

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE INFORMAL MECHANISMS OF URBAN LAND SUPPLY.
A CASE STUDY OF CATO CREST

by

SARAH MANTHASA MOTLADI

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science in Urban and Regional Planning in the Faculty of Architecture and Allied Disciplines, University of Natal, Durban, 1995.

DEDICATION

**TO MY PARENTS ISAAC AND ESTHER MOTLADI FOR THEIR SUPPORT AND
ENCOURAGEMENT DURING MY ACADEMIC ENDEAVOURS**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

One of the most controversial and dramatic features of recent city development is the phenomenon of access to land through informal means, which is a reflection of the lack of alternative delivery systems. Constraints on the supply of land for housing the urban poor have resulted in a large housing backlog, resulting in overcrowding, the emergence of unplanned housing such as backyard shacks and free standing informal settlements.

In South Africa, the majority of the population who have been historically constrained by racist and restrictive land allocation processes found it difficult to access well located and affordable serviced land. These constraints have resulted in poor people obtaining access to land through informal delivery systems.

This effective exclusion of the urban poor from the formal land market has resulted in the emergence of the informal systems of land delivery, such as land invasions etc. Both internationally and in South Africa, informal settlements and squatting have represented a way of addressing and challenging market relations and state regulation and thus, allow for poorer people to move into better located areas. The existing informal settlement within the Cato Manor area (Cato Crest) can be regarded as an example of this kind of urban process.

The purpose of this dissertation is to assess the performance of the informal delivery systems in Cato Crest, to establish whether these systems have reached the urban poor and to look for ways of dealing with informal land mechanisms in the future. The findings from the survey indicated that in Cato Crest these illegal land supply systems have benefitted poor people in terms of job opportunities, proximity to the city and location.

A number of recommendations can be made in this regard: that there is a need for a land policy on informal land supply systems, that which should seek to make strategically located land available for low income housing in the future. If this is not accomplished, illegal land occupation will continue unabated until no land will be available for low income housing.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Land is a prerequisite for housing. It is a highly tangible dimension of poverty, marginalisation and the race divide. Land is a critical component in addressing shelter challenges facing poor South Africans, and is at the core of a better life for all South Africans (ANC:1994; Housing in South Africa:1995).

South Africa is faced with a significant housing crisis which includes inadequate provision of land for housing the urban poor. The availability of serviced, affordable and well located land is one of the most fundamental constraints to housing development for low income communities in urban areas. ✓

By way of example, it has been estimated that by the year 2010 a total of 3 million dwelling units in the metropolitan areas of South Africa will be required. At a density of 25 dwelling units per hectare, this means that 120 000 hectares of land for housing will be needed (ANC:1994). This means that there is a great need for well-located land for housing. There is therefore an urgent need for an effective policy framework on land, particularly with respect to land acquisition, and ensuring higher densities and suitable locations.

At this stage land supply is not sufficient to keep pace with the need for land in urban areas, and in many instances the parcels that are provided are inappropriately located with respect to access to work opportunities and urban amenities (Urban Foundation, 1991:30). There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon and these include the following: the failure of the state and the formal land market to deliver land and housing to the poor at prices which they can afford and which is accessible to income earning opportunities, the relaxation of the influx control laws which permitted entry of blacks into urban areas and the escalation of violence in townships.

In addition, recent South African policies and proposals are not yet adequate to meet these challenges. The White Paper on Housing (1994) is arguably the most comprehensive and committed attempt to date to address the housing challenge facing South Africa. The White Paper on Housing, however, only narrowly and fairly peripherally deals with the urban land issue.

It ignores informal mechanisms of acquisition, allocation and delivery. Current land policy proposals focus primarily on rural land and issues of restitution and redistribution. Clearly there needs to be more information made available and investigations undertaken to understand the complexities of urban land dynamics. While these aspects are clearly essential, there needs to be explicit recognition of the proposals concerning informal land mechanisms.

All of the above factors combined, with a lack of clear policies have contributed to a situation of informal settlement by poor people on the periphery of cities, in marginal, undevelopable land and recently on more centrally located plots of land. A key characteristic of South Africa as an urbanising society is that the need for well located land for housing is predominantly among the very poor (those that are penniless and without the necessities of life). For many South Africans, informal settlements act as one of the alternatives available to poor people as a housing strategy.

The magnitude of this crisis demands a programme which must ensure a new understanding of the land and shelter challenges facing South Africa, particularly with regard to informal settlement issues and urban land issues. It is becoming increasingly imperative to develop appropriate strategies to ensure that the urban poor gain access to well-located, affordable land and housing.

The supply of land for housing the poor is also a critical component of the housing crisis that needs to be understood more thoroughly and sensitively, and that has to be incorporated into the housing policy at both national and local levels.

Both internationally and in South Africa, informal ways of accessing urban land have been the most widespread form of land supply for the urban poor. The Durban Metropolitan Area, like many other cities in the country has witnessed incidents of the

informal ways by which urban land is accessed by the poor since the late 1980's. Within the Durban Metropolitan Area, Cato Crest in Cato Manor is one such example of informal mechanisms of urban land supply. Cato Crest has been selected as a case study on the basis that it has experienced land invasions since the late 1980's and in addition accessible for the researcher to examine. Cato Manor has had a controversial history regarding land issues.

According to the Financial Mail (1993:90) Cato Manor is politically seen as a "hot potato accentuated by a history of disastrous government intervention in the land through confiscations, evictions and racial favouritism via the Group Areas Act during the 1960's and 1970's." In South Africa apartheid laws made it a point that there were no alternatives for acquiring access to urban land made available for black people.

The main aim was to keep black people out of "white" cities by demolishing informal settlements and freezing for decades all housing development in black townships (Van Niekerk:1990). It is clear that in South Africa land invasions and other informal delivery systems (illegal subdivision and rental systems) are a direct consequences of policy failure to cope with the realities of urbanisation and rapid population growth.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The insufficient and inequitable land supply for poor people by the past apartheid government in South Africa and the failure of the formal land market to deliver land to the poor are the main reasons that compel people to seek alternative ways of accessing land in urban areas.

Despite end to influx control and racially based legislation, poor black people are still not able to obtain access to land in urban areas, essentially because they are constrained by the levels of their incomes. The urban poor in this case refers to people who earn below R1000 per month, as the recent statistics in Housing in South Africa (1995:58) have indicated that the level of poverty in this country is very significant. In excess of 40% of all households in this country have a joint income of less than R800 (eight hundred rand) per month.

The implication of the above statistics is that people with low inconsistent incomes are not able to purchase land at market prices. To gain access to urban land, poor people opt for illegal mechanisms of land acquisition. They have opted for arrangements which lack an official base but still offer proximity to income earning opportunities and away from violence ridden areas. Obtaining land through illegal means implies that there is an additional supply of land which is aimed at targeting the urban poor in terms of affordability levels.

This dissertation attempts to assess the effectiveness of informal land delivery systems in providing land to the urban poor. In essence, it aims to assess whether **poor people benefit from the informal land delivery systems and whether their housing needs are satisfied or not.** This will be tested out in the context of Cato Crest, and recommendations will be made based on this empirical research. In order to address this inquiry, the following questions will be asked:

- a. who are the poor?
- b. what are their land and housing needs?
- c. how have these needs been addressed or ignored by the state and private sector?
- d. what is the informal land market?
- e. who is involved in the informal land delivery process?
- f. how does it benefit poor people in urban areas?
- g. are the urban poor satisfied with this form of delivery?
- h. if not, what other viable means can be used to help poor people access land in urban areas?
- i. should the informal delivery systems be accommodated in future delivery process or not?

It will be argued that since informal mechanisms of accessing land provide a foothold for poor people in urban areas, they should be imitated by the formal mechanisms because they are currently more effective than formal mechanisms.

1.3 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following is an overview of subsequent chapters that constitute this dissertation. Chapter Two provides a conceptual framework within which to comprehend the general land and housing problems for the urban poor. This chapter will examine the effective exclusion of the poor from the formal land market and the inability of the state and the private sector to adequately address the land needs of the poor, which has led to illegal methods of urban land acquisition delivery.

This chapter will examine the informal ways of accessing urban land, how and why they emerged. It does this by drawing on international literature, and thereby gives a broader perspective on informal ways of accessing urban land. Lessons are drawn from the international experience and an attempt is made to highlight their relevance within the general framework of housing in South Africa. |

The discussion is underpinned by two main theories, the Neo-classical theory of supply and demand and the Marxist critique of capitalism. Both these theories form an integral part of the discussion since they conceptualise aspects of the land question and also highlight some of the problems that are related to the delivery process. Chapter Two essentially addresses many of the research questions listed earlier.

Chapter Three will focus attention on the case study area, Cato Crest. It will examine the methods that are to be used in conducting the investigation. Issues discussed will include the usefulness of the questionnaire technique to research (which will include two separate questionnaires because two types of information are required), the usefulness of the interview-based technique, and the relevance of sampling techniques chosen for the study.

Housing experts and the Cato Crest community will be targeted for interviews. On the one hand, different opinions on how the informal land market operates in urban areas, whether it should be accommodated, replaced or ignored will be drawn from experts who have engaged themselves in Cato Crest projects.

On the other hand, these findings will be supplemented by information drawn from the Cato Crest community i.e those who have formed part of the invasion processes. This information will be based on questions such as who owns land in Cato Crest, who controls access into the area, how is payment arranged if there is any, what do people get out of it and are they satisfied with the existing situation or not.

It is through the use of the above stated methods that the researcher can be informed by different opinions or experiences as to what informal land mechanisms entail, how these have manifested themselves in South African urban areas, and finally how they have operated in Cato Crest.

Chapter Four focuses on the analysis of data obtained from two sets of questionnaires, with more focus on the Cato Crest community. The findings of the first questionnaire covers these sections: the land characteristics, economic characteristics, dwelling characteristics and origins and reasons for move. Information obtained from these sections is important because it is a vital component of any research on informal housing. The findings of the second questionnaire is a substantiation of aspects related to informal systems and how they operate in Cato Crest. The concluding chapter synthesises the entire study, presents conclusions drawn from the case study and make recommendations thereof.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a conceptual framework is provided. It will essentially examine the failure of the state and the formal land market to deliver land to the urban poor, and then examine the consequent emergence of the informal land market. This will provide a useful background to the case study, as well as addressing the questions raised in chapter one.

First, there is a brief historical overview of urban land mechanisms for housing the poor in South Africa. This includes past apartheid laws and how they have impacted on land access for the burgeoning black urban population. Secondly, the operation of land through the formal land market will be examined. Neo-classical and Marxist theories of the operation of the land markets are examined.

Thirdly, state intervention with respect to how the land needs of the urban poor in South Africa are addressed is discussed. This includes an examination of the failures and successes of the upgrading of informal settlements and of sites and service schemes with regards to the provision of land for housing the urban poor.

The schemes are important to investigate since they were adopted by the state as a form of a solution to provide poor people with "affordable" land for housing. Fourthly, informal ways of accessing urban land both internationally and in South Africa are investigated. Lessons are drawn from the international precedent and the overall conclusions are provided.

2.2 BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF URBAN LAND FOR HOUSING THE POOR

To briefly review some of the historical aspects of land in this country, it is of importance to look at factors that have contributed to the problem of access to land for the urban poor to date, that have also resulted in squatting. Of importance, the Land Act of 1913 and 1936, the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 and the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 have significantly contributed to land pressures.

Effort was made by the South African government in the twentieth century to keep black settlement in "white" cities to the barest minimum to service labour requirements, to curb rapid population in cities and to "dictate" as to which racial group deserves to the right to be located where (Maharaj:1993).

Through these restrictive measures the government intensified influx control, enforced stricter residential control on blacks, embarked on mass forced removals and subsequently enforced residential segregation (Hindson et.al:1993).

Although racial discrimination dates back to the colonial past in South Africa, the first significant discriminatory legislation curtailing black land ownership and settlements patterns was the Native Land Act of 1913. This Act designated specific areas where people could own land. Black people were not permitted to own areas falling outside of the designated areas i.e 13% of land area of South Africa.

The purpose of this Act was to limit the influx of black people in towns, to free up agricultural land for white commercial farmers, to remove threat posed by African peasantry and to force black people into workforces on both farms and mines. One of the explicit intentions of the government of the union of South Africa was to give effect to the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission report of 1904, the cornerstone was to be a land policy. Areas of varied size, mostly small, had been set aside as "reserves" within which only African people could live.

