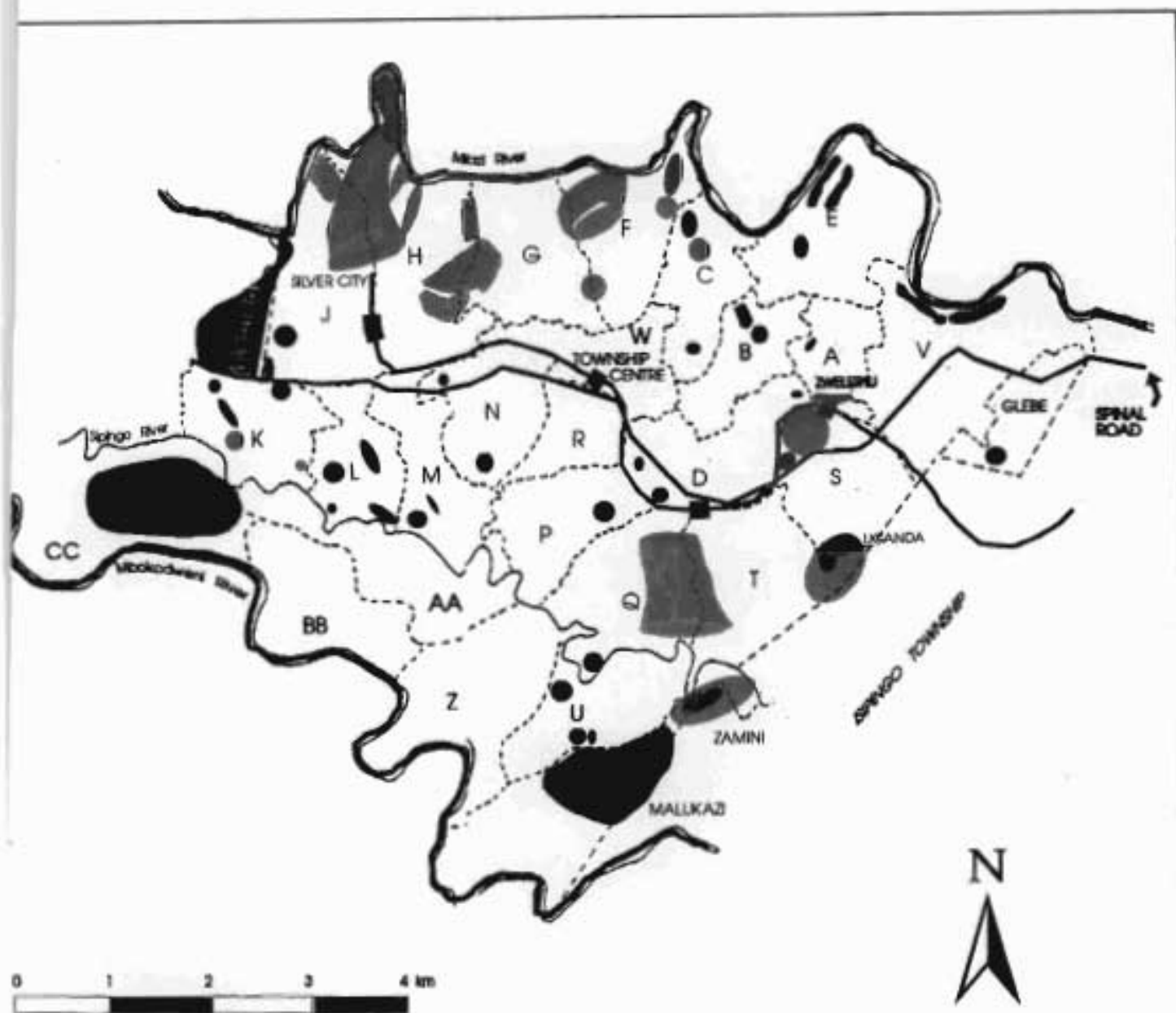
TABLE 4

GROWTH OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL HOUSING WITHIN UMLAZI : 1960 - 1995

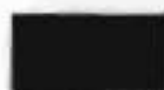
YEAR	FORMAL HOUSING			INFORMAL HOUSING			TOTAL HOUSING
	STATE BUILT	PVT BUILT	TOTAL	SHACKS ON VACANT LAND	BACKYARD SHACKS	TOTAL	
1960	906	-	906	2 500	-	2 500	3 406
1961	2 112	-	2 112	2 500	-	2 500	3 406
1962	4 325	-	4 325	3 500	-	3 500	5 112
1963	5 624	-	5 624	4 000	-	4 000	9 624
1964	9 656	-	9 656	3 000	-	3 000	12 656
1965	11 782	-	11 782	3 500	-	3 000	14 782
1966	13 542	-	13 542	3 500	-	3 500	17 042
1967	16 776	-	16 776	4 000	-	3 500	17 042
1968	17 937	-	17 937	4 000	-	4 000	21 937
1969	18 327	-	18 327	4 000	-	4 000	21 937
1970	19 138	-	19 138	4 500	-	4 500	23 638
1971	19 282	62	19 344	4 500	-	4 500	23 844
1972	19 798	100	19 898	5 000	-	5 000	24 898
1973	20 179	200	20 379	5 000	-	5 000	25 379
1974	21 523	250	21 773	1 000	50	1 050	22 823
1975	21 551	300	21 851	2 000	75	2 075	23 926
1976	21 936	400	22 336	3 000	100	3 100	25 436
1977	22 100	500	22 600	3 500	125	3 625	26 225
1978	22 364	600	22 964	4 000	175	4 175	27 139
1979	22 364	670	23 034	4 500	225	4 725	27 759
1980	22 364	730	23 094	5 000	325	5 325	28 419
1981	22 364	800	23 164	5 200	450	5 650	28 814
1982	22 364	900	23 264	5 400	500	5 900	29 164
1983	22 364	1 023	23 387	5 600	1 000	6 500	29 887
1984	22 364	1 248	23 612	5 800	2 232	8 032	31 644
1985	22 364	1 500	23 864	6 000	3 735	9 465	33 329
1986	22 364	1 962	24 326	4 205	3 600	8 705	33 031
1987	22 364	2 092	24 456	6 000	3 500	10 300	34 756
1988	22 364	3 770	26 137	9 000	3 400	12 860	38 997
1989	22 364	4 191	26 555	12 000	3 250	15 420	41 975
1990	22 364	5 487	27 851	14 530	3 137	19 472	45 323
1991	22 364	6 087	28 451	-	-	-	-
1992	22 364	6 689	29 051	-	-	-	-
1993	22 364	7 396	29 760	-	-	-	-
1994	22 364	-	-	-	-	-	-
1995	22 364	11 929	34 293	16 697	4625	21 322	55 612

MAP 4

PHASING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS



PHASING OF DEVELOPMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS :



PRE - 1986



DURING 1987



DURING 1988



DURING 1989



DURING 1990



1991 -



CHAPTER 5

THE CASE STUDY :
A REVIEW OF THE
DEVELOPMENT OF BACKYARD SHACKS
BETWEEN 1985 AND 1990



CHAPTER 5

THE CASE STUDY : A REVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BACKYARD SHACKS BETWEEN 1985 AND 1990

Despite being one of the largest townships within South Africa there has been no consideration of the development of backyard shacks within Umlazi. Accordingly, this chapter sets out to quantify the backyard shack development. In addition, based on the spatial arrangement of the backyard shacks and the conceptual framework contained in Chapter 2, initial assumptions as to the causes for the variation in density and distribution of backyard shacks within the township for the period 1985 - 1990 were thereafter put forward.

Given the lack of information, the only manner in which a quantification of the development of backyard shacks for this period could be achieved was through the analysis of aerial photographs. The photo analysis has involved the comparison of three sets of aerial photographs flown by the Air Survey Company of Africa in June 1985, and May and June 1990.

Accordingly, this analysis is divided into two parts :

- (i) The quantification and mapping of the spatial arrangement of backyard shacks for 1985 and thereafter the formulation of initial assumptions as to the variation in density and distribution for this analysis period.

- (ii) The quantification of backyard shacks in 1990 and thereafter a comparison of these findings with the results of the 1985 interpretation.

One of the central assumptions made before entering into this analysis was that the development of backyard shacks would occur in those sections of Umlazi where people of the lower income group resided. This assumption rests on the notion that given the extent of the housing crisis and the nature of the housing delivery process that people within the lower income group were and still are unable to gain access to that housing which has been provided. Thus, in an effort to find accommodation backyard shacks are constructed for lease or to accommodate family overspill.

5.1. OUTLINE OF SECTIONS ANALYSED

It is important to note that for the purposes of this study certain sections of Umlazi were omitted;

(i) Section S

This section was originally planned to accommodate major health, educational and sporting facilities for Umlazi. Accordingly, facilities such as a cemetery, golf course, a cycle and athletics track, the Umlazi Place of Safety (orphanage), Enduduzweni School for the Blind, Ematupeni Cripple Care

Centre, Umlazi Extramural Division of the University of Zululand, Mangosuthu Technikon and a rubbish dump were planned.

However, as with most social facilities within the black townships of South Africa many of these facilities were never provided. Thus coupled with the demand for land, this section saw the development of the Uganda informal settlement from 1987. Consequently, there is no formal township housing within this area and the growth of the Uganda settlement has been such that it is one of the largest and most densely populated of all the squatter settlements in Umlazi.

(ii) Section W

In terms of the original design of the township this section was to have been developed as the commercial centre of the township with some industrial land set aside. The commercial component of this section has been developed, but to a limited extent and certainly not sufficient to cater for the needs of the residents of Umlazi. In terms of industrial development this has been very limited with only a scattering of industrial activities.

During the latter part of the 1980's land was released for residential development. However, as this development was by private developers this section is regarded as being developed for the middle income group. Consequently, the potential for the development of backyard shacks was considered remote. Brief analysis of the 1990 aerial photographs confirmed this assumption and accordingly, further investigation and consideration of this section was abandoned.

(iii) Section Z, Section AA and Section BB

As in the case of Section W, residential land within these sections became available during the latter part of the 1980's. Again the residential development within these sections was carried out by developers and consequently, was and still is affordable for those people within the middle and upper income groups. Consequently, the potential for backyard shack development was considered remote and brief analysis of the 1990 aerial photographs confirmed this assumption. Accordingly, further analysis was not proceeded with.

(iv) Section CC

Section CC whilst originally planned for formal residential accommodation and which more likely would have been developed in a similar manner to Sections Z, AA and BB, has been subject to the development of an informal settlement. However, given that the land defined as being Section CC fell under the Cele tribal, area the people residing within this area of Umlazi have bought their sites and fall unofficially under the authority of both the Cele tribe but are treated by the township manager's office as being part of the township.

5.2. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH INTERPRETATION - 1985

Using aerial photographs at a scale of 1 : 11 000, counts for the various sections in Umlazi were carried out (vide Annexure 3 and the following Table

5). The mapping of these counts were then interpreted spatially in Map 5 (contained in Annexure 1) and in Map 6.

TABLE 5

DENSITY OF BACKYARD SHACKS WITHIN UMLAZI - 1985

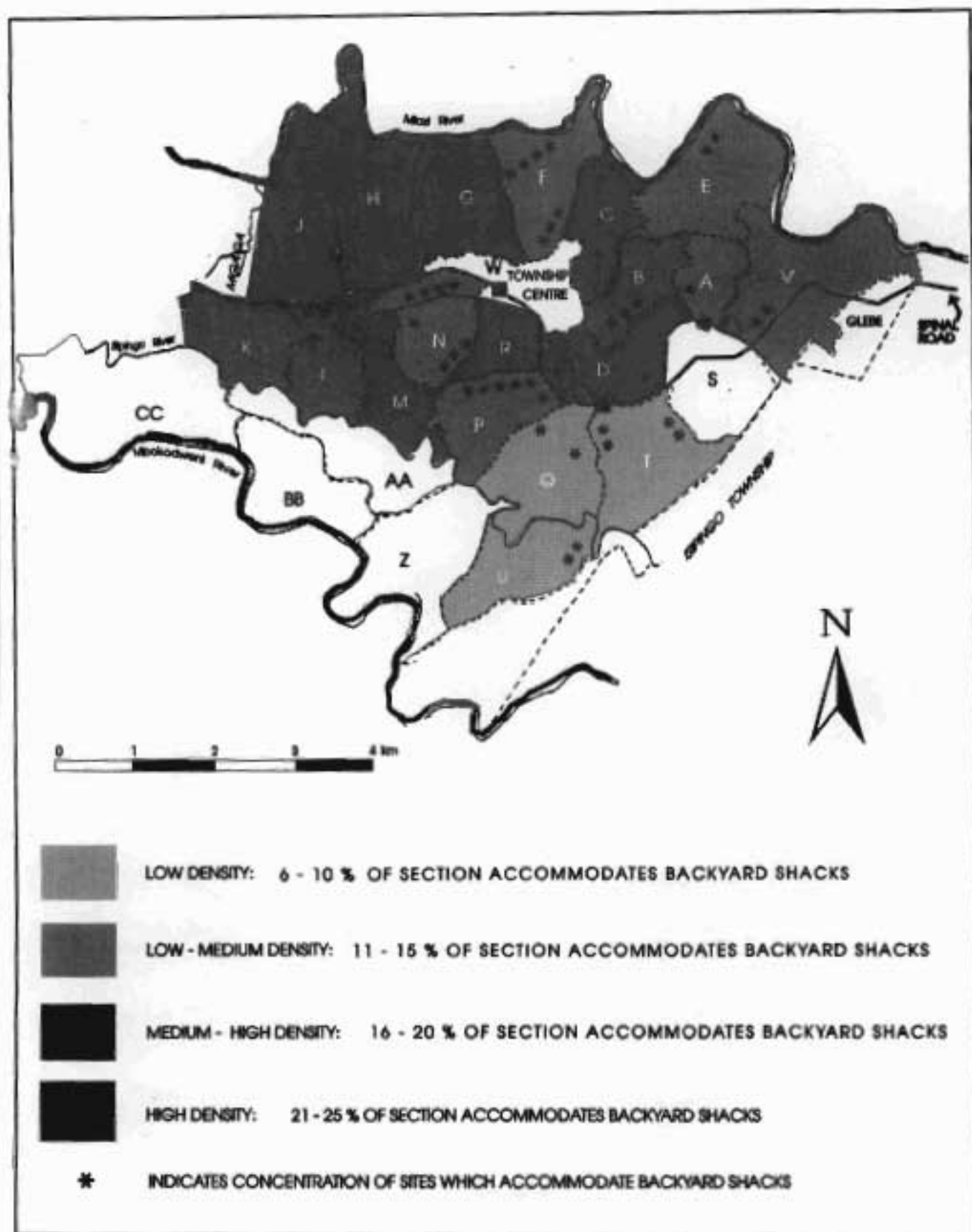
SECTION / UNIT	NO. OF SITES	NO. OF HOUSES	NO. OF BACKYARD SHACKS	% OF BACKYARD SHACKS IN SECTION (*)
A/1	917	872	126	14.4
B/2	1 398	1 359	251	18.5
C/3	1 440	1 374	344	25.0
D/4	1 494	1 443	363	25.2
E/5	1 168	1 065	159	14.9
F/6	867	813	86	11.0
G/7	1 299	1 265	285	23.0
H/8	1 226	1 117	254	22.7
J/9	1 734	1 713	376	22.0
K/10	1 264	1 250	203	16.2
L/11	1 221	1 132	188	16.6
M/12	1 314	1 135	234	20.6
N/13	1 235	1 151	170	14.8
P/15	1 196	1 119	170	15.2
Q/16	1 029	974	85	8.7
R/14	736	684	156	22.8
T/17	1 179	1 315	(incl section S)96	7.3
U/21	1 252	1 176	96	8.2
V/19	811	700	102	15.0
TOTAL			3 744	
AVERAGE				17.0

(*) This calculation is based on the existing formal township housing at the time of the count.

MAP 6

DENSITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF BACKYARD SHACKS WITHIN UMLAZI

1985



From this analysis it was clear that there was a significant variation in the density and spatial distribution of backyard shacks. By density it is meant the number of backyard shacks within an area in relation to the number of formal houses within the same area. In most cases this density has been represented as a percentage of the total extent of formal houses within the subject area.

The counts of the various sections were grouped into four density categories (see Annexure 4 and Map 6). Thereafter, detailed investigation was undertaken to ascertain as to whether there were distinguishing characteristics within the various groups as to the variation in density of backyard shacks between the sections of Umlazi. In achieving this certain assumptions had to be made as to what the contributing factors were for the variation in density. These include the location of the backyard shacks both within and between sections, access to services and facilities, visibility (particularly to the township manager's office) and the relationship of sections to established informal settlements. Accordingly, four density categories were determined and various reasons for these variations formulated.

(i) Low density of backyard shacks

For sections T, Q and Umlazi, low counts of backyard shacks were ascertained. The central reasons for this, appear to have been the distance from the Spinal Road and the lack of facilities, such as schools. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that many of the backyard shacks within these sections were concentrated on sites along the main roads within the section and accordingly, near the entrance to these sections. This spatial arrangement also indicates that many of the backyard shacks constructed

within these sections are for lessees as opposed to accommodation for family overspill.

(ii) Low to Medium density of backyard shacks

A number of sections within the township, namely, Sections A, V, E, F, N and P exhibit a backyard shack density of low to medium. As with Sections T, Q, and U, the distinguishing characteristics were the distance from the Spinal Road and the lack of facilities. However, with regard to the latter the number of shops within the sections appear to have been the facilities that were scarce. Within this category it was found that there were concentrations of backyard shacks firstly, at the entrances to all the sections (save for Section E) and on the edges of the sections; particularly amongst those sites that abutted open space. Thereafter, factors such as proximity to main roads and sites which abutted sections with high counts of backyard shacks appear to have been determining factors as to the concentration of backyard shacks.

(iii) Medium to High density of backyard shacks

Within the category of medium to high density it was established that factors such as access to the Spinal Road and the distance from the township manager's office played a role in determining a higher number of backyard shacks within Sections B, K and L. The former of the two factors was found to be reinforced by the fact that the concentrations of backyard shacks were found on those sites that were in proximity to the Spinal Road or main road within the section. With respect to the latter the lack of visibility from the township manager's office in light of the policy of not permitting backyard

shack development within the township contributed to this being an important factor in the location of is evident.

(iv) High density of backyard shacks

The final category of count of backyard shacks was for those sections that had a density in excess of 21 %. In this regard there were a number of contributing factors for the high counts; but the most predominant was that of the distance from the township manager's office and access to schools. Thereafter reasons for the high density could be attributed to the access to the railway stations of Kwa Mnyandu, Lindo Kuhle and Umlazi, access the Spinal Road and in the case of those sections abutting the township centre, the proximity to the facilities therein.

In terms of the concentrations of backyard shacks within these sections it was noticeable that there was an even distribution. However, factors such as proximity to the railways stations, the Spinal Road and shops, the relationship of the sites accommodating backyard shacks to open space and the location of such sites in proximity to the entrance of the section continued to play a role in determining where backyard shacks were concentrated.

In light of the foregoing findings, the following assumptions can be made;

- (i) Those sections which are located at a distance from either the Spinal Road or railway stations had low or a low to medium count of backyard shacks.

-
- (ii) The sections identified in (i) above had concentrations of backyard shacks on sites situated at or near the entrance to the section, in closer proximity to the Spinal Road, railway stations or shops and on sites abutting land set aside as open space.

