MEETING THE HOUSING CHALLENGE:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NTUTHUKOVILLE
AND SITE 11 COMMUNITIES - PIETERMARITZBURG

by

MAYASHVERAN CHETTY

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University of Natal

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ABSTRACT

The developing world is characterised by considerable social and economic problems. The unavailability of sufficient housing opportunities in the countries of the developing world is one of the key factors that contributes to their socio-economic malaise. The provision of shelter for the homeless of a country serves not only as an important political act, but also as an important socio-economic development tool for that country. For majority parties in governments to remain popular, housing serves as a basis for the provision of tangible delivery, which at the same time has the capacity to contribute to the countries socio-economic development.

The provision of housing in many countries has been implemented with the objective of providing not only shelter, but also to encourage social and economic development for communities. The approaches taken have varied from time to time and have in many respects been implemented in an attempt to address the needs, constraints and opportunities faced by communities. In South Africa, the implementation of a housing policy that encompassed these issues, came into operation in 1994, with the onset of a democratic order. While successes have been recorded, it has been found that few projects have met their objectives.

This thesis attempts to analyse the effects of the implementation of this housing policy on the communities of Ntuthukoville and Site 11, both of which are located in the town of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. The study focuses on the amount of money and resources expended by these communities on the upgrading of their houses outside of the assistance provided by government. In this way an attempt is made to analyse whether or not the state's role as facilitator rather than provider has been achieved. Further, the economic spinoffs that emerge from the spending
of individuals capital is assessed as a stimulus for local growth and
development. The approach adopted includes an analysis of two
communities within which different management styles have been used
in the implementation of the housing policy. Information in the case
studies has been extracted using interviews with key informants and the
administration of a questionnaire on a face to face basis, on a sample
population in each of the respective communities.

The findings of the study reveal that the one community has spent more
time and money on their houses in the form of new extensions, upgrading
of existing buildings and new internal finishing as compared to the other.
The primary reason centres on the manner in which the respective
developments were implemented and the management style that was used
in each. In the one community there was a community driven approach
to development as compared to a State driven approach in the other. The
study also reveals that the housing policy currently in operation, has the
potential to give impetus to, community participation, social and economic
development for the community, as well as the area in general. This
policy also has the capacity to provide skill's enhancement, kick start
local economies and it provides for the State to act as facilitator rather
than provider. This capacity however is dependent on the proper
implementation of the policy.

The capacity of local government needs to be boosted in order for the
maximum gains to be made from the provision of housing to communities.
As is indicated by the study, local government lacks the skills and the
resources to effectively implement the responsibility devolved upon it by
national government to provide and facilitate housing. There is thus a
need for change in the approach of local government to housing delivery.
A fresh approach should be that of facilitating and managing effectively
with communities rather than for communities. The nett effect of which is likely to be, the building of capacity, stimulating the local economy and delivering to the poorest of the poor.
DECLARATION

The research described in this dissertation was carried out through the School for Development Studies, University of Natal, Durban, in the Faculty of Architecture and Allied Disciplines under the supervision of Professor R. J. Fincham.

This thesis represents the original work of the author and has not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any University. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

Mayashveran Chetty
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

With the onset of a new democracy in South Africa on April 27, 1994, the newly elected African National Congress (ANC) led Government, has been faced with a plethora of problems. Among these are declining economic conditions, poverty, unemployment, lack of resources and massive housing backlogs.

The major challenge faced by this newly elected government, is to achieve socio-economic growth and stability in the face of extremely difficult conditions that have been inherited from the apartheid government. In respect of housing, the new government has inherited several housing arms and funds through which housing has been delivered, that are all part of the State. The challenge faced by this government is to transform this sector into a socially and economically viable entity such that it serves as a political act and an economic stimulus that can repair the damage caused by apartheid. This is evident in the opening remarks of the Housing White Paper:

“Housing the nation is one of the challenges facing the Government of National Unity. The extent of the challenge derives not only from the enormous size of the housing backlog and the desperation and impatience of the homeless, but stems also from the extremely complicated bureaucratic, administrative, financial and institutional framework inherited from the previous government” (1994, 4).

The National Housing Development Board has come into existence as a result of newly promulgated legislation. Various policy proposals have informed and directed this legislation through culmination in the Housing
White Paper (1994). The essence of this Housing White Paper is the provision of housing via sustainable social and economic systems. The policy is geared towards the incorporation of role players into the housing delivery system in a manner where there is a high gearing of private sector funding against the injection of state funds. Further, private sector developers, communities and government are envisaged to form partnerships in the process of delivery. This housing policy is seen to be sustainable since it integrated all of these factors in a holistic fashion.

Housing delivery must incorporate social and economic issues in order for these developments to be sustainable. This requires that development plans for housing must be devised and implemented in a holistic fashion so that it facilitates sustainable development within the respective communities where it is to be implemented.

This means that the implementation of housing developments within a community needs to be implemented on the following basis if it is to be sustainable:

- the circumstances of the respective community, in the form of income, history and levels of understanding of development priorities, must form the foundation for development.

- a development plan should be formulated in conjunction with the community, such that the community determines its needs and wants.

- the development should be based on sound community empowerment principles, wherein the community is involved in all decision making, management of the development, employment
opportunities, skills development and economic benefits.

In this manner, housing development initiatives positively harnesses the support of the community, imparts skills and economic opportunities. All of this has the effect of empowering the community to take control of its future development in a sustainable manner. The other important effect of sustainable development projects, is that it empowers a community to become its own provider and for government to be seen a facilitator, rather than a provider.

It is thus imperative, in the face of scarce and limited resources to ensure that the implementation of housing development results in a reversal of levels of poverty that South Africa finds itself in. The comparative study undertaken here, highlights that the need for integrated development initiatives within the housing sector is of critical importance in order to meet the needs of people in a sustainable fashion.

Two communities were chosen for the study, namely the Ntuthukoville and Site 11 communities because of the fact that they are located next to each other. Both have been upgraded using the National Housing Subsidy Scheme, are similar in social and economic characteristics and most importantly the development of each area was undertaken in different ways. The Ntuthukoville project was managed by a community development trust with an NGO as technical advisor and the Site 11 project was managed by Local government. The objectives of the study were to:

- investigate effects of the different management styles, in so far as the delivery of services, end products and future developments are concerned
evaluate what amount of responsibility the communities have assumed in the upgrading of top structures over and above what has been received in the form of a Government subsidy

evaluate the economic effect in the form of the money and sweat equity that the provision of a Government subsidy has generated.

examine the factors that have contributed to either of the communities having spent more money and sweat equity on upgrading their personal circumstances

identify possible reasons and approaches for development being more sustainable in one community as compared to the other.

This document commences with an introduction, and proceeds to consider some of the theoretical issues that pertains to housing in the South African context. This theoretical chapter, also illustrates the process that has led to the formulation of the Housing White Paper. Further, the theoretical background is set against the historical context of South Africa. This is followed by an expose on the approach taken to conduct the study. The details of these case studies follow, with the intention of placing the reader firmly within the context of these communities. The data collected from the case studies is analysed as a comparative of the case studies. The last chapter of the document is geared towards looking at some of the important outcomes and the possible reasons for them as well as recommendations for future development projects.

It should be noted that the writer has had some difficulty in assembling data in respect of the Site 11 case study, given that it was not complete
and therefore facts and figures not readily available from the developer. Further, in capturing the questionnaire information, it is evident that many respondents indicated the incomes of household heads and not all the incomes that have been earned in the household.

The available literature that pertains to the processes that have informed the development and formulation of the housing White Paper has been explored thoroughly. The study has been limited in that in assessing the issues outlined in this chapter there has been a limited amount of available literature.

The data that has come out of the field work has been used extensively and the writer has relied on interviews with key informants. Further, the writer's own experiences and understanding of housing delivery have been used. Amongst the limitations of the field work have been the short period of time available in which to undertake this work. The numerous problems associated with the statistical data processing have limited the amount of time that was available for the completion of the study as a whole.
CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will explore the current housing policy in South Africa and provide an overview of its key elements. This will be done in the context of understanding the process by which it has come into existence. An integral part of understanding this policy is understanding the historical context within which this policy has been developed.

An understanding of the current policy context will set the basis for analysing the more complex issues that are to be addressed in the subsequent chapters of this document.

2.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

When considering the history of South Africa, it is evident that all the peculiarities of this history manifest itself in one way or the other within the housing sector. The housing backlogs, the skewed distribution of housing and the current state of the building industry are indicative of these peculiarities, since these issues constitute what is now known as the housing crisis.

This history has two main components, namely, a political and an economic component. Both of these components, are an essential starting point in contextualising the housing crisis and the thinking around the current government policies that are in operation.

For many decades, the South African economy has been based on import
substitution. This meant that, instead of being able to compete internationally within the global economy, by embracing an export orientated trade regime, South African industries remained protected from international competition. While other countries were moving toward liberalising their economies and focusing on exports, South Africa continued to remain isolated from international trade and competition. During the years of sanctions, South Africa intensified its inward orientation and focused on the exportation of raw materials or primary products.