The intention of the 1913 Land Act was therefore to consolidate the process of the creation of "reservations" which the Native Affairs Commission had begun (Mabin:1992). The containment of a large number of people on a limited amount of land in the reserves, without any investment, resulted in the creation of rural areas with high population densities and impoverished communities. The only chance of survival was to send households members to seek wage employment in urban areas.

With the Land Act of 1936, a further category of land was set aside for ownership and competition by black people. This Act was empowered to acquire and administer all released land and reserves. The Land Act of 1936 formally became the owner of all reserves and title was not to be vested in the people who lived there. Movements of people in and out of reserves were controlled further and people had no choice but to migrate to urban areas since they had no jobs. These are some of the factors which pushed them to city centres, as has been put forward by May (1989).

The passing of the Native Urban Areas Act in 1923 marked the first major intention by the central state in the sphere of African urbanisation. Municipalities were empowered to set aside segregated areas for African occupation and to apply strict control over the influx of Africans into urban areas. This was aimed at preventing permanent urbanisation of Africans and forced African males to carry a pass. This was an obvious instrument whereby the state could channel and distribute labour between the farms and the towns (Maylam:1986).

Dewar et.al (1982) argues that the aim of the Act was to diminish pressure on agricultural wages, while at the same forestalling the political threat of a large African proletariat, and protecting the white workers from African competition in the labour market. The execution of this Act was not without its problems-it did not centralise or regularise the administration of urban Africans.

In spite of these laws, the mid-1930's marked a beginning of an era of accelerating urbanisation, boosted by the expanding employment opportunities in cities and rural poverty. This was linked to growing industrialisation and commercialisation of land in urban areas. From the mid-1930's onwards, informal settlements on the fringes of the cities and many towns began to become common.

The control of urban squatting and the use of housing provision in African "locations" as a tool to control urbanisation were also features of this period. Little housing of any kind was constructed during the Second World War, so that overcrowding in existing areas, especially in the African locations, reached extreme levels in 1945.

The result was a series of land invasions and the development of other forms of informal urbanisation. Posel (1991) states that the dire land and housing shortages meant that at least 58% of the urban African population were squatters on unserviced land. The outcome of the legacy of apartheid that came with the Land and Group Areas Acts and other discriminatory laws is the nine million poverty stricken informal settlers.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 aggravated the situation by freezing land throughout the entire country since its enactment in 1950 until 1990. What it did was to turn a fairly limited and unsystematic form of segregation into a rigid system that applied throughout the country.

Most urban areas were declared group areas for whites, coloureds and Indians and black people were prohibited from occupying those areas (White Paper on Land Reform:1991).

The rationale behind it was that black people were regarded as "temporary sojourners" in white urban areas, providing labour only. Once the group areas had been proclaimed in a particular town, then all residents who were disqualified from living in certain areas, because of their skin colour, had to move out of their homes to places set aside for them. For years one of the central thrusts of government policy in South Africa has been to prevent the movement of African people to urban areas.

The legacy of apartheid and the discriminatory legislation are still apparent today. Most importantly they provide an explanation for black informal dwellers settling in overcrowded areas, without rudimentary services. However, these are the areas seen by most people as areas related to transport savings and other communication costs as well as the income earning opportunities (Jones:1991).

Informal settlers looked at ways of locating themselves in cities since they were aware of what cities were providing to them (job opportunities). A rich variety of informal arrangements of access to land for housing the poor has come into being in cities of the developing world, leading to the creation of informal settlements fringing the cities (Wilson and Ramphela:1989).

It can be argued that one of **the most controversial** and dramatic features in recent city development is the phenomenon of land invasion. It can be regarded as a reflection of the failure of alternative delivery systems (Urban Foundation:1994., Discussion Paper on Invasions: Draft,1992).

The overwhelming cases of invasions and other informal land mechanisms (illegal land sub-division and land rental systems) can be attributed to numerous factors ranging from lack of affordable land by the poor to the failure of the state and formal land market to deliver land at prices which are affordable by the poor. Violence, particularly in the Durban Functional Region is cited as one of the factors that contributed to recent land invasions too.

Similar to many other countries, the urban land situation in South Africa is highly politicised. It has been demonstrated by government approaches to ignore the country's land and housing situation and to restrict the growth of low income housing in the main cities by limiting city wide migration.

The rest of the chapter attempts to focus on formal land acquisition processes and assesses the operation of the informal land market both internationally, and in the South African urban situation.

2.3 THE OPERATION OF LAND THROUGH THE FORMAL LAND MARKET

This section is concerned with the supply of land through the formal land market. It examines how exclusionary it has been in meeting the needs of the poor and how that has resulted in the informal land market, which has sometimes attempted to compete with it. The failure of the formal land market to allocate land to the poor on the one hand, and the reluctance of the state to allocate housing to the poor on the other hand forms part of this debate.

The smooth operation of the formal land market implies that legal mechanisms ensure a ready supply of land, which is available at prices people can afford for the purposes of their choice (Farvacque and Mc Auslan:1992). While the purchase itself normally follows legal procedures (title deeds), such land often has planning permission from the authorities because of its adequate services, physical layout, ownership characteristics and its location both geographically and environmentally (Baross:1983; Doebele:1987; Gilbert and Gugler:1982).

The formal supply of land through market operations has been explained by the Neo-classical theory of supply and demand and the Marxist analysis of capitalism.

2.3.1 NEO-CLASSICAL EXPLANATION OF THE OPERATION OF LAND MARKET

Neo-classical theorists locate housing within a general model of capitalism in a market economy. As such, they are concerned with the supply and demand of land and the prices resulting from their interaction (Mattingly:1993). From the formal land market point of view, it can be argued that the supply of land plays a dominant role as demand is driven by the willingness and ability of people to pay. The dictum of the "willing buyer willing seller" in the market situation effectively excludes poor people who cannot afford to pay for land (Mattingly:1993).

They are clearly unwilling and unable to pay the required purchase price that the market has set. The latent demand of poor people is not effectively addressed because it is suppressed by the affordability levels of the poor. Poor people are therefore left out of the formal land market, not because they are unable to participate in it, but that they are constrained by exchange values of land and their low incomes to cope with land prices.

The price of legal serviced land generally puts them beyond the range of the majority of low income households (Hardoy and Satterthwaite:1981). At the root of this problem lies the efficiency within which land markets operate. Neo-classical theorists, however, agree that there is no such thing as the perfect market (the market that is not easily distorted).

They believe in state intervention when the market generally fails to allocate land to the urban poor. The market fails owing to numerous reasons, one of which is the monopoly in the building industry and disequilibrium in land the market (Mattinlgy:1993).

The disequilibrium in land markets is linked to high prices that are unaffordable by the majority of the poor. The concept of affordability recognises how some basic mismatches of supply and demand have blocked poor people from accessing urban land. Rapid urbanisation increases the number of people needing space and therefore engaged in competition for land. The problem is that the supply can not keep pace with the growth in demand.

Therefore a major constraint in the land market becomes the shortage of land for housing the poor because they can not compete with high market prices. Because capitalists are profit motivated, they commodify housing and in the interest of this, the state then fails to correct the distorted markets due to the fact that building industries are a "white" capitalist ownership (Swilling:1991).

From the neo-classical debate on the formal land market it can be argued that the market has been exclusionary in that poor people were unable to participate in it, the reason being that it commodifies land and housing. The issue of land and housing for the poor stems from the fact that there is a lack of a system of land delivery to the poor on terms which make it legally accessible and affordable (Mc Neil:1992).

There is generally a refusal by government to recognize that poor people need to live somewhere. To the extent that their occupation of land is considered to be a problem, while their eviction from land does nothing but to shift the "problem" to some other place in the city. State action is further "supported" by the formal land market which does nothing but shift the problem to other urban areas too (Angel et,al:1983., Swilling:1991).

Those who cannot afford land at market prices look for different ways of accessing land, often only to get as much land as would meet their basic shelter needs. The issue of providing sufficient land to the poor legitimately and in a socially acceptable manner is thus an issue which concerns the state.

2.3.2 MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE OPERATION OF LAND MARKETS

In Marxist thought the state is not seen as a neutral body resolving disequilibrium in land markets. Its intervention is a determinant of the balance of power among social interest groups. Marxists would argue that the state in capitalist societies is seen as being an instrument of the ruling class, subject to conditions of capitalist development and increasing poverty (Swilling:1991).

Marxist scholars provide an explanation of the issues revolving around the function of state intervention not simply assisting when markets fail. Their concern is who obtains various benefits

from the land market exchange and they argue that the state in capitalist societies is seen as an instrument of the ruling class, subject to conditions of capitalist development (Swilling:1991).

State policies in South Africa, according to the Marxists reflect the interests of white capitalists at the expense of black labour. As a result, the state continued to be seen as part of the housing problem because of its apartheid policies and its reluctance to provide housing for the poor (Mattingly:1993).

It can be seen to have been exploitative due to the fact that resources were not equally allocated among different classes, and this is what has contributed to the housing crisis today. Land as one of the resources in South Africa has been unequally distributed among racial groups, such that better located and well serviced land was given to whites and poorly serviced land was allocated to blacks.

This was evidenced by the state's effort to keep cities "white" whilst at the same time keeping townships and hostels as reservoirs for black cheap labour. This was done in order to satisfy the production needs of the industries and mines (Swilling:1991). The Nationalist Government, as seen by Wolpe (in Smith:1992) suppressed the emergent black opposition, which it believed threatened the reproduction of "white" domination and protected the interests of the working class.

Exploitation, in pursuit of capital accumulation, led to contradictions and conflicts in South Africa, where a consequence was the problem of urban land access for the poor, overcrowding associated with the housing backlogs, high rentals and also lack of rudimentary services.

The government's continued efforts to regulate the market in ways which helped the capitalists extract surplus from labour without providing houses for either workers or the urban poor is what contributes to informal housing today. This trend was aggravated by the state's withdrawal from the provision of housing in the late 1980's, making it legally and financially impossible for the poor to obtain formal access to land and housing.

It can be argued that people were forced to settle illegally because formal land was unaffordable to the majority, hence they accessed land informally and built houses of their own acceptable standards. The next section will examine the intervention of the state with respect to urban land and housing. This includes an examination of site and service schemes, which were adopted by the state and the private sector in an attempt to provide serviced land for the poor.

It is worth noting that other strategies (such as land pooling, land banking, land readjustment and the nationalisation of land) for acquiring land for release to urban poor are equally important as sites and services and upgrading of informal settlements in South Africa, but have not been tested.

These mechanisms could potentially work well in South Africa, but rather than advocating for land pooling, land readjustment and land banking, it is essential to focus on schemes that have already been tested in South Africa. The reason for looking at site and service schemes and the upgrading of informal settlements in South Africa is to examine how the land needs of the urban poor were attempted to be addressed.

2.4 UPGRADING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS AND SITE AND SERVICE SCHEMES AS FORMS OF ADDRESSING THE LAND NEEDS FACING THE URBAN POOR

Rapid increases in land prices, shortages of adequate residential plots for housing the urban poor and the continuing presence of poor people have often resulted in calls for state intervention. The rationale behind this is that alternative ways of obtaining access to urban land by the poor is the failure of the formal land market to deliver land to poor people and the insufficient and inequitable supply of urban land for black population by the apartheid government (Report of Habitat: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements:1987).

In terms of the Group Areas Act and other legislations (anti-black urbanisation) different areas were designated for different racial groups by the government. These, together with influx control measures enforced separate development and attempted to keep black people away from urban areas.

Despite the restrictive measures associated with the apartheid policies, urbanisation continued and the government could not ultimately constrain it (White Paper on Urban Land Reform:1991). However, the restrictions saw many landless people settle on the urban fringes and in the backyards of the existing formal townships.

It can be argued that better located and well serviced land was allocated for whites, whereas worse located and often poorly serviced land was allocated for black people. This showed that there was inequality and racial favouritism because things worked in the interests of white capital, at the expense of the black labour. It becomes clear that black people were distempered and hence not allowed to own better located and well serviced land parcels as they were regarded as "temporary sojourners" in white urban areas.

Drawing from this, one would argue that it is not that land and housing were not delivered but that capitalism was the driving force, as has been argued in the Marxist interpretation of urban land for housing the poor. Because capitalists were profit motivated, a surplus was derived from selling houses and land at higher prices that are unaffordable by the majority of poor people.