 - (iii) Sections that had medium to high and high counts of backyard shacks are situated at a distance from the township manager's office and therefore are not easily visible in the daily activities of this office. In addition they have good access to the Spinal Road.

 - (iv) The Sections identified in (iii) above had in most instances an even distribution of sites which accommodated backyard shacks. However, those sites located in close proximity to the Spinal Road or railway stations tended to accommodate backyard shacks.

5.3. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH INTERPRETATION - 1990

The second count carried out was for 1990 using photographs at a scale of 1:11000. The results of this count are contained in Annexure 3 and reflected on Map 7 (as contained in Annexure 2) and are summarised in the following Table 6. This table also includes the counts from 1985 so as to afford a comparative analysis.

TABLE 6
DENSITY OF BACKYARD SHACKS WITHIN UMLAZI
1985 AND 1990

SECTION OR UNIT	1985			1990			BETWEEN 1985 & 1990	
	NO. OF HOUSES	NO. OF B/Ss	% OF B/Ss *	NO. OF HOUSES	NO. OF B/Ss	% OF B/Ss *	% DEC.	% INC.
A/1	872	126	14.4	1 329	121	9	4	
B/2	1 359	251	18.5	1 391	193	14	21	
C/3	1 374	344	25.0	2 014	227	11	34	
D/4	1 443	363	25.2	1 504	298	20	18	
E/5	1 065	159	14.9	1 087	133	12	16	
F/6	813	86	11.0	846	76	9	12	
G/7	1 265	285	23.0	1 327	91	7	8	
H/8	1 117	254	22.7	1 294	161	12	37	
J/9	1 713	376	22.0	2 014	422	22	-	
K/10	1 250	203	16.2	1 321	130	10	36	
L/11	1 132	188	16.6	1 239	158	13	16	
M/12	1 135	234	20.6	1 345	179	13	24	
N/13	1 151	170	14.8	1 375	83	6	51	
P/15	1 119	170	15.2	1 223	143	12	16	
Q/16	974	85	8.7	1 098	94	9	-	10
R/14	684	156	22.8	778	113	14.5	28	
T/17	1 315	96	7.3	1 312	65	5	32	
U/21	1 176	96	8.2	1 260	87	7	9	
V/19	700	102	15.0	800	366	46	-	258
TOTAL	21 657	3 744		24 552	3 140			
AVERAGE			16.1			12.58		

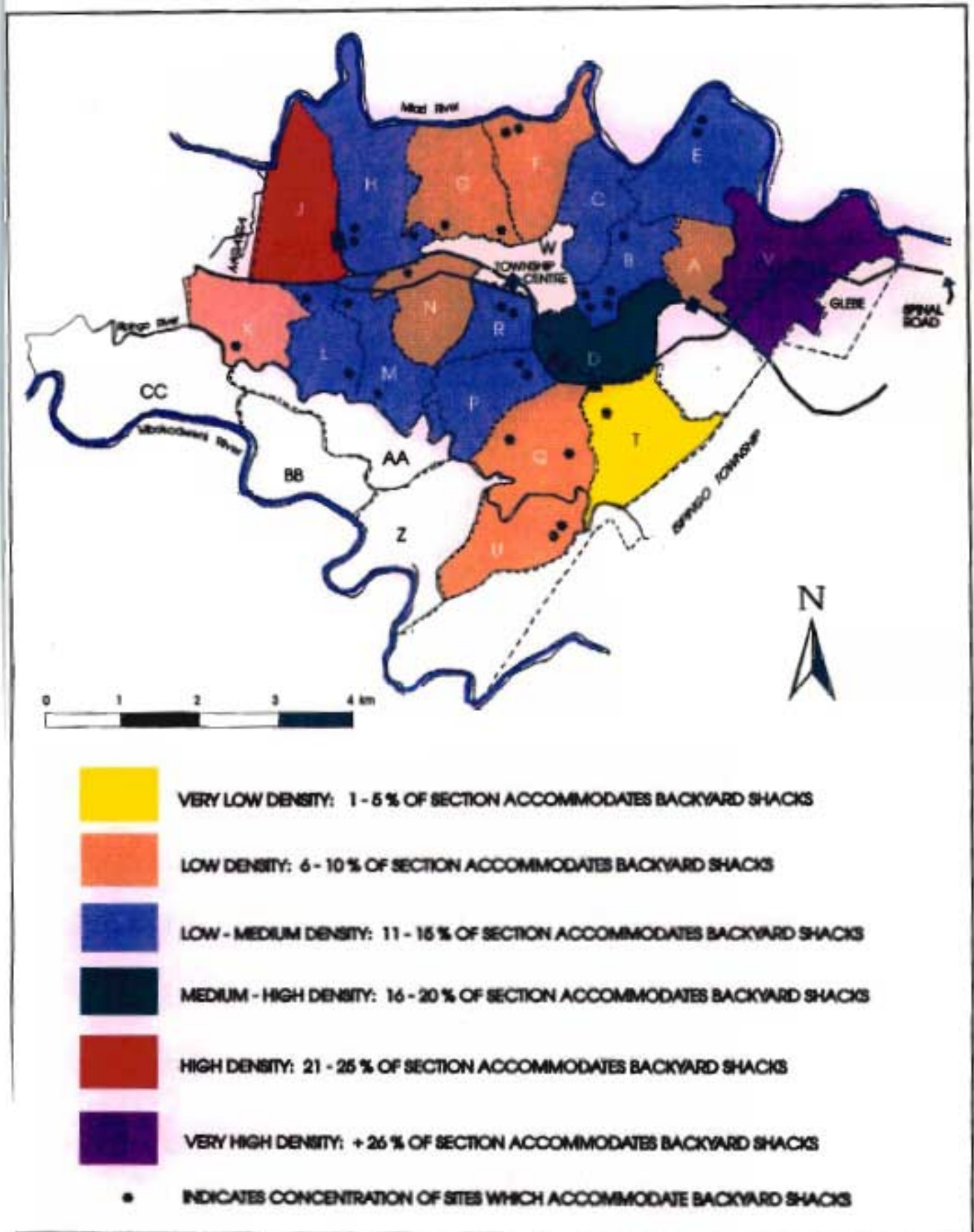
(*) This calculation is based on the existing formal township housing at the time of the count.

BSs Backyard shacks

MAP 8

DENSITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF BACKYARD SHACKS WITHIN UMLAZI

1990



The mapping of this information from which the above count is based is contained in Map 7, whilst Map 8 reflects the density and distribution of this count conceptually within the six density categories.

During the period 1985 to 1990 there were two noticeable trends in the density of backyard shacks within Umlazi.

Firstly, save for three sections within those sections under consideration, there was a general decrease in the number of backyard shacks within Umlazi. At the outset this decrease could be attributed to the continued policy of demolition of backyard shacks within the township. In addition, this decrease could be as a result of the opportunity of land invasion within the township after the repeal of the influx control legislation in 1986. Thus, many people already resident within the township, but in backyard shacks chose to move onto vacant land both within and on the edges of the township.

Conversely, the second predominant trend was that within three sections, namely, J, Q, and V there was an increase in the number of backyard shacks. In the case of sections J and Q, this increase was marginal. When consideration is given to the location of sections J and Q it is noticeable that they are situated at the edge of the township and thus are not easily visible to the township manager's office and thus offered the residents some protection against detection and consequent demolition of their shacks by the township manager. However, with respect to Section V this increase was significant, in that the number of backyard shacks within this section almost tripled between 1985 and 1990. Due to the fact that all the reasons given above for the higher density of backyard shacks within sections during 1985 are contradicted in respect of Section V it is not easy for accurate conclusions to be drawn from the aerial photograph interpretation as to why this significant increase

occurred. Thus, more detailed investigation through interviewing of residents within this section would allow for a more accurate understanding as to why this increase occurred.

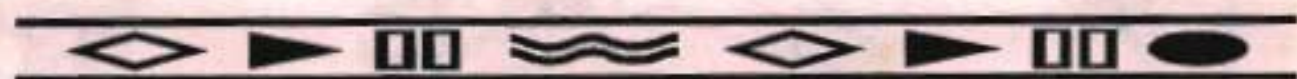
However, it can be suggested that factors such as the densification of the township with respect to new land invasions near the entrance to the township after 1987, that Section V is the oldest section within Umlazi and that the majority of the houses within the section are attached dwelling and as such afford some protection from sight, could have played a role.

In light of the foregoing comments and the findings of the 1985 analysis, the following assumptions are made regarding the variation in the density and spatial distribution of backyard shacks for the period 1985 to 1990 (vide Annexure 5).

- (i) For those sections that had a very low to low-medium density of backyard shacks the existence of new land invasions played a role. Thus, residents of backyard shacks either moved into these pockets of land of their own choice or as a result of the demolition of their shacks.
- (ii) Backyard shacks within those sections identified in (i) above tend to concentrate on sites situated in close proximity or abutting open space areas section and new land invasions.
- (iii) Access to the Spinal Road and proximity to the township centre play a supporting role in those sections which have a medium-high density of backyard shacks.

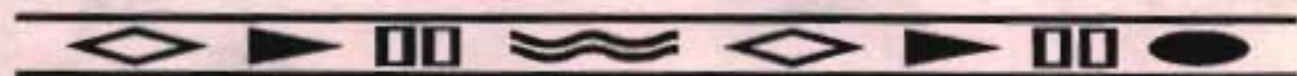
- (iv) The high density of backyard shacks can be attributed to the distance from the township manger's office and a high number of educational facilities within the sections.

- (v) The concentration of backyard shacks within the sections identified in (iii) and (iv) above, are on those sites situated in proximity to the Spinal Road and/or railway stations, on the edges of the section and/or sites set aside for open space purposes, and finally in proximity to the new land invasions.



CHAPTER 6

THE CASE STUDY :
A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE
DEVELOPMENT OF BACKYARD SHACKS
BETWEEN 1990 AND 1995



CHAPTER 6

THE CASE STUDY :

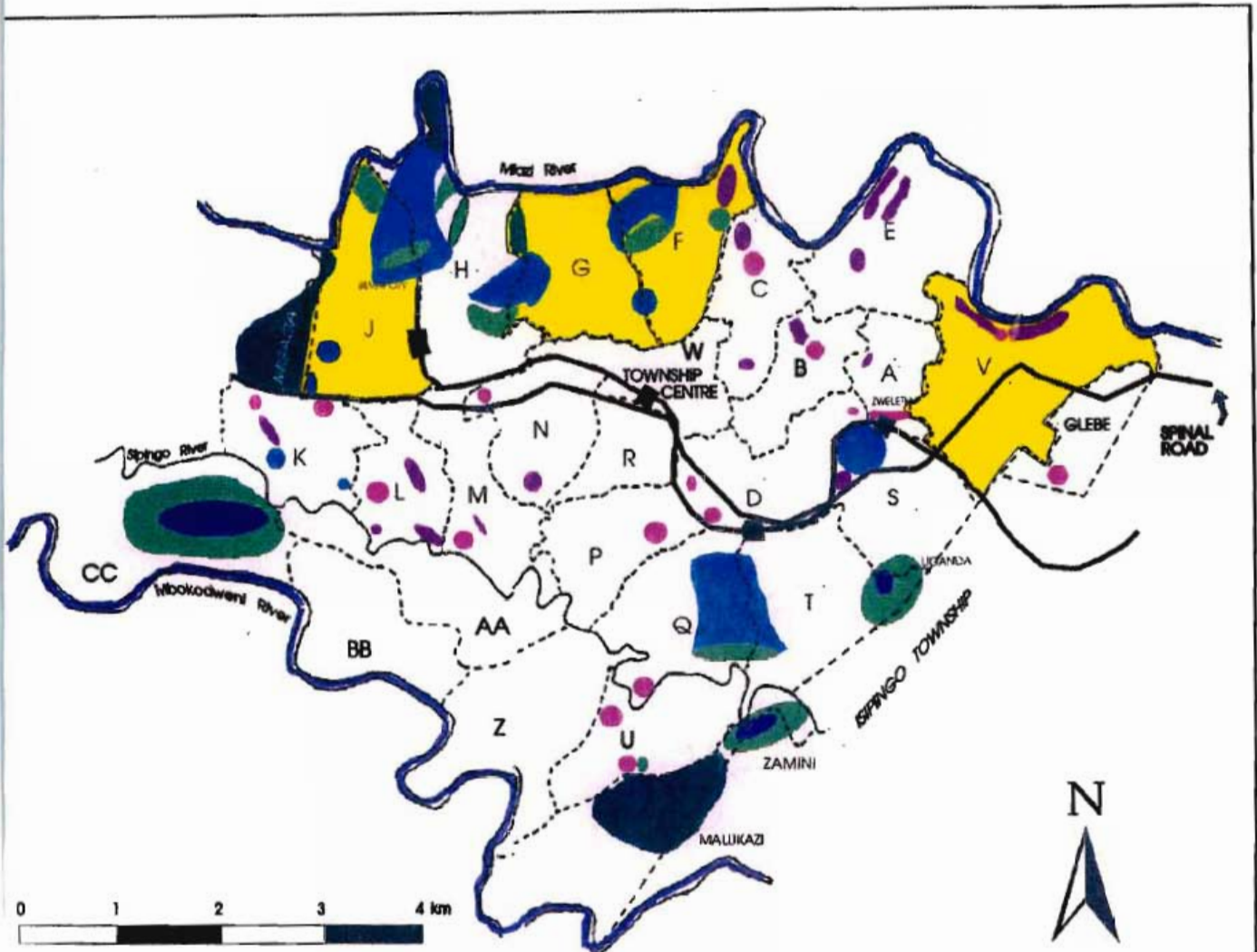
A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BACKYARD SHACKS BETWEEN 1990 AND 1995

Whilst having achieved a relatively accurate quantification of the development of backyard shacks within the sections of Umlazi for the period 1985 - 1990 and presented certain assumptions as to the variation in their density and distribution through the township, it is necessary to support these findings with a detailed review and analysis of certain sections. In doing so these assumptions can be tested and a greater understanding of the issues on the ground for all actors in the process of backyard shack development can be gained. Thereafter, recommendations can be made as to how to address the development of backyard shacks in terms of national housing policy, and in turn within the DFR. Further, recommendations regarding the implications for planning within the region can be identified.

In achieving this aim, consideration was given to the variation in the counts of backyard shacks within the township. Accordingly, it was determined to consider four sections in greater detail which had, between the years 1985 and 1990, either:

- (i) a consistently high count of backyard shacks,
- (ii) a significant decrease in the number of backyard shacks,

MAP 9
SECTIONS UNDER DETAILED ANALYSIS
AND LOCATION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS



SECTIONS UNDER DETAILED CONSIDERATION

PHASING OF DEVELOPMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS :



- (iii) a relatively low count of backyard shacks, and
- (iv) a substantial increase in the number of backyard shacks.

In addition, it was found necessary to afford substantial consideration to the researcher's ability to gain access into these sections. As without the support and confidence of the persons assisting at this stage of the research, the information that had to be gained could not have been obtained.

Consequently, the sections which exhibited the characteristics referred to above and which could be accessed were Sections J, G, F and V respectively. Their location within Umlazi is illustrated in Map 9.

6.1. SECTION J

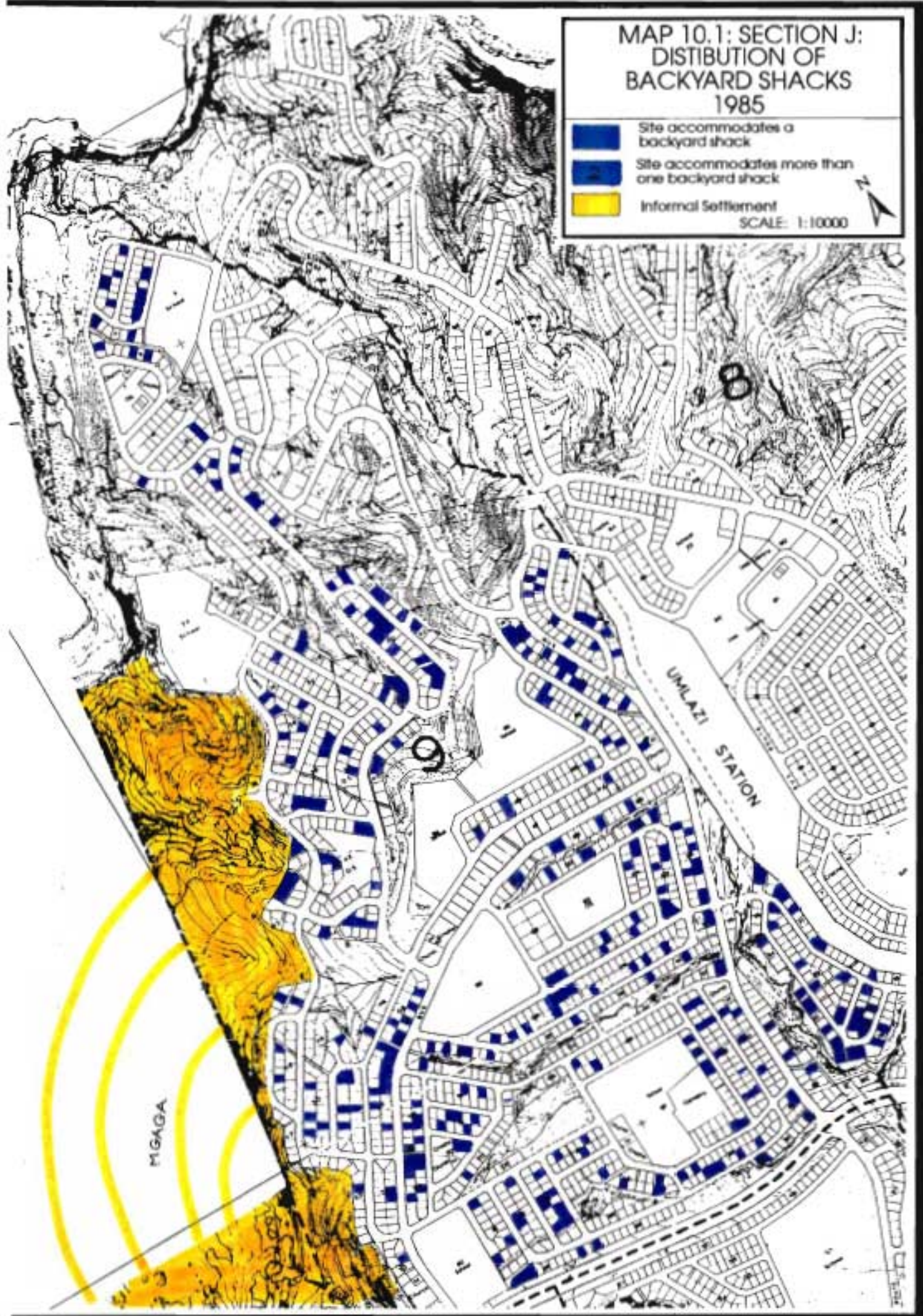
Section J is located at the north-eastern edge of the township and is bounded by the Umlazi station to the east, the Mlazi River to the north, the old established informal settlement of Mgaga (which falls within the Inwabi area) to the west and the Spinal Road to the south (see Map 9).