Essentially, while the rest of the world moved towards value-added production (whereby countries were not merely exporting raw materials but were processing these raw materials into secondary products), South Africa was relying on mineral and raw material exports. The effects of this have been stagnant growth and an overly diverse manufacturing industry that is unlikely to compete effectively in an export orientated regime (Lall, 1993).

The question that one is probably asking at this stage is, why is this important for the housing industry? The answer to this question lies in what it will take to get South Africa back onto a growth path. The consensus that seems to emerge is that South Africa needs to embrace the international trade regime by liberalising it's economy, developing and focussing its manufacturing sector and to vigorously pursue an export orientated growth path. Commentators also note that this could have far reaching consequences, such as job losses (Lall, Joffe, Kaplan, Kaplinsky, Lewis, 1993). The new Government is therefore severely pressured to create an economically viable country. Thus it needs to find a sector that is capable of kick-starting the economy in order to encourage foreign and local investment, growth, job creation and skills development. The
The housing sector is capable of meeting these challenges, however in the South African case the sector will need a boost if it is to meet these challenges effectively.

The argument however is not only an economic one, there are political arguments that exist. Firstly, apartheid through its segregation mechanism of the Group Areas Act, has produced a cheap and unskilled labour supply. There have been numerous consequences of this, two of which seem particularly applicable to the housing sector.

Firstly, the under-investment in black people combined with the slow growth rate of the country, has had the impact of a large population of unskilled, unemployed, extremely poor and uneducated or semi-literate people. The restriction of black people, more particularly Africans, to their designated areas has had the effect of reinforcing their inability to get work in other areas, and to enable them to develop sufficient skills and education to become artisans. These jobs were reserved in many respects for Indians and so called Coloureds, who make up the bulk of the artisans in this country. The housing sector at the very least offers redistributive opportunities to people, in that technological capacity, skills, job creation, and entrepreneurship. These are achievable by promoting small contractors, encouraging joint ventures between small and multi-national companies and by ensuring that local labour is used in the construction process, thereby creating jobs (Hindson, et al, 1994).

The second issue, is that of an under investment in the townships in which many poor people live coupled with overcrowding. Hindson, et al, 1994 argue that this competition has had the effect of people competing for scarce resources and thus resulting in violence. The effect of this violence has been the migration of people into the cities and thereby the creation
A further issue is that, the gearing of welfare benefits, access to land, housing and services has always been at the expense of blacks in favour of white people. This has ensured that the greatest need currently, in all areas of welfare, exists within the townships that service black people. This has placed significant pressure on government to deliver these services. Therefore a hefty contribution by government to the housing sector has the potential to redress these inequalities, with benefits to the poor, labour and business.

2.3 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This brings one to look at one of the most debated issues in academic circles that faces the Government. This being the issue of growth versus redistribution. The key questions raised in this regard, is which should come first and would have the effect of addressing the historical imbalances of the past? Housing is seen as a sector that can address both of these. There are however various issues that relate to this, such as that of inflationary effects that can arise out of Governments investment in the housing sector in the medium to short term, as well as implications of Government not being able to kick start export orientated industry simultaneously. These issues are extremely important in addressing this issue but fall outside of the scope of this particular inquiry. For the purposes of this study, the important issue is that the housing sector has the potential to provide growth and redistribution to the country.

Where the question of growth is concerned it is beyond doubt that housing has the capacity to stimulate growth in that, an input or stimulation of the housing sector will have a knock on effect on a variety of other sectors.
Some of these sectors are the furniture, electrical, communications and building industries. However, the important issue that arises out of this is whether industries and institutions within the housing sector have the capacity to deal with the inflationary kick-backs that will emanate from this stimuli. As mentioned earlier an in-depth look at this issue is beyond the scope of this study.

In so far as redistributive effects are concerned, there are three broad categories, i.e., meeting basic needs, capacity or skills enhancement and access to jobs, finance and facilities.

In assessing the effects for redistribution, one must realise that the history of housing delivery and all of the recent attempts to reform it, have raised a mass of problems. These include legitimacy, capacity at the level of delivery and the provision of skills, institutional complications, financial biases on the basis of race, limited government resources, and the failure of the public and private sectors to successfully get the job done.

All of the issues raised here are unquestionably the result of the history that South Africa comes from. An attempt will be made to look at these issues in a little more detail in order to conceptualise the thinking that has surrounded the current policy reforms.

2.4 CURRENT HOUSING POLICY

2.4.1 UNRAVELLING THE MESS

In 1995, South Africa's urban housing backlog stood at around 1.5 million housing units, according to various media reports. This immediately raises the question of how many people are homeless? At a guess, taking
the above figure into account and assuming that the average family size is four, one would say about six million people. This excludes rural dwellers and those people who are either living in accommodation provided by employers and migrant workers living in hostels. Nevertheless, it is alarming to note that nearly 20% of the population are without a house.

This backlog, argues Molobi (1996), arises out of the institutional conditions that existed during apartheid. According to Molobi (1996), the resolution of this backlog was exacerbated by the fact that State housing departments were highly fragmented. Further, by 1990, there existed seven different State housing departments and 13 funds through which money could be accessed. Over and above this there existed "six 'self-governing' homeland authorities and more than 60 national and regional state corporate institutions" that were involved in the delivery and facilitation of housing (1996, ix). It is easily understandable therefore, why there existed contradictions within the state's housing delivery policy and the minimum standards that applied to housing. The key focus of the state's housing approach was the provision of four or five roomed houses in large sprawling townships, either State or private sector driven.

As Merrifield & Gounden (1994:95) point out, the current state of development in South Africa has largely been inhibited, by the legacy of apartheid and patronage politics. The net result has been that, there has been no clear development plan and programme to address the needs of the poor in a genuine manner. What we have seen has been a mushrooming of various housing agencies, with varying objectives.

The housing delivery system, which Merrifield defines as being "the functional differentiation of housing activities between actors engaged in
different activities, depending on the ideological background on which the governing housing policy is based" (1994,92), is seen as inadequate for the South African needs at the moment.

2.4.1.2 EARLY POLICY PROPOSALS

It would be useful to look at some of the proposals advanced by the Urban Foundation (UF), the De Loor Commission, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the National Housing Forum and that of the Government of National Unity (GNU), in order to have a clear understanding of the implications that may arise from the implementation of some of the proposals. This is imperative in light of the fact that, most of the ideas in these proposals have found their way into the Government's policy on housing.

It would therefore be imperative, as a starting point, to look at some of the delivery systems that are in operation in South Africa currently. This will allow one to understand more fully the proposals that have been advanced and the basis upon which the Government of National Unity's policy has been developed.

2.5 HOUSING DELIVERY SYSTEMS

It is possible to identify four broad based housing delivery systems operating in South Africa today (Walker, 1993).

2.5.1 UNAIDED SELF-HELP

This category refers to housing provision which largely falls outside the policy framework of the Government legislation. This housing does not
conform to prescribed regulations and users play a large role in its delivery. This would include housing provided by people for themselves by virtue of, informal settlements, illegal subdivision of yards, background shacks and floating squatters, such as street children, the homeless and vagrants that set up home where it is convenient or safe to do so.

2.5.2 SUPPORTED SELF HELP

This involves an upgrading of informal settlements and illegal subdivisions. This may involve the provision of services and infrastructure and possibly a housing unit. In this sort of situation there is support either from the State in the form of financial resources or the private sector in the form of construction.

2.5.3 PROJECT-INITIATED SELF HELP

Here the provision of secure tenure and serviced sites, precedes the occupation of the sites. These schemes are largely implemented by the state and the private sector. Current schemes in this category are strongly influenced by the source of funding.

2.5.4 CONVENTIONAL HOUSING

This refers to the delivery of completed units, built in accordance with the national and local planning regulations. This form of housing ranges from free-standing units to semi-detached housing and, multi-storey blocks of flats. The private sector and the State renting these housing units are the dominant forms that exist currently.

Thus the housing delivery process within different systems is determined
largely by those who initiate development, that is the state or the private sector. However as shall be pointed later, community based housing projects appear to have potential of being important in the future.

To take a brief look then at the housing policies that have been advanced by the Urban Foundation, the De Loor's Commission and the RDP.

2.6 **URBAN FOUNDATION (UF) - 1990**

Walker (1993:39) points out that the general thrust of the UF, is the privatisation of the housing delivery, the promotion of ownership and the levelling of the playing fields between the different actors.

It also argued for the removal of the supply side blockages to housing delivery ie some legislation requirements. It also encouraged the promotion of non conventional housing strategies (the upgrading of informal settlements and site service schemes), over conventional housing.

The UF envisaged a housing delivery system that would be structured around housing sub-markets which would be based on the ability of people to pay. This meant that the role of the public and private sector would vary from one sub-sector to the other, for instance, for the poor, the state has to take the ultimate responsibility. The UF argued that failure to deal with problems in one sub-sector would have a ripple-effect on other sub-sectors. The sub-sectors identified were:

* Conventional housing sub markets
* Starter housing sub markets
* Informal housing sub markets
* Private rental sub markets.
The report argued for the removal of the public rental system, since it was viewed as benefitting the few. It envisaged that the private rentals would cater for the those who could afford. Those who are so poor and cannot get access to any of the above-mentioned categories, would have to be catered for by social welfare programmes. The policy interventions they identified as being necessary to make this possible were:

- A central government policy that ensured that informal housing gains broader acceptability.