There is therefore a disjuncture between profit and need and between exchange and use value. Anti-urbanisation, forced removals and shack demolitions were used as measures to restrict

people from occupying urban land. The limitation and shortage of land for the poor were\are largely determined by the role that the government plays in land allocation and affluent groups upon the market, which effectively allocates land (Soliman, 1987:28).

There was a shift in the mid-1980's from providing public housing to state aided schemes that mobilised largely untapped resources of labour from the beneficiaries and utilised indigenous materials. This included the legalisation and upgrading of informal neighbourhoods on the one hand, and the provision of serviced sites for self help schemes on the other (van der Linden:1994). Self help schemes introduced by the government were a sign of improving the living conditions of poor people.

In general self help housing refers to a situation where individual households are responsible for building their own houses under certain circumstances promoted by the state and other interested groups.

The supportive self-help approach offers a solution to the problem of housing for people in informal settlements. State supported self help schemes, being an example, are concerned itself with the initiation of users in dealing with their own housing and the support of the state thereof. With this kind of scheme, the state provides technical and financial assistance which helps in facilitating the upgrading of informal settlements (Harms:1992).

In situ upgrading is the primary form of state -supported self help. It involves infrastructure provision, upgrading of units (in some cases), and the provision of social infrastructure for informal settlements. The usefulness this form of delivery system has on its users is that structures are developed and there is therefore a great potential that overall community development can be promoted.

One of the disadvantages with in-situ upgrading, however, is that people who cannot afford the improvements are left out and therefore forced to move to other areas since they are not in a position to afford the payments of upgrading. It can be argued that upgrading schemes were a failure in some instances because success in meeting the demands implied that the following things had to be considered: provision of tenure, active participation by people, access to finance and the promotion of local income generation so that access to building materials are not a problem to self builders.

Due to this poor people will not afford upgrading schemes because of their lack of economic means and the limited public investment allocated to their areas (NHF, Working Group Three:1992). In South Africa state initiated self help schemes, that were also introduced in the mid-1980's, were another form of delivery aimed at providing poor people with land. With this type of delivery system, subsidised sites and services were provided. In South Africa, this category largely refers to programmes initiated by the state and the non governmental organisations (NGO's).

The common feature is the provision of security of tenure on a serviced site. The schemes involves setting aside a piece of land for informal as well as formal housing before settlement takes place and servicing the land to levels which secure basic health and safety for future residents. Variations like site and service schemes may include a pit latrine for every site, gravel roads, and a water point for every five or ten sites. Households obtain a site and build a dwelling on it, which can be improved over time.

Households in site and service schemes, as is also the case with upgrading, invest directly in their own homes rather than pay for a house that has been provided. The problem with international site and service schemes as noted by Van Der Linden (1994:223) is that their picture is seen to be less bright. They were generally not very successful in reaching the poor. In addition most of them were implemented on a (pilot) project basis only.

Most of these projects suffered from a number of shortcomings such as poor management, overly high standards and the difficulty of making sufficient land available in good locations, taking into consideration the group that has been targeted (van der Linden:1994).

In South Africa site and service schemes (Independent Development Trust schemes) have lain idle for the past five to six years without being occupied. The reason for this is that they are located far from income earning opportunities and the very poor

people cannot afford transport costs. What is experienced out of site and service schemes is mass production of serviced sites that has created dormitory suburbs distant from the concentrations of employment, shopping and recreation facilities. It has been perceived by people as a state strategy to shift land and housing provision from the state to the end user (van der Linden:1994).

The schemes' approach to the housing crisis in South Africa is both appealing in terms of its simplicity and concern for "width" and appalling in terms of the type of environment that it is creating. Site and service schemes still do not effectively address the living conditions of the very poor people because only the willing buyer of site and service schemes can afford the expenses.

In most cases the willing buyers are normally the middle income groups and this indicates that there is an inadequate supply of land for them, which is leading to downward raiding. Corruption and favouritism were blamed, then followed by the political necessity of satisfying middle income groups, which are a pivotal support of governments in power (Mattingly:1993).

In conclusion, it can be argued that although the government has tried to uplift the living conditions of the urban poor by introducing self help schemes, major beneficiaries are always the middle income population groups because they can afford the necessities of life as compared to the very poor.

Poor people are still excluded from the formal land market and the only option available to them is to go outside the law and occupy land through illegal means. The emergence of informal land market is a demonstration of the failure of the formal land market to provide land and housing for poor people on the one hand, and the failure of the state aided self help projects to meet their demands on the other.

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2.5 THE INFORMAL WAYS OF ACCESSING URBAN LAND: INTERNATIONAL AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

International literature shows that almost all cities in the developing world have experienced cases of severe land invasions in recent decades. This overwhelming experience is partly attributed to factors such as the failure of self help schemes, the exclusion of the poor from the formal land market, lack of affordable land by the poor, lack of viable alternatives for acquiring access to land and the failure of the past government (in South Africa) to accept realities of urbanisation.

It is the inability of the government in South Africa to acknowledge urbanisation until recently that led to affordable land and housing being overcrowded. This section therefore examines the international experience of informal ways of accessing urban land, the purpose being that it does not only draw similarities and differences, but also provide lessons for South Africa.

The purpose of this section is to reflect on the dynamics of urban land, particularly the informal land mechanisms, in order to deal with them appropriately towards housing the poor. An examination of land delivery systems both internationally and in South Africa reveals that most arrangements for obtaining land for housing the poor fall outside of the formal land market. The failure of the formal land market to supply urban land to the poor resulted in people operating out of the formal market by invading land (occupying vacant land), by illegally subdividing and by renting land (making rental payments to landlords for land\room\shack).

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These are the main types of the informal land market operation, with invasions being the widespread and most controversial form of land acquisition. The successful operation of accessing land depends on the availability of vacant or undevelopable land that can be invaded without opposition from the authorities.

It can be that the authorities are either weak, or there is the realisation and acceptance that poor people will always operate outside of the formal land market. Both the international and the South African experience indicate that invasions have occurred on a large enough scale to be considered an alternative form of land delivery (Wolfson:1991).

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South Africa is at present experiencing the migration of people from urban peripheries to the city. The on-migration processes that is currently taking place revolves around the issue of

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violence in townships and other informal settlements and this motivates people access land in safer areas. In the metropolitan areas of Kwazulu Natal, informal access (through invasion) is the predominant delivery system (Boaden and Taylor:1992). In addition, land invasion has been identified by housing experts from CSDS, CMDA, BESA and ISER as the most prevalent form of accessing land, as has been evidenced in Cato Crest. This can be attributed to the factors such as violence and or being close to jobs and other urban opportunities.

2.5.1 THE NATURE OF LAND INVASION

The discussion on land invasion centers on the urban poor who cannot gain access to the formal market for land and housing because they can not afford to. Land invasion involves the illegal occupation of urban land which is either publicly or privately owned. Both the international and the South African experience provide a background study on land invasions as the predominant form of land access. The operation of informal land markets in countries such as Bangkok, Bogota, Buenos Aires, Chile, Lima, Mexico, Peru, Rio de Janeiro, Saudi Arabia, Tanzania, Valencia and Venezuela appears to have been a success in terms of delivering land to poor people.

Venezuela is characterised by very advanced land invasions in that organised groups of people occupy land, design the road layout and then divide the area into equal plots, allocating them to individual families.

Other areas such as Bogota, Lima, Peru, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires also experience invasion but differ with Venezuela in that their invasion was a result of rural-urban migration, which in turn has resulted from rural land dispossession, land reform and high levels of rural and urban fertility under circumstances of poverty (Urban Foundation:1994). Rural-urban migration has also played a major role in South African land invasions and this is further accounted for by the push and pull characteristics put forward by May (1989).

The origin of urbanisation (pull and push factors) dates back to the 1800's when towns that existed were few and tiny. Prior to 1860's and the discovery of minerals in South Africa, the level and the rate of urbanisation was slow and static.

The economic restructuring which took place as a result of the discovery of minerals had a profound effect upon the pace and the pattern of urbanisation (Dewar et.al:1982). People were pushed from rural to urban areas by a shift from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations. The demand for cheap labour in mining, factories and white commercial farms led to the Native Land Act of 1913 which drove rural people towards towns and cities because they were dispossessed of their land.

Currently, most urban growth is occurring in and around four major metropolitan areas: PWV, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage (Dewar:1992). This is chiefly a result of a natural urban population growth, although rural-urban migration

is occurring apace, in the face of a chronic housing shortage, low wages and high unemployment (Beavon:1992., Crankshaw et.al:1992). Durban has suffered incidents of invasions due to rural-urban migration and the on-migration processes and this is partly attributed to the prevalence of violence. The recurrence of invasion is also due the need to maximise employment opportunities for poor people and the scrapping of the influx control measures in the late 1980's.

Examples of the recent movements include invaded areas such as Canaan and Cato Manor. In Latin America there is low value municipal land which is vacant, some distance from the city centre and vulnerable to earthquakes, landslides and flooding. It is undevelopable and generally undesirable. A similar phenomenon has occurred in South Africa whereby informal settlement has occurred on such land in areas such as Clare Estate, where the soil is very unstable.

Most successful land invasions take place on state land or on land not desirable for any form of development. This is the case in South Africa where land invasions have occurred on public and to a lesser extent, private land, which is strategically located. Few examples include areas such as Port Elizabeth, Botshabelo, Khayelitsha, Crossroads, Nyanga, Greater Inanda, Tembisa, Alexandra, Soshanguve and so on (Paper presented to the Highveld Civics Workshop, Germiston; B.E.S.G:1992).

Regarding the nature of land invasion, it is significant to note that the inability of land delivery systems to keep pace with the demand rendered most of the attempts by the urban poor to gain access to land, housing and even infrastructure illegal. It is this contention which makes methods of making land available to the urban poor essential.

2.5.2 PIRATE\ILLEGAL LAND SUB-DIVISION

Despite land invasions forming part of the informal land market, illegal land sub-division is another form. This system has been the principal means by which the poor acquired land in Bogota, Rio de Janeiro and in Mexico (Gilbert and Ward:1985).

Pirate urbanisation, as put forward by Payne (1989) is a strategy whereby quasi-commercial developers acting as intermediaries target likely sites, subdivide them for sale at lower prices and pressurise local authorities to service them. However, this is also a significant mechanism of land delivery in the metropolitan areas of South Africa. It does not exist in certain informal settlements, though it may take other forms where subdivision is executed by illegal landlords.

Their illegality stems from the fact that services provided, areas of open land designated and the width of the roads do not conform with local planning standards. Authorities are concerned with poor quality housing arising from pirate subdivision because they perceive it as lowering rather than uplifting the planning

standards. This form of land delivery seems to have worked well in Bogota, Mexico and Rio de Janeiro (Gilbert and Ward:1985). In Mexico alone illegal land subdivisions (also known as clandestine subdivisions) have provided widespread opportunities for low income land acquisition. Illegal settlements have flourished in Mexico because of the political patronage that ejidatarios enjoy, and it has been noted that 30% of all low income settlements have developed on such areas (Gilbert and Ward:1985).

With Bogota, it was found that close to half the population lived in plots that originally were illegal subdivisions. Illegal land subdivisions survived because they offered poor people land without threatening the capitalist principles of private property (Baross:1983; Gilbert and Gugler:1982; Gilbert and Ward:1985).

Drawing concluding comments on this, it can be argued that this form land delivery system provided the poor with what they can afford i.e land that was affordable. People in the low income bracket were able to obtain land through these channels.

2.5.3 THE NATURE OF LAND RENTAL SYSTEMS

The land rental system is another form of land acquisition by the poor, which represents temporary housing. This form of delivery takes place when the landlords, wishing to derive income from their land, do so while it remains vacant.

Such landlords subdivide land for rent to low income families and then arrange the provision of services such as water supply and electricity (Gilbert and Ward:1985). This form of land acquisition is the prevailing system for housing the poor in Bangkok, where both public and private landlords rent land for housing, ensuring that people do not build permanent structures on the land. For decades, a major source of land to the poor ^{SA} South Africans was in the formal townships, where people rented in backyards. Land rental has also been an existing form of land articulation in South African metropolitan areas such as the PWV area, Durban, Cape Town and so on .

Landlords who wish to derive more income from buyers do so when a piece of land is still not occupied. They subdivide pieces of land that they can rent out to later arrivals in informal settlements. In many South African urban areas landlords operate informally by allocating land\rooms\shacks to people at prices ranging between R25 and R500 per month, depending on whether one rents a piece of land or a shack.

This indicates that there is an agreement between the buyers and sellers of the land, irrespective of it forming part of the informal land market. The problem, however, is that informal land mechanisms do not guarantee the safety of people because the allocation process is done verbally in most cases. In South African urban areas people allocate land according to whether one affiliates to certain organisations (IFP or ANC) and or whether one is a friend or a relative to people allocating.

It can therefore be concluded that actors of the informal land market do not effectively deliver land because they still exclude the very poor. Those people that are excluded from the formal land market because they can not afford the price of land in the formal market are further marginalised by allocation done on the basis of favouritism and patronage. These people are in most cases the poorest of the poor. They are therefore those in greatest need of land.

One would argue, however, that as far as the provision of land for housing the poor is concerned, informal land systems were not effective, to a lesser extent, in addressing urban dwellers needs, although they have provided a foothold for poor people in urban areas. However, because of commodification processes that have occurred with the acquisition of land and the self help housing projects, the poorest people have effectively been excluded. It has not benefitted those in need. Clearly the market has not been able to address the situation. Therefore the state must become involved.

A central problem facing governments is to look at viable means of making land available to the urban poor in future. It is worth noting that before looking at ways in which land can be made available to the urban poor, it is important to provide lessons from the international experience regarding the issue of urban land markets.

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2.6 LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

There are lessons to be learned from the international experience on informal land markets. These include the fact that informal housing and land invasions are a symptom of uncontrolled urban growth (Urban Foundation:1990).

In terms of land for housing the poor in the South African urban context, it can be concluded that an accumulated backlog is growing rapidly each year as formal land and housing provision fails to keep pace with the population growth and the formation of new households, and therefore continues to be unaffordable for the majority of the urban households.

Attributing these problems solely to demographic causes diverts attention from the failure of governments to formulate committed and effective strategies in dealing with land and housing problems of the majority of the low income people. Acceptance of informal housing is an abrogation of the responsibility of the state which condemns people to live in shacks forever (Urban Foundation:1991).

Governments which have neglected informal settlements for various reasons can be a way of condemning people to remain shack dwellers. The government should examine other forms of making land available for housing the urban poor. If the formal land market does not effectively cater for the needs of the majority of low income households, then the state has a role to play in

allocating land to poor people. There are various mechanisms , that the state can employ in order to make land available for the urban poor in future. By strengthening its political will to x acquire land, the present government place in South Africa can use methods such as calling for formal\state mechanisms which could imitate the informal ones, as has been suggested by van der Linden (1994).

This method concerns those cases in which legal development is, in fact, an imitation of the illegal system. While there may be a variety regarding the aspects or components imitated, one common denominator of the approach is the incremental nature of the housing option provided.

Based on his research and experience van der Linden (1994) argues that as far as the provision of land for housing the poor is concerned, informal systems have performed better than legal systems. One is likely to argue that the implication of this is not that informal land systems have fully addressed the problem of land access for the poor, but that in general they have been seen to be more effective in supplying land to the urban poor. *quero*

With this form of land supply, poor people consolidated their homes and improved their living standards step by step. A problem with these systems is that since they operate outside the law, there is no protection for victims of all sorts of injustices, malpractices and oppression. Double and triple sale of land is an example.

When illegal settlements are regularised, this often entails high costs for remedial, post hoc planning and laying of infrastructure (van der Linden:1994). In cases where informal systems assume large proportions, catering (in some cases to the needs of over 50% of the city's population) becomes pertinent in that this proportion will remain outside the municipal tax-base and often does not pay regular user charges. One of the limitations of the operation of informal systems is the question of decreasing accessibility as has been suggested by van der Linden.

In some cases (India) illegal subdivisions have moved so much up market that only the middle class can afford the costs. However, in other cases, plot sizes have remained relatively stable and within the poor's reach. It must be noted that as the city expands, land become scarce (because it is zoned for different purposes) and there is a tendency that plots that were sold at cheaper prices a few years back are likely to cost more (Baken:1990 cit. in v.d. Linden, 1994:225).

It can be argued that the implication of it is that the very poor people will no longer afford to have access to housing options. This brings us to the question of whether these people will in future benefit from the informal land market or not. There appears to be an agreement among scholars of the problem of urban land supply for low income housing that if government is to intervene at all, its intervention should imitate informal solutions much more closely i.e imitating the informal land

market. Van der Linden asserts that a gap has to be bridged between legal and illegal systems, based upon the recognition that illegal systems have in the past achieved much success than any official initiative. Bridging the gap can take one of the three methods i.e "muddling through" which is concerned with partly using the informal systems and trying to curb their negative actions by manipulating the state and private actors, or by cooperating, negotiating or competing with them.

The second method consists of formalising the informal system by providing official sanction to the actions of informal developers under certain conditions. The third model concerns itself with a process in which legal development is in fact an imitating the informal land market. In this way an attempt is often made to describe the direction in which low income housing solutions may be evolving.

It has been noted that it is premature at this stage to conclude that the imitative method might work well but there is still hope that it can solve the problem of low income housing for future urban dwellers. Firstly, governments are recognising illegal development much more than they used to a couple of decades, such as South Africa.

In many countries such as Africa and Latin America, a temporary decline in economic prosperity is forcing governments to recognise their inability to handle the problem on their own. In Latin America, for example, there is a shift towards more

democratic forms of government that are paving way for less autocratic approaches and more recognition of people's initiatives. Privatisation and democratisation have opened ways for non governmental organisations (NGO's) to find innovative ways of taking part in low income housing. Finally, it must be noted that in several places informal systems have reached their limits and threatened to get out of hand, while in a number of cases they have stopped catering to the needs of the very poor people (people who are penniless and who are without the basic necessities of life).

Taken together, any combination of these factors may force governments to try and bridge the gap between legal and illegal land supply systems (v.d Linden:1994). The "imitative" model, according to v.d Linden is the only viable method of solving the problem of low income housing as it gives a partial answer to the crucial question: "Where do we go from here?".

2.7 CONCLUSION

The housing crisis for blacks in South Africa's major urban areas has been highly politicised. Constraints on access to land for housing the poor resulted in the emergence of a very large housing backlog, estimated at 1.2 million (Urban Foundation:1990).

In conclusion, it must be noted that poor people come to settle in informal settlements for a variety of reasons. Fundamental to their motives is access to well located and serviced land. For most people in South African cities, access to land has to do with finding a place to live, and locating close to urban earning opportunities.

Informal settlements provide poor people with a place to live, with access to job queues on an occasional basis and access to economic, social, commercial and recreational facilities, given restrictive circumstances such as the legacy of apartheid laws, poverty and inequality and the problem of affordability.

From the study above, it can be argued that poor people have operated outside the formal land market for a number of reasons: that the formal land market did not enable them to participate in it because of the high market prices, and that the apartheid government applied its racial policies to make the cities white, hence illegal means of accessing well located land by poor people.

The urban poor (people with low inconsistent incomes) have to seek solutions of housing themselves, often only to obtain as much land as would meet their basic shelter needs. Access to land through the operation of the informal land market was the only viable mechanism used to deliver land to the poor on terms which made it more accessible to job opportunities and affordable in terms of the poor's disposable incomes.

Through the informal land delivery systems poor people received parcels of land, rooms, shacks and houses on which they consolidated their homes. It can be argued, therefore, that low income settlements provide them with a base from which they can seek employment, raise their families and improve their living standards step by step.

Indeed, rather than being a disadvantage, the presence of illegality may be of assistance to the poor who occupy residual land of the city. **Although the presence of illegality did not necessarily address land and housing needs of the poor, it has performed better than the formal land market.**

Informal urbanisation has therefore challenged the authorities and altered the make up of most of the Third World cities (including South Africa). Poor people located themselves in cities of the developing world in order to achieve the benefits of urban life. Future action on land for housing the urban poor must therefore confront a better organised and more formal land market.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It should be noted from the outset that there was very little information on informal ways by which urban land is accessed by the poor (people with irregular incomes) in South Africa. However, what the researcher did was to acquire more information by targeting secondary material in the form of journals, research papers, books and newspaper reports relating to local and international urban land mechanisms, in order to draw information on informal land mechanisms in South Africa.

To supplement this, substantive information on Cato Crest was acquired from reading reports produced by ISER, CSDS and from BESG. Although there was documentation on land invasions and migration patterns in the Durban Functional Region, there was very little information written on the actual operation of the informal land market. It was therefore necessary to research more about the issue of informal land markets in Cato Crest specifically, in order to gain insight of what they are and what to do with them.

This was done by conducting research to gain insight into how informal systems have manifested themselves in Cato Crest. The type of method used provides answers to various questions ranging

from what informal land mechanisms are, what causes them and why they exist, as well as what to do about these mechanisms and how to make land available to the urban poor in future. Different methods of collecting data were used, ranging from the usefulness of interview based technique to the use of a questionnaire and the method of sampling.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

3.2.1 TECHNIQUES USED IN RESEARCH

For the purpose of this study, different techniques such as the use of a questionnaire, the interview based technique and the sampling technique are employed as tools for obtaining data on informal land mechanisms.

3.2.2 THE USE OF A QUESTIONNAIRE

Two separate questionnaires were prepared as tools for data collection because two types of information were needed. The first questionnaire was a person to person interview based questionnaire with the sample population of Cato Crest, which looked at ways in which people obtained access to land and how that was done. The second questionnaire was based on interviews with housing experts from ISER and CSDS and experts from CMDA and BESG. These are people who have been or are currently involved with Cato Crest and have researched\experienced land dynamics there.

They are therefore reliable sources regarding land mechanisms in Cato Crest, how these have manifested themselves, why they exist, as well as what are their significance and possible options for the future.

In more detail, the first questionnaire consisted of both open ended and closed ended questions (see Appendix B). The latter is the type of question that requires specific answers, in most cases, one word answers which are codified for the purpose of data analysis. The purpose of closed ended question is to obtain specific data regarding the following aspects: land characteristics, origins and reasons for move, dwelling and economic characteristics.

Questions that proceed from this will focus on issues pertaining to land and housing with the purpose of eliciting more elaborate information on the nature of informal land mechanisms operating in Cato Crest. Focus is based on issues such as why people decided to move to Cato Crest and not another place, when did they arrive in the area, why did they live their previous area of residence, who owns land in Cato Crest, who controls access and how does this occur, how is payment of land arranged if there is any, whether people afford to purchase a parcel of land to build houses, and whether there are landlords who sub-let rooms to people, whether these people stay with relatives and friends, and if so, how many are they per household.

This helped the researcher to find out whether there is a market operating in Cato Crest, whether it reaches the poor and whether people are satisfied about their situation or not, since the main question to be examined is whether informal land delivery systems satisfies the housing needs of the urban poor or not.

The second questionnaire was designed for experts who have dealt with incidents of informal land markets in Cato Crest (see Appendix B). At least two or more experts were interviewed from each of the following organisations CMDA, ISER, CSDS and BESG so that data obtained was more reliable. These included housing experts such as Dan Smit, Peter Robinson, Maurice Makhathini, Doug Hindson, Sbu Gumede and Craig Clark.

The reason for selecting these experts is that most of them have written and presented papers on migration patterns in the Durban Functional Region (DFR) and have also dealt with issues pertaining to the problem of land and housing for the urban poor in the DFR. Their professional experience in the field of housing have added value to the enquiry. Their personal assistance as well as their responses have broadened the researcher's understanding of the informal land mechanisms.

In order to achieve this, questions were set out to acquire more information on informal land mechanisms. Questions which were set out included the following: the respondent's position in the corporation or institute concerned, the nature of his involvement in Cato Crest, years of involvement (to assess whether more

experience has been gained overtime on issues pertaining to land markets in Cato Crest), and the capacity in which the respondent is involved. Other crucial questions included things such as what the informal land market is, what causes its existence and why it exists, whether poor people benefit from informal land delivery, what prices are charged for renting land\rooms\houses, what are the landlord-tenant arrangements, whether the informal means of accessing urban land pose a threat or an opportunity for the poor people in relation to getting access to housing, and if so, should the informal land market be encouraged or discouraged and why, whether this follows similar patterns to formal land markets and how experts could deal with the issue in future. This information was obtained through face to face interviews with the experts.