(i) Synopsis of findings : 1985 - 1990 :




Of all the sections considered, Section J had a consistently high count of backyard shacks between the years 1985 and 1990. Thus, despite the enforcement by the township manager during this period of the policy of demolition of backyard

MAP 10.1: SECTION J:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1985

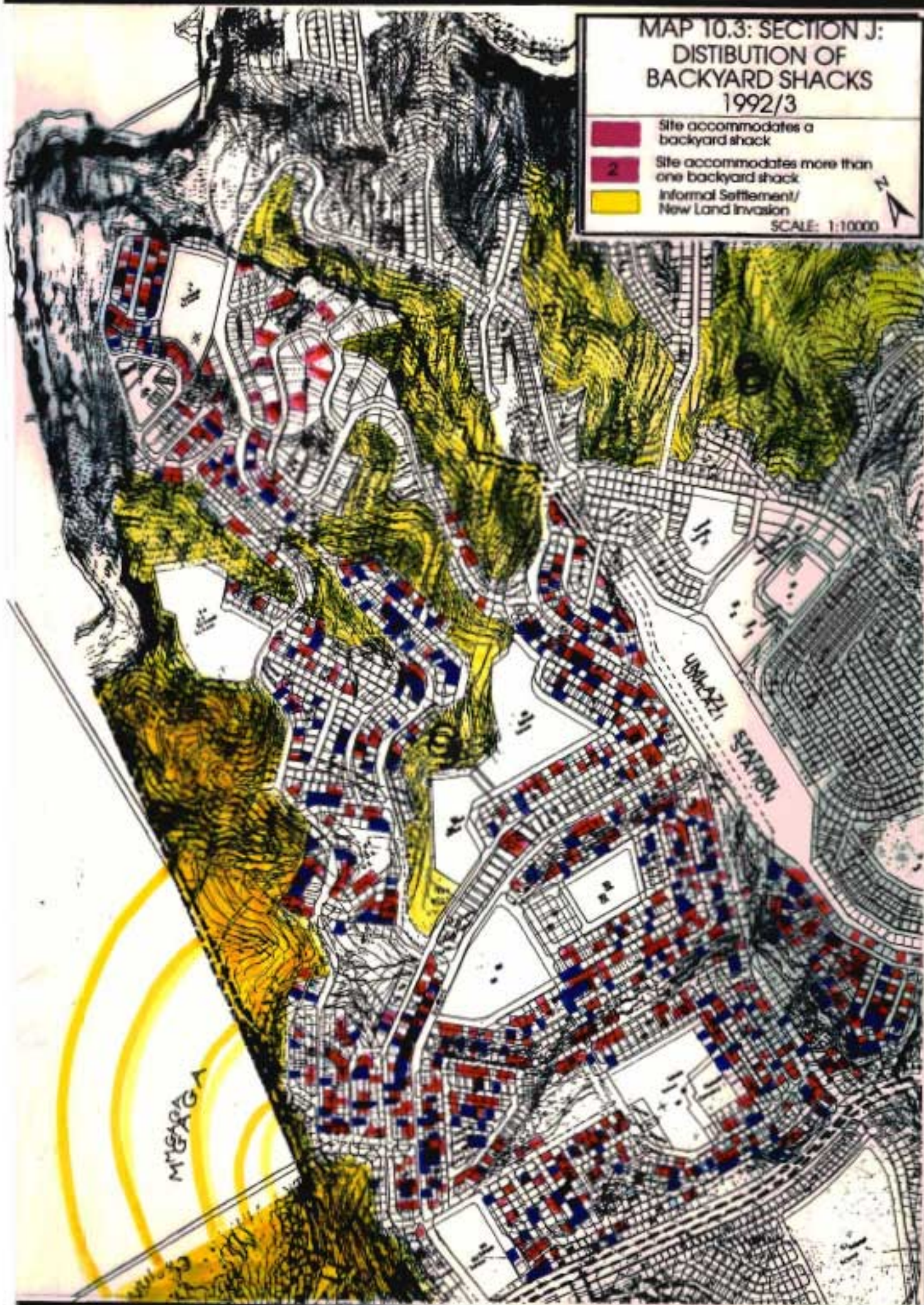
-  Site accommodates a backyard shack
 -  Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
 -  Informal Settlement
- SCALE: 1:10000

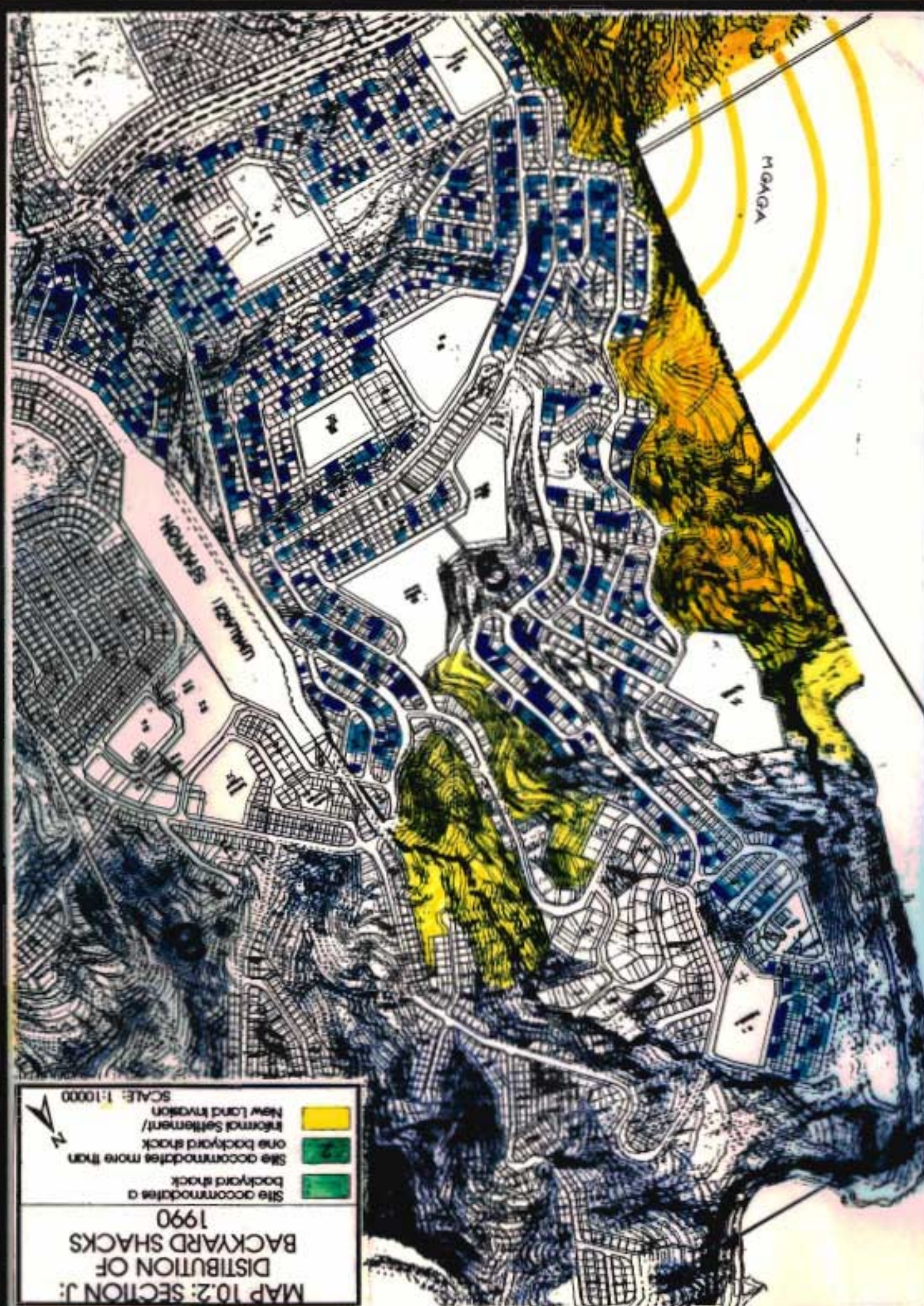


MAP 10.3: SECTION J:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1992/3

-  Site accommodates a backyard shack
-  Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
-  Informal Settlement/
New Land Invasion

SCALE: 1:10000





**MAP 10.2: SECTION J:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1990**

- Site accommodates a backyard shack
- Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
- Informal Settlement/ New Land Invasion

SCALE: 1:10000



shacks, it was found that in relation to the number of formal township houses within the section, 22% thereof accommodated backyard shacks in 1985. Or in other words of the 1713 sites within the section, 355 had backyard shacks thereon (see Annexure 3).

In most instances, the number of backyard shacks built on a site was found to be one, with the highest number accommodated found to be three. Within this range seventeen sites accommodated two backyard shacks (see Map 5).

When consideration was given to the grouping of sites accommodating backyard shacks it was noticeable that 129 sites were not abutting other sites accommodating backyard shack/s. Further, such sites were scattered through the section (vide Annexure 3). However, the grouping of two and three sites accommodating backyard shacks was found to predominate as one moves closer to the Spinal Road. Thereafter the grouping of sites accommodating backyard shacks did not progress beyond a grouping of eight sites (see Map 10.1).

With the continued policy of demolition of backyard shacks within the remainder of the township by the township managers office and the ability of backyard shacks to remain relatively unnoticed within Section J, particularly given the distance from the authorities and the support found by Mgaga and the new land invasions, it was found that the number of sites accommodating backyard shacks by 1990 had increased to 405, with the total number of backyard shacks counted at 455. As had been the situation in 1985, the density of one backyard shacks per site predominated with the highest number on a site being three (see Annexure 3).

However, what is most noticeable for the 1990 analysis period, was that with the increase in density the grouping of sites accommodating backyard shacks increased from the isolated and paired sites to groupings of three to fifteen sites accommodating (see Map 9.2 and Annexure 1).

(ii) Density, spatial arrangement and issues on the ground : 1990 - 1995

A further count was done for the 1992/3 analysis period using aerial photograph at a scale of 1 : 5000. This analysis period revealed an increase in the number of backyard shacks to 512, with 467 sites within the section accommodating these shacks. What is also noticeable for this analysis period is that the grouping of sites accommodating backyard shacks and the number of shacks accommodated on a site has increased, thus reinforcing this increase in density (see Map 9.3 and Annexure 3).

With the increasing demand for housing, particularly as a result of the governments failure to address the needs of the urban poor coupled with population growth and accordingly, a maturing of families, many of the residents of the backyard shacks within this section have originated from either within Umlazi or from other area within the Durban Metropolitan Region, such as Lamontville. The most common relationship to the head of the four-roomed the house is that of family member of friend of a family member.

For obvious reasons the majority of residents of the backyard shacks who are directly related to the head of the formal township house pay no rental for the shack but do contribute financially to water and electricity costs. At this point it

is important to note that where adult children are accommodated in a backyard shack, the parents often state that whilst there is an element of freedom within the informal settlements they view such settlements as being unstable and affording poor living environments. Thus, they prefer their children to stay with them in a backyard shack as opposed to within an informal settlement. Whilst these views are generalisations and may not be true of all informal settlements they are nonetheless given in many instances as the reason for parents accommodating their children and their families within a backyard shack.

For the head of the household within the township house a recognition of the lack of housing coupled with a need to supplement or gain an income by way of renting a backyard shack are the most common reasons for the decision to rent. The rentals charged range between R 40,00 and R 80,00 per month for the shack and access to water is provided at no extra charge.

What is most noticeable within Section J is that there is a strong relationship between the lessor and lessee in that the lessees do not appear to have a fear of eviction. However, what is of concern is the vulnerability of the lessee to increases in rentals. Thus, in recognising the demand for housing and the difficulty in acquiring housing, the lessor can determine the rental and increase it without much visible opposition from the lessee.

Of those residents of backyard shacks who had resided in Section J from the mid-1980's the decision to locate in the section was attributed to the fact that the section had good access to both the Spinal Road and Umlazi Station and further that given the distance to the township manager's office and the proximity to Mgaga means that they would have a greater chance of not being noticed by this

authority. In addition, this section offered facilities in close proximity to families residing in Umgaga. Therefore this section presented opportunities for alternative accommodation in the form of backyard shacks for persons who had resided in Mgaga or at least spent much of their youth in the area. Nonetheless, for many of those people renting backyard shacks the decision to reside within Section J was also determined by the difficulty in finding accommodation and thus they had to rent wherever there was a willing lessor.

With respect to occupancy rates within Section J there appears to be an average of ten people per site, with an equal split of people between the four-roomed township house and the backyard shack. In accepting this occupancy rate it can be estimated that by 1993 there were approximately 3 560 people accommodated in backyard shacks within Section J. Taken together with the occupancy for the formal township house, but excluding those people squatting on infill land both within and abutting the area, Section J accommodates approximately 9 920 people by 1993. Whilst by 1995 the total population within section J has been estimated as being 16052 (Urban Strategy)

Of these residents, the majority residing within backyard shacks are under the age of 35, whilst those residing in the four-roomed township houses tend to be older than 45 with children who are approaching or are in their early twenties. The relatively high occupancy rate of the backyard shacks together with the age profile of these residents can be attributed to the fact that as the section has accommodated a high number of backyard shacks for almost a decade the households thereof have increased in size. Further, the age profile of the backyard shack residents clearly indicates the difficulties faced by the young adult

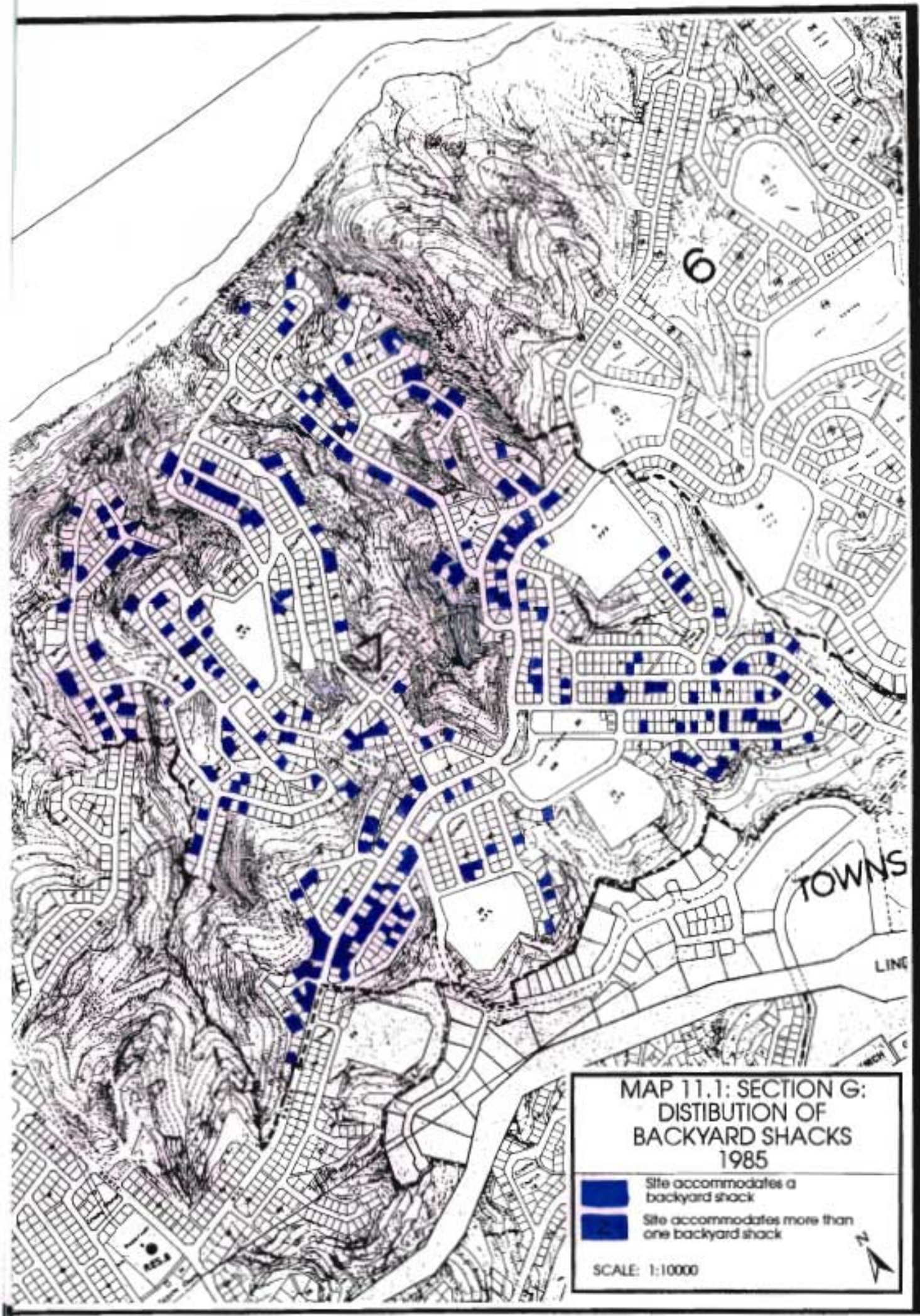
black population and in particular those who have grown up in the urban areas, in finding accommodation within the urban context of South Africa.

6.2. SECTION G

Section G is situated approximately six kilometres within the township between Sections H and F, to the west and east respectively. To the north the Mlazi River forms its northern boundary, whilst to the south this section abuts the township centre (see Map 9). Within Section G there are 1 299 residential sites, all of which are developed for such purposes. This section is served by two lower primary schools and one higher primary school. To date the township centre which borders this section, has not been fully built and the residents of the section rely on a few small shops for their daily necessities. As is the case through the remainder of Umlazi these shops are usually operated on an informal basis from township houses. The residents of the section have no direct access to the railway route and only have a secondary spinal road as the main road access.