- The introduction of legislation which facilitates informal housing provision eg. improved capacity to deliver informal housing by making it possible for local and regional authorities to set up separate housing agencies.

- Subsidisation of housing, earmarking of land, and the removal of obstacles in the operation of the private sector. Implicit in the UF proposals was the view that the public sector is not the only provider of housing. The private sector (Non Governmental Organisations (NGOS), individuals, Community Based Organisations (CBO'S) and commercial developers) is critical as well, although it was noted that the private sector, probably could not cope with the demand.

Some of the UF's proposals have received broader acceptability and is even argued that the RDP'S housing policy is based on these proposals. However there are some concerns about some of the concepts in the report, especially the notion of levelling the playing fields. Walker (1993) argues that this concept assumes that the same rationality guides the actions of all housing delivery systems. This however is not true. Private sector
developers are guided by the profit motive, and the non-profit sector is associated with process-oriented approaches to housing and views housing as part of the whole development drive. Another shortcoming is the assumption that all development agencies could have equal access to resources, technical expertise and political power. What the above analysis suggests is that, it is difficult to structure housing policy in a way that may seek to create absolute equality between all actors involved in the provision of housing.

2.7 DE LOOR'S REPORT - 1992

It envisaged the provision of housing in a step by step fashion. The provision of secure tenure, basic services and access to small loan schemes, which would be repayable over a five year period. Five housing delivery systems were proposed

- **Self-Help schemes** - where the user takes full responsibility for the construction of the his/her home.

- **Assisted self-help scheme** - where the user receives technical assistance in the form of loans, material and advice.

- **Mass Housing-housing programmes** - where sites and plans are provided, the client chooses his/her own plan and the house is constructed by either the State or private sector.

- **Mutual aid schemes** - where people work together to build formal or informal housing.

Existing informal settlements are recognised as part of the solution as it
is suggested that they be upgraded. Like the UF, it suggested that affordability criteria should determine the choice of a delivery system.

Home ownership is encouraged and the sale of public rental housing to the current occupiers is strongly recommended. It recommended that the provision of rental housing be left to the private sector and employers. Community involvement is identified as being important for the successful implementation of the housing strategy. The ideal situation envisaged is for people to accept responsibility for their well being and therefore participate actively in the housing process. They see elected local government representatives as responsible for running the process.

The report argued that housing needs to be part of the socio-economic policy that forms part of the overall development drive. As with the UF proposals, the State is seen as fulfilling a facilitative role. The private sector is seen as having an ability to play a critical role, although it is recommended that maximum use be made of the small black builders.

2.8 THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP)

The RDP commits the government to providing housing, since it sees housing as a human right (1990). It notes that, there could well be a range of role-players in the delivery process and, accepts that it is ultimately responsible to address the needs of the poor. The RDP, acknowledges that there exists the need for varying reforms in order to facilitate and speed-up the delivery of housing and to protect the rights of rural tenants. Some of these reforms are, land tenure laws, freeing up of state owned land and legislation to protect the rights of labour tenants. It envisages the establishment of financial schemes to make finance
available through loans and subsidies.

The document recognises that hostels and informal settlements are a feature of this country and need to be upgraded rather than demolished since they provide a range of housing opportunities.

The RDP calls for construction costs to be kept down, so as to minimise the problem of affordability. It envisages that the key role players and initiators of housing development to be local and regional government structures, and that the delivery process be community controlled.

2.9 THE NATIONAL HOUSING FORUM (NHF)

The NHF was formerly established in 1992, but operated for a year prior to this in preparation for the official establishment. It was constituted of nineteen different organisations and was tasked with negotiating, formulating and implementing a National Housing Policy.

The NHF operated under difficult conditions, in that the Apartheid government was still in place and it was not easy to reach agreement on a variety of issues. However the transition to democracy, with the onset of the April 1994 elections, brought a sigh of relief to all of those involved in the NHF.

The NHF together with the National Department of Housing entered into a policy making partnership to formulate a Housing White Paper that, would serve as a coherent policy frame work for all South African Citizens.

The policy that emerged was founded on the notion that it was the aim of government to create an enabling environment, “whereby communities
could play an active role in satisfying their own housing needs" (Brugge K, 1996, 81)

Brugge (1996,81), contends that housing when considered as a “process is seen as a major catalyst for economic activity in its broadest sense”. The reason being that, the involvement of communities in conjunction with the private sector in such a manner that will create skills transfer and economic empowerment, is surely likely to create an enabling environment.

The Housing White Paper that emerged from this policy partnership placed the emphasis for a future housing strategy on (Brugge, 1996):

- Ensuring that communities were encouraged to participate in the planning and executing of the development;

- The provision of employment for local labour, by the provision of labour-based construction methods, thereby creating employment and jobs for local people;

- The improvement of linkages within the economy more especially within the electrification sector, such that a national electrification programme was in place.

- Providing programmes that are geared towards the development of skills and capacity for unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labour.

- The incorporation of the small and medium enterprise into the housing sector as well as associated industries.
• Providing mechanisms for the development of entrepreneurs more especially people from the formerly disadvantaged groups.

• The provision of constant support mechanisms for women.

• The provision of subsidies to individuals who are first time home owners in a bid to provide for the poorest of the poor.

These areas have in many ways become the focal points of the Government's Policy on housing. It has also set the basis upon which the new housing policy is designed.

2.10 THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY (GNU)

In December of 1994, the Housing White Paper was adopted by cabinet. This marked a break with the historical pattern of housing delivery in that, for the first time since the 1948 elections, there was a comprehensive policy framework for housing. This housing policy framework consisted of several key strategies, such as (White Paper 1994):

• Stabilising the housing environment by encouraging payment for services. This strategy was formulated as the Masakhane Campaign in light of the fact that, for many years there existed a boycott of bond and service charge payments.

• The provision of support mechanisms to the housing process by introducing a range of institutional, technical and advisory services to communities.

• Mobilising credit; finance schemes and individual savings, such as
the government established National Housing Finance Corporation (NHFC), which was tasked with assisting those who genuinely could not pay their bonds.

- The provision of a government housing subsidy based on various income categories:

**TABLE 1: SUBSIDY CATEGORIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BENEFICIARY INCOME (MONTHLY)</th>
<th>SUBSIDY AMOUNT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; R600</td>
<td>R15 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R801 - R1 500</td>
<td>R12 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1 501 - R2 500</td>
<td>R9 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2501 - R3 500</td>
<td>R6 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These categories may increase by a maximum of 15% for those areas where, geo-technical conditions are adverse; the project is located on steep land and where there is good proximity of the project to the City centre.

- Facilitating the speedy release of land that is in the hands of Government for development use, in order to lower costs that are normally increased by delays in the housing provision process.

These key issues form the backbone of the South African Housing Act. The legislation has had the effect of a National Housing Development Board being formed with nine Provincial Housing Development Boards to provide the monetary, technical, institutional and advisory services to the private and public sectors. It has also placed the major responsibility for housing development and facilitation with Local government.
2.11 CONCLUSION

At this point a more detailed look at the policy in respect of housing is not warranted, but there are aspects of the policy that have to be looked at in more detail. This will be done in subsequent chapters as they become relevant to the issues that are being discussed.
CHAPTER 3
STUDY APPROACH

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The City of Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi is often described by decision makers as being characteristic of both a first and a third world city. On the one hand there exists the well planned, well located and modern former “White”, “Coloured” and “Indian” areas. Alongside these areas exists the former African townships, which have been termed the ‘newly incorporated areas’. These areas border the City of Pietermaritzburg and were administered by the Provincial Administration, such as the Edendale Valley and Sobantu (Figure 1). These areas, along with most other African townships are commonly characterised by a lack of essential services such as water, sewer, electricity and road infrastructure (RDP,1994).

Over the past six to eight years, there has been a steady influx of African people from the newly incorporated areas and rural areas into the City centre and surrounding suburbs. Various explanations exist for the migration of people from these areas. The most commonly encountered and readily acceptable explanations are, firstly the election of the National Party into power during 1948, had the effect of intensifying the segregation of the races. The Group Areas Act of 1950 served as a foundation for concentrating people in clearly defined areas (Morris, 1981). Some of the key effects encountered by mainly township dwellers was that of severe overcrowding, a lack of employment opportunities and the absence of basic services. These newly incorporated areas are not excluded from these conditions. Thus there was a movement of people into the city to seek employment and economic opportunities in order to
sustain themselves.

Secondly, the onset of violence during the 1980's and the intensification thereof in the early 1990's has had the effect of people moving into the city and its suburbs to seek refuge.

The trend has been for these migrants to settle on vacant pieces of land within the suburbs and the central City area. More often than not these vacant pieces of land are owned by one of the three arms of government, either, Central, Provincial or Local government. It has also been the case that these settlements have concentrated themselves in the former Indian and Coloured areas. Statistics of the Pietermaritzburg City Planning Department reveals that of the 41 informal settlements in existence, 38 are in the former Indian and Coloured areas, 1 in the former White areas and 2 in the Edendale area (Pers Comm).