3.2.3 INTERVIEW BASED TECHNIQUE

The importance of the interview - based questionnaire is that interviews allow a maximum amount of interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. Interviews are best suited to an investigation which aims at a narrow indepth study rather than a wide general study. Moser and Kalton (1971:271) cited in Goga (1993) described the interview as a conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee with the purpose of eliciting certain information from the respondent.

Nisbet and Watt (1980:13) states that the usefulness of the interviews is that they provide important data and reveal how people perceive what happens. There is, therefore, no doubt that through interviews, and with the sample population of Cato Crest, information on how land was\is acquired was revealed through following up ideas and probing responses whilst interviewing. Asking questions such as who owns land, who controls access to land and how this occurs revealed data on how informal land markets operate.

Face to face interviews with the Cato Crest community benefited both the researcher and the people because most of them were not formally educated. It would be impossible for them to fill in the questionnaire if they were personally handed to them.

For the researcher, face to face interviews with both the Cato Crest community and experts were beneficial in that more elaborate information (through probing) on the land transactions in Cato Crest was elicited from them.

3.2.4 SAMPLING METHOD

Usually studies require that a sample be drawn before a survey is conducted. To undertake a successful field survey it is essential to know about the nature of the population, for example, Cato Crest. Sampling is thus an invaluable way of streamlining the process of data collection.

In surveys, sampling techniques are employed in order to produce a sample which is representative of the entire population which is researched. Sampling ensures detailed study of the few items selected from the population. It also saves time, minimises costs and tends to give accurate results owing to its attention to detailed examination. To draw legitimate inferences about populations from samples, one must be certain that the sample is representative of the population.

The sampling technique that was used for conducting surveys in Cato Crest was the random sampling technique, where only forty out of five thousand households were randomly interviewed from eight sub-sections in that area. The rationale behind this is that the researcher has anticipated that there would be problems in trying to assemble a reliable sampling frame from which to extract a systematic sample, since the total population of the whole area was large.

A random sample is one in which selection is randomly made from a population and it is advantageous because it gives each individual household an equal chance of been selected. The reason for employing this technique in Cato Crest was that it was quicker and it gave a more uniform cover of the entire population than if systematic sampling was used.

The reason for this is that with a random sampling technique, any figure above thirty gives a uniform cover of the entire population, although the disadvantage with this technique is that it often includes clusters and leave gaps unless the sample is very large.

3.3 DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED

The problem with interviewing the experts was that it was difficult to get hold of them since most of them had tight schedules. It must be noted that appointments with them were often not honoured but this still did not delay the completion of the study as days allocated for fieldwork were increased. What was experienced out of them was that they did not feel reluctant to divulge information on the questions raised during interviews.

There were no difficulties experienced with regard to the community of Cato Crest. The interview was fruitful because of Mxolisi Mwandla and Shenge Buthelezi who helped in the translation of Zulu language. Interviews with the Cato Crest people were conducted during weekends, both in the mornings and afternoons since there was an assurance that most of the people were at home.

The mode of transportation that was used to reach these places was public transport (taxis and bus), which in certain instances was not reliable. It can be said that through a lot of

determination, patience and understanding, the research methodology chosen worked well. Not too much of its design had to be altered for its implementation.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Sufficient background on issues pertaining to the informal ways by which urban land has been accessed both internationally and in South Africa has been provided in the conceptual framework. This chapter presents and analyses survey results (from Cato Crest) in terms of the following aspects: economic characteristics, dwelling characteristics, origins and reasons for the move and finally the land characteristics.

The land characteristics form the most important part of this chapter, the reason being that these characteristics are intimately related to the land delivery process for the urban poor, since they provide answers to questions such as how land has been accessed in Cato Crest, who were the main actors allocating land, who benefited from the allocation, were there any form of payment for land or shacks and how were the living arrangements of people when they first arrived in Cato Crest?

These questions are important because they will address the main research question and the hypothesis that **the delivery of land through informal systems should be replicated by formal mechanisms** since they provide a foothold for many people in urban areas, thereby satisfying the land needs of those who are

affected by abject poverty are met. It must be noted that the primary focus of this study is to assess whether the delivery of land in the study area (Cato Crest) satisfies the housing needs of the community or not, since it has been said by other scholars of this problem that informal delivery systems have performed better than the legal\formal systems. Judging from the results below, it is significant to also examine whether the informal systems should be done away with or not in future delivery processes or not.

Apart from the causes discussed in the conceptual framework which reflect mainly on the international experience, the case study of Cato Crest in Durban shows that there are significant factors which contribute to informal land delivery systems. These are illustrated in some of the tables below.

This chapter will therefore examine following aspects in terms of Cato Crest: the origins and reasons for move, which will examine migration patterns of the Cato Crest community and the reasons that compelled them to live in Cato Crest. The second aspect focuses on how land has been accessed in Cato Crest as well as the pattern of occupation of residents. It is important to also assess whether people are satisfied with the environment that they live in or not, and this is done by examining the dwelling characteristics of people in Cato Crest, since it can be confirmed by the residents whether they are satisfied about their situation or not.

The section on dwelling characteristics assesses whether people live in overcrowded conditions, as is the case in many informal settlements, whether people own or rent structures and who they give the money to. These factors highlight some of the aspects of the informal land market operation in Cato Crest. The final part looks at the economic aspect in order to assess whether the Cato Crest community is economically active or not.

The final section is the most important part because it addresses the question of poverty and inequality raised in the earlier chapters and it provides answers to why people operate out of the formal land market in an attempt to secure well located land in urban areas. However, it is important to first provide a brief history of Cato Crest before looking at these issues since it provides a useful background regarding different waves of settlements in the Durban Functional Region.

4.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF CATO CREST

Located close to the city of Durban and its white residential suburbs, Cato Manor has always been a place of considerable currency for those who live in, near or in sight of it. In the rapid and intensive development of the city, and in the light of the general shortage of suitable land, Cato Manor has become an increasingly desirable site for residential uses (Buttler-Adam and Venter:1984). Geographically, it is an area situated west of Durban CBD, much of it unsettled, with some areas of dense settlement (see maps in Appendix C).

This area lies adjacent to Manor Gardens and Sherwood. It is also well situated in relation to the light industrial areas of Mayville and Overport. A rough assessment of it includes the eastern boundaries which are defined by the Bellair Road and Jan Smuts highway (Clark et. al:1992).

The current settlement in Cato Crest is influenced by the history of Cato Manor (forced removals and relocations) which left a legacy of competing claims to land and settlement rights in the area. Through various Urban Areas and Group Areas Acts, the apartheid government intensified influx control, embarked on mass removals and enforced stricter residential control on blacks and subsequently enforced residential segregation.

The past government with its strictly enforced laws has contributed to the situation today, where poor people are free stay anywhere without the any form of fear. Makhathini (1994) asserts that the direction of movement into Cato Manor as a whole has been influenced by apartheid laws, township overcrowding, changes in political climate, skewed resource distribution and other socio-economic conditions at given times. This is also what has happened in most urban areas that experienced invasions in other parts of Durban, for example Inanda.

However, it must be noted that apart from a handful of families who had been in Cato Crest since time of removals, and a small transitory population, the process of recent informal settlement took place in 1989 when new arrivals moved into the area. These

people erected shacks under the cover of lush vegetation in the area, escaping from violence-torn areas in and around the Durban Functional Region (DFR) and also wanting to obtain jobs. By 1992 the population increased to a point where the growing shack settlement began to generate anxieties among white residents in Manor Gardens. This area became the focus of media and official attention.

However, invasions increased by 40% since the early 1990's compared to the previous years. The most recent wave of settlement began in mid June 1993, spurred by frustration on the part of the Cato Crest residents and their leaders over the continued uncertainty about their status in Cato Crest. A further factor which opened way for new settlement according to Hindson and Makhathni (1993) was the power struggle within the Cato Crest leadership and constituencies.

The explosive development of new settlement was also linked to changes in South African policies eg. the relaxation of the apartheid laws since 1986 as a result of the international isolation of South Africa and the national resistance, engineered by pressure groups such as COSATU and UDF.

These groups influenced change in South Africa by mobilising against the state at workplace. This led to a political climate which was conducive to increased land invasions. This can be attributed to the fact that people who have\are recently moving into Cato Crest took advantage of the political climate and

operated through informal means in an attempt to obtain access into a well located piece of land. Although these people still invade, it is no longer invasion in the true sense of the word.

The current situation is that of landlords who operate in the allocation process by giving out illegally subdivided sites to people and by renting out rooms\shacks. Access to land is based more on illegal rentals and subdivisions as compared to free occupation of land by people. Some of the people pay rent on a monthly basis for land, for rooms and for shacks. It can therefore be argued that these people do not have the choice because they cannot cope with the market prices. They are happy about the arrangements because they provide them with what they can afford, and with well located land on which they can improve their living standards step by step.

The land market operation is therefore a controversial issue facing many urban areas because it has been found that people doing the actual selling of land in Cato Crest are from townships and other informal settlements. A few of these people are old residents of the area who know have the details about the land there. However, the majority of the population (62.5%) made arrangements with nobody because they accessed the land in the late 1980's when nobody had a say as to who has the right to occupy that piece of land. No one had the right to sell\buy land from other people.

It is clear, therefore, that nobody gave them the permission to occupy land there. Only 20% maintained that they got permission from the present landlords but the majority feels that CMDA is responsible for the area. For those that made arrangements with families and friends (17.5%) they did so because they were trying to save costs.

4.2 ORIGINS AND REASONS FOR MOVE

Table 1: Origins of settlers

Durban townships	45%
Other informal settl.	25%
Rural areas	15%
White farming areas	15%

The above results (Table 1) indicate that 45% of the respondents maintained that settlers were from Durban formal townships such as Umlazi, Kwamashu, Clemont and Ntuzuma. This indicates the fact that intra-urban migration is becoming a dominant feature of the migration pattern. This can also be attributed to the fact that violence was escalating in these areas.

The origins of settlers have an impact on the current settlement because they provide an answer to the question of why people moved from their previous areas of residence and why they chose to live in Cato Crest. The most important question to ask is why people migrate from one informal settlement to another as 25% of the sample in Cato Crest came from informal settlements, such as

Inanda and Ndwedwe, which accommodated influx from violence ridden areas such as Lindelani and Bhambayi. A further 15% lived in white farming areas and 15% lived in rural areas respectively.

Table 2: Years stayed in the old area

15yrs and over	50%
5-10yrs	22.5%
<5yrs	17.5%
10-15yrs	10%

Half the population maintain that they lived in their previous areas of residence over the past fifteen years. These people did not come from Cato Crest but from other well established areas (townships and informal settlements) and clearly had been long term residents there.

It can be argued that those people who stayed for less than five years in previous areas of residence are people who migrated timeously and were desperately seeking accommodation in safer areas, since they were affected by violence in the same manner as the long term residents. The table below gives details of why these people left their old areas.

Table 3: Reasons for leaving old area

REASON	PERCENTAGE
Violence	57.5%
Overcrowding	32.5%
Lack of services	10%
Other, specify	0%

57% of the respondents cited violence in formal townships and other informal settlements as the crucial determinant of the move. This is linked to the length of stay in their areas. Because of violence, people had to secure their jobs by locating themselves in safer and more centrally located areas (Cato Crest). They were pushed from their previous areas of residence because of political violence prevailing in those areas. In Durban, violence resulted because of a power struggle between ANC and IFP supporters. This struggle took place in many areas surrounding the Durban Functional Region. People were killed, houses were burnt and taxis were forced not take people to work. This factor resulted in people leaving their violent areas and moving into safer areas.

32% maintained that township overcrowding is the driving force behind their move. It must be noted that during the late 1980's housing development schemes ceased for political reasons and therefore pressure on the existing housing stock increased. This led to massive overcrowding conditions in townships (backyard shacks), driving more people to Cato Manor and other young informal settlements such as Briardene, Lusaka in Chatsworth,

Kennedy Road, Block AK etc. Linked to overcrowding is the factor of requiring privacy. It must be noted that people also moved from one area to another because of lack of privacy and desperation for places to stay.

Besides violence and overcrowding which have been cited as the crucial factors, unemployment and lack of services in the previous areas were cited by 10% as one of the reason that compelled people to come to Cato Crest. Generally people want to locate where there is some degree of servicing, because the places of origin often lack services. However, Cato Crest is not serviced, but because of its unique location, it is highly attractive.

When people locate themselves in certain areas, is not only that they are safety conscious but that they want areas with proper development so that their living conditions are improved over time. This has been the task of Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) to seek alternative ways of improving the living conditions of the Cato Crest and other surrounding communities, since they have invaded the area. In addition, it is the focus of any development activity, overseen by CMDA which is to indicate a degree of security and the provision of services at some stage.

Table 4: Feelings of people about living and not living old areas

REASON	PERCENTAGE
Free from violence	57.5%
Wanted own place	27.5%
Free from removals	15%

People were happy to leave their previous areas of residence because they were free from violence (57.5%), wanted their own place where they can consolidate their families and easily locate jobs (27.5%) and were free from the threat of removals (15%).

For those desperately seeking for jobs, Cato Crest offered them potential opportunities in the neighbouring "white" commercial and industrial areas. It also offered them domestic labour in white suburbs (Makhathini:1992). Those already in the job market would enjoy easy access to the work place through the use of buses, trains and taxis and main roads close by.

Table 5: Reasons for coming to Cato Crest and not another place

REASON	PERCENTAGE
Closeness to the CBD	62.5%
Security reasons	17.5%
Desperation	15%
Other, specify	5%

The dominant reason for coming to Cato Crest and not another place include proximity to the CBD (job opportunities and lower transport costs).

This is revealed by 62.5% of the population in the study area. Only a few percentage (17.5%) still feel that they came to Cato Crest for security reasons.

This is linked to responses regarding violence in Table 1. A few people came to the area because of overcrowding in their previous areas of residence and 15% claim to have been in the area since the time of removals. It can be argued that people were moving to well located central land in absence of action by the formal land market.

In concluding this section, it can be argued that the invasion of Cato Crest cannot be explained in terms of peacefulness and access into a well located area, but also in terms of employment opportunities for the urban poor. The most obvious explanation can be based on violence.

4.3 LAND CHARACTERISTICS

The way in which land has been accessed in Cato Crest can be assessed in terms of the different waves of settlements into the area. It must be noted that different waves of settlement corresponded with the times in which settlers invaded Cato Crest i.e from the late 1980's to the early 1990's. A brief history of the area has already informed us of the process of resettlement in Cato Crest.

Table 6: Identification of land in Cato Crest

Knew there was vacant land	55%
Told by family	17.5%
Other reasons	17.5%
Told by family	10%

Table 6 highlights that over half the population (55%) realised that there was vacant land around Cato Crest when they travelled from their previous areas of residence to work places. Other people were told by relatives and friends about the vacant land in Cato Crest. Only 17.5% did not know anything about Cato Crest, which is a considerable percentage.

It is surprising to note that they found themselves in Cato Crest without knowing anything about the area. It can be assumed therefore that these are the people who came as part of a group that invaded the area either in the late 1980's or the early 1990's.

Table 7: Access to land

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS	PERCENTAGE
Stayed alone	35%
Stayed with family	25%
Rented land immediately	20%
Bought land immediately	10%
Stayed with friends	10%

When people arrived in Cato Crest access to land was obtained by staying with families and friends (35%). It can be assumed that these people came late, after land has been occupied by those who invaded without opposition from the authorities. Other people rented from landlords and others bought the land immediately (30%). It can be assumed that those who rented also came later, when land had already been largely acquired and settled upon or commodified.

Those who bought land were part of the first wave. Housing experts from CSDS, ISER, and CMDA elaborated that landlords who operated out of the formal land market where, in most cases, old residents and outsiders from places such as Umlazi, Chesterville, Kwamashu and other informal settlements around the DFR.

In addition, Cross (1994) states that tenancy arrangements included site rental and lodging with households, as has been the case with Cato Crest. In the conceptual framework it has been highlighted that tenancy takes place when landlords, wishing to derive income from their land do so while it remains vacant. Rental of sites has been associated with profits, although she notes that there are grounds for doubting that all landlords made substantial profits from rental income.

It is further noted by Cross that some landlords promoted tenancies in order to provide a clientele for business enterprises, whilst others with political affiliations were also reported to encourage tenancy for developing political or

personal following from whom contributions would be collected for various projects. In addition to what Cross (1994) said, it can be argued that landlords, which are in most cases older residents have sufficient background knowledge about the area (Cato Crest) such that they do not have any difficulties of allocating land and renting or selling it to people. They had exploited the opportunity of vacant, well located central land as well as the pressure for land.

Further, a significant proportion (35%) stayed alone and were regarded as first time settlers and the others lived in tents provided by the Red Cross (see Appendix D). Some of the people stayed as live-in servants in white residential suburbs before they moved to Cato Crest.

4.4 DWELLING CHARACTERISTICS

Land is the pre-requisite for housing and a critical component in addressing **shelter** challenges facing South Africa. It is not likely that land be separated from housing if the question of shelter needs for the burgeoning urban poor is addressed.

Dwelling characteristics are therefore indicators of housing. Housing, if adequate, provides privacy and security against intrusions, both physical and emotional. It is the locus of personal and family life. The relevance of informal land mechanisms to housing is that since these mechanisms operate illegally the likelihood is that they will result in poor quality

housing. The main assumption, however, is that they provide poor people with a base from which to incrementally improve their living standards step by step. Dwelling characteristics are significant indicators of dweller satisfaction\ dissatisfaction about informal delivery processes, and the poor quality of housing that results from it.

Table 8: Type of dwelling

Shack	70%
Concrete block	10%
Tent	10%
Other, specify	10%

Through personal observation it was found that 70% of the population lived in shacks made up of wattle and daub, timber laths on frame with dry rubble, sheet metal, and toyota boxes (see photos in Appendix D). Presumably these are the materials that fall within their income bracket. Only 10% live in concrete block houses and the rest of the people in tents provided by the NPA (Appendix D).

Tents were provided by the NPA for those people who were washed away by floods the beginning of 1995, which rendered many of their inhabitants homeless. The fifty-two households who live in overcrowded conditions in these tents are severely faced by sanitation problems due to lack of proper services.

20% live in houses built of bricks and mortar. This is an indication that these people have invested in housing. They feel they have secure tenure over land. The type of dwelling in Cato Crest correlates with the materials for roofing because these materials also vary with the types of houses. Again through personal observation it was found that 65% of the entire population used corrugated iron to roof their shacks. Most of these houses are those made of wattle and daub, as it has been said earlier on.

Only 2.5% used plywood for roofing. One out of forty households (sample size) had asbestos tile but those who could not afford (30%) had sails and ordinary hard plastic as roof cover (see Appendix D). The difference in roofing materials and the type of dwelling indicate the living standards of the urban poor, the variety of incomes and a certain degree of affluence in informal settlements.

The variation in building materials such as wattle and daub (see appendix), sail and corrugated iron clearly shows poor quality of housing in informal settlements.

Table 9: Number of rooms per dwelling

One	2.5%
Two	2.5%
Three	12.5%
Four	37.5%
Four and above	45%

From the above table (Table 9) it is evident that in new informal settlements, most of the people do not have the problem of overcrowding because the amount of rooms that they build can accommodate a large number of people.

One can also argue that other informal settlements are still characterised by overcrowding, that results in the movement of people towards less overcrowded areas. Gleaned from the table above, it can be said that 2.5% lived in one roomed house\shack and the other 2.5% in a two roomed shack respectively. 12.5% maintained that they live in three roomed shacks and 37.5% in four rooms.

Only 45% live in five rooms or more. The number of inhabitants per household in Cato Crest range between one and fifteen, and this in itself indicates that the area is overcrowded. It cannot be denied that some of the people live in overcrowded conditions, especially those living in tents provided by the NPA and some who live in shacks. Evidence of overcrowding in Cato Crest has a direct link with population density coupled with the carrying capacity of land.

This has contributed to poor sanitation and deteriorating health conditions in the area. The situation is made even worse if a one or a two roomed shack can accommodate eight to ten people. Judging from the survey results, it can be suggested that occupation is directly linked with ownership status of the household heads, as well as the tenancy arrangements.

In most cases people can live with extended families and friends and it depends on how they feel about it.

Table 10: " Owned " and rented structures

Family member	80%
Present landlord	20%
Other, specify	0%

It can be gleaned from Table 10 that 80% of the population in Cato Crest claim to own their structures since they do not rent. Ownership of structures means that the people have built their own dwellings. It can be argued therefore that the remaining 20% do not own but rent rooms from landlords. Literature has indicated that this form of land acquisition is the prevailing system for housing the poor in Bangkok, where both public and private landlords rent land for housing, ensuring that people do not build permanent structures.

Tenancy, especially in South Africa, is regarded as one of the informal systems of accessing urban land. Landlords who wish to derive more income to sustain themselves divide land while it is still vacant and sell it to later arrivals. Tenancy involves renting\subletting rooms to people at prices which are negotiable and in most cases within people's reach. Landlords who sub-let rooms make profit from rental arrangements because people pay in the region of R25 to R500 per month depending on whether one rents a piece of land\room\shack (information obtained from housing experts).

Table 11: Satisfaction\disatisfaction with Cato Crest

No proper services	70%
Close to the CBD	22.5%
other reasons	7.5%

In order to assess whether the Cato Crest people are satisfied with their living environment, the following reasons were put forward. People were not satisfied with their living arrangements because of the following reasons: that there is no proper infrastructure, that there is overcrowding, and that houses leak in rainy days (70%). Only a small percentage (22.5%) maintained that they felt happy about the arrangements because they have privacy, and are close to the CBD.

It can be argued that 7.5% maintain that their satisfaction about living in Cato Crest derives from the fact that they have overcome the problem of overcrowding, violence and poor marginal location. However, the reason put forward by those who are dissatisfied is that they want adequate housing with proper infrastructure, as well as sites which are clearly demarcated for each household. Only 10% (presumably the poorest people) feel that housing should be provided by government without any form of payment because they cannot afford to purchase land at market prices.

This implies that they will not be eligible for housing of adequate standards. Taking the level of income into consideration, it can be argued that they will further be

marginalised\constrained by affordability. Unless something is done about the problem of affordability and poverty, these people will continue to operate outside the law by obtaining access to land via informal delivery systems.

4.5 ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The analysis of the economic characteristics is a vital component of this research because it provides useful background information on the social and economic lives of the people that are being studied. It addresses the question of affordability of poor people in urban areas.

By way of example, it has been indicated that almost fifty percent of Kwazulu-Natal households earn less than R1 000 per month, with 30% below R500 and the greatest poverty in the semi urban areas and rural areas where 57% earn less than R500. Only 13% earn between R1 000 and R1 500 (ANC:1994).

Table 12: Number of people employed per household

Father\brother	52.5%
Mother\sister	32.5%
Unemployed	15%

According to the results from the survey, the majority of the people that are employed per household are father and brother (52.5%), followed by mother and sister (32.5%).

Only 15% of the population are unemployed. This proportion of the unemployed people include pensioners, housewives and retired persons .

Table 13: Nature of employment

Fulltime	45%
Part-time	36%
Casual basis	5%
Unemployed	15%

It can be gleaned from the Table 13 that almost half of the population (45%) in Cato Crest is employed on full time basis and this category includes unskilled, the semi-skilled and the skilled work. Judging from the above results, it can be argued that not all the people from Cato Crest are poverty stricken as has been thought previously. It has been derived from the survey that professionals such as teachers, nurses and clerks also live in informal settlements.

It is found that a further 35% of the respondents maintain that they are employed on part- time basis and only 5% are employed on casual basis. It must be noted that domestic workers (who work full time in the neighbouring white suburbs) and general workers, to a certain extent fall under this category. General workers include both men and women who work as cleaners, gardeners, builders, labourers and artisans in the neighbouring white suburbs and industrial areas such as Southern Pinetown. Judging from the these results one is likely to argue that the

population of Cato Crest is economically active. Being economically active implies that people in Cato Crest earn a living out of the kind of jobs they are engaged in, although unprofessional in most cases. This minimises the degree of poverty to an extent because their disposable income can sustain their families.

Table 14: Place of employment

Durban City	60%
Pinetown\Hillcrest	10%
South Coast	7.5%
North Coast	7.5%
Other	15%

Over half the population (60%) in Cato Crest work in or near the city of Durban. These people are at an advantage because transport costs are less on major transport routes and they can walk to their places of work. Besides violence which is cited as one of the reasons that forced people to locate themselves in Cato Crest, closeness to the city centre is another reason. The reason for this is that people are close to transport routes (N2 and N3), which make their journey to work quicker and cheaper.

Only 15% are employed in the North and South Coasts and they travel to work places by trains, buses and taxis. Most of these people are also connected to the N2 and N3 routes. It can be argued that some of these people were the former residents of townships such as Umlazi and Kwamashu, who fled from violence

when they came to Cato Crest because they wanted to locate themselves in safer areas, where they can easily seek jobs and enjoy easy access to work places.

Following this is a further 10%, which works in Pinetown, Kloof and Hillcrest. These places offer potential employment opportunities in the neighbouring commercial and industrial areas. Judging from the above table it can be argued that people are optimising central location. Employed people who are involved in invasions benefit further from locational advantages.

Table 15: Average income per household per month

R1-599	50%
R600-1000+	35%
Other	15%

The level of income is very important because it determines the household budget. However, a clear disparity exists in the range of incomes received by the household needs in the table above. The disparity in income levels correlate with the types of employment in which the Cato Crest people are engaged. It must be noted that the latter category (R600-R1 000+) include people who are engaged in skilled work, for example, teachers, nurses and clerks. Of importance, it must also be noted that 15% of the respondents are without income because this proportion includes the category of the unemployed.

In terms of the average monthly income, the results from the survey indicate that almost half of the population earn less than R599 per month, and 35% between R600 and R1 000 or more per month. The majority are seen to be people who are engaged in unskilled work, whilst the minority (teachers, nurses and clerks) are better off. In addition to this, from the findings of a survey done by Makhathini and Xaba (1994), it was found that the level of income that people contributed in Cato Crest by then was R590 per month. It can therefore be concluded that this is the average monthly income that people get per month.

It can be argued that people in Cato Crest and other informal settlements around the DFR, as well as other parts of this country are economically active and generally have regular employment, but earn low salaries that constrain them from improving their standards of living.

With the average income that they earn, it is not possible for them to purchase land to build adequate housing. The only option available to them is to engage in informal housing. This implies that the majority of the informal settlers fall within the poverty datum line i.e the minimum salary earned per household (less than R1 000 per month), as it has been highlighted in Housing in South Africa (1995).

The implication of this is that affordability levels of the poor confine them to operate through the informal land market because their incomes cannot meet with the land prices in the formal land

market. Their disposable income restrict them towards accessing formal land, but provide them with a base on which to sustain themselves in urban areas.

4.6 CONCLUSION

A focus on the urban poor implies an emphasis in policy on informal housing delivery and specifically on land invasion. With this in mind, it can be assessed whether informal land mechanisms have been capable of addressing the needs of the poor or not. In many cities of the developing world informal land delivery systems were effective in addressing the needs of poorer people.

The findings from Cato Crest indicate that the informal land market worked well too. People obtained land, rooms and shacks at prices that are within their financial reach. Judging from the incomes that many of them earned on average, it can be argued that the prices of land\rooms\houses that they rented could be borne by them. Finally, it has been noted that the overall community is economically active.

Based on the findings of the survey therefore, the following generalisations can be made about informal land delivery systems in Cato Crest. It must be noted that most of the people in Cato Crest form part of the poorly paid sector of the population, but at the same time do not represent the poorest strata in the DFR. They are relatively well-off because they can build houses.

However, majority of them expressed that they would not be able to afford serviced and well located land. There is an indication that they will continue to operate through informal means because they get land and housing at affordable prices.

In terms of access to land by the poor in urban areas, Cato Crest has proved to be one of the informal settlements around the DFR which has addressed the problem of meeting the needs of the poor and providing them with access to a central and well located area. It can be argued therefore that the informal land market seemed to have performed well in Cato Crest.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation has demonstrated the concerns raised in the introductory chapter, namely, the question of land for housing the urban poor. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the discussion about the informal means of accessing urban land. This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations derived at from the discussion of informal land delivery systems.

In most cases informal ways of accessing urban land have been the only viable means by which the poor could have access to land. The only problem is that since they operate outside the law, people are not secured because they do not have title deeds, although argued that informal systems of land supply provide a foothold for urban dwellers.

Every effort should be made to tackle the housing problem, irrespective of how complex it is, so that the urban poor should not be condemned to lack of proper accommodation. A better understanding of the informal land systems is likely to give planners a wider range of methods for effective intervention in the provision of land and housing to low income households.

It is necessary at this juncture to call for intervention since land will not be assembled for the urban poor by the market alone. When urban land is identified for low income housing, a

portion must be identified exclusively for informal housing. In addition, the state must establish metropolitan land planning agencies in all metropolitan areas to identify a well located land at the rate and scale required. In the DFR the Durban City Council has completed a study showing that some 5 000 hectares of developable land is available within its jurisdiction, some 62% of which is owned by central and local government and could therefore be easily developed (ANC:1994).

Whilst much of this land is in the outer reaches of the municipal area, it is still relatively well located. Excluding land which is problematic to develop, approximately 500 000 people could be accommodated on publicly owned land. Older studies suggest that there is sufficient land which could be acquired within a radius of 30\40km to accommodate long term growth.

However, trends which have been observed in other developing countries, where informal settlers have sought out land adjacent to existing impoverished communities and secluded spots beyond the eyes of the officials, coincides with the South African experience. It is the need to find a place to live under severely constrained circumstances which has led to the growth of informal settlements.

Government authorities are reluctant as a rule to recognise settlers legal rights to the land they occupy and thereby their informal settler status. To the contrary, the authorities have aggravated the plight of the landless majority in its penchant

to destroy shacks. The continued rapid growth of informal settlements in all of South Africa's major urban centres has made a farce of the state's apartheid policies of the past. The outcome of this legacy of the state terrorism, and other draconian measures, is the nine million poverty stricken informal settlers.

Through various informal land mechanisms (invasion, illegal land sub-division and rental systems), the urban poor receive parcels of land on which they can consolidate their homes. Low income settlements and other places provide them with a base from which they can seek work, raise their families and improve their standards of living step by step.

Indeed, rather than being a disadvantage, the presence of illegality may be of positive assistance to the poor who occupy any piece of land that is close to income earning opportunities (Cato Crest). At the very least, the proliferation of informal settlements creates government jobs for professional architects and planners.

At most it demands a joint effort on developing a policy towards informal land mechanisms. Understanding these dynamics will ultimately determine how well policy makers respond to the scale and complexity of informal settlements, particularly in Durban, where they comprise over one third of the total urban population.

Accordingly, better urban land management requires a better understanding of the land markets. Affordable and an efficient land delivery systems must be of importance in terms of future land policies. The success of any future land policy depends on the committed intervention by a democratic government in the land market, in order to make it possible for the urban poor to secure land for themselves in the metropolitan areas. In this way, the Habitat recommendation that " the pattern of land should be determined by the long term interests of the society as a whole " may be realised. From the comments made in the conclusion, a number of recommendations can be made regarding the issue of land for housing the poor.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GENERAL POLICY ON LAND

Whilst it is not intended that suggestions and recommendations put forward be considered definite answers to the problem of low income housing or access to urban land, the intention is to stimulate debates around the issue of land access for the urban poor and to provide future researchers with a basis upon which to tackle the problem at a broader level. Policies that can prevent the burgeoning informal land mechanisms in urban areas need to be emphasized rather than policies that take away land access from those who can least afford to lose it. The following are therefore put forward as recommendations:

Firstly, there is a need to recognise that a shack is a Third World home, an enclosure which provides the only means of shelter to most of the urban poor. Given the degree of success achieved by the informal systems, the government needs to intervene, since it has realised the potential this form of tenure has on its users.

Any effort to deal with it is to accommodate the operation of the informal land market, rather than discourage it because it has provided a foothold for most of the poor people in urban centres. Associated with the informal land market is the problem of affordability, which resulted in poor people not been able to access formal land to build adequate housing. This is a result of unequal distribution of resources and the disparities in incomes between racial groups. Because of the apartheid policies, a major share of resources was given to a minority (whites) at the expense of black labour.

To impact on affordability and inequality, a coordinated and multifaceted approach towards initiating and maintaining sustainable socio-economic development is necessary. Intervention by government should be seen as part of an integrated approach to resolve the problem of affordability. The fundamental case for state intervention is premised on the belief that the market can neither provide adequate supply of housing nor distribute houses fairly. On this basis, the government in place must intervene to ensure an adequate supply of land and housing at affordable prices by the lower income groups.

The need for well located land is an indication that more and more people are locating closer to cities. Only an urban land policy which acknowledges this fact can deal with this form of urbanisation. Such a policy should seek to make strategically located and well serviced land available for low income housing. Until this is done in a speedy and effective way, informal systems of urban land supply will continue unabated, until there is no land available for low income housing.

It is of importance to also suggest since land is a pre-eminence for housing, there should be a provision of adequate shelter and facilities such as potable water, proper sanitation and energy, since it has been noted that a major source of dissatisfaction among informal dwellers is poor quality of housing construction in urban areas. The central argument is that there should not be trade-offs between these amenities and other basic needs such as food, clothing and education.

Since most informal settlements are close to the cities, they should be integrated into the city for access to job opportunities, economic, social, commercial and recreational opportunities. Finally, it can be concluded that the overall aim of land policy should be for human development and the upliftment of the quality of lives of poor people. Land policies are therefore essential to address the past inequalities in the distribution of resources.

CHAPTER SIX

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. **Ejidatarios:** comes from the word ediho settlements which means illegal settlements with few urban services and only the de facto tenure, with low prices of land because occupants are mostly low income families.

2. **CMDA:** Cato Manor Development Association

3. **CSDS:** Centre for Social and Development Studies

4. **B.E.S.G:** Built Environment Support Group

5. **ISER:** Institute for Social and Economic Research

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS FOR THE CATO CREST COMMUNITY

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER ONE

DATE:

TIME:

NUMBER:

MODULE A: ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

A.1 Who is employed in the house?

father	
mother	
brother	
sister	
other	

A.2 Are they employed fulltime \part-time or on casual basis?

A.3 Where do they work?

Durban City	
Pinetown\Hillcrest	
South Coast	
North Coast	
Other (specify)	

A.4 What kind of work do they do?

domestic work	
general work	
skilled	
pensioner	
other, specify	

A.5 What is the average monthly income of the household?

R1-99	
R100-199	
R200-299	
R300-399	
R400-499	
R500-599	
R600-1000	
R1000+	

MODULE B: DWELLING CHARACTERISTICS

B.1 Type of dwelling

concrete block	shack	tent	other, specify
----------------	-------	------	----------------

B.2 Number of rooms per dwelling

one	two	three	four	other
-----	-----	-------	------	-------

B.3 Roofing material

corrugated iron	
asbestos tile	
thatch roof	
plywood	
other, specify	

B.4 How many people live in this house?

one	two	three	four	other
-----	-----	-------	------	-------

B.5 Who built the house?

family member	hired person	company	other, specify
---------------	--------------	---------	----------------

B.6 Who owns the house that you are living in?

family member	landlord	other, specify
---------------	----------	----------------

B.7 Are you a tenant?

yes	no
-----	----

B.8 If a landlord, do you sub-let rooms?

yes	no
-----	----

B.9 How many rooms do you sub-let?

one	two	three	four	four +
-----	-----	-------	------	--------

B.10 How much is it per night, week or month?

R10-20	
R20-30	
R30-40	
R40_50	
R50+	

B.11 Are you satisfied with your house\living arrangements?

yes	no
-----	----

B.12 Why?

B.13 What would you like instead?

B.14 Is there water, electricity, toilets, and rubbish collection?

yes	no
-----	----

MODULE C: ORIGIN AND REASONS FOR MOVE

C.1 Were you born in this area?

yes	no
-----	----

C.2 If not, where did you live before?

Dbn formal township	
Other informal settl.	
White farming areas	
Rural areas	
Other, specify	

C.3 How long did you live in the old area?

< 5yrs	
5-10yrs	
10-15yrs	
15yrs+	

C.4 Why did you leave the area?

violence	
crime	
no jobs	
no services	
other, specify	

C.5 Are you happy that you have left that area?

yes	no
-----	----

C.6 Why?

C.7 Why did you come to Cato Crest and not another place?

C.8 When did you come to Cato Crest?

6 months	
1 year	
18 months	
2 years	
5 years	

C.9 Are you happy to live in this area?

yes	no
-----	----

C.10 Why?

no violence	
have jobs	
no lack of services	
have family	
other, specify	

MODULE D: LAND CHARACTERISTICS

D.1 How did you know about land in Cato Crest?

told by friends	
told by family	
saw it	
other, specify	

D.2 When you arrived, what were your living arrangements?

stayed with family	
stayed with friends	
rented land	
bought land immediately	
other, specify	

D.3 Have these arrangements changed?

yes	no
-----	----

D.4 When you arrived in Cato Crest, who did you make the arrangements with?

D.5 How did you know about this person\people?

D.6 Are these people residents of Cato Crest?

yes	no
-----	----

D.7 If no, where do they come from?

formal townships	
other informal settl.	
other, specify	

D.8 If land is owned, how much did you pay for it?

R1-99	
R100-199	
R200-299	
R300-399	
R400+	

D.9 If rented, how much do you rent it for per month?

R1-25	
R26-50	
R51-75	
R76-100	
R100+	

D.10 Who do you give money to?

D.11 What do you pay for?

land	
shack	
room	
other	

D.12 Can you extend your house, shack, room etc.

yes	no
-----	----

D.13 Who is responsible for this area?

CMDA\NPA	
Kwazulu Gvt.	
Dbn City Council	
present landlord	
nobody	

D.14 Who gave you permission to occupy this piece of land?

DCC	
NPA	
CMDA	
self	
nobody	
present landlord	
other, specify	

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER TWO

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS DIRECTED AT LAND AND HOUSING EXPERTS OF THE
FOLLOWING: CSDS, ISER, CMDA AND BEG

DATE:

TIME:

Respondent's name:

Position held:

QUESTIONS

1. How long have you been working for your organisation?

2. In what capacity have you been involved?

3. Why did you become involved?

4. How would you describe an informal land market? Give characteristics.

5. What are the causes of the informal land market?

6. Would land invasion be included as part of the informal land market?

Yes	No
-----	----

7. What are other features, besides land invasion that form part of the informal land market?

8. Is there an informal land market in Cato Crest?

Yes	No
-----	----

9. Since when has the informal land market operated in Cato Crest?

10. Is the informal land market in Cato Crest the same?

Yes	No
-----	----

11. Describe the operation of the informal land market in Cato Crest.

12. Who does the informal land market benefit generally and in Cato Crest specifically?

13. Does it benefit the urban poor generally and in Cato Crest specifically?

Yes	No
-----	----

14. If it does not, why does it not benefit the urban poor?

15. Is the informal land market a threat?

Yes	No
-----	----

Why?

16. To whom does it pose a threat?

16. Can it be regarded as an opportunity?

Yes	No
-----	----

Why?

17. For whom?

18. Should the informal land market be encouraged or discouraged?

19. Why?

20. How can it be accommodated\encouraged or discouraged?

21. Are there steps being taken to deal with the existence of
the informal land market in Cato Crest?

Yes	No
-----	----

22. What are they?

23. What are they designed to do?

24. What organisations or sectors should be involved in dealing with the informal land market in Cato Crest?

25. How should they be operating?

26. To what ends?

27. How can land be made accessible to the urban poor?

28. Any additional information on the recent dynamics about Cato Crest?

CATO CREST STUDY AREA

Christopher Nxumalo (sp)

Chesterville (s)

BLACKHURST

WIGGINS

WESTRIDGE

Entabeni (

RIDGEVIEW

UMKUMBAAN

UNIVERSITY

G



HSRC
RGN

LEGEND

⛑ Clinics

— Rivers

— Roads

🏫 Schools

□ Suburbs

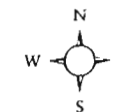
HILLARY

PART BELLAIR

Durban Municipality 10 (mc)

Durban Municipi

UMBILO



km

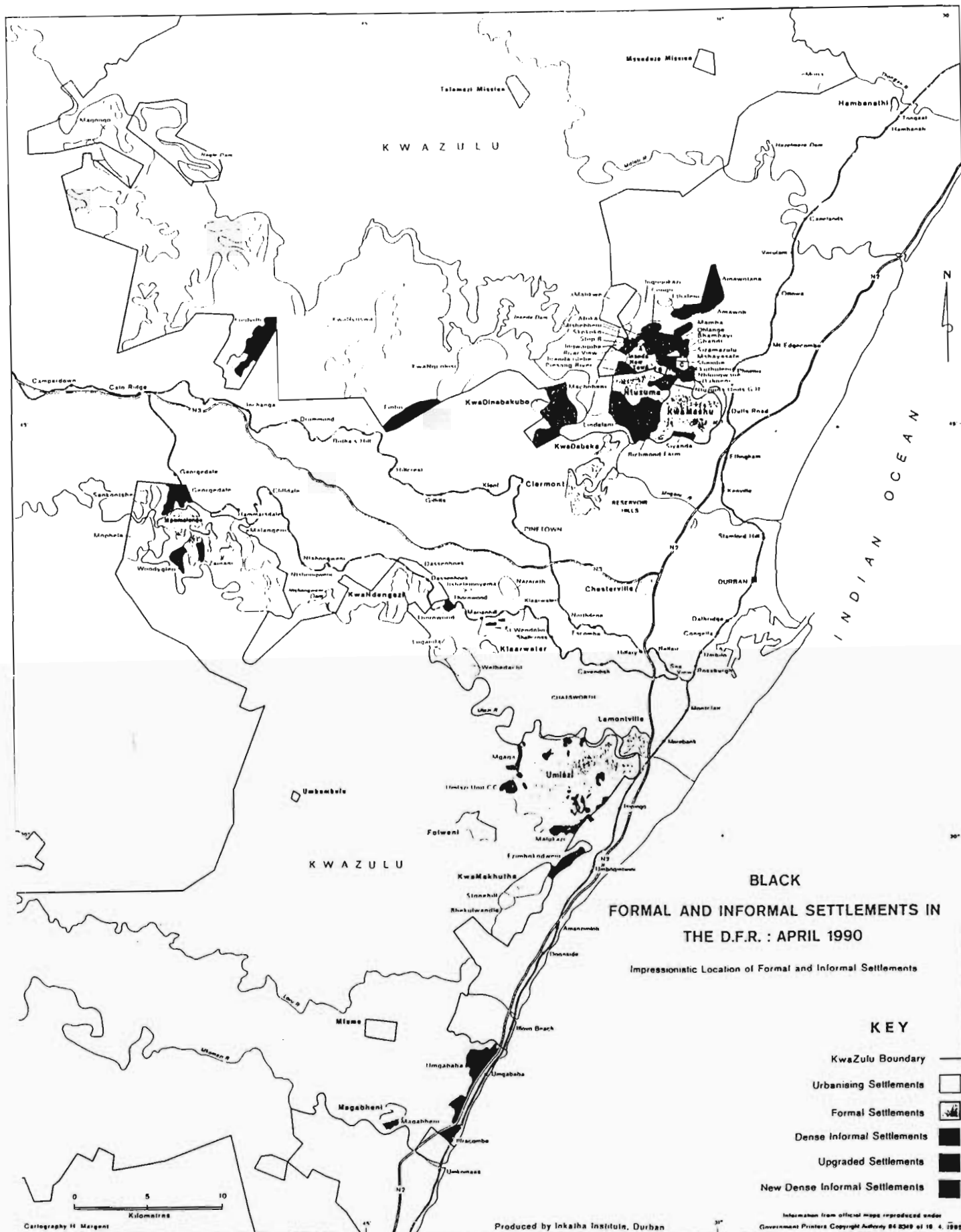
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RIAL PARK

Durban Municipality 20 (mc)

BELLAIR

Durban Municipality 21 (mc)



1. FORMAL SETTLEMENTS:

are which both visually and legally are formally planned laid-out residential elements. These areas have surveyed infrastructure and open spaces. Included in this map are informal dwellings in the backyards of surveyed formal sites or formal settlement areas.

2. UPGRADED SETTLEMENTS:

Originally non-conventional, spontaneous informal settlements; which through the intervention of the urban management system, have received legal recognition and resource allocation for the infrastructure, facilities and services to be upgraded and formalised over time. This process has taken place since the mid 1980's. Residents upgrade their own houses over time. The once informal settlement takes on a more formal/planned appearance after upgrading has taken place.

3. DENSE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS:

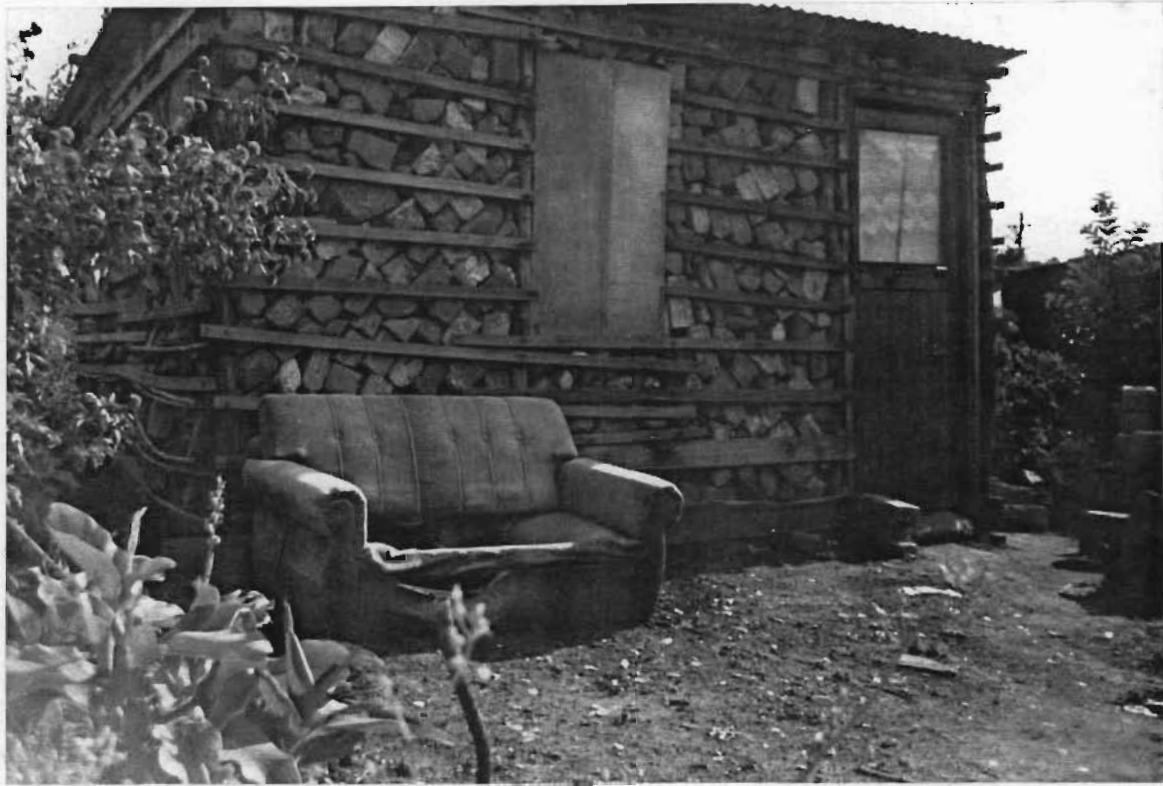
Unplanned, spontaneous and unauthorised settlements both in terms of tribal and South African law. These areas have non-conventional, informal housing on unsurveyed sites. High density, low open spaces and few gardens are further characteristics of these areas. This category refers to dense informal settlements that were established both pre and in 1985.

4. NEW DENSE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS:

The definition for 'Dense Informal' applies to this category. In terms of this map, areas are classified as "new", if they have been established since 1985.

5. URBANISING SETTLEMENTS:

Settlements that are in the state of transition rural/urban lifestyle. This is assessed according to a number of criteria: - the level of subsistence farming; the extent to which people in the community depend on urban areas for their work and shopping requirements; and the values and aspirations of the people living in that settlement.



a) INCOMPLETE SHACK - timber laths on frame with dry rubble



b) COMPLETE SHACK - made with wattle and daub



inside the tent



sail roofing



a tent provided by
the N.P.A.