(i) Synopsis of the findings : 1985 to 1990

By 1985, Section G had one of the highest counts of backyard shacks. 23 % of the developed residential sites within the section accommodated backyard shacks (vide Annexure 3). This figure of 23 % represents a total count of 285 backyard shacks. The initial assumptions for this high count are suggested as being the distance from the township manager's office and therefore the ability to reside in

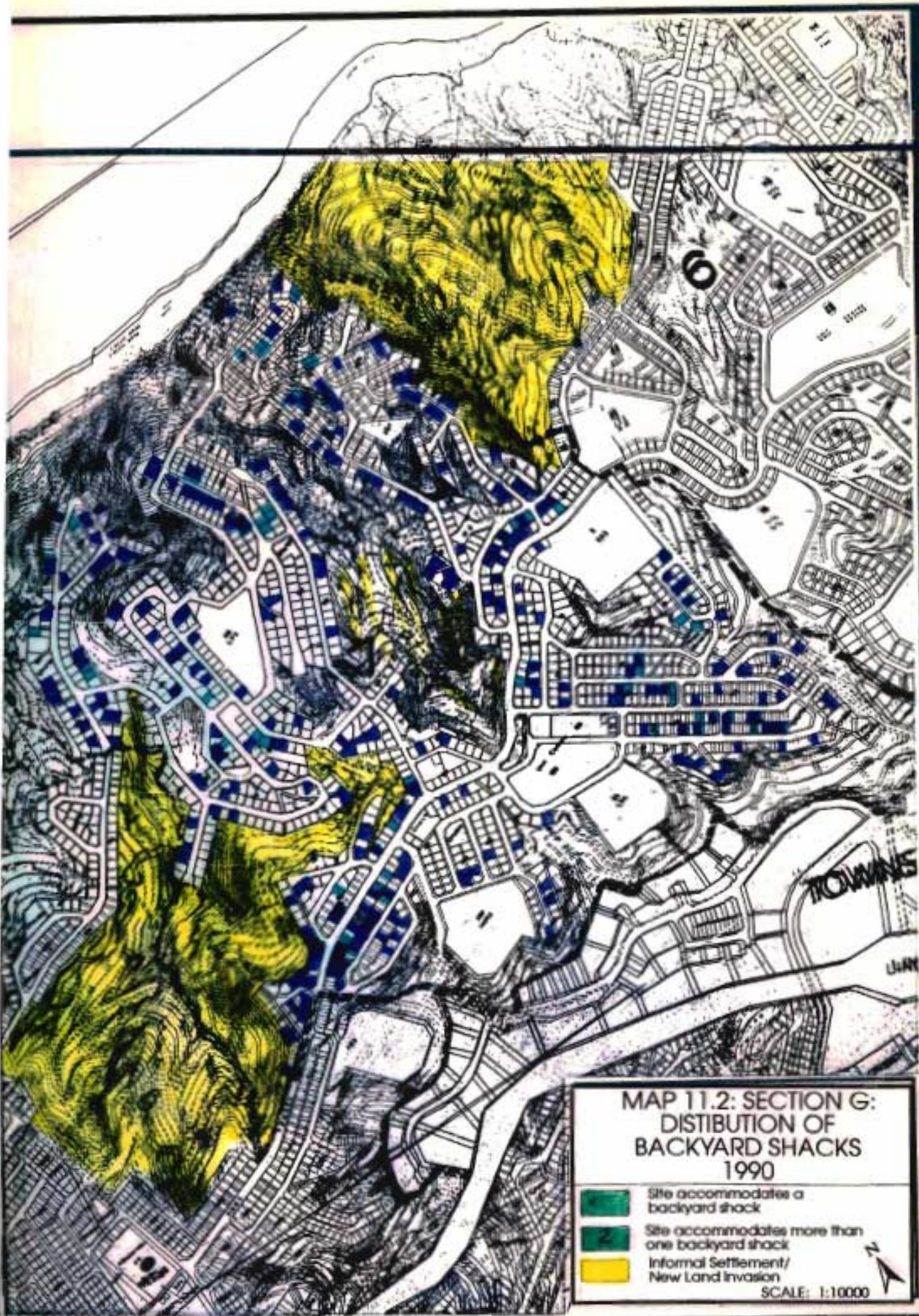


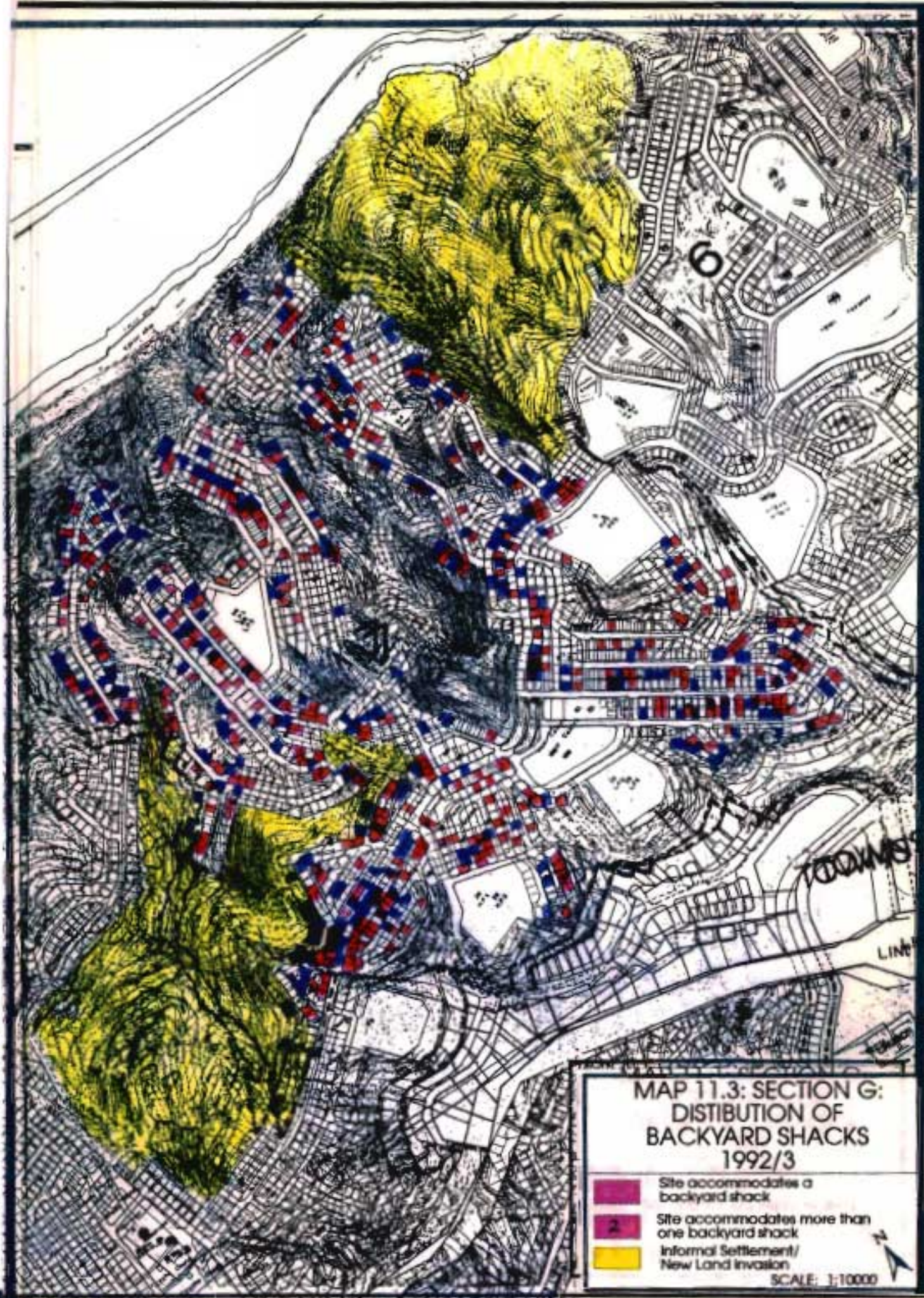
MAP 11.1: SECTION G:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1985

- Site accommodates a backyard shack
- Site accommodates more than one backyard shack

SCALE: 1:10000







MAP 11.3: SECTION G:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1992/3

-  Site accommodates a backyard shack
-  Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
-  Informal Settlement/
New Land Invasion

SCALE: 1:10000



backyard shacks relatively unnoticed and further the proximity to the township centre and the facilities offered therein.

Whilst having a relatively even distribution of sites accommodating backyard shacks, these assumptions can be supported by the fact that the concentrations of sites accommodating backyard shacks for this analysis period were found to be those situated at the edges of the section, abutting sites set aside as open space and those situated in proximity to the township centre (see Maps 5, 6 and 11.1).

When consideration was given to the counts for 1990, it was evident that the policy of backyard shacks being illegal dwellings and thus demolished by the officials of the township manager's office, had been a contributing factor in the significant decrease by 1990. This decrease is represented as being from 285 backyard shacks in 1985 to 91 backyard shacks in 1990 (vide Annexures 3 and 5). A further contributing factor could also have been the increase since 1988 in the new land invasions along the common boundary between Sections H and G and those of Limphompo and Maputo along the boundary between Sections G and F (see Map 4). Accordingly, the conclusions reached by Townsend, 1991 that many of the residents of the new land invasions came from within Umlazi can be qualified by this decrease in the number of backyard shacks and the simultaneous increase in the land invasions during the late 1980's.

(ii) Density, spatial arrangement and issues on the ground : 1990 - 1995

In gaining a detailed understanding of the dynamics within Section G it was noticeable that as with Section J, the counts for 1992/3 showed a significant

increase in the number of sites accommodating backyard shacks. In fact this increase went beyond that of 1985, with 330 sites having backyard shacks constructed thereon and a total count of some 375 backyard shacks (vide Annexure 3). Further, the instance of abutting sites having backyard shacks increased significantly (see Map 11.3). This increase in density can be attributed to the fact that by late 1990 the infill areas within Section G had almost all been squatted on. Consequently, as the density of these areas increased the opportunities for accommodation became restrictive such that the choice of residing within a backyard shack with the benefit of access to the available services and facilities became an attractive option.

Through discussions with both the residents of the backyard shacks and the four-roomed township houses, it was ascertained that the majority of the occupants of backyard shacks are young adults who have grown up in Section G. As a result of either marriage or over-crowding of the four-roomed house they have had to find accommodation for themselves and their dependants by residing in a backyard shack for which they might or may not pay a rental and which may or may not be erected in the backyard of their parents' site.

As is the case in Section J, there exists a strong relationship between the residents of the four-roomed township house and the occupants of the backyard shacks. However, there is again little fear of eviction, but concern over the ability of the lessor to increase the rental. In terms of rentals there appears to be a wide range between a minimum of R 30,00 and a maximum of R 90,00 per month. These rentals however, are determined largely by the services available to the occupants of the backyard shacks. The result is that the lower rentals exclude costs incurred

by the consumption of water and electricity, which are therefore paid for separately or alternatively, are not directly available to the residents.

In terms of the construction material of the backyard shacks the most common found is that of wattle and daub. In most cases is the backyard shacks erected by the lessor and then rented out. The occupancy rate for backyard shacks within Section G is less than that of Section J in that an average of two persons occupying a backyard shack. The occupancy of the four-roomed houses was found to remain at 5 persons. However, aside from the fact that a large number of the occupants of backyard shacks within Section G are young adults this low occupancy can also be attributed to the fact that a significant proportion of the backyard shacks within this section are smaller in size than those in other sections. The reason for this lower occupancy rate was found to be as a result of many of the backyard shacks being constructed relatively recently and accommodating family overspill. Thus, many family heads prefer to construct a backyard shack to accommodate the family overspill as opposed to seeing their children residing within an informal settlement.

Accepting this occupancy rate, the estimated backyard shack population within Section G is 700. The resultant population for this section (excluding the infill areas) is approximately 8395 by 1993 (but excluding that population resident in informal settlements within the section). Whilst by 1995 this population is estimated as being 12 564 (including the population residing in the informal settlements) and As identified above, the average age of the residents of the backyard shacks within this section is between 20 and 30 years. Again this finding reiterates the point made in respect of Section J, that the difficulties experienced by persons trying to gain access to housing or suitable

accommodation is most severe for the young adult african person who has resided for most of their life in the townships.

6.3. SECTION F

Section F is the second smallest section within Umlazi in terms of the number of houses - 846 by the early 1990's. The section has as its northern boundary the Mlazi River; whilst as its western, southern and eastern boundaries are Sections G, W and C respectively (see Map 9). This section is remote from both the railway stations and the Spinal Road, but it does have a secondary spinal road traversing it.

(i) Synopsis of the findings for the period 1985 - 1990 :

Whilst there was a slight decrease in the number of sites accommodating backyard shacks between the period 1985 to 1990, Section F had for this period a consistently low count of backyard shacks of between 86 and 76. It can be suggested that there are two reasons for these low counts. Firstly, until the late-1980's the isolation of the section in relation to the transport systems within the township played a significant role in that this section was not viewed as a first choice for persons seeking accommodation in backyard shacks. Consequently, these people seeking accommodation tend to have concentrated their efforts in other sections within Umlazi (see Maps 12.1 and 12.2).



MAP 12.1: SECTION F:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1985



Site accommodates a
backyard shack



Site accommodates more than
one backyard shack

SCALE: 1:10000





TOWNSHIP

KUHLE

Umlaas Riv

6

**MAP 12.2: SECTION F:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1990**

-  Site accommodates a backyard shack
-  Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
-  Informal Settlement/
New Land Invasion

SCALE: 1:10000



TOWNSHIP

LINDO KUHLE

Umlas Ri

MAP 12.3: SECTION F:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1992/3

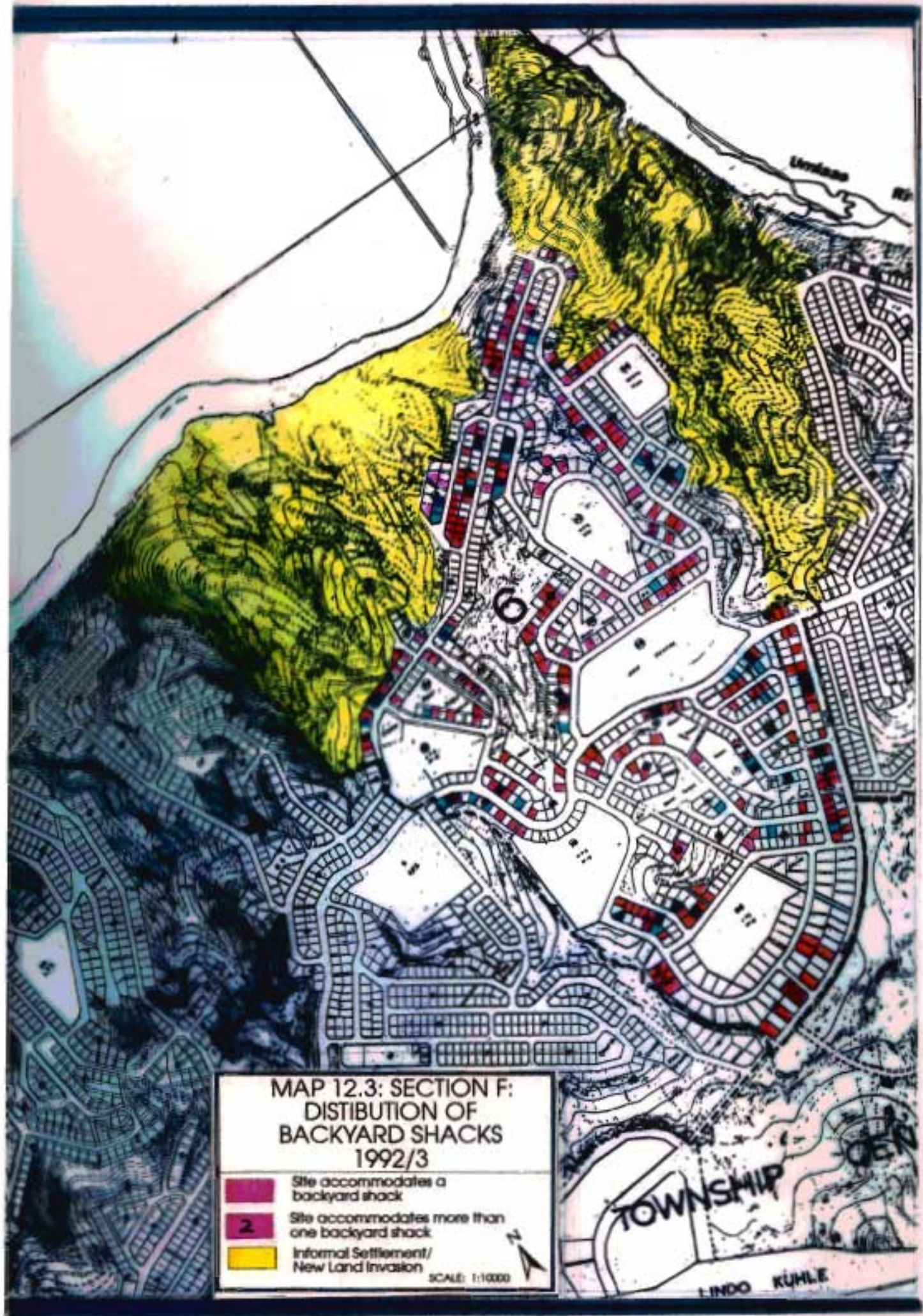
-  Site accommodates a backyard shack
-  Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
-  Informal Settlement/
New Land Invasion

SCALE: 1:10000



TOWNSHIP

LINDO KUHLE



In addition, since 1988 the infill areas within this section started to be squatted on, particularly by families from within Umlazi (Townsend 72,1991). Despite attempts by the township councillor for Sections F and G - Mrs PN Ngcobo, to remove these families the manager, recognising the demand for housing within Umlazi, eventually gave permission for the families to stay. By 1990 approximately 1 719 shacks had been erected on the infill and peripheral areas of Section F, with an estimated population of 17 190 (Townsend, Ibid). Accordingly, it is argued that coupled with the constraints on access to transport, the growth of the new land invasions within Section F, meant that these infill areas were more attractive to those people seeking accommodation than the option of residing in a backyard shack.

In terms of the spatial arrangement of the sites accommodating backyard shacks it is noticeable that in both 1985 and 1990 there are two areas of concentration. Those sites situated near the secondary spinal road and at the entrance to the section; and those sites abutting open space and more particularly by 1990 the new land invasions (see Maps 12.1 and 12.2).

(ii) Density, spatial arrangement and issues on the ground : 1990 - 1995

However, by 1992/3 the counts revealed a substantial increase in the number of backyard shacks to approximately 193 (vide Annexure 3). In most instances the density per site was one backyard shack with the result being that 177 sites accommodated backyard shacks.

Given the increase in density, the section exhibited a relatively even distribution of backyard shacks by 1993 (see Map 12.3). With this increase in density, the grouping of sites accommodating backyard shacks also increased to as high as twelve abutting sites. There are however pockets of concentrations of sites accommodating backyard shacks. These concentrations are however an extension of those found in the previous analysis periods in that they occur in proximity to the secondary spinal road, near the entrance to the section and on those sites which abut the open space which has now been densely squatted on.

In contrast to Sections J and G it was found that there is a higher incidence of backyard shacks being rented. Further, many of the lessees are young single mothers who for various reasons (which many were not willing to expand upon) were forced to find accommodation within a backyard shack.

When asked as to the reason for them choosing to rent a backyard shack as opposed to residing within the new land invasions, many attributed their decision to the fact that there is a greater sense of security for them and their dependants within the old, established areas of the township. Further, they felt that the standard of living particularly with respect to access to facilities and services such as schools, transport, water and electricity was better and easier than experienced by residents of informal settlements within the township. Thus residing in a backyard shack provided a far better social environment for themselves and their dependants.

Furthermore, given that many of the female heads can not find employment within the formal sector, they rely on their own skills and operate small businesses from their homes. By renting a backyard shack as opposed to living

within an informal settlement, they find conditions (particularly with regard to access to electricity) as being far more conducive to the operation of these businesses. This is not to say that lessees have free access to these services as it is noted that the lessors maintain strict control over the consumption of services. However, it is rather that these services are more easily accessed, that is the clear advantage in residing in a backyard shack.