This Study focuses on the communities of Ntuthukoville and Site 11 which are both located within the boundaries of the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi Transitional Local Council (TLC) area. These communities are a part of the former 'coloured' area known as Woodlands. Ntuthukoville is situated adjacent to the lower income settlement of Happy Valley and across the road from the more affluent, upper Woodlands. Site 11 is located adjacent to Ntuthukoville and is opposite land that the TLC has leased for forestation purposes. Both of these communities are bounded by the former Indian area of Northdale (Figure 2).
FIGURE 1: NEWLY INCORPORATED AREAS INTO PIETERMARITZBURG
FIGURE 2: THE LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREAS
The key aim of the study is to compare the circumstances of the two communities in light of the fact that both areas have been upgraded with the use of subsidies provided by the Provincial Housing Development Board. The assumption that the researcher is assessing herein, is whether the provision of a Provincial Housing Board Subsidy coupled with effective management techniques, will have the effect of shifting the onus of development from the State to the individual. It is assumed that the use of extensive community participation techniques and self management of housing developments has this effect and various other knock-on effects.

As outlined in the first chapter to this study, an attempt is made to assess what the communities have contributed to upgrading their own circumstances. The intention is to analyse whether the provision of a housing subsidy, the bulk of which is used for the provision of services and the remainder for building materials, has the effect on beneficiaries of them assuming responsibility for the upgrading of their own circumstances. An attempt is also made at assessing whether there are spinoffs of following a participatory development approach that further shifts the onus of development from the State to communities, as compared to an approach to development that does not include elements of self management.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were employed in undertaking the study. The qualitative element comprised interviews with key informants as well as open-ended and close-ended questions as part of a structured questionnaire. Quantitative data was collected using a structured questionnaire that was administered on sample populations from each of the respective areas. The
questionnaire was made up of close ended, lickert scale response type questions and open-ended questions.

3.2.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Key informants were identified by the researcher and interviewed on an informal basis using key questions as a guide to obtain information of a qualitative nature (Annexure 1). These interviews were conducted with a range of stakeholders. These being: members of the Ntuthukoville Development Trust (trustees), members of staff from the Built Environment Support Group (BESG) who were the project leaders, an employee of Partners In Development who were appointed as the on site project managers and engineers to oversee the in-situ upgrade of the area, the development committee chairpersons of both communities and local leaders from the civic and political organisation in the area, employees of the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi Transitional Local Council.

The information derived from the key informants was used for the purposes of establishing the development path that was followed in the respective communities, the historical context of the developments, the costs, time frames, processes and problems that were faced in the course of the infrastructure upgrade.

3.2.2 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

A structured questionnaire was designed for administration on a sample of the general population of both communities in order to gain insight into quantitative aspects of the research (Annexure 2). The questionnaire was made up of open-ended and close-ended questions. The sampling technique employed was that of random sampling. This would allow the
"researcher to make relatively few observations and generalise from these observations to a much wider population" (Babbie, 1992, 192).

### 3.2.3 Sampling Technique

There were three types of random sampling techniques available to the researcher. Firstly, a simple random sample could be extracted. Secondly, a stratified sample could be used, and thirdly, the technique of systematic random sampling could be employed.

The technique of systematic sampling with a random starter was chosen since, an exhaustive list of elements was available. The technique requires that every \( n \text{th} \) element of the population is included in the sample. A sampling interval is determined by dividing the population size by the sample size, for example, a population of 10 000 divided by a sample of 1 000, would give you a sampling interval of 10. This means that every 10th element of your population is chosen for inclusion in the sample. In order to eliminate any possible human bias, one would choose the first element at random, so in the preceding example a random number between 1 and 10 would be selected. The selected number would be the first number to be included in the sample and thereafter every 10th element. This method of sample extraction was found to be the most acceptable for the purposes of this particular study.

The structured questionnaire was administered to a sample of 107 households, which represents approximately 30% of all the households in Ntuthukoville and Site 11. This would effectively constitute one in every three households being surveyed. The need for a sample of this size, is due to the fact that in order for statistical analysis to be meaningful a minimum of 100 subjects would be acceptable (Bailey, 1987). Further,
given that the data extracted would be broken down into various categories, it is necessary to have sufficient subjects in order to ensure that there is not too few responses in each categories, which would leave the data unreliable and difficult for the researcher to make generalizations from (Bailey, 1987). The sampling ratio was then calculated and the questionnaire administered on a face to face basis.

The researcher employed the services of two field workers who were fluent in Zulu to carry out the interviews. The field workers were familiarised with the questionnaire and briefed on the ethical considerations that should be adhered to. In this regard field workers were alerted to the fact that respondents information was confidential and should not be discussed under any circumstances. The field workers were briefed on the need to record responses exactly as they were given to them by respondents in order to limit the bias that may occur from the translation from English into Zulu. Further, field workers were advised that questionnaires should only be administered on an adult member of the household in order to ensure that the respondent was familiar with the circumstances of the household.

The quantitative data elicited, was used to assess the circumstances of the household, the amounts of money and labour (sweat equity) spent on upgrading the houses and personal circumstances of respondents. It was also used for the purposes of ascertaining which of the two communities had spent more money on the upgrading of their circumstances and what the possible reasons for this could be.

In respect of analysis of the quantitative data, the most accessible statistical package available was that of SPSS. The quantitative data was first coded and then captured on to a spreadsheet. Thereafter, more in-
depth statistical processing via SPSS was used to analyse the data.

3.3 CONCLUSION

In employing the various research techniques discussed above, the researcher attempts to extract information from the community. The information would allow the researcher to assess whether the provision of a subsidy coupled with effective management techniques would have the effect, of shifting the onus of development from the State to the individual. The issue is whether the subsidy has the effect of being an enabling mechanism rather than a mechanism that reinforces the perception that the State is a provider rather than an enabler.

The use of the above mentioned research techniques, would enable the researcher to assess the amount of own income and time spent by a family on the upliftment of their own circumstances, in the form of extensions and renovations to their homes.
CHAPTER 4
THE CASE STUDIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will explore the study areas of Ntuthukoville and Site 11. The aim of the chapter is to give the reader an understanding of the historical context in which these communities have come to be settled where they are and to appraise the reader of the process that unfolded in the scope of the areas being upgraded from informal settlements to settlements that are serviced and where the occupants have full tenure rights.

4.2 THE NTUTHUKOVILLE CASE STUDY

4.2.1 THE STUDY AREA

The study area of Ntuthukoville is located in the historically “coloured” Woodlands ward of the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi Transitional Local Council. It is adjacent to the lower income area of Happy Valley and is directly opposite the higher income area of upper Woodlands.

The project area is a piece of formally City Council owned land that used to be forested. This strip of land formed a buffer between the former “Indian” group area known as Northdale and the former “Coloured” group area, Woodlands (Figure 2).

The location of the project area is in good proximity to the city centre, being located approximately three kilometres from the city’s central area. It is close to all amenities such as schools, hospitals, shopping facilities
and major transport routes (Figure 2).

4.2.2 THE HISTORY: FROM CONFLICT TO DEVELOPMENT

The community of Ntuthukoville has its history entrenched in conflict. The community is formed out of refugees of violence that plagued Pietermaritzburg and the rest of the country during the 1980s and 1990s. These refugees were victims of violence in the Table Mountain (Mqonqo) area and other surrounding areas of Pietermaritzburg, such as the Edendale valley. During the early 1990s, a group of approximately 30 families settled in the area now known as Ntuthukoville. With their few remaining possessions and whatever materials they could assemble, these families took to setting up house on the vacant council owned land.

For a few weeks after the construction of their new homes, these people experienced the bliss of conventional suburban living. Although this did not take the form of conventional services such as clean running water and water borne sewerage, it did include the safety, security and peace that the areas they came from could not afford them.

This bliss did not last long. The community began experiencing a new form of violence, that was typical of the local authorities during the apartheid era and prior to the installation of Nominated Councils, which were made up of nominees of various political parties and installed prior to the democratic elections of Transitional Local Councils (Local government Transition Act).

Forcible eviction of these families ensued, with the aim of relocating them to the southern most periphery of the city known as Ambleton and Shenstone. The aim of the then political and official office bearers was to
ensure that the status quo remained and that black people were kept on the fringe of the city (Pers Comm).

Approximately five attempts were made to relocate these people, but the community, with the assistance of NGO's political and religious organisations, were adamant that they were not going to move. Each and every time, during those intense winter months when their houses were demolished, these people with the assistance of the Happy Valley community, rebuilt their places of shelter (Pers Comm).

The struggle to remain on this strip of land received wide spread support from all quarters in the Pietermaritzburg area. A wide variety of organisations, among others the African National Congress, the Black Sash, the University of Natal Students Representative Council, the South African Students Congress, the Pietermaritzburg Residents and Ratepayers Association and most importantly the Happy Valley Civic Association, lent support to the fight of this community. Given the socio-political climate of the time and the cold approach displayed by the local authority, it is not difficult to understand the humanitarian approach adopted by many residents of the city in supporting the struggle of this community. The struggle of this community came to a head when the city council employed the services of a notorious security firm, that was noted for its harsh methods used in the removal of people who were occupying land illegally. At this stage Archbishop Nuttle intervened in the matter in an attempt to convince the local authority to allow these people to remain on the land.

Having failed dismally at their attempts to remove these people, using legal and brute force as a means, the local authority capitulated, and all attempts at removal ceased. The area was declared a transit area. This
being an area where temporary services, such as pit latrines and water stand pipes are provided, as an interim measure prior to the implementation of formal services (Pers Comm).

In light of the fact that the area was declared a transit area and the local authority could no longer evict people living here the settlement grew to capacity. The settlement was originally made up of approximately forty families living in houses constructed of wattle and daube, but once the area was declared a transit area the settlement grew to approximately one hundred and sixty-six households (Pers Comm).

There are various other explanations for this having occurred. The consensus that seems to have emerged from the various interviews conducted is that of an illegal land market operating. The sale of sites by persons who were in positions of power was one of the reasons for the area growing, a further reason has been the convenience that the land offered to people, in that they had easy access to their places of work and employment opportunities (Pers Comm).

The focus of this community then changed from that of resisting evictions to the development of the area. The term development is used in the context that it was used by the community and its leaders at the time, meaning the provision of basic services, such as water, water borne sewerage and road infrastructure to the area, as well as the supply of building materials for the value of any residue subsidy that may exist, for the upgrading of the existing structures. The residue subsidy would be that amount of money that would remain for use by beneficiaries after the cost of providing the services referred to above.
4.2.3 PROCESSES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA.

A key role player during the development phase of the area as it has emerged from interviews with various community leaders and trustees was the Built Environment Support Group, Pietermaritzburg (BESG). BESG, is a non-profit/non-governmental organisation that was established in Pietermaritzburg during 1989. The aim of BESG is to "develop and promote policies and practices which empower grassroots groupings and simultaneously address their habitat needs" (BESG annual report, 1997)

The development of the area gained momentum from a workshop that was prepared and presented to the community by BESG. It emerged during the course of an interview with the secretary of the Ntuthukoville Development Trust (NDT) that various options and mechanisms for developing the area were mooted at the said workshop. In light of the fact that the community had several unpleasant experiences with the local authority it was decided that the only acceptable mechanism for the development of the area would be via a representative structure of the community (Pers Comm).

The Ntuthukoville Development Trust was established in December 1995 and registered with the Master of the High Court. All persons that were elected to serve as trustees were members of the community and nominees of existing community structures.

The key reason for the establishment of a Development Trust was to allow the community to enter into contracts, the main contract being that of a funding agreement with the Provincial Housing Board for the provision of housing subsidies to the beneficiary community. There also existed the need for this legal entity for the following key reason. To enter into
agreements with the Indlovu Regional Council for the provision of bridging finance, with consultants that were engaged to undertake the planning of the area and contractors engaged to put in the infrastructure.

The Development Trust was tasked with the overall management of the project and had the responsibility to refer back to the community all major decisions. This meant that decisions pertaining to the level of services, the mechanism to be employed in providing these services and policy decisions had to be taken in consultation with the community.

The Built Environment Support Group was appointed project manager for the development of the area. BESG played the vital role of providing advice to the trustees on the day to day running of the project and technical matters that related to engineering and other aspects of the development. BESG was responsible for the development of skills among the trustees. These included empowerment through workshops on housing policy issues, development principles, project costs and various other issues that pertained to the upgrade (Charlton, 1997).

4.2.4 IMPLEMENTATION AND END-PRODUCT

The implementation of the project spanned a two year period and the system of land tenure was that of freehold. All aspects of the planning of the project were undertaken with the close consultation and input of the trustees. For instance, the layout of the dwellings in the area prior to the upgrade were located extremely close together, and rendered it virtually impossible to accommodate all these households exactly where they were situated. After consultation with the community an agreement was reached to relocate some forty families to other sites within the area at their own cost (Charlton, 1997).
The Land surveyors were tasked with the beaconing of sites prior to the implementation of services. This process unfolded in two stages. Firstly, all those sites that were not affected by relocations were beaconed. A small number of beacons had to be placed only once those families that needed to relocate had done so (Charlton, 1997).

The construction of services was undertaken by the community under the appointment of Partners In Development (PID) as the civil engineers and construction managers. PID are a firm of engineers and project managers their role was to manage the supply of materials and labour for sewer and water installation, the construction of toilet top structures, plumbing, construction of tyre retaining walls and the grassing of banks, among other functions (Charlton, 1997). The construction of roads was undertaken by a private contractor using local labour.

It is estimated that in the construction phase of the project, over R 370 000.00 was paid to the community in the form of wages out of a total construction cost of R 1 593 993,00 (Charlton, 1997).

Upon completion of services, namely, a tarred main route (Plate 1) and sprayed subsidiary roads, toilets (Plate 2), water stand pipes to each household and tyre retaining wall facilities on certain sites, an amount of approximately R 2 600,00 remained per beneficiary qualifying for a R 15 000,00 subsidy, for the purchase of building materials. The construction of houses with this money and own resources is reflected on Plate 3.

The trust entered into negotiations with a local builder supplier for the purchase and delivery of materials. A mechanism for the identification of beneficiaries was put into place by the trust for the supplier. A member of the community was employed to check materials delivered and to sign
delivery notes. The conveyancers for the project made payments on behalf of the trust. With the building materials received, it was expected that families would be able to build a small two-roomed house. However, beneficiaries have constructed much larger houses. It is therefore assumed that there was an injection of own resources into the construction of these houses. This is evident from Plate 1 and Plate 4.

4.2.5 OVERVIEW

By the end of 1997, the servicing of the area, including water, water borne sewerage with a toilet top structure constructed of block, electricity to individual household, a main tarred road and ancillary roads sprayed with bitumen, postal facilities and street lighting. The transfer of sites to individuals was completed in August 1998.
PLATE 1: INDICATING TARRED MAIN ROAD AND A HOME CONSTRUCTED USING MAINLY OWN RESOURCES.

PLATE 2: INDICATES TOILET TOP-STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED USING SUBSIDY MONIES.
PLATE 3: LARGE HOMES CONSTRUCTED WITH THE USE OF BUILDING MATERIALS SUPPLIED OUT OF THE RESIDUE SUBSIDY FUNDS AND OWN RESOURCES
4.3 THE SITE 11 CASE STUDY

4.3.1 THE STUDY AREA

The study area of Site 11 is located in the historically "coloured" ward of Woodlands in the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi TLC. It is adjacent to the Ntuthukoville settlement and is directly opposite a large forested area that has been leased from the TLC, by a forestation company.

The project area is a piece of formally City Council owned land that was leased for the purposes of forestation. This strip of land formed a buffer between the former "Indian" group area known as Northdale and the former "Coloured" group area, Woodlands (Figure 2).

The location of the project area is in good proximity to the city centre, being located approximately three kilometres from the city's central area. It is close to all amenities such as schools, hospitals, shopping facilities and major transport routes (Figure 2).

4.3.2 THE HISTORY

The Site 11 community, like most other informal settlements in the Pietermaritzburg area, is constituted of refugees of violence that plagued the country during the 1980s and 1990s. It is also made up of people who have moved from the township in search of employment or to be closer to their source of employment. The people that make up Site 11 are mainly refugees from the Table Mountain (Mqonqo) area and the surrounding townships of Pietermaritzburg.

The community of Site 11 is made up of three informal settlements that
had developed in the Northern Areas of the City, namely the former "Indian" and "Coloured" areas. The communities that were identified for relocation were Pholar Park, Peaceful Centre and Jamaica.

The movement of these people from the settlements mentioned above occurred for various reasons. Firstly, the settlement of Pholar Park was situated on land that was not suitable for the purposes of upgrading. Secondly the settlement of Jamaica was situated on land that was owned by Spoornet. Thirdly the communities surrounding all three of these settlements were unhappy about their presence in these formal settlements (pers comm).

The residents of these formal settlements were aggrieved by the fact that services were being provided to the informal settlements at no cost to the users and that formal residents had to pay high rates and service charges. Due to these reasons the council of day (during the nominated phase of Local government transition), were coming under severe pressure for the removal of informal settlements located in formal settlements. The residents of the formal settlement, wherein Peaceful Centre was located argued that even though the land on which the informal settlement was located was suitable for the development of low-cost housing, people from the area that they were living in overcrowded conditions should be housed thereon. The residents of the areas wherein all three settlements were located threatened to stop paying for services and rates in light of the fact that emergency services were provided free to the informal settlements. Furthermore, due to the presence of 'squatters' in close proximity to their homes, the value of their properties were being effected adversely.

In light of this background, the council identified the area called Site 11 for the resettlement of these communities and for the development of low
cost housing. This decision was taken not only because of the pressure that came to bear on the council, but also because of the existence of the Ntuthukoville community on land adjacent to that which the council decided was acceptable for the relocation of the communities mentioned. Essentially, it was felt that given the existence of an informal settlement in the Woodlands area, that was accepted by the lower income area of Happy Valley, it would not pose a problem to locate these communities on land that was nearby.

During 1994, the preliminary work on the site commenced, after acceptance from the communities that were willing to relocate to the site earmarked.