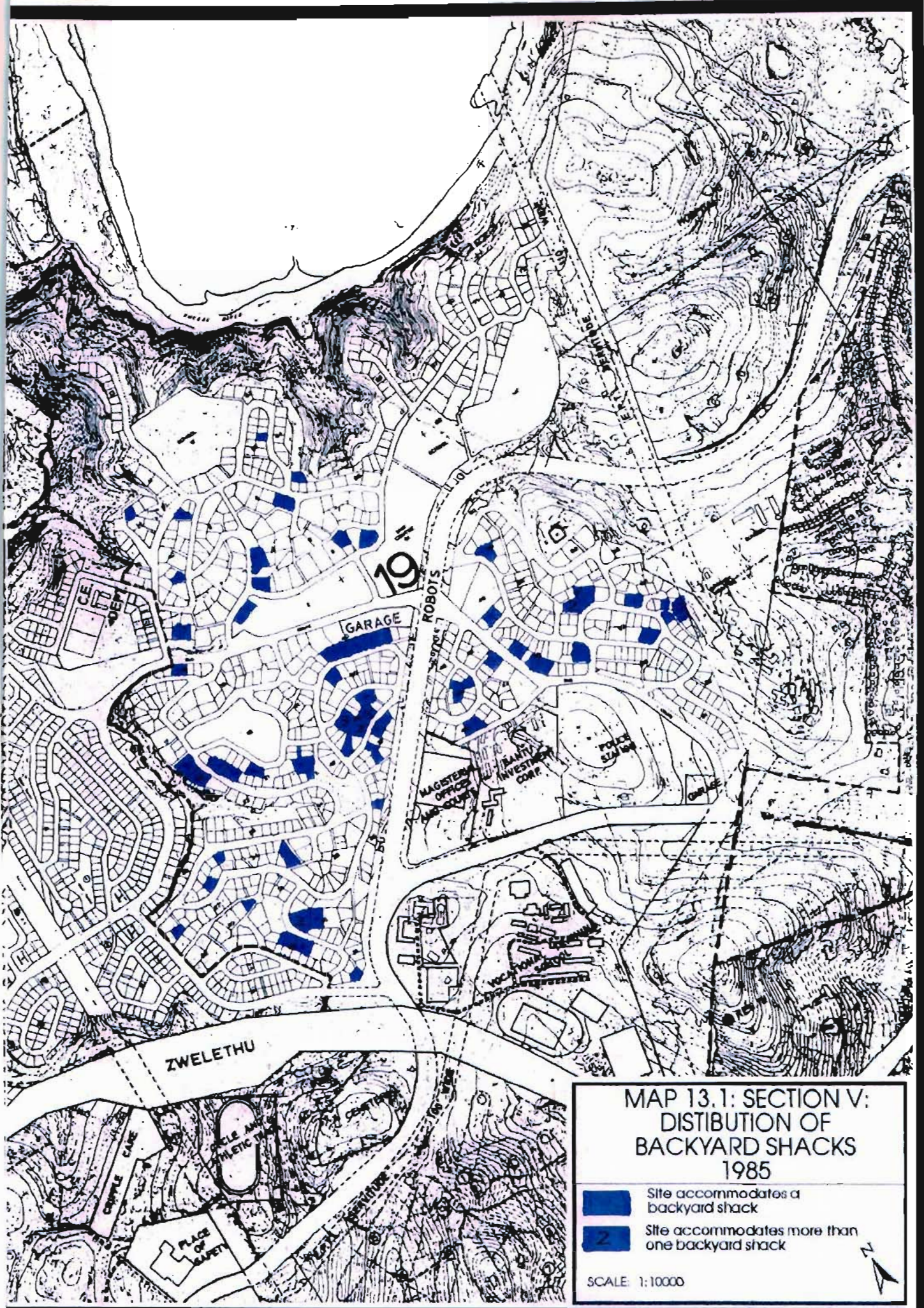
In addition to the above, it was again noticeable that many of the occupiers of the backyard shacks in Section F were children or relatives of the families resident in the four-roomed township house. Regardless of whether the residents the backyard shacks were paying or non-paying occupants, the large majority were found to have grown up in Umlazi.

For the first time however, the issue of violence as a contributing factor for residing in a backyard shack came to the fore. Certain of the residents of the backyard shacks had lost their homes to violence either within Umlazi or in other parts of KwaZulu-Natal. Consequently, being faced with having to start afresh, many people could only find accommodation by renting a backyard shack. In addition, and whilst not trying to under-estimate the extent and impact of the violence that has occurred within the township, it appeared that the choice to reside in a backyard shack as opposed to an informal settlement within Umlazi has been driven by the fact that the impact of this violence was not as great within the older, established areas of the township as opposed to the informal settlements. Therefore, a more stable living environment can be gained by living in a backyard shack as opposed to that within an informal settlement.

For those residents who are renting, the charge per shack is as high as R 140,00 per month. In the instance of these high rentals the facilities offered by the lessors are substantial in that there is unlimited, albeit controlled, access to water and electricity without charge. Further, the backyard shacks tend to be of a more solid construction with electrical and aesthetic finishings.

However, the degree of exploitation in terms of rentals is again obvious in certain circumstances, where capitalising on the difficulty in finding suitable accommodation, higher rental are charged. If there is one central concern of the lessee of the backyard shack, it is the hold the lessor has over the lessee with respect to the rentals charged. Despite their resentment at having to pay such high rentals the majority of the lessees indicated that as they have no alternative accommodation and consider the living environment of the backyard shack to be better than that within the informal settlements, they are willing to suppress their frustrations over the rentals charged.

With respect to occupancy rates, it was ascertained that the average was three people per backyard shack. If this rate is accepted then the total population resident in backyard shacks within Section F by 1993 was estimated as being 579. In terms of the four-roomed houses the occupancy rate was found to be at an average of five. Thus, by 1995 the total population resident within the section, is approximately 7385 (Urban Strategy). Taking into consideration the extent of the land invasions within the section and the number of people resident within backyard shacks, it is evident that the number of people making use of informal methods of housing provision almost equates with the population that resides in the four-roomed township houses. Consequently, it is safe to say that the pressure on existing facilities and services is significant.

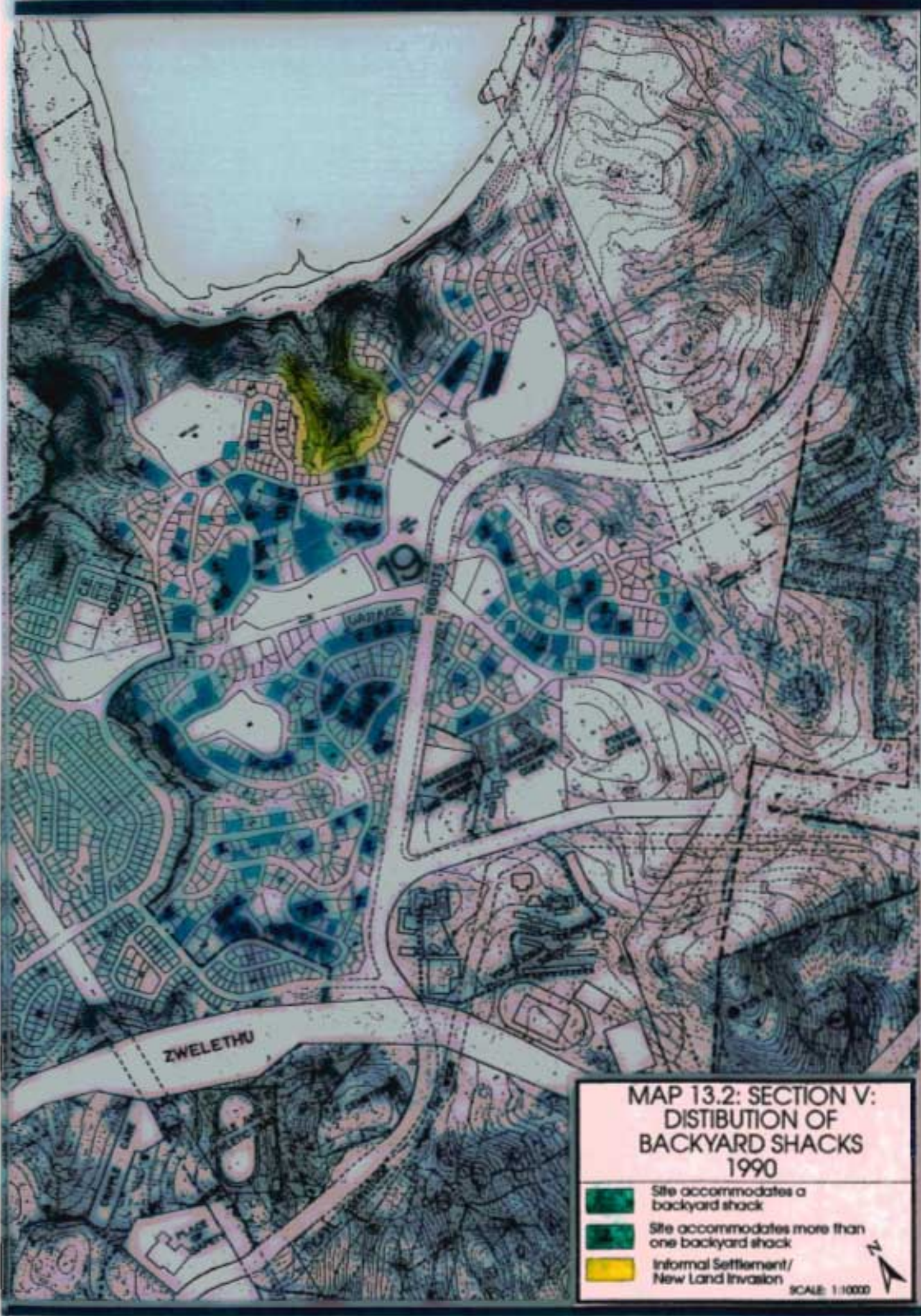


MAP 13.1: SECTION V:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1985




- Site accommodates a backyard shack
- 2 Site accommodates more than one backyard shack

SCALE: 1:10000



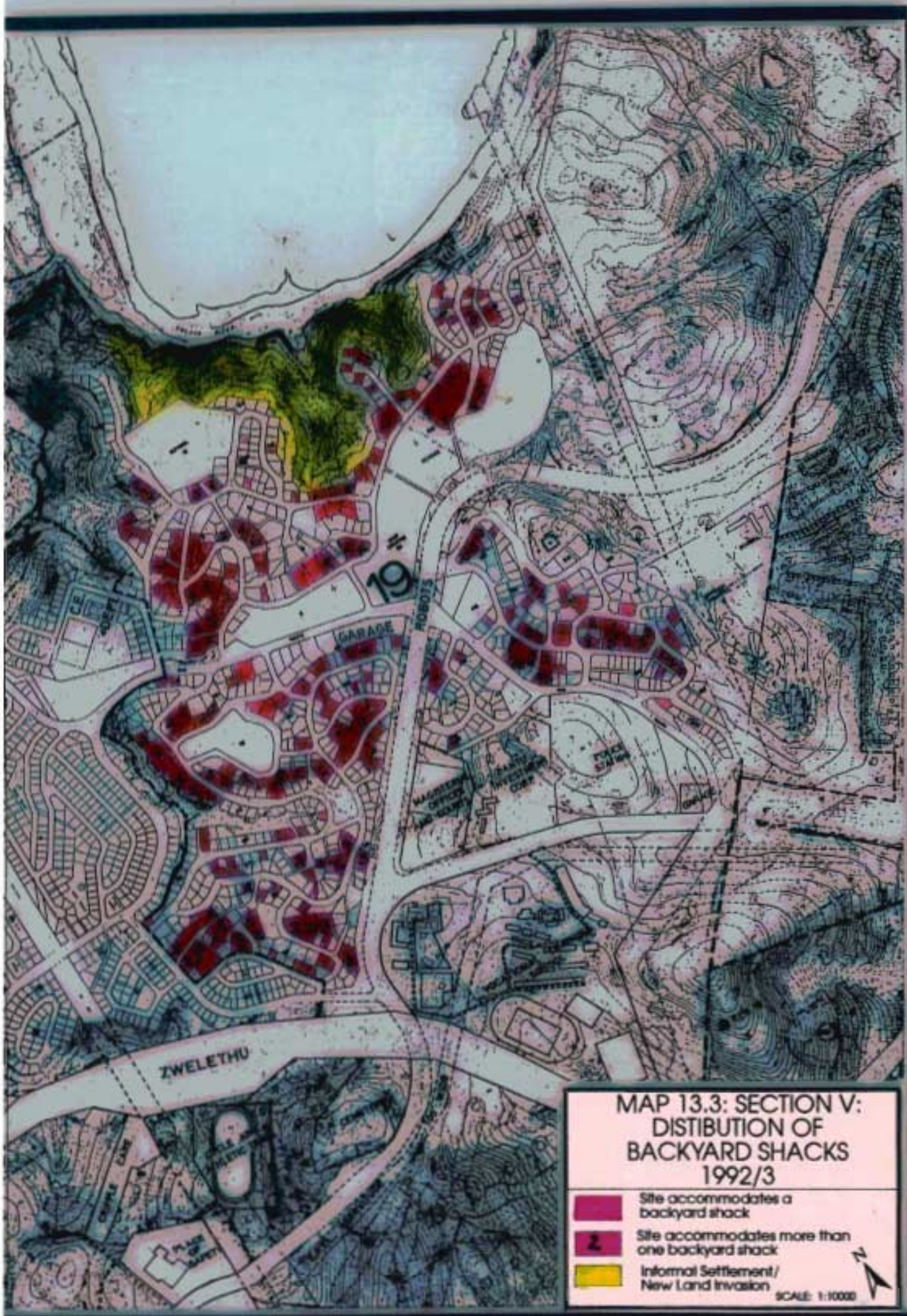


**MAP 13.2: SECTION V:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1990**




-  Site accommodates a backyard shack
-  Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
-  Informal Settlement/
New Land Invasion

SCALE: 1:10000





**MAP 13.3: SECTION V:
DISTRIBUTION OF
BACKYARD SHACKS
1992/3**

-  Site accommodates a backyard shack
-  Site accommodates more than one backyard shack
-  Informal Settlement/
New Land Invasion



SCALE: 1:10000

6.4. SECTION V

Of all the sections within Umlazi, Section V is the oldest, having been built in the early 1960's. Consequently, is the first residential area as one enters the township along the Spinal Road. To the north the section is bounded by the Mlazi River, whilst to the west Section A shares a common boundary. To the south the Zwelethu Station, the railway line and the Spinal Road form the boundaries. Whilst to the east are the Glebeland hostels. Section V is however, separated from these hostels by the Glebe hill. Section V is also bisected by the Spinal Road and has access to the Zwelethu Station (see Map 9). Within this section, and on that portion of land located on the eastern side of the Spinal Road are located the township manager's office, the magistrates offices and courts and the Umlazi police station.

For the most part, the residential sites are developed with the standard four-roomed township house, but attached in pairs. Accordingly, whilst the sites are larger the density of township houses means that the density is consistent with the remainder of the township. Of the 811 residential sites there were approximately 700 township houses within Section V in 1985, whilst by 1990 this number had grown to 800. In terms of facilities, the section is served by three schools, petrol filling stations and in comparison to the remainder of the Umlazi - substantial commercial activities. Furthermore, there is a large bus rank located on the northern side of the secondary spinal road through the section and to the west of its intersection with the Spinal Road.

(ii) Synopsis of the findings for the period 1985 - 1990 :

In 1985, the count of backyard shacks within the section fell within the density category of 'low to medium' in that 102 backyard shacks were counted (vide Annexure 3 and Map 6). This density represented 15 % of the existing formal housing stock. The reason for this low count in backyard shacks could be attributed to the location of the township manager's office in the section and thus the visibility of any backyard shack development to this authority on a daily basis. Consequently, the likelihood of detection and subsequent demolition of backyard shacks by these authorities was high (vide Annexure 4). In light of the foregoing comments the backyard shacks that were erected tended to be scattered through the section; with limited concentrations occurring on the western side of the Spinal Road out of sight of the township manager's office (see Map 13.1).

By 1990 however, the density of backyard shacks had doubled to 207 sites accommodating 366 backyard shacks (vide Annexure 3). This increase in density represented almost 46 % of the existing formal housing stock for the section. Whilst the majority of the sites accommodated one backyard shack the number of sites accommodating between two and seven backyard shacks grew significantly. With this densification the grouping of sites accommodating backyard shacks also increased with the highest grouping being that of nine sites. Consistent with the 1985 analysis these concentrations occurred on the western side of the Spinal Road and on sites situated in close proximity to the secondary spinal road (see Map 13.2).

It is evident that as compared to the sections previously considered a different set of dynamics were operating within the section. Thus, whilst distance from the

township manager's office, proximity to existing informal settlements and the growth of the land invasions had contributed to the increase in Section J by 1990 and the decrease in Sections F and G, respectively by 1990, these factors could clearly not have played a contributing role in the increase in backyard shacks in Section V by 1990. In comparison, the section is in close proximity to the township manager's office and further there had been no new land invasions.

Therefore, it was ascertained that despite concerns over the potential for demolition by the township manager's office, the extent of the housing crisis and the demand for accommodation in proximity to the transport routes and at the entrance to the township, particularly by people moving from areas outside of Umlazi in search of employment within the Durban Functional Region had overridden any fears of demolition.

(ii) Density, spatial arrangement and issues on the ground : 1990 - 1995

Consistent with Sections J,G and F the density of backyard shacks within Section V was significant by 1992 (vide Annexure 3). In fact it is evident from the aerial photographs that almost all the sites accommodated one or more backyard shack. Thus, of the 800 developed residential sites, 262 accommodated 494 backyard shacks by 1992 and by 1995, some 518 backyard shacks have been counted (Urban Strategy). This density interprets at 60 % of the existing formal housing stock. In comparison to the 1985 count, the number of backyard shacks within Section V has increased five-fold by 1995. Further, those pockets of vacant land on the edges of the section had almost been completely occupied by the new land invasions.

As a result of this densification, the grouping of more than two sites accommodating backyard shacks was also significant such that the grouping between two and ten sites accommodating backyard shacks is far beyond that of the individual sites which accommodate a backyard shack. Further, the number of backyard shacks erected on sites is far greater, as the incidence of between two and eight backyard shacks per site was almost equivalent to the density of one backyard shack per site (vide Annexure 3 and Map 13.3).

As opposed to Sections J,H and F many of the backyard shack residents have originated from areas outside of Umlazi. The reasons for their move into the township were driven either by the search for employment within the greater Durban area or as a result of violence in other areas of KwaZulu-Natal, such as the Port Shepstone area. In the case of the latter they had found accommodation in backyard shacks from members of their families already residing in Umlazi. Accordingly, these residents tend not to pay a rental for their shack. It was noticeable that of the residents of backyard shacks who had been affected by the violence many are pensioners who have lost all their possessions and have had to rebuild their lives. Whilst humiliated at having to reside in a backyard shack and frustrated by the lack of space to accommodate members of their own families they have no alternative option for accommodation. Despite the above there are however consoled by the fact that Section V is relatively peaceful and untouched by the violence within the township, particularly during the early 1990's.

Of those seeking or already employed, accommodation in a backyard shack has been gained through friends who knew of people providing this type of accommodation for rent, or alternatively have been given permission by members of their families to erect the backyard shack. In both instances contributions are

made for the payment of the consumption of water and electricity. For the most part these lessees are young adult males who have left their families in the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape or Swaziland, in search of employment in the greater Durban area.

Aside from the above there are also instances of residents of backyard shacks being young couples who as a result of not being able to find suitable accommodation or not wishing to reside within an informal settlement have erected a shack on the backyard of their parent's site.

In light of the profile given above, the occupancy rate is found to be an average of two persons per backyard shack as opposed to the previous average of five. Accordingly, the estimated backyard shack population for the section is 900, whilst the total population for the section, excluding those people residing in the new land invasions, is estimated as being 5050 by 1993 and 10 423 taking into account the residents of the informal settlements.

With respect to the rentals paid these averaged at R 50,00 per month and include in some instances limited access to water and electricity. However, in certain cases no electricity was provided and as such, power is attained through generators, paraffin or gas. It was found within the section that many of the older people residing in backyard shacks conduct small businesses from their residence to supplement their pensions. For the most part these businesses are involved in the preparation and sale of food. For example, one enterprising couple who have access to electricity and a fridge started a business selling ice-lollies made from juice at 20c each. Save to say that with Durban's climate they were doing a

roaring trade, as throughout the discussion with them, they had an endless stream of young customers.