According to the project facilitator for the area, the development of the area was understood to be for the provision of services and residual subsidy money for the provision of top structure for beneficiaries (pers comm).

4.3.3 PROCESSES INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA

The key role players in the development of Site 11 were the Development Committees of the three communities and the City Planners Department of city council. A single Development Committee made up of representatives of the three informal settlements was established. The City Planners Department was represented by the Urbanisation Unit which was tasked with the facilitation of the developments (pers com).

The development of the area unfolded with the developer being the city council and the development committee as the community based
partner (CBP). The responsible agent in terms of project management, finances and accountability to the Provincial Housing Board was in this instance the council. Given that the council was the signatory to the funding agreement with the Board they would therefore be the developer.

This meant that the City Council would be responsible for all aspects of the development, including the design and layout of the area, the pegging of sites as well as the provision of infrastructure and top structure. The council could provide these services in-house or via the use of consultants. In the case of Site 11 a combination was used. The design, layout, survey and project management of the development was performed in-house, the engineering design and supervision as well as other project related functions were given to consultants to undertake. The servicing of the area was put out to tender and the most acceptable to the CBP and the TLC was accepted.

4.3.4 IMPLEMENTATION AND END PRODUCT

The development was undertaken in the following manner,

- Once agreement was reached by the communities that they would move to the proposed site, the City Planners Department commenced the design and layout of the area with the approval of the Council.

- Thereafter the cadastral survey of the area and the pegging of the sites was undertaken.

- Emergency services were provided in the area by the Council so that the communities could begin the move from their respective
locations to Site 11.

- Transport for people to move their belongings and whatever materials they could from where they were relocating was provided by the TLC

- Once the communities were settled on Site 11 the servicing of the area would commence. Prior to this however, there was the need to enter into discussions with these beneficiaries around the level of services that were required in the area.

- Prior to the community moving, it was necessary to provide building materials to the families so that structures could be constructed. An amount of building material worth approximately R 1 500,00 per beneficiary was made available. The houses constructed out of this are essentially small one or two roomed houses. This is indicated in Plate 4.

4.3.5 OVERVIEW

The implementation of the project spanned over a period of four years. The servicing of the area included water, septic tank toilets and a toilet top structure that was precast from concrete, a tarred main road with an ancillary road being covered with bitumen to avoid dust and rapid erosion, electricity and street lights. However, up until the end of August 1998 the project is incomplete in so far as the service completion is concerned and the transfer of the individuals sites to beneficiaries.
PLATE 4: SMALL ONE AND TWO BEDROOM HOUSES
CONSTRUCTED OUT OF THE SUBSIDY RESIDUE.
4.4 CONCLUSION

It is clear from the outline of the processes in these communities that there were disparities in what each community received at the end of the upgrading of the respective areas. These are:

- Those members of the Ntuthukoville who received the R 15 000,00 subsidy from the Provincial Housing Board of Kwazulu-Natal received R 2 600,00 for building materials as compared to Site 11, where beneficiaries received only R 1 500,00. The disparity is evident in the house sizes that have been constructed and is more fully apparent from Plate 4, which indicates the small one or two roomed houses constructed at Site 11 as compared to the houses constructed in Ntuthukoville, (Plate 3).

- The community of Ntuthukoville has full water borne sewerage as compared to septic tanks in Site 11.

- Ntuthukoville residents have received transfer of their properties from the beginning of 1997 and was concluded in August 1998, as compared to Site 11 where the process has not even started as at August 1998.

- The Ntuthukoville project has been completed within budget whereas the Site 11 project is over budget by an amount that is unknown at this stage.

The question that arises is why do these discrepancies exist? It is the contention of the researcher and the focus of this study that, the
management style applied to upgrading of informal settlements and housing delivery more generally, will determine whether or not the project will be successful. The success would encompass the beneficiary community being able to provide for themselves beyond the provision of a government subsidy. Further, it will encompass, the said subsidy having the knock-on effects of acting as a kick start to people uplifting themselves and, the economic effect for the broader society.
CHAPTER 5
DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to analyse the data that has been collected from the field work. The analysis will be that of a comparative of both case studies. Further, the data for the area as a whole will be provided, in certain instances. This approach will serve to form the basis for an understanding of the overall trends in the area, as well as the differences that exist between the two study areas.

In the concluding chapter, possible reasons for the differences that exist between the case studies will be looked at. One will further attempt to analyse whether or not the government subsidy has had the desired effect in political and socio-economic terms, in respect of providing not only a social benefit of housing but also a degree of savings mobilization and economic stimulation.

5.2 RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDIES

There are several key findings that have emerged from this study. A general overview of certain key variables will be provided so that it is possible to grasp an understanding of the social profile and stability of the area.

From the social stability point of view the overwhelming majority of people
(88%) have indicated their desire to remain in the area even if they had the means to buy a house elsewhere. The main reasons seem to be the fact that people are satisfied with their sites and the area in which they live. This satisfaction stems from the fact that they are in close proximity to all the social amenities, such as schools, shops, hospitals and most importantly sources of employment.

There are certain key indicators of what the social profile is, these would include age, income and employment. The results of the study indicates the following profile in terms of age and employment.

**TABLE 2: AGE AND EMPLOYMENT PROFILE FOR THE COMBINED STUDY AREA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AVERAGE AGE</th>
<th>% MALE</th>
<th>% F/MALE</th>
<th>% EMPLOYED</th>
<th>% UNEMPLOYED</th>
<th>% GRANT PENSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEAD</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOUSE</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average age of household heads across the study area is 42.5 years, with the minimum age being 19 and the maximum 82 years. Further, 65% of these households are male headed and 35% are female headed. In the male headed households 47% are employed and in the female headed households 33% are employed. An interesting aspect that surfaces from the data is that where the household is female headed there is a low number of spouses and in many instances no spouses. The reason for this could be, either that the male partner is employed outside of the area or lives elsewhere.
TABLE 3: AGE AND EMPLOYMENT PROFILE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NTUTHUK. AREA</th>
<th>AVERAGE AGE (YEARS)</th>
<th>% MALE</th>
<th>% F/MALE</th>
<th>% EMPLOYED</th>
<th>% UNEMPLOYED</th>
<th>% GRANT PENSION</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>HEAD</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOUSE</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SITE 11 AREA</td>
<td>AVERAGE AGE (YEARS)</td>
<td>% MALE</td>
<td>% F/MALE</td>
<td>% EMPLOYED</td>
<td>% UNEMPLOYED</td>
<td>% GRANT PENSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAD</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOUSE</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data collected for the individual study areas reflects no substantial differences in terms of average ages, income and employment between them. The average age of household heads for the Ntuthukoville area is forty years and for the Site 11 area is forty two years.

In terms of income, in the Site 11 area 93.1% of the population falls into the R 0,00 to R 1000,00 income category and in Ntuthukoville 91.8% of the population falls into this category. It is evident that there is no substantial difference in the incomes of these communities.

In so far as employment levels are concerned, it is also evident that there is little variation in the level of household heads that are employed. In Ntuthukoville 46.9% are employed and in Site 11 46.6% are employed, however in respect of spouses, 22.4% are employed in Site 11 and 18.4% in Ntuthukoville. This difference when analysed as a Chi-squared test, reveals that it is not significant.
When assessing employment and income levels, one finds that the area does not deviate from the national norm.

**TABLE 4: INCOME LEVELS FOR THE OVERALL STUDY AREA AND THE INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES**

( ) - Number of the Sample Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME LEVEL p.m</th>
<th>% POPULATION OVERALL</th>
<th>% POPULATION NTUTHUK.</th>
<th>% POPULATION SITE 11</th>
<th>NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZERO</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>38.9 (19)</td>
<td>46.6 (27)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R001.00 - R 200.00</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>16.3 (8)</td>
<td>6.9 (4)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 201.00 - R 400.00</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>16.3 (8)</td>
<td>25.9 (15)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 401.00 - R 600.00</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.2 (4)</td>
<td>8.6 (5)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 601.00 - R 800.00</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>6.1 (3)</td>
<td>3.4 (2)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 801.00 - R 1000.00</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.1 (3)</td>
<td>1.7 (1)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1001.00 - R 1200.00</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.1 (2)</td>
<td>1.7 (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1201.00 - R 1400.00</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.0 (1)</td>
<td>3.4 (2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; R 1401.00</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0 (1)</td>
<td>1.7 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% (49)</td>
<td>100% (58)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Government White Paper on housing indicates that approximately 40% of all households in South Africa have a combined income of below R 800.00 per month (1994). The table above reflects that 43% of the total population is unemployed and in respect of the remaining 57%, 46% falls into the category of earning between R 1.00 and R 800.00 per month. Therefore 89% of the total population would fall into the category of earning between R 0.00 and R 800.00 per month qualifying them for the maximum government subsidy of R 15 000.00.

Where the individual case studies are concerned, there are more people in
However, when one assess the earnings in relation to the requirements of the National Housing Board, one finds that 88.8% of the Ntuthukoville population falls into the income category of R 0.00 - R 800.00 per month. In Site 11, 91.4% fall into this same category. This does indicate that a larger number of people in Site 11 earn less than R 800.00 per month. The percentage difference however is negligible, in terms of the Chi-squared test performed on this variable.

However a degree of caution needs to be exercised when assessing the actual levels of income in any community, since respondents are not always willing to provide the actual income that they earn. In these case studies there has been a tendency for the incomes of the household heads to be declared and not those of other family members who are employed. Field workers that administered the questionnaire, have attributed this to the fact that those people who declared correct incomes during the completion of National Housing Subsidy application forms have realised that they could have gotten more money had they not declared the incomes of spouses and others income earners within the family unit.

The study confirms that the area has been inhabited for a period of up to eight years with the average number of years that people have lived here being five. Further, as indicated earlier, the bulk of the people who live here have moved to this area not only for reasons of violence in the townships. The other reasons are the economic climate that they find themselves in as well as the lack of facilities that have existed in the townships and violence. When respondents were asked, their reason for moving from their previous places of residence, the majority (64%) indicated that it was for reasons of violence. However, the remaining respondents, 36% of the population, indicated that they moved to either
look for work or to be closer to their places of work, or to be closer to their families and the city.

In assessing the house sizes in the area, the average size is 34.5 square metres. These houses were originally constructed out of wattle and daub and primarily by the household heads, the spouse and with community assistance.

Since people settled in the area, 46.7% have upgraded their houses in some way or the other. This has entailed the construction of new sections of wattle and daub, renovating the existing wattle and daub structures, constructing new sections out of block or by implementing internal finishes. The remainder of the population have not undertaken any upgrade or renovations to their houses. In Ntuthukoville 53% of the population have undertaken upgrading as compared to 41% of the Site 11 population.

The following table reflects the percentage of houses that have been upgraded in the respective areas.

**TABLE 5: UPGRADE OF HOUSES FOR THE STUDY AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>% HOUSES UPGRADED</th>
<th>% HOUSES NOT UPGRADED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ntuthukoville</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site 11</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of being aware of the development, 89% of the population were aware of the development. This awareness stemmed from public meetings that they were invited to. Of this 89%, 94% were people from Ntuthukoville and 86% were from Site 11. These figures indicate that the
majority of people were aware of the developments.

Those who did not attend these meetings, indicate that it was either because the meetings were too long or they were unhappy with the structure that was charged with the development. Some respondents also indicated that they simply did not attend because they were not invited to meetings on a one to one basis.

In terms of direct involvement in the development, the study indicates that over 60% of the population were involved in the development of the area. The survey results indicate that 12% of the population was involved in the development through committee structures. While 84% participated in the development during the construction phase by being employed as labourers. Of this, 64% of the people from Site 11 were employed during construction and 36% from the Ntuthukoville area. This statistic however, needs to be viewed with caution. In analysing the survey data it is evident that a large number (53%) of the Ntuthukoville population did not answer the question. Once again this can be attributed to the fact that being employed in the development has an impact on the income of families, thus the unwillingness to answer the question. As indicated earlier, there is a perception in the community that indicating real incomes has the effect of receiving less resources.

The study established that people only began the upgrade of their houses at a particular point. Whether or not there was some sort of stimulus that prompted people is unclear, since there were no directly related questions on this issue. It was established from asking respondents when they began upgrading their individual houses? that the majority commenced once services were provided.
There are several likely reasons why people commenced the upgrade of their houses at particular points. One likely explanation for the large number of people upgrading after the provision of services, could be the fact that there was a greater degree of security in terms of permanency of residence. The interesting issue here would be the fact that no person waited for the transfer of the land into their respective names before upgrading, rather the provision of services had the effect of people starting to upgrade their houses. This indicates a lack of understanding with regard to tenure rights. Further, in the Ntuthukoville community no family commenced with the upgrading of houses prior to or during the provision of services. This could be attributed to the fact that, given the history of Ntuthukoville, people wanted the security of knowing that the provision of services meant they would not be moved.

We turn to look then at the overall time and money that was spent on the upgrading of houses as well as the type of upgrading that was undertaken. The table below indicates the amount of money that has been spent by families on the upgrading of their houses outside of any sums of money or building material received from the National Housing Subsidy Scheme.
It is interesting to note that there has been a high level of savings that has occurred. It is evident that 30% of the population has spent in excess of R 2 000.00 on the upgrading of their houses over a two to three year period. Further, 3.7% of the population has spent in excess of R 5 000.00. Overall, one would be inclined to conclude that there is a high level of savings within the community, given that nearly 90% of the community fall below the R 800.00 per month income category.

**TABLE 7: MONEY SPENT ON UPGRADING HOUSES USING OWN RESOURCES**

Brackets represent actual number of the sample population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT SPENT</th>
<th>%POPULATION OVERALL</th>
<th>% POPULATION NTUTHUK</th>
<th>% POPULATION SITE 11</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZERO</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>46.9 (23)</td>
<td>60.3 (35)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1 000.00</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>16.3 (8)</td>
<td>20.7 (12)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1 001.00 - R 2 000.00</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>12.2 (6)</td>
<td>13.8 (8)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2 001.00 - R 3 000.00</td>
<td>04.7</td>
<td>6.1 (3)</td>
<td>3.4 (2)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3 001.00 - R 4 000.00</td>
<td>04.7</td>
<td>10.2 (5)</td>
<td>NIL (0)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 4 001.00 - R 5 000.00</td>
<td>00.9</td>
<td>02.0 (1)</td>
<td>NIL (0)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;R 500.00</td>
<td>03.7</td>
<td>06.1 (3)</td>
<td>1.7 (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% (49)</td>
<td>100% (58)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amount of money spent coupled with the amount of time spent by families, will allow one to analyse the fuller extent in terms of resources expended on upgrades. The hours spent by people on these houses, should be viewed as sweat equity. This concept of sweat equity is not prevalent in any literature that has been used in this study, it is essentially a concept that the writer has attached to the labour power expended by theses communities. The labour of individuals is rarely accounted for in respect of being a monetary contribution.
Although it is difficult to place an exact value thereon, it is possible to do a simple calculation of this. In pure mathematical terms, there may be some sort of formula that would be applicable, but for the purposes of this study, a simple multiplication of the number of hours spent by an hourly rate of pay would translate to a value in monetary terms.

The hourly rate that will be used is calculated on the basis of the amount that was paid to labourers that have worked in the developments during the servicing phase. This amount paid was the sum of R 40.00 per day, which translates to R 5.00 per hour (Pers Comm.). The survey results indicate that on average 664 hours were spent by families on the upgrading of their homes. This would translate to an average of R 3 320.00 having being spent in the form of sweat equity, on an average of 83 square metres of new building, inclusive of new internal finishes.

In most instances where upgrades did take place, these were two fold. In the first instance, individual families constructed new additions to the buildings of wattle and daub and new internal finishes. In the second instance, new block additions and internal finishes were constructed. In terms of additional buildings, these were constructed mainly out of block and in some instances out of wattle and daub. In terms of internal finishing, these are included in the amount of money spent in total on the upgrading of these houses. The survey results show that the majority of people have spent money on plastering, painting, doors, internal walls and flooring of these houses.

In respect of the individual case studies, table 7 indicates that there is a large amount of spending between R 1,00 and R 4 000,00 in the Ntuthukoville area. There is also a notable percentage of the population having spent in excess of R 5 000,00. In respect of Site 11 the bulk of the
spending is in the R 1,00 to R 2 000,00 category. Further, only 39.7% of the population in Site 11 have spent money on upgrading as compared to 53.1% in the Ntuthukoville area.

In terms of the sweat equity expended (the calculation used here is that mentioned above, 664 hours x R 5.00 = R 3 320.00), 53.1 % of the Ntuthukoville community and 39.7% of the Site 11 community have spent on average R 3 320,00. This is in addition to the actual amounts of money spent on building materials.

5.3 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the analysis of the survey results that, there is a large degree of money spent by individuals in the form of sweat equity. What this translates to in economic terms is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is clear that the sweat equity component of the housing delivery process is a significant factor and accounts for a large degree of individual contributions to the upgrading of individual circumstances.

The case study results also reflects that there has been a high degree of individual spending in the Ntuthukoville area as compared to the Site 11 area. This is the case even though the areas do not differ in relation to income and employment statistics. The ability of one community to spend more than the other is related directly to the manner in which the development is implemented. The Ntuthukoville area has had the benefit of an experienced community based project implementor, in the form of the Built Environment Support Group. The Site 11 community on the other hand had to suffer the fate of increased costs for the servicing of the area, due mainly to the inability of the TLC to implement the project effectively.
6.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this above comparative analysis was to determine which of these communities have come out better in regard to the benefits that they have derived from the development of their respective areas. It is the purpose of this section to determine if the current government policy is having the desired effects as outlined in the second chapter of this document. In so doing one will explore, as a starting point the benefits derived by the respective communities.

6.2 BENEFITS DERIVED BY THE COMMUNITIES

It is beyond dispute that both of the communities in question have benefited from the development of their respective areas in so far as having received a piece of land, services and some money for building material. The issue however, is how sustainable have the benefits been?

In talking to various people that were connected with the developments, it has emerged that the benefits derived by the Ntuthukoville community have been the following.