6.5. COMMON ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BACKYARD SHACKS

The following comments provide an understanding of the common issues in the development and spatial arrangement of backyard shacks and the choices made by the occupants thereof. It must be recognised that there is a danger in providing generalisations and accordingly the imposition of stereotypes, as between the sections of Umlazi and most definitely between the townships of the DFR and in turn the country as a whole, there are local-specific factors which contribute toward variations in these characteristics and issues. Nonetheless it is considered that as this study is comprehensive in its identification of the issues that the following comments aid in the formulation of policies to address the growth of backyard shacks within Umlazi and the DFR and consequently to inform national policies in this regard. Accordingly, the following issues are recognised as being broad conclusions drawn from the research and are subject to variation as one identifies additional needs and contributing factors which may come to the fore in specific areas.

(i) Origins and movement of occupants of backyard shacks :

The majority of the residents of backyard shacks in Umlazi originated from Umlazi or from other urban areas within KwaZulu-Natal. Thus, for occupants who had lived in Umlazi but were renting a backyard shack it was evident that circular-migration between sections had occurred. This occurrence can be attributed to either overcrowding of the township houses or the decision not to reside within an informal settlement or alternatively as a result of violence within certain sections of the township. Whilst between 1985 and 1990, there was a decrease in the number of backyard shacks within Umlazi, conversely there has been a marked increase in this density since 1990.

(ii) Motivation for living in a backyard shack :

The choice to reside in a backyard shack is driven by three primary factors. Namely, population growth and hence the overcrowding of township houses, unemployment and the lack of or insufficient income to gain access to suitable housing, and most importantly, the shortage of affordable housing, access to land and the difficulty experienced by persons of the lower income group in gaining access to the supports necessary for acquiring housing and/or a site in which to build a house. Particularly with respect to securing financial support for the construction or purchase of suitable housing.

Consequently, in trying to find suitable accommodation persons of the lower income group have little option beyond either living in a backyard shack or moving into an informal settlement. However, whilst the latter option appears not

to be the preferred one, and residing in a backyard shack is by no means suggested by this researcher as being a suitable option, it is for the residents of backyard shacks and their families a far better option than residing in an informal settlement. Especially when consideration is given to the difficulties experienced by the residents in informal settlements in gaining access to necessary services and facilities.

The above conclusions therefore reinforce the failure of the previous Nationalist government to address the housing needs of the urban poor. The legacy of these past policies continues to manifest itself today where despite attempts to address the demand for housing, the rate of supply lags behind demand such that the urban poor continue to be forced to chose alternative forms of finding shelter, such as that of residing in a backyard shack.

(iii) Density of backyard shacks :

After 1990 the density of backyard shacks within Umlazi increased significantly. This increase can be attributed to three factors, namely, the growth of new land invasions and hence the deviation of attention away from backyard shacks by the government authorities to these new developments, the increasing demand for urban residential accommodation and the fulfilment of the need for shelter through the erection of backyard shacks and the increasing movement of people toward the urban areas either seeking employment or moving from one urban area to another as a result of violence, and hence seeking suitable accommodation.

From the counts done in the four sections for the period 1992/3, that in relation to the number of formal township houses, the density of backyard shacks ranged between 23 % and 60%. However, this figure can not be used to estimate the total number of backyard shacks as it is realistically assumed that there would be variations in density between the sections of Umlazi. Despite this, when consideration is given to the Urban Strategy study it is found that by 1995 the total number of backyard shacks within Umlazi is 4625. This represents that approximately 15 % of the formal township houses within the township accommodate backyard shacks. Consequently, the findings of this researcher can be qualified when comparing the findings for 1990 as compared to those of the Urban Strategy count for 1995. These findings are illustrated in Table 7 below.

(iv) Occupancy Rates :

The occupancy rates in areas which had a consistently high count of backyard shacks are relatively higher than in those sections where backyard shacks were a recent housing form. However, the average occupancy rate for backyard shacks in Umlazi is taken to be three. Using this occupancy rate together with the estimated number of backyard shacks it can be suggested that the total population resident in backyard shacks in Umlazi was almost 13 875 by 1995. As a point of note this occupancy rate ascertained by this researcher is qualified by the findings of the Urban Strategy report.

TABLE 7

**COMPARISON OF DENSITY OF BACKYARD SHACKS
WITHIN UMLAZI BETWEEN 1985 AND 1995**

SECTION	NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS		
	1985	1990	1995 ⁽¹⁾
A/1	126	121	252
AA	0	0	76
B/2	251	193	317
BB	0	0	60
C/3	344	227	353
D/4	363	298	362
E/5	159	133	399
F/6	86	76	121
G/7	285	91	186
GLEBE	0	0	3
H/8	254	161	189
J/9	376	422	274
K/10	203	130	132
L/11	188	158	205
M/12	234	179	315
N/13	170	83	255
P/15	170	143	196
Q/16	85	94	114
R/14	156	113	136
S	-	-	3
T/17	96 (incl S)	65	70
U/21	96	87	227
V/19	102	366	518
TOTAL	3744	3140	4767

⁽¹⁾ These counts were taken from the Urban Strategy report on population estimates for the Durban Metropolitan Region, 1995.

(v) Age profile :

The majority of the occupants of the backyard shacks are young adults aged between 18 and 35 years or alternatively older than 60 years. This conclusion is supported by the occupancy rates of backyard shacks in that most occupants are either young or old nuclear families, or single-head households. It should be recognised that it is not suggested that it is only this age category of person who occupies backyard shacks, but rather that this is the age-group which predominates.

(vi) Employment and Income Profile :

Whether in the formal or informal sector the majority of the residents of backyard shacks are employed. However, given the failure of the african education system most residents employed in the formal sector are in positions of low skill and accordingly the income gained is between R 600,00 and R 900,00 per month. Accordingly, these persons fall into the low income group category. Income gained by informal means of employment are usually lower. Many of those who are not employed do appear to be actively seeking employment but are restricted by the already high unemployment rate and the limited skills that they have to offer.

It was also established that there a proportion of the backyard shack residents who had a household income greater than the maximum to qualify for a subsidy. In this instance the household income is neither within the low income group as defined by the governments subsidy scheme or at a level sufficient to be defined

as being of the middle income group. Accordingly, these households experienced great difficulty in gaining access to housing or land. This point will be elaborated on in point (x).

(vii) Rentals :

The rentals charged for backyard shacks depend largely on the quality of the structure, the level and availability of services (such as water and electricity) offered and the location of the backyard shack in relation to community facilities and transport systems and routes. Thus, these rentals range from as little as R 30,00 to R 140,00 per month. The average rental is found to be R 50,00 excluding payment for water and electricity which is determined monthly, on consumption.

Rentals appear however, not to be charged if the resident/s of the backyard shack are relatives or family members of the head of the household residing in the formal township house. However, if the backyard shack residents are in a financial position to do so, then they do make financial contributions toward the consumption of water and electricity.

(viii) Cost of living :

As noted previously the costs incurred by the consumption of water and electricity are either included in the rentals charged or calculated separately. However, the transport costs in general absorb a significant proportion of the

income of the residents of backyard shacks, and in fact for most residents of Umlazi - a factor which is common to the rest of the country! Consequently, when asked about preference for residential location all respondents stated that being able to reside closer to the centre of the city or places of employment was of prime importance.

However, as will be noted in forthcoming comments, there was also the opinion amongst those residents who wished to continue residing in Umlazi, that consideration should be given to the formalisation of backyard shacks as a housing option.

(ix) Attitudes of residents of four-roomed township houses to backyard shack development :

Given the recognition of the extent of the housing crisis and that the backyard shacks tend to accommodate members of families already resident within the township, there appears to be a general acceptance of the backyard shack as a housing option. Accordingly, there does not appear to be much resentment between residents of the formal township houses toward the residents of the backyard shacks, and visa versa. Hence access to facilities (such as schools) by residents of backyard shacks does not appear to be met with opposition, as it often the case between the residents of informal settlements and residents already residing in formal township housing and using these facilities.

(x) Expectations and difficulties experienced by the backyard shack residents in terms of access to housing :

For the most part the residents of backyard shacks cite the lack of financial means and support as being the main constraint in gaining access to suitable housing. Although there are subsidies available the process of gaining access to land and housing is still a lengthy one. In addition, for those residents within backyard shacks who have lived within Umlazi for many years and do not wish to move to any alternative location, the subsidies do not recognise the backyard shack as a housing option. In addition, upgrading projects are geared toward communities as a whole. These residents do not have any access to funding to formalise or improve the condition of their structure. In this regard it was interesting to note that whilst all persons interviewed wanted access to their own site and house, they saw the formalisation and recognition of backyard shacks as a means of addressing this need.

Aside from those people who would qualify for a subsidy there appears to be a number of households resident in backyard shacks who do not qualify for either the subsidies offered by the governments scheme or the housing projects geared toward the middle income group. In addition, these households had found it difficult to gain financial assistance from the financial institutions as an alternative means of assistance. Accordingly, these households felt that their housing needs were not being addressed and that the government should give consideration to increasing the income qualifications for subsidies. Accordingly, the need to reformulate the financial supports available to lower income people is of prime importance if any successful attempt is to be made toward addressing the extent of the housing crisis within the country. This is not to say that all residents

expected the government to carry entirely the responsibility of financial assistance for the development of land and housing. The majority were willing to make some contribution toward addressing their housing needs and that together with financial assistance felt that these needs could be sufficiently met.

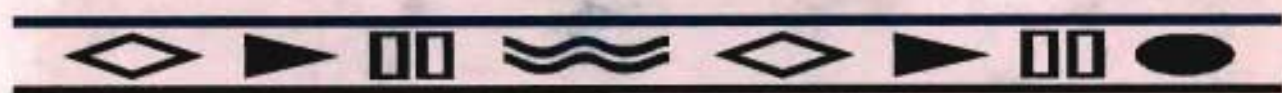
Finally, as the country develops within the new political era, it was found that the expectations and demands with respect to housing are becoming more acute. Whilst the new government has firmly placed these issues on the agenda and projects associated with the Reconstruction and Development Programme have been initiated, it is still considered by the urban poor that these initiatives are not moving forward at a satisfactory rate to address the demand.

(xi) Access to services and facilities :

One of the determining factors for the urban poor choosing to reside in a backyard shack as opposed to within an informal settlement is the ability to gain access to services such as water and electricity as well as educational, recreational and commercial facilities. Although there is no disputing the fact that these are lacking within Umlazi as in other townships, there is greater ease in accessing these services and facilities by residing in a backyard shack within the township.

In addition, mention is made repeatedly of the need to reduce the transport costs incurred by the distance between place of residence and places of employment and commercial facilities. As identified above, the urban poor spend a significant portion of their income on transport costs, which consequently impinges on their ability to utilise their income on addressing other needs.

Consequently, there is a significant need to provide housing closer to the urban centres so as to reduce these transport costs. If these costs could be reduced, then residents considered that they would be in a position to make a greater contribution toward meeting their other needs, including housing.



CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS FOR HOUSING POLICY AND PLANNING



CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS FOR HOUSING POLICY AND PLANNING

Given the findings of the research study in Umlazi, this chapter aims to make recommendations at two levels. Firstly, by having considered the shifts in international debate on housing delivery together with the lessons learnt from this study, to formulate recommendations for a policy at a national level to address the development of backyard shacks, and in turn to identify specific recommendations as they affect the DFR. Thereafter to make specific recommendations regarding the issues which planners within the DFR need to actively take up so as to make a contribution to addressing the consequences of backyard shack development.

7.1. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY : ADDRESSING OF THE ISSUES SURROUNDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF BACKYARD SHACKS

This research document together with the results of quantitative analysis within other areas of the country (Urban Foundation, 1990) clearly indicate that there has to be significant recognition of the extent of backyard shack development within the african townships of the country. Thus, attention can no longer be paid to interpretation of informal methods of housing provision as being those restricted to informal settlements.

Having made this statement however, it is necessary to recognise that given the extent of the housing crisis that whilst not ideal solutions, the informal methods of housing provision as they exist at present, do at least provide shelter to the majority of the urban poor. Accordingly, it is argued that aside from considering the type of housing that has to be provided it is of more importance to consider the mechanisms and supports necessary to address the housing needs of the urban poor.

Turning to international debates during the late 1980's and early 1990's, shifts occurred in thinking, in that there was a move away from promoting site-and-service and upgrading schemes as solutions to housing the urban poor, to a need to recognise housing as playing a key role in the economy. Organisations such as the World Bank started to argue that markets can be made to work in terms of low income housing provision and that developing countries should adopt this thinking in national policy. Accordingly, it is necessary to (in Smit 1993:13);

- (i) deliver security of tenure,
- (ii) develop the mortgage finance sector,
- (iii) formulate subsidies which do not distort markets,
- (iv) deliver infrastructure necessary for residential development,
- (v) introduce appropriate regulatory systems,
- (vi) restructure the building industry, and
- (vii) develop institutional structures which organise and regulate the performance of the housing sector.

At the same time it is noted that despite the above shift in thinking there is opposition from the political left to any policy that indicates an introduction of a

market approach to housing. However, there are many strengths in the above argument provided that it is not manipulated to the good of the capitalist owner's of production and is rather actively monitored to ensure access to housing by the urban poor.

Thus, using this rationale within the South Africa context, the following recommendations for housing policy to address the issues surrounding the development of backyard shacks are made;

(i) Addressing the housing crisis - the need to provide land and housing at a greater rate :

As outlined in Chapter 2 the housing crisis can be contextualised within the apartheid policies of the past Nationalist government. In addition, the findings of the study in Umlazi have revealed the extent to which the urban poor have had to rely on their own initiatives to provide shelter. Whilst the government has embarked on a policy of providing subsidies as a means of affording access to land and housing for the urban poor, the rate of provision of this land and housing has been unsatisfactory. The fact that only 21 % of the funds available for 1995/96 financial year has been spent, has meant that funds have been rolled over and the national housing budget cut due to the inability to spend these funds.

Accordingly, if the expectations of the urban poor are to be met at a satisfactory rate it is necessary for the processes involved in the provision of housing and land to be expedited. One immediate resolution is that the 'red-tape' involved in the delivery of housing and land needs to be rationalised and geared to being

more efficient. In addition, the various actors involved in the delivery process need to come together more effectively so as to meet the challenge of meeting the demand.

(ii) Densification - a means of addressing housing needs of the urban poor :

Increasingly, there has been a recognition of the need to densify residential areas, including those within the DFR, not only as a means of creating additional opportunities for the urban poor but also maximising the development of land. To some extent it can be argued that densification has occurred, in the sense that the urban poor have taken up opportunities presented to them either in terms of establishing on vacant land or by erecting backyard shacks. However, these methods can by no means be seen as providing a suitable living environment as opposed to that which would be created by the management of densification.

The common methods of densification are, inter-alia, the development of infill areas, the reduction in residential lot sizes, the establishment of secondary dwelling units on residential sites, the development of low, medium and high rise flats as a means of maximising land development, and as a result of the study of backyard shack development and which will be addressed in greater detail in forthcoming paragraphs, the formalisation of backyard shacks, such that they are viewed as being secondary dwelling units.

In moving toward a policy of densification, the imbalances in the urban landscape created by apartheid policies and the resultant lack of services and facilities as well as the distant location of the residences of the urban poor from places of

employment, educational, recreational and commercial activities and facilities (to name but a few) can be addressed. Thus, where opportunities for densification exist these need to be taken up so as to maximise access to these facilities and services. In achieving this goal provincial and local government structures need to actively identify and acquire land (ie: land banking) for subsequent development.

Accordingly, the functional efficiency of the metropolitan areas can be improved and the high costs that the urban poor presently incur to address their needs and access these facilities can be significantly reduced. In addition, this would lead to the releasing of a greater proportion of the disposable income of the urban poor and allow for more efficient consumption and a reduction of the costs per person previously incurred by the government in the provision and maintenance of these services and facilities.

In the DFR, it was ascertained by the now dissolved Durban City Council (1994) that approximately 5 000 hectares of land is available for development. Taking into account only the developable portions it has been estimated that approximately 500 000 people could be accommodated. As the majority of this land is owned by central or local government it is evident that these opportunities could be realised fairly easily.

However, simultaneously with adopting a policy of densification, there needs to be change in thinking by both the government and the urban poor, from seeing housing provision for this portion of the population as predominantly in the form of a house on a site. By this it is meant that the additional options in terms of the maximisation of the development of land by the construction of, for example,

walk-up flats, need to be taken up. In doing so it will be necessary for supporting financial mechanisms to be re-defined so as to provide for this type of housing development. Consequently, with this type of development it is contended that land can be more efficiently developed and thus lead to the provision of a greater number of housing units per area of land than with the subdivision of land for dwelling houses.

(iii) Backyard shacks - a housing option :

As noted in previous chapters of this document the expectations of the urban poor (including the occupants of backyard shacks) are high when it comes to housing provision. These are particularly acute when consideration is given to the predominant age profile of the backyard shack residents and the fact that many of the backyard shacks accommodate family overspill. The research has indicated that they are predominantly young adults who due to the inability to access land and/or housing have been forced to take up the option of residing in a backyard shack. In addition, for many, the backyard shack has presented a housing option for a number of years. Therefore, together with the age profile of these residents that it is reasonable to indicate that they have already or will be establishing their own families. Accordingly, their demand for adequate housing is of priority.

Whilst the end goal must always be the provision of land and appropriate and affordable housing for the urban poor, it is contended that the backyard shack will continue to be a housing option until such time as supply of land has gained momentum and consequently housing stock has caught up with demand. In addition, unless housing is affordable to the urban poor these informal methods of

finding shelter will continue. For these reasons and with particular reference to residents of both backyard shacks and the formal township houses, the challenges of addressing their needs are significant.

After due consideration of these issues, it is argued that merit exists in suggesting that there needs to be a change in thinking toward seizing the opportunity that exists for the formalisation of the backyard shack as a secondary dwelling unit within the urban landscape. It must be recognised that this recommendation is by no means suggesting an entrenchment of backyard shacks as they are presently constructed, together with the lack of tenure, as an appropriate housing option or that these circumstances should be viewed in any manner as a partial solution to the housing crisis. Rather what is recommended is that opportunities should be created for the formalisation of backyard shacks as secondary dwelling units, with tenure attached thereto.

By secondary dwelling units it is meant that provided that the site has sufficient capacity, then one or more additional houses to that already existing or proposed can be erected. At present title is attached to the dwelling, and if desired to the land, in terms of the Sectional Title Act, 95 of 1986. As noted title can be attached to the land surrounding the dwelling or alternatively the land within the site can be held as common property with all persons occupying the site have equal access thereto. In terms of capacity this refers to the aspects of density, availability of services and facilities. Therefore as in the case of the traditional type of secondary dwelling unit, it is suggested that new options for ownership of both the structure and the land on which it is situated together with the quality of structure erected can be afforded to the urban poor.

In light of the above recommendations, if backyard shacks are formalised or in other words that they are treated as being secondary dwelling units, then it is anticipated that their permanency with the urban landscape can be firmly entrenched. In addition, they would contribute successfully toward densification or the urban centres. Therefore, just as the secondary dwelling units as they exist at present have provided further accommodation and have lead to the densification of many formal residential areas, so to can backyard shacks as secondary dwelling units achieve the same end goal.

This recommendation does not fail to recognise the overcrowded conditions and the lack of facilities and services within the townships. Therefore, it is essential that in adopting this recommendation, that the severity of the lack of facilities and services is addressed. Furthermore, the supporting mechanisms regarding tenure and access to financial resources for the urban poor must be in place. Recommendations in regard to these three issues will be addressed in detail in forthcoming paragraphs.

Having made the foregoing recommendation, it should be noted that for the purposes of continuity and clarity the term backyard shack/s will still be used. However, when further recommendations are made with regard to backyard shack/s as being secondary dwelling units the two terms will be used simultaneously (i.e. : backyard shack/secondary dwelling unit), but with the understanding that the latter term is in fact the housing option being advocated.

(iv) Tenure :

In making any recommendation for the formalisation of backyard shacks as a housing option for the urban poor it will be necessary to address the issue of tenure. From the findings of the case study it has been ascertained that backyard shack residents either rent the structure or alternatively as they are related to the person/s resident in the formal township house and have the consent of these residents to erect a backyard shack. Whilst it is recognised that the renting of backyard shacks will continue, it is contended that the option of formalising these structures will present a practicable alternative for the urban poor.

However, if there is to be any recognition of backyard shack/s as secondary dwellings and thus a housing option for the urban poor, it is essential that access to tenure be established.

In this regard, lessons can be learnt from the tenure attached to secondary dwelling units developed at present in terms of the Sectional Titles Act, 95 of 1986. In this regard, title is registered against the dwelling and where desired, in respect of the land. However, achieving this form of tenure is at present a relatively costly and laborious exercise. Therefore it is necessary to either extend this legislation or formulate new legislation so as to provide for the registration of title over backyard shacks/secondary dwelling units at an affordable rate. In addition, the method of registering this title has to be simplified. These two components are essential if access to tenure in relation to backyard shacks/secondary dwelling units by the urban poor is to be achieved.

(vi) Subsidies - a need to rethink existing policies :

Whilst the government has introduced housing subsidies for the urban poor, the speed at which the urban poor have been able to access this financial assistance has been unsatisfactory. In addition, these subsidies have largely been geared to addressing land and housing needs for communities as a whole and accordingly, have not been easily available to the individual. Where subsidies have been accessed by individuals they have been in respect of a completed dwelling (be it a house or flat) or alternatively in respect of a single site. On the whole however, these subsidies do not offer much choice to the urban poor as to how they wish to utilise the subsidy offered. In addition, as opposed to the residents of informal settlements, the subsidy package does not offer any opportunity to the residents of backyard shacks to improve the environment within which their dwellings are constructed. Therefore, there is a significant need to create additional opportunities and flexibility for the urban poor in determining as to how they wish to utilise the principle of a subsidy package.

In this regard, it is recommended that simultaneously with the recommendations contained in (v) above, this policy needs to be revised so as to include backyard shacks/secondary dwelling units as an option for the urban poor in gaining access to land and housing. By this it is meant that the urban poor should be afforded the opportunity to obtain a subsidy so as to formalise their backyard shack or to erect a secondary dwelling unit on the same site as a formal township house and to gain title thereto. In addition, where a backyard shack/s exist and the occupant/s thereof do not wish to re-construct the dwelling then possibly a reduced subsidy could be offered to allow for the registration of title.

However, in making this recommendation it will be necessary to include criteria for subsidy applications so as to avoid abuse of the subsidy package either in the case of a person gaining title over the existing structure and then renting it for financial gain or alternatively from an application being made with the intention of erecting the structure and then renting it out for financial gain. Consequently, the following recommendations are made;

- (a) as with the existing requirement for subsidy application, it is recommended that a person or persons who have already qualified for a subsidy be precluded from qualification,
- (b) that where a formal dwelling already exists on the site, the owner thereof may not qualify for a subsidy,
- (c) in light of (b) above, that only the occupant/s of the existing backyard shack or proposed secondary dwelling unit may make application,
- (d) where a backyard shack/s exists on a site and the occupant/s thereof do not wish to convert the shack into a more formal structure, then a reduced subsidy be offered that would allow only for the registration of title over structure and if desired the land.

It is recognised that the renting of backyard shacks/secondary dwelling units for financial gain would still occur. Similarly, as with the present grant of subsidy, the potential does exist for a person to lease the dwelling after the subsidy has been gained and title to the site granted. However, it is suggested that this event

is not the norm due to the extent of the housing crisis and the difficulty experienced by the urban poor in securing their own site and dwelling. Consequently, as in the case of subsidies as present and together with the foregoing recommendations it is anticipated that in providing access to this financial assistance this initial subsidy should not be open for abuse.

(vii) The financial sector - taking up the responsibility :

Whilst the financial sector may have declared that they are geared toward providing financial assistance to the urban poor, this sector of the population is still viewed as being a risk by the financial organisations and consequently, this opportunity is still fraught with restrictions for the urban poor. Although a well exercised argument, it is nonetheless necessary to reiterate that the government can not bear solely the responsibility of addressing the housing needs of the urban poor, particularly given the pressures of the post-apartheid government to address the basic needs of the urban poor.

Whilst the government has entered into agreements with various private financial institutions regarding the need to commit to addressing the needs of the urban poor, it is considered that this commitment has not been sufficiently taken up. Particularly as the urban poor are still viewed as being a risk by these institutions. Proof of this is that even those people who have managed to gain access to subsidies and land, they have not been able to access alternative funding sources to assist with the construction of their dwellings. It is therefore necessary that the government place additional pressure on the financial sector to recognise the urban poor as being just that and to gear themselves (the financial sector) to

assuming part of the responsibility for providing financial supports. If the government and the financial sector address the issues of the provision of financial assistance to the urban poor, together, then it is submitted that the concerns regarding the entrenchment of the urban poor as a lower class open for manipulation and exploitation within a capitalist society can be avoided.

In light of the foregoing recommendations, together with those regarding the formalisation of the backyard shack as a secondary dwelling unit, it is submitted that the financial sector needs to afford financial assistance to those persons wishing to take up this option. Thus, if the urban poor have access to the financial assistance of both government and financial institutions, it is considered that great strides can be made in the provision of housing for the urban poor.

(viii) Addressing the spatial imbalances of the apartheid city :

The effect of apartheid policies has been an imbalance in the urban form of these centres. One manner in which to address these imbalances is through a process of densification. If successfully achieved it can be expected that the urban centres could function far more efficiently and that its residents, and in particular the urban poor, would experience a reduction in costs presently incurred in travelling to places of employment and other facilities and services. This would allow for a more realistic spending of incomes, particularly with respect to contributions that could be made toward housing.

In addition, the cost per person in respect of the provision of services and facilities by the government and in turn metropolitan and local Councils, can be

significantly reduced. As a result thereof, the capital set aside for the provision of these services and facilities would be more efficiently spent, thus allowing for maximisation of these limited capital resources.

(ix) The provision of services and facilities :

It has been clearly evident from the case study that access to services and facilities has played a determining role in the spatial distribution of backyard shacks. Thus, for example, concentrations of backyard shacks within Umlazi have occurred in proximity to the transport nodes and routes, and educational facilities. In addition, the relative ease at which access to water and electricity by reason of residence in a backyard shack can be gained has contributed to the extent to which this housing option has been taken up by the urban poor.

Despite these locational factors, the urban landscape of the townships and informal settlements of South Africa are characterised by an inadequate level of infrastructure and lack of servicing and facilities. Whilst the various service providers are responding by providing these much needed resources, it is recognised that there have been these efforts have been hampered by factors such as crime and violence. However, as this is a national issue there needs to be a greater commitment by the government to addresses these negative factors which preclude delivery.

With any recommendation regarding densification of the urban centres it is of great importance that services and facilities be provided simultaneously. To some extent these needs were being addressed partially through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It is hoped that with the dissolving of the

centralised RDP offices and the re-assignment of these responsibilities to key government departments that these initiatives will be delivered. Nonetheless, the importance of provision of these facilities and services (as identified in the findings of the study of Umlazi) can not be over-emphasised as without their provision in the urban landscape, the efforts to provide housing will be severely under-mined and will be nothing more than a perpetuation of the legacy of the past government. Accordingly, active efforts in identifying land for the provision of facilities needs to be undertaken.

Further motivation is that before any policy of densification by the formalisation of backyard shacks as secondary dwelling units can be proceeded with it is essential that there is a commitment to addressing the lack of services and facilities. Thus the success of this policy as an additional housing option for the urban poor is dependent on the provision of services and facilities.

7.2. IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES FOR PLANNING

In light of the foregoing recommendations for addressing the housing crisis and adopting backyard shacks/secondary dwelling units as an alternative housing option for the urban poor a number of challenges present themselves for planning.

- (i) It is essential that there is a recognition by all those involved in planning, of both the role backyard shacks play in providing shelter for the urban poor and of the issues affecting the occupants of backyard shacks. As without an understanding of these issues it will not be possible to address

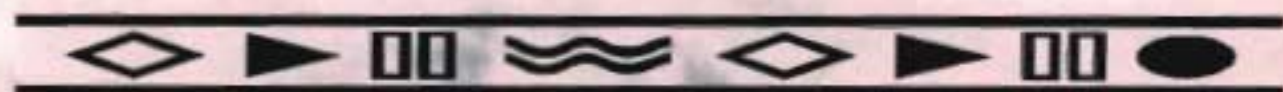
them appropriately. Consequently, as a result of studies such as this one, it is hoped that these issues are brought to the fore for further action.

- (ii) Given the recommendations made in 7.1. above it is considered that interesting alternatives have been presented for all the actors in planning to actively debate for adoption as an additional housing option for the urban poor. Thus, given the accountability of the newly elected government members and local government Councillors, it is considered that within this arena there exists a significant role for planners in presenting this housing option to these structures and for the potential success thereof to be debated.
- (iii) It is necessary that planners engage in a process of education of these policies and other mechanisms available to ensure that the urban poor are aware of the opportunities available to them.
- (iv) At a broad level, the challenges facing planning in terms of the delivery of housing at a rate sufficient to address demand are immense. However, despite how complex this issue may be, it needs to be addressed so as to ensure that the needs of the urban poor are met.
- v) In light of the foregoing comments it is averred that attention needs to be paid to the provision of services and facilities that have been lacking within the townships so as to create sustainable environments for the urban poor.



CHAPTER 8

EVALUATION



CHAPTER 8

EVALUATION

This chapter aims to evaluate the extent to which the aim and objectives outlined in Chapter 2 have been achieved. In addition, the potential for the recommendations made in Chapter 7 to be put in place is assessed. Finally, consideration will be given to the ways in which the study could have been improved.

8.1. TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES BEEN ACHIEVED ?

It is considered that this study has gone beyond providing a quantification of the extent of the backyard shack development that has predominated previous research. It is respectfully stated that past research can be criticised for failing to put forward recommendations as to how to address the specific needs of the residents of both backyard shacks and the formal township houses.

Therefore, without repeating them, it is considered that this study has managed to a large extent to fulfil the aims and objectives originally identified. In this regard, this study has succeeded in not only establishing the causes of backyard shack development, but also the extent of this housing option and the issues surrounding backyard shack development within Umlazi over the past decade, which have not previously been identified. Thereafter the study has

provided recommendations for addressing these issues and needs. Consequently, it is considered that this study has provided one of the most in-depth investigations of its kind to date, which it is hoped will be of benefit to all role-players involved in addressing the housing crisis.

As it is clear from this assessment and coupled with the affects of urbanisation and population growth that as a housing option, the backyard shack will continue to play a significant role as a means of shelter for the urban poor. Taking all of the above into account, it is considered that worthwhile policy options have been presented for addressing these issues by, inter-alia: engaging in a process of densification of the urban centres, the formalisation of the backyard shack as a secondary dwelling unit, the provision of appropriate subsidies, the reinforcing of the inclusion of private financial institutions in the process of funding and the dire need to improve the levels of infrastructure, services and facilities within the many african townships of South Africa.

8.2. SUCCESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS ?

The success of the recommendations made will depend largely on the degree of commitment by the various role-players, engaged in the debate on policies relating to housing, to addressing the issues facing backyard shack residents beyond broad statements regarding addressing the housing crisis. As noted previously, backyard shacks play a significant role in terms of providing shelter for the urban poor; and hence, the success of the recommendations regarding their formalisation within the urban landscape will depend largely on simultaneous commitment to the provision of appropriate subsidies and

access to alternative funding sources, access to tenure, and the provision of services and facilities necessary to adequately accommodate this additional housing option for the urban poor.

It is recognised that the recommendations contained in Chapter 7 and in particular the proposed formalisation of backyard shacks as secondary dwelling units could be deemed to be adoption of a market approach to housing, and may be met with opposition given South Africa's history. However, it is argued that after consideration of all the issues facing the residents of backyard shacks and the various options available, that this approach to housing delivery will be the most appropriate if the expectations of the urban poor are to be met.

In terms of the success of the process of densification, it is essential that all tiers of government task themselves with adopting this policy as a means to address the imbalances in the urban form of the urban centres. In doing so, opportunities for providing land for housing and the development of necessary services and facilities can be taken up. The combined effect is the efficient functioning of the urban centres and direct benefits to the urban poor. With particular reference to the Durban Metropolitan Region, the principles of densification have been initiated in the sense that infill land for purchase and development is being investigated. However, the challenge will be the extent and speed at which this land-banking and subsequent development thereof occurs.

As a means of densification, the success in formalising backyard shacks as secondary dwelling units, will rely largely on all structures of government accepting this strategy as part of housing policy and introducing the necessary supporting mechanisms. These supporting mechanisms will not be simple in

their formation and will require careful consideration. However, once in place it is anticipated that they should present to the urban poor, and in particular the residents of backyard shacks, an additional opportunity for gaining formal access to land and housing.

In this regard it is also recognised that this recommendation assumes that the residents of the formal township houses will be willing to accommodate the formalisation of backyard shacks as secondary dwelling units. As it has been established in the case study a significant proportion of the backyard shacks accommodate family overspill. Therefore as secondary dwelling units in other areas provide accommodation (and at the discretion of the individuals - tenure) for family members so to will the formalisation of backyard shacks as secondary dwelling units offer this option to the urban poor. Hence, it is reasonable to expect that this opportunity would be acceptable.

Turning specifically to the recommendation for re-structuring of housing subsidies it is recognised that such a policy needs efficiency both in terms of the processing of these subsidies but also the rate at which development occurs. If not managed in an efficient manner then the experiences of the past financial year will be repeated where despite being available, the budgets have not been spent and therefore new funding has been lost. In addition, as with each year that passes the costs associated with construction increase the less can be bought for the subsidy. The only option for government is to proportionally increase the subsidy which in effect results in a financial loss to the country as a whole. Therefore it is essential that this efficiency and delivery is actively aimed for.

Associated with the above comments is the fact that with any policy of subsidisation within the housing market the potential exists for the private

sector to relinquish its responsibility and commitment to addressing the housing needs of the urban poor. In addition, with respect to involvement in mortgaging low income housing and affording access to the urban poor to this process by the financial sector, overcoming the memories of bond boycotts and high administration-to-size loan costs, presents a significant challenge. Hence, as noted previously it is essential that the government continually assess the involvement of private sector financing so as to obviate against them withdrawing from their role.

There is a worthwhile comment by Mayo which reads as follows :

“The South African housing finance system clearly represents a world class system which is capable of providing for the needs of the vast majority of the population, if conditions are put in place which provide for secure tenure, reasonable standards, a housing delivery system that provides well-located and sound quality housing, and a regulatory framework which protects the interests of both housing purchasers and financial institutions.”

(in Smit, 1993 :23)

In determining the success of the recommendations regarding provisions of infrastructure and facilities it is considered that these will only succeed with both the rationalisation of authorities responsible for this provision so as to achieve greater efficiency in delivery and the continued commitment to the process. To some extent the rationalisation of provincial and local government has occurred. However, and in particular within KwaZulu-Natal, the process is still not finalised. This must be addressed urgently, as with each day that

goes by without efficient delivery, the needs of the urban poor become more acute. This is particularly the case for the residents of backyard shacks.

With respect to the responsibilities of all actors involved in planning, it is recognised that the debate on how to address the housing crisis is complex and always evolving. However, unless there is an understanding of the issues at play they cannot be addressed. Therefore, if the needs of the residents of both backyard shacks and the formal township houses are to be addressed the success will depend on the on-going commitment by all role-players to gaining an understanding of the issues.

This study has established these issues In Umlazi, and therefore if nothing else has been achieved by this study, these needs have been clearly identified and brought to the fore so as to enable them to be addressed.

8.3. WAYS IN WHICH THE STUDY COULD HAVE BEEN IMPROVED

In review it is considered that the study could have been improved in the following manner;

- i) conducting detailed interviewing throughout Umlazi,
- ii) it would have been useful, given the densification of the informal settlements within Umlazi after 1990, to have interviewed residents of the informal settlements to ascertain reasons for their choice to reside

within an informal settlement as opposed to a backyard shack and further, to ascertain what proportion of the residents of these settlements previously resided in backyard shacks, and

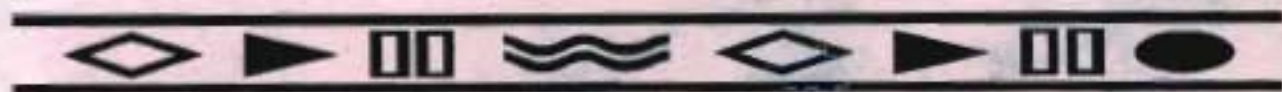
- iv) the study could have included an analysis of backyard shack development within other townships such as Inanda, and KwaMashu so as to afford a comparative analysis of the issues and needs.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the impact of apartheid ideology and the associated maintenance of the capitalist ideology has had far reaching implications. The resultant housing crisis has meant that the urban poor in their need to find shelter within the urban centres, have been forced to respond by using their ingenuity in finding this shelter. Accordingly, the development of informal methods of housing proliferates the urban areas of South Africa. As part of this process of informal housing development has been the erection of backyard shacks on the sites of four-roomed township houses. In Umlazi, the research has shown that over the past decade the extent of backyard shack development within the township has grown to significant proportions and is expected to continue growing as the pressures of the slow delivery of low income housing, urbanisation and population growth increase.

Clearly, it is of significant importance that there is a recognition of the issues surrounding backyard shack development, the difficulties experienced and concerns expressed by the residents thereof. Therefore, if anything is achieved by this study, it is hoped that it will not only inform persons involved in town planning as to the needs and expectations of the residents of backyard shacks within Umlazi, but will also result in similar consideration of other townships where backyard shack development has occurred. In addition, that the recommendations contained in this document will result in a conscientious addressing of the needs of the residents of backyard shacks within Umlazi and a recognition of the opportunity that could be created for the urban poor in general, by adopting the policy of the formalisation of the backyard shack as a secondary dwelling unit within the urban landscape of South Africa.

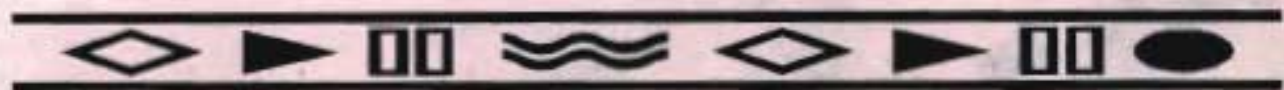


ANNEXURE 2

Count and Groupings of
Backyard Shacks within Umlazi

- 1990 -





ANNEXURE 3

Count and Groupings of
Backyard Shacks according to Sections

(1985 - 1992/3)



SECTION A (1):

Total number of residential sites: 917
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 872
 1990 - 1329

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre (not built only small shops)
 5x churches (only two built)
 1x lower primary school
 5x open space sites

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	748	0	1211	0
1	44	44	50	50
2	16	32	15	30
3	6	18	7	21
4	0	0	0	0
5	2	10	2	10
6	2	12	0	0
7	0	0	1	7
8	1	8	0	0
TOTAL		124		118

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	123	123	116	116
2	0	0	1	2
3	1	3	1	3
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		126		121

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 14.4 %
 1990 9.1 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION B (2):

Total number of residential sites:	1170
Total number of houses :	1985 - 1359
	1990 - 1391

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre	(not built only small shops)
3x churches	(only two built)
2x lower primary school	
1x higher primary school	
1x creche	(not built)
1x children's playlot	(not built)
7x open space sites	

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	1117	0	1201	0
1	86	88	78	78
2	34	68	25	50
3	11	33	6	18
4	5	20	6	24
5	2	10	0	0
6	0	0	2	12
7	1	7	0	0
8	1	8	1	8
9	0	0	0	0
10	1	10	0	0
TOTAL		242		190

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	237	237	189	189
2	3	6	2	4
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	1	5	0	0
TOTAL		251		193

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :
 1985 - 18.5 %
 1990 - 13.9 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION C (3):

Total number of residential sites:	1421
Total number of houses :	1985 - 1374
	1990 - 2014

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre	(not built only small shops)	
4x churches	(only two built)	2x children's playlot (not built)
1x lower primary school		1x football field (not built)
4x creches	(only two built)	7x open space sites

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	1033	0	1789	0
1	167	167	59	59
2	32	64	31	62
3	10	30	13	39
4	9	36	10	40
5	1	5	0	0
6	2	12	3	18
7	1	7	1	7
8	0	0	0	0
9	1	9	0	0
10	0	0	0	0
11	1	11	0	0
TOTAL		341		225

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	339	339	223	223
2	1	2	2	4
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		344		227

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :
 1985 - 25.0 %
 1990 - 11.3 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION D (4):

Total number of residential sites:	1431
Total number of houses :	1985 - 1443
	1990 - 1504

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Township facilities	(swimming pool and buildings)	
4x churches	(only two built)	3x creches (not built)
3x lower primary school		1x sports stadium
3x higher primary schools		9x open space sites
1x secondary school		

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	1085	0	1211	0
1	103	103	72	72
2	41	82	37	74
3	19	57	17	51
4	8	32	3	12
5	4	20	6	30
6	2	12	2	12
7	3	21	3	21
8	0	0	1	8
9	2	18	0	0
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0
13	1	13	1	13
TOTAL		358		293

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	353	353	289	289
2	3	6	3	6
3	0	0	1	3
4	1	4	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		363		298

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :
 1985 - 25.2 %
 1990 - 19.8 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION E (5):

Total number of residential sites: 1112
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1065
 1990 - 1087

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre (not built only small shops) 1x lower primary school (only two built)
 1x churches 3x higher primary schools
 1x pre-primary school 3x creches (not built)
 2x open space sites

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	922	0	964	0
1	32	32	31	31
2	16	32	21	42
3	4	12	8	24
4	3	12	1	4
5	1	5	4	20
6	2	12	2	12
7	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0
9	1	9	0	0
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0
14	1	14	0	0
15	1	15	0	0
TOTAL		143		133

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	136	136	133	133
2	1	2	0	0
3	4	12	0	0
4	1	4	0	0
5	1	5	0	0
TOTAL		159		133

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 14.9 %
 1990 - 12.2 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION H (8):

Total number of residential sites: 1091
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1117
 1990 - 1294

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾ :

Unit Centre (not built only small shops)
 6x churches (only three built)
 3x schools
 6x creches (not built)
 3x open space

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	869	0	1136	0
1	78	78	38	38
2	32	64	32	64
3	16	48	5	15
4	6	24	4	16
5	4	20	1	5
6	1	6	2	12
7	0	0	0	0
8	1	8	1	8
9	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		248		158

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	243	243	155	155
2	4	8	3	6
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		254		161

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :

1985 - 22.7 %
 1990 - 12.4 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built
⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION K (10):

Total number of residential sites: 1264
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1250
 1990 - 1321

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre (not built only small shops)
 1x church (only three built)
 3x schools

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	1054	0	1191	0
1	107	107	51	51
2	32	64	19	38
3	7	21	4	12
4	1	4	4	16
5	0	0	1	5
6	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	1	8
TOTAL		196		130

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	190	190	130	130
2	5	10	0	0
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		203		130

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 16.2 %
 1990 - 9.8 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION L (11):

Total number of residential sites: 1124
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1132
 1990 - 1239

Facilities according to original layout ^(*):

Unit Centre (not built only small shops and clinic)
 6x churches (only two built)
 3x schools
 4x creches (not built)
 1x public recreation centre (not built)

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	946	0	1083	0
1	65	65	53	53
2	33	66	19	38
3	7	21	2	6
4	6	24	9	36
5	2	10	3	15
6	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	1	8
TOTAL		186		156

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	185	185	154	154
2	0	0	2	4
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		188		158

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 16.6 %
 1990 - 12.8 %

^(*)1 description in bracket indicates what actually built

^(*)2 abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION M (12) :

Total number of residential sites: 1127
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1135
 1990 - 1345

Facilities according to original layout ^(*) :

Unit Centre (not built only small shop)
 6x churches (only four built)
 5x schools
 3x creches (not built)
 1x playlot (not built)

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	928	0	949	0
1	64	64	51	51
2	37	74	18	36
3	9	27	13	39
4	6	24	5	20
5	4	20	3	15
6	0	0	1	6
7	1	7	0	0
8	2	16	0	0
9	0	0	1	9
TOTAL		232		176

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	231	231	173	173
2	0	0	3	6
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		234		179

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 20.6 %
 1990 - 13.3 %

^(*) description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION N (13) :

Total number of residential sites: 1111
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1151
 1990 - 1375

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre (not built only small shop)
 4x churches (only two built)
 3x schools (only two built)
 3x creches (not built)
 1x park (not built)
 4x open space sites

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	984	0	1292	0
1	52	52	39	39
2	22	44	12	24
3	10	30	4	12
4	5	20	2	8
5	3	15	0	0
6	1	6	0	0
7	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		167		83

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	165	165	83	83
2	1	2	0	0
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		170		83

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 14.8 %
 1990 - 6.0 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION P (15) :

Total number of residential sites:		1101
Total number of houses :	1985 -	1119
	1990 -	1223

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre	(not built only small shops)	2x lower primary schools
4x churches	(only two built)	2x higher primary schools
4x creches	(one built)	1x sports field (not built)
1x site for recreational purposes	(not built)	

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	952	0	1085	0
1	79	79	46	46
2	22	44	21	42
3	9	27	10	30
4	0	0	5	20
5	2	10	0	0
6	0	0	0	0
7	1	7	0	0
TOTAL		167		138

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	165	165	133	133
2	1	2	5	10
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		170		143

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :
 1985 - 15.2 %
 1990 - 11.7 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION Q (16) :

Total number of residential sites:		976
Total number of houses :	1985 -	974
	1990 -	1093

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾:

Unit Centre	(hall, clinic, shops)
6x churches	(only three built)
4x creches	(none built)

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	895	0	1000	0
1	42	42	28	28
2	8	16	15	30
3	5	15	4	12
4	0	0	1	4
5	0	0	1	5
6	1	6	0	0
7	0	0	2	14
TOTAL		79		93

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	75	75	92	92
2	2	4	1	2
3	2	6	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		85		94

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :	1985 -	8.7 %
	1990 -	8.6 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION R (14):

Total number of residential sites: 663
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 684
 1990 - 778

Facilities according to original layout ^(*):

Unit Centre	(shops)	
6x churches	(only two built)	1x playground (not built)
3x schools		1x hotel (not built)
3x creches	(not built)	1x petrol filling station
1x public recreation centre	(not built)	3x open space

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ^(*)	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	529	0	666	0
1	54	54	23	23
2	16	32	16	32
3	4	12	7	21
4	3	12	4	16
5	5	25	0	0
6	2	12	2	12
7	0	0	0	0
8	1	8	1	8
TOTAL		155		112

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	154	154	111	111
2	1	2	1	2
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		156		113

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 22.8 %
 1990 - 14.5 %

^(*) description in bracket indicates what actually built

^(**) abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION T (17):

Total number of residential sites: 1236
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1315
 1990 - 1312

Facilities according to original layout ^(*):

Unit Centre (shops)
 5x churches (only two built)
 1x lower primary school
 1x higher primary school
 5x creches (not built)
 1x cemetery
 7x open space sites

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ^(*)	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	1223	0	1247	0
1	55	55	30	30
2	12	24	10	20
3	3	9	1	3
4	1	4	3	12
TOTAL		92		65

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	89	89	65	65
2	2	4	0	0
3	1	3	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		96		65

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 7.3 %
 1990 - 5.0 %

^(*) description in bracket indicates what actually built

^(*) abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION U (21) :

Total number of residential sites: 1201
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1176
 1990 - 1260

Facilities according to original layout ^{(*)1} :

None

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ^{(*)2}	1985		1990	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	1102	0	1114	0
1	34	34	21	21
2	12	24	12	24
3	6	18	5	15
4	2	8	5	20
5	0	0	0	0
6	2	12	0	0
7	0	0	1	7
TOTAL		96		87

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	96	96	87	87
2	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		96		87

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 - 8.2 %
 1990 - 6.9 %

^{(*)1} description in bracket indicates what actually built

^{(*)2} abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION J (9):

Total number of residential sites: 1734

Total number of houses : 1985 - 1713

1990 - 2014

1992/3 - 2100

Facilities according to original layout ^(*) :

7x churches (only three built)

3x creche

6x schools

1x cemetery

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ^(*)	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	1358	0	1609	0	1483	0
1	129	129	74	74	76	76
2	43	86	38	76	59	118
3	16	48	19	57	25	75
4	8	32	11	44	13	52
5	4	20	7	35	10	50
6	3	18	2	12	3	18
7	2	14	4	28	3	21
8	1	8	2	16	2	16
9	0	0	1	9	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	1	11
12	0	0	1	12	0	0
13	0	0	1	13	1	13
14	0	0	1	14	0	0
15	0	0	1	15	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	1	17
TOTAL		355		405		467

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	336	336	391	391	410	410
2	17	34	11	22	45	90
3	2	6	3	9	4	12
TOTAL		376		422		512

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing : 1985 : 22 %

1990 : 21 %

1992 /3: 24 %

^(*) description in bracket indicates what actually built^(*)2 abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION G (7) :

Total number of residential sites: 817
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 1264
 1990 - 1327
 1992/3 - 1392

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾ :

Unit Centre	(not built)	3x creches
5x churches	(only two built)	2x playlots
1x pre-primary school	(not built)	1x playgrounds (not built)
2x lower primary schools		
1x higher primary school		

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	982	0	1236	0	1016	0
1	90	90	31	31	90	90
2	41	82	13	26	40	80
3	12	36	5	15	12	36
4	6	24	3	12	10	40
5	4	20	0	0	5	25
6	1	6	0	0	3	18
7	0	0	1	7	1	7
8	0	0	0	0	2	16
9	0	0	0	0	2	18
10	1	10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	14	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		282		91		330

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	279	279	91	91	290	290
2	3	6	0	0	35	70
3	0	0	0	0	5	15
TOTAL		285		91		375

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :
 1985 : 23 %
 1990 : 7 %
 1992 /3: 27 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION F (6) :

Total number of residential sites: 817
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 813
 1990 - 846
 1992/3 - 846

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾ :

Unit Centre (not built)	2x higher primary school
4x churches (only one built)	4x creches
1x pre-primary school (not built)	1x sports field
2x lower primary schools	8x open space sites

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	730	0	770	0	631	0
1	40	40	28	28	40	40
2	11	22	13	26	19	38
3	3	9	2	6	7	21
4	1	4	0	0	2	8
5	0	0	1	5	3	15
6	0	0	0	0	2	12
7	0	0	0	0	2	14
8	1	8	0	0	1	8
9	0	0	0	0	1	9
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	1	11	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	1	12
TOTAL		83		76		177

NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	80	80	76	76	163	163
2	3	6	0	0	12	24
3	0	0	0	0	2	6
TOTAL		86		76		193

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :
 1985 : 11 %
 1990 : 9 %
 1992 / 3: 23 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks

SECTION V (19) :

Total number of residential sites: 811
 Total number of houses : 1985 - 700
 1990 - 800
 1992/3 - 830

Facilities according to original layout ⁽¹⁾ :
 Unit Centre (shops)
 3x schools
 Magistrates offices and courts
 Small Business Development Corporation offices

ANALYSIS OF GROUPING OF SITES ACCOMMODATING BACKYARD SHACKS :

GROUPING OF SITES HAVING B/S ⁽²⁾	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S	NUMBER OF GROUPINGS	TOTAL SITES WITH B/S
0	606	0	593	0	538	0
1	30	30	36	36	42	42
2	17	34	23	46	22	44
3	6	18	10	30	17	51
4	0	0	5	20	7	28
5	1	5	4	20	2	10
6	0	0	4	24	4	24
7	1	7	0	0	4	28
8	0	0	2	16	2	16
9	0	0	1	9	1	9
10	0	0	0	0	1	10
TOTAL		94		201		262

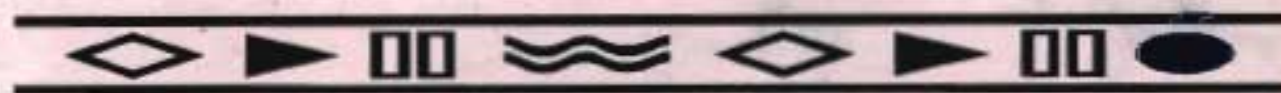
NUMBER OF BACKYARD SHACKS :

NUMBER OF B/S ON A SITE	1985		1990		1992/3	
	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL	NO. OF SITES WITH THIS NO. OF B/S	TOTAL
1	88	88	124	124	147	147
2	4	8	42	84	61	122
3	2	6	19	57	24	72
4	0	0	13	52	15	60
5	0	0	6	30	6	30
6	0	0	2	12	4	24
7	0	0	1	7	1	7
8	0	0	0	0	4	32
TOTAL		102		368		494

% of backyard shacks in relation to formal housing :
 1985 : 15 %
 1990 : 46 %
 1992 /3: 60 %

⁽¹⁾ description in bracket indicates what actually built

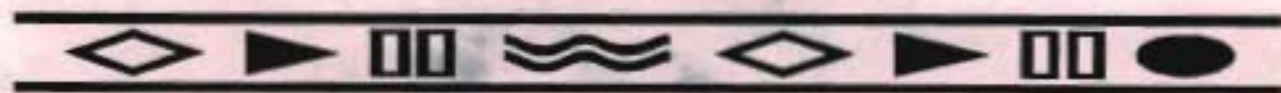
⁽²⁾ abbreviation for backyard shacks



ANNEXURE 4

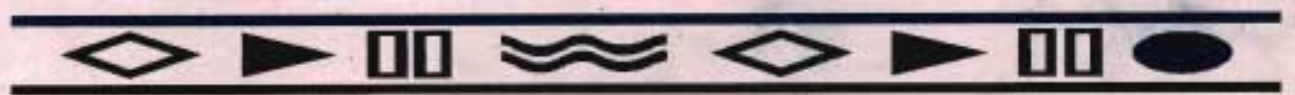
Reasons for the Variation in
Density of Backyard Shacks
between Sections

- 1985 -



ANNEXURE 4 REASONS FOR THE VARIATION IN DENSITY BETWEEN SECTION - 1985	DENSITY																	
	LOW			LOW - MEDIUM						MEDIUM - HIGH			HIGH					
	SECTION T	SECTION Q	SECTION U	SECTION A	SECTION V	SECTION E	SECTION F	SECTION N	SECTION P	SECTION B	SECTION K	SECTION L	SECTION C	SECTION D	SECTION G	SECTION H	SECTION J	SECTION M
ADVANTAGES :																		
1. Access to Railway Station													X		X			X
2. Access to Spinal Road										X	X		X				X	X
3. High number of schools												X	X				X	
4. Established shops																		
5. Proximity to township centre									X			X		X				X
6. Distance from township manager's office									X	X		X		X	X	X	X	
7. Proximity to informal settlement																X		
DISADVANTAGES :																		
1. Proximity to township manager's office (visibility)				X	X													
2. Distance from Railway Station			X			X	X	X	X									
3. Distance from Spinal Road	X	X	X			X	X		X									
4. Poor facilities (eg : schools)	X		X	X														
5. Highly visible								X										
REASONS FOR THE CONCENTRATION OF BACKYARD SHACKS WITHIN THE SECTION :										*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1. Proximity to Spinal Road, Railway Station, Shops	X			X	X			X		X		X		X		X	X	X
2. Adjacent to a section with high count of backyard shacks				X			X		X	X								
3. On edge of section and/or abutting open space						X	X	X	X			X		X	X		X	
4. Entrance to section	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X		X				X
5. Proximity to informal settlement																X		

* Denotes relatively even distribution of backyard shacks within the section



ANNEXURE 5

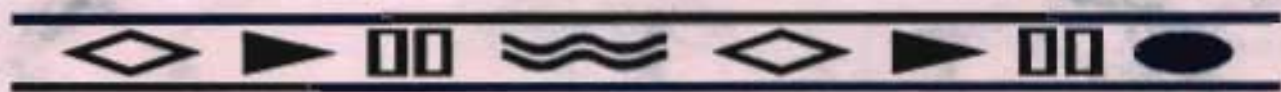
Reasons for the Variation in
Density of Backyard Shacks
between Sections

- 1990 -



ANNEXURE 5 REASONS FOR THE VARIATION IN DENSITY BETWEEN SECTION - 1990	DENSITY																		
	VERY LOW	LOW						LOW - MEDIUM						MED/ HIGH	HIGH		VERY HIGH		
	SECTION T	SECTION G	SECTION K	SECTION N	SECTION Q	SECTION F	SECTION U	SECTION A	SECTION C	SECTION E	SECTION H	SECTION L	SECTION P	SECTION B	SECTION R	SECTION D	SECTION J	SECTION M	SECTION V
<u>% DECREASE IN BACKYARD SHACKS :</u>																			
1 - 25						X	X			X		X		X		X		X	
26 - 50			X					X	X		X								
51 - 75															X				
76 - 100				X															
+ 100		X																	
<u>% INCREASE IN BACKYARD SHACKS :</u>																			
1 - 25					X												X		
+ 100																			X
<u>REASONS FOR DECREASE :</u>																			
1. Demolition policy of township manager's office	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X		
2. Proximity to township manager's office							X												
3. Minor new land invasions within/abutting section			X	X					X			X	X	X		X	X		
4. Significant new land invasions within/abutting section	X	X		X		X	X	X			X								
5. Growth of pre-1986 informal settlement			X														X		
<u>REASONS FOR INCREASE :</u>																			
1. Land invasions within/abutting section are significant					X												X		
2. Backyard shack residents from other sections accommodated																	X		X
<u>REASONS FOR THE CONCENTRATION OF BACKYARD SHACKS WITHIN THE SECTION :</u>																	*		*
1. Proximity to Spinal Road, Railway Station, S X	X			X							X	X	X		X	X		X	
2. On edge of section and/or abutting open space	X		X		X	X	X			X		X		X				X	
3. Entrance to section		X							X						X				
4. Proximity to new land invasion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X		X		X	
5. Proximity to pre-1986 informal settlement																	X		

* Denotes relatively even distribution of backyard shacks within the section



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