- The development of skills for all people employed in the project.
  Through skills development courses in pipe laying, plumbing, block laying, storm water drain construction, construction of tyre retaining walls. Also a variety of administrative skills have been developed, including record keeping, budget monitoring and banking procedures.
A substantial amount of monetary income has derived to families that have worked in the development. This totals three hundred and seventy thousand rand.

Approximately four hundred thousand rand has been injected into the local economy for the purchase of building materials for top structures. A further one million five hundred thousand rand has been spent on materials to provide services and for the payment of fees to professionals.

In the community of Site 11 the benefits derived include.

- Employment as labourers during the construction phase. Whereby employees were tasked with digging of trenches or with common labour task.

- An injection into the local economy of approximately three hundred thousand Rand for building materials. The other amounts of money that may have been injected into the local economy for construction materials and professional fees were not available at the time of the study.

One would therefore conclude that there is a substantial amounts of skill that has been derived by the communities and amounts of money expended on employment. Further, a substantial amount of local employment has been created in these communities as well as skills development. Overall, the Government has succeeded in implementing a housing delivery process in the respective communities. The issue however, is why one community has emerged better off than the other?
The findings of the study show that the one project has been characterised by a high degree of skills development, investment into the local economy, employment opportunities and it has achieved the development of the area through a community based development trust. Further it is this same community that has achieved a high degree of individual spending on the upgrading of housing units in the area.

There are several reasons for this being the case, the following are some of the reasons that have contributed to the differences:

- Firstly, the technical advisors (BESG) to the development trust, operate within a highly dynamic policy environment. There exists a large degree of experience and expertise that has been developed from this environment. There is also a commitment to community based development in the sense of communities being responsible for the bettering of their own circumstances and for the prioritising of their development needs. When compared to Local government, one finds that there does not exist the same level of skills or expertise in community based development, which is exacerbated by the fact that there is no genuine commitment to the principles of community based development.

- Secondly, the planning of the Site 11 development was carried out without the direct input of the communities concerned, rather the community was informed of the manner in which the development was expected to unfold. This has had the effect of substantial delays because of problems in reaching agreement around what the community needs were and the non-performance of contractors in the provision of services. Further delays were experienced by the contractors due to the community not being happy with what they
were being provided with and because of the contractors inability to perform within agreed limits. The nett effect has been a lower level of services in the Site 11 community at a higher cost as compared to the Ntuthukoville community. The total cost per site on the Ntuthukoville project has amounted to R 12 261.00 as compared to the Site 11 project which is currently over budget with sites costing in excess of the maximum subsidy of R 15 000.00.

6.3 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While housing may provide a stimulus to addressing the imbalances of the past and socio-economic development, the effectiveness of housing projects and their success depend largely on the ability of Local government to meet the challenge that housing brings with it. This means that Local government has to change the approach that it is accustomed to. That is, of being the provider and administrator of housing, to an approach where it is the facilitator and implementer of sustainable housing initiatives.

The onus placed upon Local government for the provision of housing by National Government, will not work if Local government is not empowered with the skills to implement housing initiatives. The provision of financial resources for housing initiatives is only one step in the process to delivery, it has to be coupled with effective tools to empower those responsible for delivery.

The situation faced by Local governments in respect of delivery is not unique to particular TLC's, but is a problem faced by many of them. The capacity to deliver is simply not prevalent. It is therefore recommended that in order for National Government to meet the challenge posed by housing, it needs to acknowledge that the primary implementers of
housing projects (Local government) are not sufficiently resourced or skilled to implement housing projects. There needs to be a sustained capacity development initiative to empower local government in the delivery of housing such that these housing initiatives meet the challenges that face it.
REFERENCES


ANNEXURE 1
QUESTIONS TO KEY INFORMANTS: NTUTHUKOVILLE AND SITE 11 CASE STUDIES

1. INTRODUCTION

At the outset of the interview with key informants, the researcher outlined to respondents the purpose of the study being undertaken and sought permission from community leaders for the execution of the survey work in the area. The researcher explained that the information derived from the interview would be held in the strictest of confidence and that no mention of names would be made in the course of the study.

2.1 HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY

2.1 Where do the people that live here come from?
2.2 How did the community come to be located where they are?
2.3 What processes were involved in the community residing on the particular land that they occupy?
2.4 How did the TLC or BESG get involved in the area?
2.5 Were there any other organisations or persons that were involved in the area?
2.6 What were these organisations or persons and what roles did they play?

3. THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS/PATH FOLLOWED

3.1 What process was used in the development of the area?
3.2 How did these processes come into operation?
3.3 Do you see any merit in the process followed in the development of the area?

3.4 What were the positive/negative spinoffs of the chosen development path?

4. PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED

4.1 Where were any problems experienced before, during or after the servicing of the area?

4.2 What effect did these problems have on the development of the area?

4.3 Did the problems experienced increase the cost of development?

4.4 How were these problems dealt with?

4.5 Are you satisfied that these problems were handled in an acceptable manner and had a positive impact?
ANNEXURE 2
STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED ON SAMPLES OF THE NTUTHUKOVILLE AND SITE 11 POPULATIONS

The researcher is a student at the School for Development Studies at the University of Natal, Durban. This data extracted via this questionnaire is for the purposes of producing a research report. All data that is contained herein will be held in the strictest of confidence. No mention of names will be made.

The aim of this study is to compare the amounts of resources in the form of money and labour that has been spent, by families living in the Ntuthukoville and Site 11 communities to upgrade their houses, and to understand why more money and resources has been spent by one community as compared to the other.

1. PERSONAL DATA

<table>
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<th>NO</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>EMPLOYED Y/N</th>
<th>PENSION</th>
<th>INCOME PER.MON</th>
<th>INCOME CATEGORI</th>
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<tr>
<td>HEAD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOUSE</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRECHE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. **PRE-DEVELOPMENT/SERVICING**

2.1 How long have you been living in the area? \\

2.2 Where did you come from? \\

2.3 Why did you move from where you were living? (Can choose more than one option) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Check</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
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<td>To Look For Work</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closer to Where You Work</td>
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<tr>
<td>Closer to Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 When did you arrived here? \\

2.5 Has your house been upgraded since you arrived here? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 If yes, what was the approximate size of the house before upgrading it? _________ msq

2.7 What was it constructed off? \\

2.8 Who constructed it? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constructor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You Alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse Alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You + Spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both + Help of Community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. DEVELOPMENT PHASE (SERVICING OF THE AREA)

3.1 Did you know about the development plans for the area?

| Yes | No |

3.1.1 If Yes, How? __________________________________________

3.2 Were you invited to meetings to discuss these plans?

| Yes | No |

3.2.1 If Yes, did you attend?

| Yes | No |

3.2.3 If No, Why? __________________________________________

3.3 Were you involved in the development of the area in any way:

| Yes | No |

3.4 If Yes, how? _____________________________________________

3.5 If No, Why? _____________________________________________

3.6 Were you or a member of your family employed in the development?

| Yes | No |
3.7 Have you upgraded your house in any way?

| Yes | No |

IF THE ANSWER IS NO - PROCEED TO QUESTION 4.5

3.8 When did you start the upgrading of your house?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before Services Were Provided</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>During The Provision of Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After The Provision of Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once The Land Was Transfer to You</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. PHYSICAL ADJUSTMENTS/EXTENSIONS

4.1 How much of your own money did you use to upgrade your house?

| 0 - 1000 |  |
| 1001-2000 |  |
| 2001-3000 |  |
| 3001-4000 |  |
| 4001-5000 |  |
| > 5000 |  |

4.2 How many hours were spent to upgrade the house by:

| Household Head |  |
| Spouse |  |
| Other Adults |  |
| Community |  |
4.3  Who constructed the new sections of the house?

| You Alone      | Spouse Alone | You & Spouse | Both + Help of Community | Hired Builder |

4.3.1  If the builder was hired, where does s/he come from? 

4.4  How many square metre of new building has been constructed?

____ ms

4.5  What new internal finishing does the house have?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes/no</th>
<th>Approx Area</th>
<th>Approx Value</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flooring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastering-cement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. Walls - Block</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceilings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.  SOCIAL PROCESSES

5.6  Have there been any serious incidents of violence or crime in the area?
5.7 Are you happy with community leaders input with regard to the manner in which they handled problems that arose?

5.8 Has there been any corruption in the development that you are aware of?

5.9 Are you happy living in this area?

   Yes
   No

5.9.1 If Yes Or No, Why?

5.9.2 Do you intend moving?

   Yes
   No

5.9.3 If you could would you?

   Yes
   No

5.9.4 If Yes/ No Why?

5.12 Are you satisfied with the level of consultation?

   Yes
   No

If Yes/no Why?
5.13 Are you satisfied with the level of services?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If Yes/No Why? 

5.14 Are you satisfied with your subsidy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If Yes/No Why? 

5.15 Are you satisfied with the ward councillors contributions to problem solving?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If Yes/No Why? 

5.16 Are you satisfied with the contribution of the development committee/ the trust. 

PLEASE ENSURE THAT YOU THANK THE RESPONDENT FOR HIS/HER ASSISTANCE HEREIN AND THE TIME THAT THEY HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU.