



Assessing the impact of basic service provision on the use of informal dwellings for income generation, a case study of Cato Crest informal settlement, Durban.

By:

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2020

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I Lulama Noluthando Mabaso declare that:

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Mdukhy and Bongeka Mabaso, for their continuous love and support and helping shape me into the courageous, strong woman I am today. No words can explain how grateful I am to have you by my side. To my daughter, Melokuhle, thank you for being my biggest motivation throughout my studies, I love you and thank you for understanding that mommy had to continue with her studies, This is for you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To express my appreciation and gratitude, I would love to give thanks to each and every individual who contributed to the completion and success of this dissertation.

- First and foremost, my Father, the Lord my creator. Thank You God for giving me strength, hope and faith throughout this journey.
- My Parents, Bongeka and Mdukhy, for their support, understanding and patience in enduring my absence and burdensome demands, I am grateful and I love you, thank you.
- My family, especially my siblings, Amanda, Siphiwe and Anathi, for their unwavering support.
- Dr Claudia Loggia, my supervisor., Thank you for taking me in when I needed a home and thank you for your guidance in the completion of this dissertation and for never giving up on me.
- Dr Pauline Adebayo for assisting me in my research proposal.
- My editor Pauline for helping me perfect my craft, thank you.
- My friends for their unwavering support and encouraging conversations and love, and for celebrating each milestone achieved in this dissertation.
- Participants from Cato Crest that gave me their time and assisted me to get my field work data collection done.
- All the professionals and the ward councillor who availed their time and assisted me to collect important data for this study.
- Lastly thank you to my daughter, Melokuhle, for always understanding that mommy couldn't be around much because of school. This is for you, I love you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNG: Breaking New Ground
CBD: Central Business District
DHS: Department of Human Settlements
DOH: Department of Housing
EWS: eThekweni Water and Sanitation
ISUP: Informal Settlements Upgrading Programme
KZN: KwaZulu-Natal
NHC: National Housing Code
SAHRC: South African Human Rights Commission
UN: United Nations
UNCHS: United Nations Centre for Human Settlement
UISP: Upgrading of Informal Settlements.
WB: World Bank.

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ABSTRACT

The existing South African housing backlog confronting the residents is daunting. With the current investigations displaying that the backlog is not depleting or not reaching levels anticipated by the democratic government, the stakeholders of the low-income housing sector are facing an immense challenge. Wilkinson (2014) states that the housing backlog is currently estimated at 2.1 million and is increasing at a rate of 178.000 units per year”. Informal settlements are a major challenge for housing practitioners and planners in developing countries. Failure to address residents’ needs may result in political and social unrest (Barry and Ruther, 2005:1). According to Misselhorn (2008), informal settlement dwellers in South Africa confront challenges such as poor infrastructure, limited access to basic services and insecure tenure. According to Mashabela (1990:23), informal settlements in South Africa date back to the early 1980s. One of the reasons for the mushrooming of informal settlements was the establishment of Black municipalities that took control of townships from the previous administration Boards. These municipalities did not have the financial capacity to provide housing.

This study used qualitative research method to collect data. The theoretical framework for this study was based on the modernization theory, the basic needs approach, and the housing asset triangle. Interviews were conducted with an eThekweni municipal project manager and questionnaires were conducted from the case study. This study involved the use of both primary and secondary data to obtain a thorough assessment of basic services provision and income generating activities in the Cato Crest area. This research highlights that access to the provision of basic services in the community of Cato Crest is still a challenge, and the community is hoping for solutions that will fasten the delivery of these services. Various recommendations have been made in terms of creating livelihood strategy workshops to help the community by allowing them to start a platform for their income” generating activities and get assistance from the other community members as well as the municipality.

CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The dawn of democracy in South Africa in 1994 has brought about changes in housing delivery. According to Khan and Thring (2003:17), this included the transformation of housing provision to provide a sustainable solution to the problem of informal settlements. South African housing policy has aimed to address informal settlements through programmes such as *in-situ* upgrading and the relocation of residents to formal housing (Department of Housing, 1994:4-10; Khan and Thring, 2003:17). The informal settlement upgrading programme (UISP) of the housing subsidy programmes is the government of South Africa's ideal housing intervention strategy in addressing informal settlements and the housing issue. This strategy best responds to the socio-economic issues related to informal settlements, resulting over time in socio-economic benefits for beneficiaries and the greater community and city (Socioeconomic Rights Institute of South Africa [SERI], 2018). Housing is considered a high priority basic need that improves the quality of life. The South African government has come a long way in re-addressing the socio-economic imbalances of the past inherited from the previous government. In hindsight of the above leading statement, the government has strategically developed and used housing subsidies as a means or a tool to address the plight of informal settlements. Furthermore, the eThekweni Metropolitan area is facing serious challenges in the provision of adequate housing for its citizens. There is an acute shortage of housing units relative to the demands, leaving the citizens with no option but for them, to turn to informal settlements to provide for their basic need of housing (Tshikotshi, 2009). Misselhorn (2008), states that there is an increasing realisation that the current methods used to tackle the convoluted challenge of informal settlements in South Africa have been ineffective, hence the growth of informal settlements over the urban areas.

Access to shelter in urban areas is one aspect of any socio-economic dispensation in which low income life opportunities are addressed. Most of the developing countries in Asia, South America and Africa are continuously confronted by the problem of informal settlements. This problem arises from the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas in search of work and better living conditions. According to Maasdrop (1977:1), *informal settlements* or *squatter settlements* are synonymous with rapid urbanisation and urban growth in third world cities. These settlements superficially present a number of common characteristics such as providing shelter for the poor, they occupy land of low value and they have a peripheral location, they are

dominated by poor quality dwellings and are developed spontaneously elsewhere in the township or city. Moreover, The National Housing Code (Department of Human Settlements [DHS], 2009) states that illegality, inappropriate location, limited public or private sector investment, poverty, vulnerability, and social ills such as crime, social fragmentation, and substance abuse characterise informal settlements. The Code seeks to integrate, compact and reconstruct these spatial fragments in order to integrate the poor (predominantly black people) into the fibre of the city (previously reserved for whites) in the pursuit of equity and social justice (DoHS, 2009)". "According to Misselhorn (2008), inhabitants of informal settlements in South Africa confront challenges such as poor infrastructure, limited access to basic services and insecure tenure. The new policy directives on informal settlements were initiated through Breaking New Ground (BNG): A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements and the National Housing Programme (Department of Housing, 2004) after more than a decade of adverse 'unintended consequences' in housing delivery. Participatory, flexible, integrated and situationally responsive upgrade policies are also proposed in the National Housing Code (DoHS, 2009) – the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme - (UISP) – and the BNG. Upgrading of site-and-service Greenfield developments, rather than eradication and relocation will advance the poor's 'right to the city' through promoting spatial centrality and long-term sustainability (DoHS, 2009).

Some informal settlements go through a relocation process and others are provided with interim services whilst feasibility studies are carried out. Experience reveals that relocation can take up to five years or more. It is in such a situation that interim basic services are provided. According to Crous (2012), there is a need for communal interim facilities, such as ablution blocks, not only in South Africa but in other developing countries. The backlog of basic services in informal settlements calls for such services to be provided even if only for an interim period to meet the community's immediate needs (Crous, 2012).

1.2. Background and Research Problem

The history of informal settlements in South Africa can be traced back to the apartheid period of the 1960's through to the current situation marked by various changes and interventions. Informal settlements have marked the urban landscape in South Africa for at least half a century (Huchzermeyer, 2006), and continue to do so as 90 per cent of urban growth is occurring in the developing world and an estimated 70 million new residents are added to urban areas of developing countries each year (UN-Habitat, 2015). Furthermore, it has been stated by the UN Habitat (2016), that over the next two decades the urban population of the world's two poorest regions, namely South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, is expected to double, suggesting that the absolute numbers of informal settlements and slum dwellers in these regions will grow dramatically. Many factors have contributed to the growth of informal settlements in South Africa, this includes the severe shortage of housing stock, low quality of living and also ruralurban migration, which is a result of people moving from their various countryside's in search of better opportunities and this is a result of the expansion of the cities (Fuller Centre, 2014). This has resulted in the government introducing a national housing programme, namely the Breaking New Ground Policy that includes subsidies for low income households. The subsidy ensures a piece of land, and the building of a basic house with the installation of sanitary and water services (Fuller Centre, 2014). However, this programme has not resulted in a turnaround of the country's substantial housing deficit and it continues haunting the government today. Chikoto (2009) refers to informal settlements as residential areas that do not comply with local authority requirements.

These unplanned settlements are regarded as *unauthorised* and are located upon land that has not been proclaimed for residential use, which is another contributing factor to unauthorised land invasions. Moreover, informal settlements exist because urbanisation has grown faster than the ability of government to provide land, infrastructure and housing (Huchzermeyer, 2006). The characteristics of informal settlements include inadequate dwellings and infrastructure, lack of effective government and management, unsuitable environments, and uncontrolled population densities. The sites where they are located are regarded as unhealthy areas of increasingly high risk with regard to health, fire and crime. Most informal settlements are located on peripheries of cities and also on neglected parts of cities where makeshift structures are a common feature. The rising cost of living has seen the increase of informal settlements in South Africa.

Despite the construction of low-cost housing by the government, the demand for housing is far more than the supply. This has an influence on how the informal settlements are located as the location determines if the settlement will be able to have access to basic services (Gilbert, 1988; Sinai, 1998 cited in Kigochie, 2001). The eThekweni Municipality has devised a set of strategies in order to address the backlog and also to address housing challenges faced by informal settlements (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). The provision of interim services to informal settlements by the eThekweni Municipality is a strategy to deliver essential municipal services to informal settlements that have been earmarked for housing upgrades in the medium to long term period. Interim services provided to informal settlements include the provision of water and sanitation, road infrastructure, domestic waste collection and electricity. According to the World Bank (2011), basic services are critical to improve people's lives and create livelihood strategies. The South African government has committed itself to providing a rudimentary amount of free water and electricity to the poor (World Bank, 2011). Where possible, waste removal and sanitation services are provided on an interim basis where permanent services cannot be provided.

The present study will be focused on the informal dwellings of Cato Crest, seeking to determine how the provision of interim services could improve livelihood strategies in informal settlements.

The problem of informal settlements is not unique to South Africa. Countries in Latin America and Asia and other nations on the African continent are also challenged to address this issue (Misselhorn, 2008). Maasdrop (1977:1) notes that these settlements are synonymous with urbanization and urban growth in third world urban areas. They present with various common characteristics. For example, they offer refuge to the poor, are located on land of low value, are often on the fringes of cities, are physically overwhelmed by poor quality houses and are created spontaneously in urban areas (Maasdrop, 1977). Knight (2001) states that due to high levels of unemployment and low wages, many South Africans are finding it hard to provide for their own housing and basic needs. The rapid increase in the number of informal settlements and land invasions are further indications of these pressing housing problems (Knight, 2001). Moreover, unemployment and poverty push many people to relocate to urban areas such as Durban for employment opportunities in order to improve their living conditions. Against this backdrop, it is important to understand the factors responsible for the lack of basic services in informal settlements. The high cost of housing results in those in the low-income group

occupying vacant land and establishing informal settlements, which mushroom rapidly (Turok, 2012)”. Provision of basic services cannot keep up with the large number of people who migrate to urban areas on a daily basis, especially in developing countries (Lagardien and Cousins, 2004). This results in a sizeable number of people living below the poverty line in informal settlements. Such settlements generally lack access to adequate and affordable basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation, and waste management (Lagardien and Cousins, 2004). In addition to this, South Africans generally identify service delivery as a top priority. Chen, et al. (2014:1) describe service delivery as *the distribution of basic resources citizens depends on like water, electricity, sanitation infrastructure, land, and housing*. Based on the 2015 round of the HSRC’s South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), 78 per cent of respondents identified unemployment as a major priority, followed by 46 per cent identifying crime and safety, and 25 per cent mentioning both poverty and service delivery as their major concerns.

Although government should be acknowledged for major infrastructure development initiatives, reports on service delivery indicate that progress has been uneven across the country with different issues facing different areas, reflecting variable socio-economic conditions and municipal competence (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009). Where possible, waste removal and sanitation services are provided on an interim basis, where permanent services cannot be provided. The problem of informal settlements in eThekweni is set to increase as the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial population urbanises. The informal settlements in this category are incrementally upgraded and informal residents have no formal security of tenure during the initial stages of the interim services provision, but their rights to occupy the site are recognised informally. This gives residents some kind of safety from evictions and their right to benefit from the services provided by the municipality during the incremental upgrading process (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). Agevi (2003) argues that inadequate shelter provision has negative consequences for poor households in informal settlements as households are continuously exposed to harsh living conditions, lack of social cohesion and political instability, hampering economic development in developing countries. Inhabitants of informal settlements suffer from a variety of health problems, particularly gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases. This is due to the poor environmental conditions in which poor households live and to nutritionally poor and inadequate diets. In cases where such settlements have access to some type of potable water supply, sanitary waste disposal systems and health care services, the general health conditions of the residents seem to be better (UNHabitat, 2006). Thus, this

study seeks to determine how the provision of basic municipal services can contribute to create income generation for informal dwellers in Cato Crest, Durban.

1.3. Justification for the Study

This study examines how effective the use of basic services is in informal settlements and the extent to which such services promote livelihood strategies. Its findings could assist policy makers to formulate sound strategies to provide basic services in informal settlements.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

The study's main limitation is the inhabitants of Cato Crest as they are wary of participating in the study as they claim that many studies have been done about the area, however nobody has opted to upgrade the area, and people are still living in unfavourable conditions. Therefore, they have given up and are tired of being used as case studies. Also, it is a bit difficult getting a hold of the councillor as his time is limited as he has duties to perform.

1.5. Research Aim and Objectives

1.5.1 Aim of the study

The main aim of this study is to assess whether the provision of basic municipal services supports the use of informal dwellings for income generation.

1.5.2. Objectives

The primary objectives for this study are unpacked as follows:

1. To investigate what basic municipal services have been introduced in the study area of Cato Crest.
2. To determine the time frame for the implementation of basic services for the informal dwellers of Cato Crest.
3. To establish the eThekweni Municipality's long-term housing plan in respect of informal settlements being provided with basic services.
4. To investigate whether and how the introduction of basic services has impacted the use of informal dwellings for income generation.
5. To establish the different income generation strategies used in Cato Crest.

1.5.3. Research question

This study aims at addressing the following research question: *To what degree has the provision of basic municipal services stimulated the use of the house for income generation?*

1.5.4. Subsidiary questions

1. What are the basic municipal services that have been introduced in the case study of Cato Crest?
2. What tools will be used to determine the implementation time frame for basic services for the informal dwellers of Cato Crest?
3. What is the eThekweni Municipality's long term housing plan in respect of informal settlements provided with basic interim services?
4. How has the introduction of basic services impacted the use of informal dwellings for income generation?
5. What income generation strategies have been triggered by the introduction of interim services in the study of Cato Crest?

1.6. Hypothesis

The hypothesis for this research study is as follows:

The introduction of basic interim services allows for economic livelihood strategies that previously could not be undertaken by the residents of the informal settlement of Cato Crest.

1.7. Chapter Summary

Chapter One outlines the research background of this study by highlighting the current challenges faced by the government in meeting the current housing backlog. Moreover, a synopsis is provided of how informal settlements began and how the basic services are a need in informal settlements. This chapter also presents the justification of this study and further provides the research aim, objectives, subsidiary questions, as well as the hypothesis. The structure of this dissertation is outlined.

1.7. Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter One - will provide the research problem, which is to assess whether the provision of basic municipal services supports the use of informal dwellings for income generation. The background of the research is also outlined in this chapter, as well as the objectives, subsidiary questions, hypothesis, and the chapter outline.

Chapter Two- will discuss the research methodology, describing the selection of the case study methodology and the research approaches used in data collection. This chapter will also include the data analysis process.

Chapter Three - will outline the theoretical framework which will consist of the theories and approaches which inform the research study. The theories and approaches used for the study are the the basic human needs approach, modernization theory and the housing asset triangle. This chapter will also provide the conceptual framework where the key concepts will be further elaborated upon.

Chapter Four- This chapter critically reviews the local and international literature on the concepts and issues relevant to this study.

Chapter Five - will give a detailed description of the historical and geographical background of Cato Crest.

Chapter Six- will present the findings of all the data gathered from the respondents of the interviews. The data will be analysed and presented in this chapter according to the themes formulated to direct the data at answering the research question.

Chapter Seven - will conclude the research and suggest recommendations which are informed by the findings and lessons learned from the study.

CHAPTER 2 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research methodology used and to indicate the steps taken to gather the information required to meet the objectives of the study and answer the research question and the subsidiary questions. This chapter further outlines how the case study methodology was selected, and the data collected and analysed.

2.2. Research Approach

2.2.1 Qualitative research

According to Creswell (2012), in qualitative research, the researcher relies on the views of participants; asks broad, general questions; collects data consisting largely of words (or text) from participants; describes and analyses these words for themes; and conducts the inquiry in a subjective, biased manner. This type of research generally involves listening to the participants and finding common themes in the data (Creswell, 2012). Patton (1990) argues that qualitative research tends to utilise inductive investigation, implying that the important themes arise from the information. Patton adds that this requires a degree of inventiveness, as the researcher needs to arrange the raw data into coherent, significant categories; analyse them in an all-encompassing manner; and figure out how to interpret and apply the data to other people (Patton, 1990).

The strength of qualitative research lies in its ability to uncover people's experiences and the reasons why things are the way they are. As qualitative research focuses on small groups, it can be less expensive to carry out than quantitative research which may require large groups of participants, many staff or expensive measurement tools (Patton, 1990). In contrast, qualitative research can be undertaken by one researcher with a notebook and a pen. **This study adopted a qualitative research approach.** According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), qualitative research is a scientific investigation that seeks to answer questions by systematically using a predefined set of procedures to collect evidence, and produce findings that were not determined in advance, and that are applicable beyond the immediate boundaries of the study. **The three most common qualitative methods are in-depth interviews, participant observation and questionnaires, all of which were utilised in this study** (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Creswell (2009) further states that qualitative researchers employ various interrelated approaches to

understand the phenomenon under investigation. These include phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory, the narrative approach, and the case study approach. They guide the researcher to view the world in a different way and gain a broad theoretical understanding of the subject (Creswell, 2009). **For the purpose of this study, a case study approach was employed, together with semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and non-participant observation.**

2.2.2 Selection of the case study

According to Thomas (2011), case studies involve an analysis of a phenomenon, events, decisions, people, periods, institutions, policies, and other systems that can be studied holistically using one or more methods. A case is an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates (Thomas, 2011). Case studies are useful in collecting hard facts, raw data, and information. They develop researchers' analytic and problem-solving skills, enable exploration of solutions to complex issues and allow researchers to apply new knowledge and skills. Case studies provide context-dependent (practical) knowledge as opposed to context-independent (theoretical) knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The disadvantages of case studies are that they might not prove relevant in their own context and insufficient information can lead to inappropriate results. Furthermore, Gerring (2004) states that a case study is the intensive study of a specific subject matter of interest which could either be a person, an object, a place or a situation. He further states that it involves extensive research and analysis, including documented evidence of a particular issue or situation, as well as symptoms, reactions, outcomes of the research and the conclusion reached following the study.

This study utilised a case study approach to determine the impact of basic service provision, with an aim to generate an income within the area of Cato Crest. This case study was purposively chosen as the area is a part of the greater Cato Manor Township and is one of the few remaining parts with informal settlements as well as new RDP housing and temporary tin houses, however the study focussed on the informal settlement part of the area. Upon focusing on the informal settlement part of the area, it was important to be able to distinguish the livelihood strategies practiced in the area and determine the basic services available within the area.

2.3. Data Collection

The study applied both primary and secondary data to obtain answers to the research questions. Primary and secondary data assisted in understanding the different stakeholders who were involved in the Cato Crest housing project, and how informal dwellers generated their income in the area with the provision of basic services. The research tools that were used to collect the primary data were interviews and non-participant observations.

2.3.1. Primary data

According to Ajayi (2017), *“primary sources of data are sources that provide first-hand evidence in relation to the specific topic under investigation”*. Primary sources of data are sources that provide first-hand evidence in relation to the specific topic under investigation. They are provided by witnesses who have experienced the conditions or events being documented (Kelleher, 1999). In most cases, primary sources of data are gathered at the time when events are occurring, but these sources can also consist of memoirs, autobiographies and recorded oral history. These sources are characterised by their unique content, irrespective of whether they are in original, published, digital or microfilm format (Yale University Library, 2008). Primary data collection includes the use of various tools such as interviews and onsite observation, of the beneficiary community, the ward councillor and professionals such as the eThekweni project manager involved in the Cato Crest development and other municipal officials.

2.3.2 Secondary data

Secondary sources of data were utilised in this research to gather the required information and address the research problem. Sources of data included the use of academic research papers, published reports, census information, books, international and national literature, theses and journals obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). The eThekweni Municipal website was used as well to obtain the information regarding the services provided. Additional data was collected from the internet in order to ascertain international experience in the field of study. The sources and literature review provided insight into the theories and approaches and these explained in greater detail the role of the state in housing provision, nationally and internationally. The sources also provided insight into the provision of services to informal settlements and whether such provision stimulated the creation of social and economic value

in informal settlements. These themes were derived from the study's main and subsidiary questions and were used to analyse the data obtained from the field, with a view to fulfilling the study's objectives. Furthermore, international and local examples of study reviews on informal settlements' upgrading, as well as the effects of water and sanitation in the international context were assessed.

2.3.3 Sampling method

According to Taherdoost, (2016), sampling is a technique or process to select an appropriate sample, or to represent a population with the aim of determining the characteristics of the entire population. Mugo, (2002) further states that sampling is the demonstration, procedure or arrangement of selecting suitable specimens or delegates as part of a mass, with the final objective of choosing parameters or traits of the entire mass. The study used two types of sampling, **random** and **purposive** sampling.

For the purpose of this study **purposive sampling** was used to select the Ward Councillor and municipal officials; these were identified as the key informants. The **purposive sampling** technique is also known as judgment sampling. Bernard (2002) and Lewis and Sheppard (2006) define purposive sampling as the deliberate or planned choice of a witness or informant because of their qualities. It is a non-random method that does not require basic hypotheses or a set number of witnesses. The researcher determines what should be known and sets out to identify individuals who are willing and able to provide the data by virtue of their knowledge or experience. This technique was applied in selecting the Ward Councillor of Cato Crest, the eThekweni Municipal Project Manager, as well as municipal officials that were currently in charge of the developments in Cato Crest, besides the community of Cato Crest.

Snowball Sampling is defined as a sampling method which isolates cases of interest from participants that can aid the researcher in mapping the research objectives (TenHouten, 2017). This type of sampling made it easy for the researcher to pick the relevant participants that could aid in providing relevant information. This type of sampling was used on the community of Cato Crest whereby out of a population of 600 households in the area, 30-35 respondents were chosen, the criteria being that respondents had to be heads of households or spouses of the heads and be 18 years of age or older. The information that was needed from participants was how they were able to access the basic services within the settlement and also what the income generation activities were that were carried out within the settlement of Cato Crest.

Furthermore, if participants had access to water the study looked at whether or not they were satisfied with the services provided.

2.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

According to Seidman (1998), an interview is a discussion between two or more people where questions are posed by the interviewer to produce statements or facts from the person or people interviewed. Seidman (1998) adds that interviews are a standard component of qualitative research. McNamara (1999) states that interviews are useful in getting the story behind an interviewee's experiences; they also allow the interviewer to probe further. Kvale (1996) observes that interviews enable a researcher to define and make sense of the main themes in the subjects' surroundings. The main task of the interviewer is to comprehend the significance of what the interviewees say (Kvale, 1996). For the purpose of this study, in-depth semistructured interviews were conducted to collect data from the informal residents, the Ward Councillor and the eThekweni Municipality Project Manager. The interviews comprised of open-ended questions which left room for engagement, whether with the community or the municipal officials.

2.3.5. Key informants

2.3.5.1. Project Manager of the eThekweni municipality

The interview with the Project Manager from the eThekweni Municipality was aimed at understanding the history of Cato Crest in terms of the provision of basic services to the informal settlement. Another objective of interviewing the Project Manager responsible for policy implementation was to discuss in greater detail how the basic municipal services programme was implemented and if it had been, if it could be better implemented in the future in order to ensure that informal households could have better access to services and possibly be given better means of housing.

2.3.5.2. The Ward Councillor

An interview with the community councillor was conducted in order to find out if the councillor was aware of any upgrading that would be taking place within the informal settlement, and to find out what the daily livelihood strategies of the community were.

2.3.6 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a research instrument that consists of a series of questions and other prompts to gather information from respondents (Gillham, 2008). According to Oppenheim (1992), questionnaires are used to gather and record data on a specific issue of interest. They mainly comprise of a list of questions, but should also incorporate clear directions or instructions and provide space for answers. The questions posed should have a clear connection to the objectives of the research, and it should be clear from the start how the findings will be used. Respondents should be made mindful of the aim of the research and should be informed how and when they will receive feedback on the findings, should they wish to do so. For the purpose of this study the questionnaire was used as a research method, therefore adult household heads of either gender were systematically selected to respond to the questionnaire. This enhanced the reliability and validity of the responses.

The questionnaire was designed to gather information on the participants' age, how long they had lived in the informal settlement of Cato Crest, household income and access to basic municipal services prior to the provision of interim basic services, if there were any. The questionnaire also sought to establish whether households had been able to incrementally upgrade their informal structures after the provision of such services, thus improving their living conditions and creating income generating activities. Where participants could not read or write, the questions were posed verbally in either isiZulu or English and the responses were captured by the researcher. Both open- and closed-ended questions were used. The latter required participants to answer either 'yes' or 'no', while the former allowed them to share more understanding in their responses. The information collected from the participants assisted the researcher in evaluating whether the provision of basic services to urban informal settlements met the objectives of the interim service programme and whether such provision had stimulated Cato Crest residents to incrementally upgrade their houses and create income generating activities.

2.3.7 Non-participant observation

According to Williams (2008), non-participant observation is a relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about some aspect of the social world without interacting directly with its participants. This type of research allows the researcher to take a position within the setting and record what they observe without interacting directly with

participants. In this study site investigation and visual evaluation of basic services provided in the informal settlement were conducted through observation and photographs which were captured for record purposes and formed part of the dissertation's findings. Observation included assessing the usage of municipal services provided such as road infrastructure, solid waste removal, electricity supply, and access to water and sanitation. An assessment form was designed in order to capture the observable physical characteristics of the existing settlement and this allowed the researcher to evaluate whether the provision of engineering services had allowed households in the informal settlement to incrementally meet their housing needs.

2.4. Data Analysis

Cresswell (2009) identifies the first step in data analysis as organising and preparation; this involves sorting and arranging the field notes. Srivastava and Thomson (2009) refer to the first step as familiarisation; the researcher 'immerses' him or herself in the data by reading and reviewing the transcribed interviews. Key ideas and recurring themes are noted and documented.

Bogdan (1992) states that data analysis is a process of systematic research and arranging interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials which are assimilated by the researcher to increase her or his understanding of the phenomenon being studied, and enables the researcher to compare their data against that which was discovered by others. There are many ways of analysing data from respondents. Some of these ways include transcribing the recordings formulated in the interviews and placing the data into themes, validating evidence, analysing qualitative data quantitatively, summarising the data and having questions for reflection (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). **Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data collected in this study.** This involves pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns within the data (Guest, 2012). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe thematic analysis as a qualitative analytic method for reporting patterns / themes within data and identifying as well as analysing the data. However, they add that, "frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic" (Braun and Clarke, 2006:79). **For the purpose of this study, all the data collected will be presented in themes in Chapter Six.** For this study, the data will be assessed through interpretation in relation to the literature for its authenticity, credibility, and the overall validity and it will be analysed using thematic analysis, whereby the collected data will be categorised according to various themes. The themes include the degree to which the eThekwin

Municipality's provision of basic municipal services has happened in the informal settlement of Cato Crest.

2.5. Chapter Summary

Chapter Two started off with highlighting how the case study methodology was selected and then outlined the data collection methods that were utilised for this study. Primary data collection methods included the use of non-participant observation, interviews with key informants and the use of questionnaires. The chapter also explained secondary data collection methods. The chapter ended with outlining the data analysis process that was used for this study.

CHAPTER 3- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is a structure which can best explain the natural progression of the phenomenon to be studied (Camp, 2001). It is arranged in a logical structure to aid provide a picture or visual display of how ideas in a study relate to one another (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). The framework makes it easier for the researcher to easily specify and define the concepts within the problem of the study (Luse, Mennecke & Townsend , 2012). The concepts which inform this study derive from the research topic. The conceptual framework includes the following: informal settlements, interim services, informal settlements upgrading, urbanisation and home-based enterprises.

3.1.1. Informal settlements

Informal settlements are defined as settlements of communities that are housed in selfconstructed shelters under conditions of informal land tenure (Naidoo, Chidley and McNamara, 2008). They are settlements that are unauthorised in that there is no consent from the land owner for occupation. The occupation of the site infringes official land use and planning standards and the informal structures are developed contrary to building regulations (Huchzermeyer, 2009). Informal settlements are characterised by illegality and informality, environmental hazards, poverty and vulnerability, social stress and others (Chikoto, 2009). There are also a number of reasons that have been identified as causes of the continued prevalence and/or proliferation of informal settlements in many parts of the world, and these include among them, the lack of state capacity, population increase, rampant corruption, ruralurban migration and shortage of land (Ackleman and Anderson, 2008). Also, the shortage of readily available housing stock in urban areas leads to people finding informal settlements as an alternative form of accommodation available within their affordability and convenience.

Roy (2011) advocates that it is a progressive understanding that informal settlements are spaces of habitation, livelihood, self-organisation and politics. This notion shifts away from the pathology of informal settlements that need to be fixed and sees their immense potential in terms of dynamic places of living for those that cannot afford the formal route of acquiring housing. Informal settlements aid for the upward mobility of rural households and, through

access to urban jobs, allows the urban poor to move out of poverty. These settlements grant the households an entry point into the city and allows for them to participate in the economies where migrants can acquire valuable information, job contacts and skills to grant them access to employment. Over time, a lot of them can gain new skills/expertise and enhance their chances of outwards and upwards mobility to better housing conditions in superior neighbourhoods (Glaeser, 2011).

Staff (1993) also notes that an informal settlement is a compact settlement that comprises of communities that have built their own houses within the confines of traditional or formal land tenure. Staff (1993) further emphasises that these types of settlements are common in Third World countries and are the urban poor's solution to housing shortages. This concept informs the study as the growth of informal settlements is a global issue that is ongoing and also, the location of informal settlements plays a vital role in the way in which the dwellers of the informal settlement may be able to get access to basic services, as well as being able to upgrade the settlement.

3.1.2 Interim services

Interim services can be described as services which are provided to residents residing in temporary or informal shelters on a temporary basis (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). This is an innovative approach that was introduced by South African municipalities, including eThekweni. The main objective of the provision of interim services is to provide basic municipal services to informal settlement dwellers (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). Services provided include road infrastructure, pathways, refuse removal, electrical services, water and sanitation. The interim process is said to rollout every five years, which then becomes of importance to communities. The importance of providing these services is to ensure households residing in informal settlements attain municipal services while housing upgrades are being planned by the municipality. Where full basic services cannot be provided, interim basic services are provided to prioritise informal settlements within the National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP) in South Africa (DoH, 2012). The provision of interim basic services is part of the in-situ upgrading programme. Interim measures are taken to those communities that cannot be upgraded because of various constraints such as land tenure and unsuitable land to provide basic services (DoHS, 2009). Interim services can only be provided for settlements earmarked for upgrading, normally three years later. The area should comprise at least 50

households and the cost of providing these services should be relatively low. Sudhir and Yassir (1995) argue that investments in infrastructure and associated provision of services are integral to the process of sustainable development and the primary concern of the most vulnerable members of society that should be made available and easily accessible.

The eThekweni Municipality (2011) states that the principle of the interim services initiative acknowledges that there are a large number of informal settlement communities that would simply have to wait years before the housing programme reaches them, but given their location close proximity to social and economic opportunities, there is no reason why such communities cannot be provided with basic services like water, sanitation, electricity, access roads and footpaths. Interim services inform the study as they are used as a mechanism to supply basic services to the dwellers of Cato Crest. When the municipality installs these services, it allows for people to be able to carry out their livelihoods and be able to enjoy the advantages that come with the temporary installed basic services.

3.1.3. Informal settlement upgrading

Huchzermeyer et al (2006) define informal settlements' upgrading as the process of improving the living conditions of informal settlement households, either on the same land which they occupy, namely 'in-situ', or on a green field site. Informal settlement interventions by governments throughout history have been evolving with housing policy. In South Africa, intervention by the democratic government since 1994 has involved some of the different upgrading intervention strategies which include *in-situ* upgrading, which is the process of formalising access routes into the settlements, bringing in services, and legalising the tenure rights. The idea is to cause as little dislocation and distraction of the residents' income generation activities as possible.

As stated, informal settlement interventions by governments, throughout history, have been evolving with housing policy. In South Africa, interventions by the democratic government, since 1994, have involved different upgrading strategies. These range from *roll-over upgrading*, which involves the removal of residents from their informal settlement shelter into temporary accommodation called transit camps. Secondly, there is *partial relocation*, which involves the upgrading of dense informal settlements, where some removal is necessary to make way for access and services. Lastly, there is so-called *in-situ upgrading*, which aims to

reduce the interruption of social and economic networks by decreasing the number of households and relocating them to another site or elsewhere on the site (Del Mistro and Hensher, 2009). Tshikotshi (2009) also states that there are three conditions involved in informal settlements' upgrading that are acknowledged, namely: "*the property rights, the property values and physical attributes of the underlying assets, and their impact on each other*". The informal settlement upgrading concept informs the study as the residents of Cato Crest may experience the possibility of having their households upgraded since the installation of interim services. Therefore, upgrading may take place, which will then allow the residents to carry out their livelihood strategies and may also give them a chance to have secure tenure.

3.1.4. Home-based enterprises

The term 'home-based enterprises' refers to the wide variety of income generating activities practised by households using their shelter. Additionally, in informal settlements, a house often doubles up as a living and working space in one. Lipton (1980 cited in Matsebe, 2009) describes home-based enterprises as a family-based mode of production and service enterprises. Households practicing home-based enterprises (HBEs) in an upgraded settlement have security of tenure, which makes it easier for these households to invest in their home-based enterprises and expand them without the fear of being relocated at some point. In an informal settlement, households face inevitable upgrading and are therefore reluctant to invest in their home-based enterprises over time, which hampers growth. Gordon et al. (2006) state that a house plays a critical role in the beginning phases of a small home-based enterprise if the home-based enterprise is not growing, such as the survivalist home based enterprises that people practice in informal settlements. The reason people begin these home-based enterprises is because the home-based enterprise affords them the choice of operating a business while simultaneously carrying out house chores, without having to leave the home. The households operating homebased enterprises do not have to pay any rental fees for the operation of these enterprises, so they save in this respect. Home-based enterprises are convenient and close to the families operating them, which means that the families save on travelling costs to work. A family is able to provide good security and reduce risks if the home-based enterprise fails. Home-based enterprises serve their immediate neighbourhoods and because they are operated within the home, they become dependent on foot traffic for customers.

3.1.5. Rapid urbanisation challenges

Urbanisation has brought an increase of human exposure to health hazards in both developing and developed countries. Urban growth has preceded the establishment of a solid, diversified economic base to support the provision of housing, infrastructure and employment opportunities. Tibaijuka (2008) argues that the phenomenon of urbanisation has been a defining feature of the new century and of the new millennium. The UN Habitat (2003) report on slums concludes that one in every six human beings resides in informal settlements and the numbers are likely to increase in the next three decades, given the rapid pace of urbanisation. Major urban population growth trends have been occurring in the cities of the developing world and authorities have very little or no planning to accommodate the increased population and provide households with basic services.

Battlacharya (2002) describes urbanisation as a migration of the rural population to the urban centres, creating a natural growth rate of the urban population. As Africa continues to rapidly urbanise, the migration of rural households to urban areas in search of better urban opportunities has placed, and will continue to place, immense pressure on acquiring affordable land and housing for poor households. Most governments in the developing world have not been proactive in acknowledging and planning for urbanisation and, as a result, informal settlements have proliferated throughout the cities of the developing world and these settlements have provided shelter to a considerable and growing proportion of the population. Most settlements are located on the peripheries and on neglected parts of cities where makeshift structures are a common feature. Roberts (2006) agrees that urbanisation has proceeded at a fast rate, especially in the developing world, with a concomitant increase in the urban population as well as informal settlements. People move closer to central business districts (CBDs) in search of economic opportunities. The high cost of housing results in those in the low-income group occupying vacant land and establishing informal settlements which mushroom rapidly (Turok, 2012).

Sexwale (2013:01) states that due to poverty and lack of basic services as well as job opportunities, people are immigrating to the city from the rural areas in search of better opportunities to sustain their livelihoods. This means that undesirable urbanisation risk driven less by economic growth and more by rural urban migration of the poor and the jobless. Edmonds (2013:120) states that South Africa experiences urbanisation due to “*racial*

integration, economic growth and education”. As the second largest city in the country after Johannesburg, Durban, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, has attracted migrant labour from different parts of South Africa (Vartak, 2009:09). This suggests a possible increase in population, and a challenge for the availability of housing. By the 1980’s, Durban and the area around the city was home to hundreds of shack dwellers (Vartak, 2009:09), due to the lack of adequate social housing strategies.

3.2. Theoretical Framework

The theories informing this dissertation include the Basic Human Needs Approach, Modernisation Theory and the Housing Asset Triangle.

3.2.1. Basic Human Needs Approach

The approach advocates for state intervention in meeting the basic needs of the poor in society. The Basic Human Needs Approach was adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1976, detailing how government can meet the needs of the poor. According to Streeten (1979), the aim of the Basic Needs Approach is to provide opportunities for the full development of the individual and focuses on mobilising particular resources for particular groups identified as deficient in these resources. Furthermore, the Basic Needs Approach also advocates for the government to employ policies that facilitate the provision of housing, and it is supposed to replace top-down approaches such as demolition, sites and services, and slum and squatter upgrading (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements and International Labour Office, 1995). Kigochie (2001) states that for the enabling approach to succeed all actors in the shelter sector, which includes local government, are urged to work together and to provide an enabling environment for the poor to raise their standards of living.

The Basic Needs Approach has informed the study by highlighting the role of the state in providing opportunities for the urban poor through the provision of engineering services and stimulating housing consolidation by beneficiaries. Streeten (1979) argues that the philosophy behind the Basic Needs Approach is that everyone should be able to pursue well-being as the approach provides the positive concepts of eliminating and reducing unemployment, alleviating poverty and reducing inequality, and it has been significant in encouraging developmental policies that are proactive in alleviating poverty for the urban poor. McHale and McHale (1979) argue that to assess human development, attention is often focused on the basic needs and what

individuals can acquire in terms of food supply, education, health and housing, as these are strong components in traditional development and aid programmes. The implementation of the Basic Human Needs Approach can create benefits such as employment opportunities, poverty alleviation and fighting inequality (Myeni, 2005). In this study, the objective of basic services delivery as a basic human need will assist in explaining an ideal relationship between engineering service provisions and housing construction. The beneficiaries of municipal services are able to meet their housing needs incrementally through housing consolidation and this takes the burden off the state for providing the full housing package to the poor.

According to Leipziger (1981), the Basic Needs Approach represents an explicit attempt to single out the needs of the poor in developing countries such as South Africa and to specify a bundle of goods and services that are needed if they are to reach at least minimal survival in urban informal settlements. Therefore, the Basic Needs Approach is somewhat a strategy of growth, employment, and income generation (Leipziger, 1981). The Basic Needs Approach is one of the major approaches to the measurement of absolute poverty in developing countries. It attempts to define the absolute minimum resources necessary for long-term physical wellbeing, usually in terms of consumption of goods (Jolly, 1976). The poverty line is then defined as the amount of income required to satisfy those needs. The 'Basic Needs' Approach was introduced by the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) World Employment Conference in 1976 (Jolly, 1979). In the development discourse, the basic needs model focuses on the measurement of what is believed to be an eradicable level of poverty. The Basic Needs Approach attempts to define the complete minimal resources necessary for one's physical wellbeing in the long term, commonly in terms of consumption of goods. The poverty line would then be distinctively defined as the overall income essential to fulfilling those needs.

3.2.2. Modernisation and informal settlements

The Modernisation Theory emerged as an explanation of how the industrial societies of North America and Western Europe developed. According to Cole (2016), the theory argues that societies develop in fairly predictable stages and over time become increasingly complex. Under the guidance of the Modernisation Theory, development depends primarily on industrialisation, urbanisation, rationalisation, bureaucracy, mass consumption, and the embracing of democracy. The Modernisation Theory has over time been used as a duplication rationale in places all over the world that are considered traditional and pre-modern societies, which are said to be less developed as compared to Western societies. The core underpinnings

of this theory are the assumptions that scientific progress, technological development and rationality, mobility, and economic growth are good things and are to be constantly aimed for in all societies as they are closely linked to development. Also included are the provision of better social services, the development of mass media which fosters democratic political institutions, division of labour and technology advancements. Informal settlements are closely linked to the Modernisation Theory in which Fox (2013) describes them as being a natural byproduct of the (assumed) complementary processes of industrialisation and urbanisation.

Informal settlements and the Modernisation Theory are further expanded upon by Franken (1967), as belonging to the process of economic growth in a developing country by acting as the staging area for the migrating poor, as they work to integrate themselves into the economic life of cities in expanding economies. The search or securing of employment by people who live outside urban areas, more specifically ones residing in rural areas, creates a large number of people migrating into the city. These people often have little or no means at all to acquire adequate housing. The process of informal settlements is then initiated as the settlers salvage any cheap material and unoccupied land which they can build their shelter on.

The Modernisation Theory portrays slums as a natural and temporary manifestation of a market failure arising from the dynamics of structural change in labour markets. Informal settlements are seen as agents which serve the purpose of integrated the urban poor migrants into the urban economy. After having secured employment or any type of income source. The incomes of these migrants and urban poor rise. Eventually they are able to enter the formal housing market or invest in upgrading their existing dwellings, thereby enhancing informal settlement conditions.

Turner (1969) states that informal settlements may be referred to as uncontrolled urban settlements because it is the product of the difference between the popular demand for housing and that demanded and supplied by institutional society. This means that policy objectives and the institutional framework for their fulfilment are often too geared to one sector of society which is the relatively wealthy minority and makes them economically and culturally unacceptable to the other half of society which is less wealthy. Official policies have contributed directly to the worsening of housing conditions and to the precipitation of squatting and clandestine development as the only alternatives for the masses.

3.2.3. The Housing Asset Triangle

According to Stevenson (2010), the definition of an asset suggests that it is an item of property owned by a person or company, this is regarded as having value and available to meet debts, commitments or legacies. This then allows the researcher to understand the term ‘asset’, which results in understanding housing as an asset. The Housing Asset Triangle is a concept derived by Rust (2006) and the idea describes housing as encompassing economic, financial and social asset values which are represented by each of the corners of a triangle. Firstly, the house as a social asset can be referred to as its value as a safety net and a place to call their own and provide a feel-good factor for its occupants. The social asset serves to give households confidence and a sense of urban citizenship through having a residential address and a link to a local government. The social asset also allows for residents to create social networks and community support and allows for the neighbourhood to attend to issues as a collective. Secondly, housing categorised as an economic asset means the house enables households to use it for income generation purposes, such as home-based enterprises and through the offering of space to another for rental. Thirdly, the value of the house as a financial asset would be realised through its inheritance, sale or if it is leveraged to access credit. In order for residents to be able to have access to housing as a financial asset, security of tenure must be present so that the house can accumulate financial benefits, also the house is in a more formal state.

Therefore, in this study the focus will be on housing as an economic asset due to the fact that informal settlements may not be able to have security of tenure and also no formal access to credit can be used from it. The economic asset will, however, allow for the informal settlement to be able to create income generating activities within the household through HBEs, even when the households are upgraded. The other two corners of the triangle represent the ‘social asset’ of housing and the ‘financial asset’ of housing, which Rust (2006) also uses in her explanation of how each of these assets of housing can be understood in terms of the way they can benefit the household residing inside the house. Rust (2006) argues that if households are allowed to secure credit and savings over time by using their house as an economic asset (referring to the income earning potential of the household using the house, such as with the operation of HBEs), this will create sustainable livelihoods.

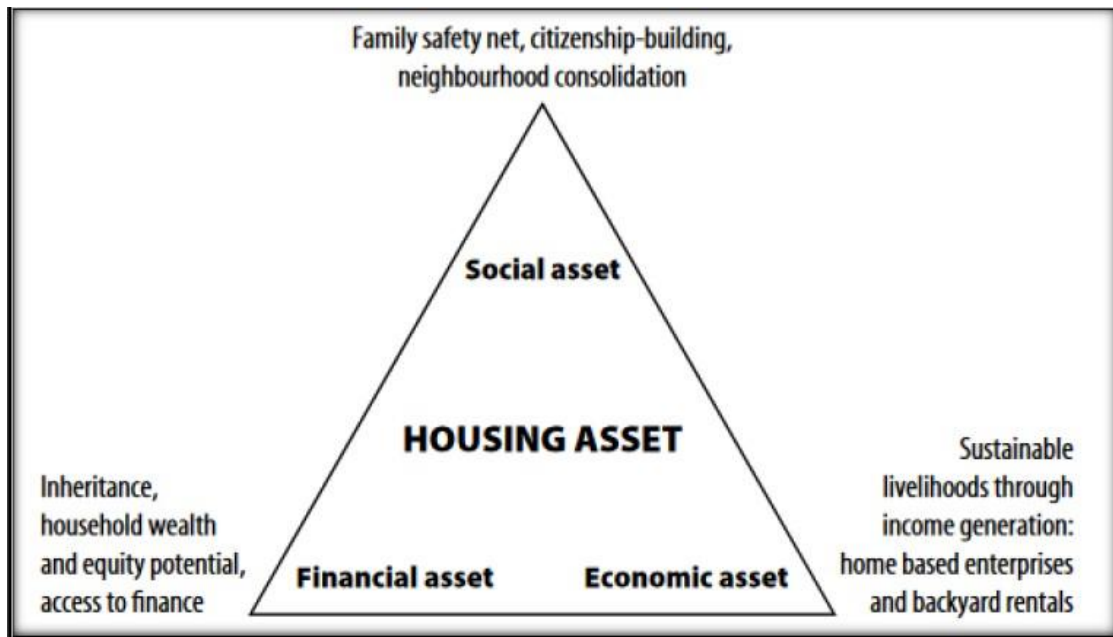


Figure 3.1: Showing the Housing Asset Triangle

Source: Rust (2006)

CHAPTER 4 – LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 The Emergence of Informal Settlements

Housing is a perpetual challenge globally. Wherever one goes in the world, there is bound to be a form of informal housing present. Ali and Sulaiman (2006:19) state that by virtue land is administered and the planning policies which come with that have often been seen as rigid and inadequate to meet the increasing demand for housing by the poor majority, which adds to the housing challenge and contributes to the mushrooming of informal settlements. It has been said that globally people choose to settle informally as a result of the unavailability of housing in urban areas and move from their rural areas due to a lack of opportunities such as jobs and education in these rural areas.

Abbott (2002:20) further states that a large number of people chooses to live in informal settlements in urban areas in search of better living conditions, health care facilities and education and opportunities, which means they are forced to develop and live in informal settlements due to the lack of housing and inability to afford the available housing. In Nairobi, for example, the population has been growing at a fast rate and has caused an imbalance regarding housing and the population. This means that rural migration and the natural growth of the urban population have been largely absorbed in the fast growing urban informal and unplanned settlements (Nairobi Water, 2009:01). Essentially, the same situation which faces South Africa impacts on Nairobi as well. People leave the rural areas in search of better opportunities, while remaining in a cycle of poverty with no shelter, thus resorting to informal settling.

Examining Zanzibar (Tanzania), the area seems to be faced with a multitude of housing challenges. According to Ali and Sulaiman (2006), over 70 per cent of urban residents in Zanzibar live in informal dwellings, whereas in South Africa according to StatsSA (2011), about 13.9 per cent live in informal settlements and a vast majority of the dwellers live in extremely poor conditions (Ali and Sulaiman, 2006:22). With a growing urban population, the government can only provide to the limits of its resources, as the available resources have never been sufficient enough to meet the demands of the increasing populations.

This becomes a housing challenge as there is a large gap created by this process between the high-, middle- and low-income households. The practice of filtering down impacts immensely on the lower income households, as they are required to wait for the high-income households to avail these units. There can be a long wait, resulting in the development of informal housing, i.e. informal settlements.

In reference to the housing challenge in Mumbai, there are rising real estate prices. This means that more people with respectable jobs cannot find affordable housing to buy or rent, and if these people are affected it means that those who are self-employed or on the lowest strata of society are also struggling (Patel, 2005:60). The housing challenge in Mumbai is based on the high cost of the housing, which does not allow people to afford to purchase the housing and results in informal settlements being erected (Patel, 2005). Examples closer to South Africa include Nairobi and Tanzania. These countries also face housing challenges and the development of informal settlements.

4.2 Informal Settlements in South Africa

The history of informal settlements in South Africa can be traced from the apartheid period of the 1960's through to the current situation and is marked by various changes and interventions. These changes and interventions include the introduction of policies to help combat the increased growth of informal settlements. According to Huchzermeyer et al. (2006), informal settlements have marked the urban landscape in South Africa for at least half a century. A number of factors have contributed to the growth in informal settlements in South Africa and these factors include poverty and unemployment, to name a few. However, the creation of informal settlements is a response to the housing shortage, which is part of the apartheid legacy, as well as the rapid growth in urbanisation which continues to be a struggle for the government.

Sapire (1992) states that the main driving force for informal settlements is economic decline and rising unemployment, whereas Huchzermeyer et al. (2006) suggest that informal housing, even if based on illegal occupation of land, is recognised by some as affordable and is an immediate accessible solution to the housing shortage. Moreover, there are other factors such as rural poverty that make people move to urban areas in search of employment and hoping for a better living. As a result the urban poor have resorted to living in risky conditions in makeshift

structures using all kinds of materials, with no security of tenure, and depending on the informal economy (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000).

In the past the South African government would react in a harsh manner when trying to combat informal settlements; they would carry out evictions of these settlements occupying land illegally. The study commissioned by the Urban Foundation in 1990 supported Schlemmer on the question of the informal settlements' inhabitants. The study confirmed that the rapid growth of freestanding informal settlements inside and outside of South Africa from the 1970s onwards could be attributed to a number of factors. The growth reflected the crisis response of growing numbers of poor people who had no other housing alternatives. Other forms of housing that took place include backyard structure capacity, a perception that the response of authorities to unauthorised settlements would not be as hostile as in the past, a possible increase in the rate of immigration to the urban areas, a desire for privacy on the part of those who had shared rooms with other families in formal houses of backyard accommodation and the staking of claims for sites in planned site and service schemes i.e. physically occupying land.

According to Payne (1984), in the 1920s and 1950s evictions were common in South Africa and this was backed by law. However, the forced evictions did not work as the informal settlements continued to grow. Knight (2006) states that informal settlements are here to stay for the next decade and beyond, this is due to the persistence of informal settlements and their continued growth, and despite extensive government subsidised housing the growth cannot be combated. The population in the urban areas is increasing at a drastic rate and a large number of these households live in impoverished and insecure conditions. Municipalities do not have the capacity to meet the growing demands created by urban growth, hence the continued growth of informal settlements. Migration and poverty are said to be the major causes of informal settlements, Kramer (2006 cited in Tshikotshi, 2009:7) states that most informal settlements' residents migrate from rural areas to escape rural poverty, and pursue the greener pastures seemingly offered by metropolitan areas. Wekesa, Steyn and Otieno (2011) note that some people are forced to live in informal settlements due to poverty and unemployment. Indeed, some consider such settlements a practical solution for a developing country (Wekesa, Steyn and Otieno, 2011).

According to Mutisya and Yarime (2011), this phenomenon is also regarded as economically viable as residents cannot afford to build or buy their own houses or to access formal shelter through proper channels for various reasons such as low wages or unemployment. Mutisya and Yarime (2011) add that the existence of informal settlements demonstrates the poverty and poor conditions in which people live, which call for multiple interventions from various governmental sectors in order to provide easy access to essential social services. Conditions in informal settlements predispose residents to diseases which could have a harmful effect later in life (Mutisya and Yarime, 2011). According to Lai (1995), migrants are attracted to cities because of the economic opportunities that these cities may offer, this means that cities are now pull factors for migrants because of the characteristics they possess such as access to basic services and education where in the rural areas these are unavailable. Scholars have also noted that informal settlements present their own unique problems. One of the important factors that policy makers need to consider before formulating policies and programmes to eradicate informal settlements is to understand the causes of these settlements.

Furthermore, whilst informal settlements are all different, Misselhorn (2008:5) states that:

One frequent factor in the formation of informal settlements is that they typically provide an initial point of access into the urban environment for incoming migrants, or for those moving from other parts of the city. More importantly, they afford such access at a very low financial cost and the barriers to entry are low.

Misselhorn (2008) highlights some of the elements that explain the nature of this access. These include access to employment and other economic / livelihood opportunities (which are often modest or survivalist in nature); access to social facilities (e.g., education and health care) and potential access to housing and infrastructure. Thus, informal settlements play a critical role as 'holding places' where people can access the urban environment at low financial cost in search of a better life (Misselhorn, 2008:6).

4.3. Characteristics of Informal Settlements

According to Hunter (2001), the characteristics of informal settlements tend to vary widely across cities depending on the income levels of the inhabitants. These include the physical characteristics of the informal dwelling and the socio-economic status of the informal settlement. The physical characteristics include the poor structural quality of housing which generally includes dwelling units which are constructed of building materials that are of questionable qualities such as metals/ tins, cardboards, plastics and other materials that offer scant protection against the elements and frequently collapse. Basic infrastructure, such as potable water, sewerage and storm water drainage, are often seen to be lacking in these settlements, and together with overcrowding are also considered to be a part of the physical characteristics of informal settlements. (UN Habitat, 2003). Moreover, the location of these informal settlements includes dump sites, marsh lands and railway setbacks etc. which are considered to be at the periphery of cities. The socio-economic status of the informal settlement includes creating a source of income within the informal settlement, and this means having an informal sector operating within the informal settlement as this may be the only means of income that the dwellers may rely on, due to the high rate of unemployment (Hunter, 2001). Moreover, insecurity of tenure is a major concern as land is grabbed illegally without official approval by the owner and state, which usually results in a constant threat of eviction and sometimes they are also forced to live in an area devoid of open spaces and recreation. In addition, the location of the settlements themselves can pose risks and vulnerability for the settlers.

Many informal settlements are located on unsuitable land, e. g. on steep slopes, on land that is close to stations and hence might be contaminated or on land that is prone to flooding (UNHabitat, 2003). Moreover, those areas have inadequate thoroughfares and access to the residential units, making services such as emergency provisions and garbage collection extremely difficult (Magalhaes and Eduardo, 2007). Staff (1993:235) notes that informal settlements are dense settlements comprising of communities housed in self-constructed shelters under formal or traditional land tenure. Staff (1993) adds that such settlements are a common feature in developing countries and that they are typically the product of an urgent need for shelter by the urban poor. However, Srivinas (2005) states that informal settlements are defined in various ways, depending on the planning and legal framework of the country where they exist. They are regarded as unhealthy and overcrowded blights on the urban

landscape. They add that these settlements contain shelters made of non-durable materials such as plastic, wood, and scrap metal, are progressively becoming an ordinary form of accommodation for millions of people and are mainly found on the outer edges of larger cities (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006).

Saane (2005:47) states that informal settlement areas are not surveyed and thus do not have property boundaries, and are located in townships that have not been proclaimed. Saane (2005:47) adds that this makes it difficult for residents to develop their settlement due to the lack of security of tenure, as such areas cannot be registered in the Surveyor General's office. South Africa's 2004 National Housing Programme notes that an informal settlement typically manifests the following characteristics: illegal and informal dwellings; poor or dangerous location of the settlement; restricted public and private investment due to its illegality; poverty; vulnerability due to a lack of demarcated roads; poor lighting; and underdeveloped public open space. An informal settlement is also often characterised by crime and social stress. Mokoena and Marais (2007:320) add that such settlements are not situated on well-located land. Abbot (2003:2) notes that residents of informal settlements do not have legal tenure to the land they occupy, and that these settlements fall outside the formal planning process and as a result usually lack or have a very low level of basic services such as water and sanitation (Abbot, 2003:2). Overall, these settlements lack security of tenure, are overcrowded and are exposed to various social, economic and environmental risks (UN-Habitat 2003).

4.4. Access to Basic Services in Informal Settlements in the International Context

Basic services consist of resources which are vital to the functioning of human beings and their wellbeing as a whole. Such services are characterised by certain indicators, such as water, sanitation and electricity (Housing Development Agency, 2012:05). Due to informal settlements being unplanned and unstructured, this paves the way for the inability of basic services provision. However, this section examines how basic services are accessed in informal settlements at an international level. Using Nairobi in Kenya as an example in the case of access to basic services in informal settlements, a group of researchers in Kenya found possible solutions to the issue of provision of basic services in informal settlements.

Over and above the development of strategies to combat the issue of the unavailability of basic services in informal settlements, there were challenges noted which depicted how informal settlements lacked basic services, how informal settlement dwellers accessed such services,

and how that impacted the livelihoods of the dwellers. According to Muungano (2015), researchers explored the relations between settlement types and service provision, as well as examined alternative models of service delivery (Muungano, 2015:22). The above results mean that the research conducted on possible solutions to the issue of the access to basic services in informal settlements found that there was a relationship between the type of settlement and the basic services provided in that area.

Other ways in which people living in informal settlements gained access to basic services were also noted. In the case of Mukuru, an informal settlement located in an industrial area in Nairobi, households were usually crowded into tiny iron shacks with only minimal service provision. There is a continuation in the trend of informal settlements lacking access to basic services. Muungano (2015:22) states that 3.6 per cent of Mukuru households had access to adequate bathrooms, 7 per cent had adequate toilets, and 29 per cent had adequate water, whereas 78 per cent had electricity, but these tenuous illegal connections frequently exposed residents to regular blackouts and elevated risks of electrocution. The research conducted in the Mukuru area depicts that the informal settlement had slight access to basic services; however it was still not adequate enough for the whole population. The above stated facts left the Mukuru population prone to sanitation and water borne diseases, as well as electrocution and fires within the settlement, due to illegal electricity connections.

Nairobi is used as one of the international examples, although there are many other countries globally which also have the challenge of the lack of access to basic services in their existing informal settlements. Another country which can be learned from in the issue of access to basic services is Brazil. In Brazil, informal settlers face challenges as with any other country in the world regarding the access to basic services in their settlements. The way in which water is accessed in Brazil's informal settlements is by tapping into a water main that runs near the settlement (Rufin, 2015:16). According to Rufin (2015), the task of obtaining water is a difficult one because the water main is always at the bottom of a hill, which creates a difficult journey for those living near the top as the walk back to their residence is steep (Rufin, 2015:16). In terms of sanitation, approximately 50% of Brazil's informal settlers have access to an in-house toilet facility (Rufin, 2015:17). The number of people who have access to toilets is equal to those who do not, which means that the availability of sanitation facilities does not meet the needs of the informal settlements population in Brazil. Although there is that 50 per cent with

in-house toilet facilities, those facilities also have sewerage running through open ditches which eventually ends up at street level (Rufin, 2015:17), which in turn leads to health hazards.

Apart from water, sanitation and electricity are also challenges in informal settlements globally. There is also the issue of security of tenure, where “most slum dwellers have no security of tenure and live under the constant threat of eviction” (UN-Habitat3, 2015:27). According to Kranthi and Rao, 2009, it is every country’s goal to provide basic services (including water and sanitation) to all poor people, including security of tenure and improved housing at affordable prices and to ensure the delivery of social services of education, health and social security to poor people. There is a link between security of tenure and the access to basic services, and that link is in the fact that if people have security of tenure they are guaranteed access to basic services, and if the land which people occupy belongs to them rightfully, governments are able to provide basic services.

Basic living conditions and access to services are a range of living standard indicators. These indicators include access to key services such as water, sanitation and electricity. In some cases, they also include indicators relating to the conditions of dwelling structures themselves (Housing Development Agency, 2012:10). In informal settlements, there is little to no access to basic services. Because such structures are informal and unplanned, they cannot be catered for. Apart from water, sanitation and electricity, there also stands the issue of roads, health care services and schools, depending on the location of the settlement. As a result of informal settlements being unplanned and unguided, there is the issue of coverage determining the need for water and sanitation. According to the (UN-HABITAT, 2003:06), there are no data on water and sanitation provision for informal settlements and many low-income nations (UNHABITAT, 2003:06). Without the necessary data available for the provision of basic services to occur, government cannot detect which areas remain unserved and therefore cannot provide those areas with such services. The provision of water is a serious issue within informal settlements, as water is only provided to a few through standpipes if provided at all (K’Akumu and Olima cited in Mahlakoana, 2010:51). Water is a scarce resource in informal settlements, and is accessed through standpipes if there are any, as well as any river in close proximity to the settlement. According to Mahlakoana (2010:51), water in informal settlements is usually collected from unreliable sources and stored in drums and other storage facilities for domestic purposes, particularly for drinking and cooking.

As a result of poor water supply in informal settlements, there is no adequate sanitation, suggesting the disposal of human waste in these settlements is mainly through pit latrines and other on-site methods (Anan cited in Mahlakoana, 2010:52). A number of informal dwellers do not use the pit latrines provided for them, and instead use open defecation as a sanitation facility (Mahlakoana, 2010:52). The above indicates that opportunities for dirt and disease rise, resulting in health risks and environmental degradation associated with the lack of basic services. Electricity is also a basic service which informal settlements have little to no access to. Although there is a lack of electricity for some settlements, virtually all informal sector households are connected to electricity lines (Ferguson, 1996:28). The way in which these settlements are connected to electricity is by the use of a pole of bamboo on which is placed a metal hook attached to wire over the electricity line (Ferguson, 1996:28). This process is a high risk to the residents of informal settlements as this procedure can result in electrocution and death.

4.5. Informal Settlements in the International Context

Informal settlers survive differently in developing countries and developed countries. Also, there are various situations in which informal settlements may occur in developed countries and some may include the issues of housing amongst others, and also the convenience of being close to important amenities like schools, health care and economic opportunities. According to Atkinson (2000), in Europe people residing in informal settlements usually have low paying jobs that require little or no skill, and there are also other residents who do not have jobs and therefore rely on government grants to provide a means of income in order to be able to sustain their households economically. This is seen as the way in which people in informal settlements survive and make means to address their needs, and this is a trend within informal settlers internationally and locally. Therefore, the two authors mentioned above agree that in Europe informal settlers are not necessarily poor but would rather live in informal settlements in order to make ends meet.

However, Tsenkova (2008) argues that where basic services and adequate housing is provided is sometimes not at a location close to public amenities. Rather, they are provided based on the availability of land and if communities are not consulted from grass-roots level the engineering services and housing provided by the state tends to be wasted as they do not satisfy the

community's needs. Abbott (2002) states that there have been a vast variety of historic circumstances and settlement patterns. Some of these patterns are said to have begun in the 1960s as squatter settlements in the peri-urban areas of Greece and Turkey and in parts of Yugoslavia, and have now transformed into informal neighbourhoods that are more established.

Skopje is one example that consists of 27 illegally constructed neighbourhoods that date as far back to an earthquake that occurred in the 1980s (Abbott, 2002). The absence of basic services in the European setting leads to environmental degradation as informal settlement dwellers have no other choice but to perform their sanitation needs out in the open. This negatively impacts the environmental conditions of the informal settlements and leads to health hazards. The uncertainty under regeneration and settlement upgrading programmes, institutionally, is that priority is often given to physical upgrading, and as a result other important aspects such as 'improved living conditions' are neglected (UN-Habitat, 2003). Therefore, it is crucial for government to provide security of tenure and to provide integration of informal settlements into the larger society and urban structure and not neglect them. Informal development processes have historically generated more and better housing options for the vast majority of the urban population in Brazil and several other Latin American countries (Fernandes, 2011:16). Brazil is specific to the study as it has similar housing challenges to those present in South Africa.

4.5.1. Case study of lack of services in Brazil

Favelas, which are also referred to as the "slums" of Brazil, are typically situated within or on the peripheries of Brazil's large cities such as Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (Alvardo, 2015). According to a Census conducted in 2010, there is approximately 6 per cent of the population of Brazil that resides in favelas (informal settlements). Generally, favelas were developed due to the need for survival of a particular population with very limited resources. Rio de Janeiro is also home to the largest and most dense favela (Alvardo, 2015). This favela in Rio has a huge problem with sanitation. Sewage is often mixed with garbage and flows directly into the ocean, which leads to even bigger issues such as health hazards and pollution (Alvardo, 2015). There is also a very strong absence of investment in the favelas, particularly in Rio. Alvardo (2015) states that according to the Ministry of Cities, Sanitation is a cost, rather than an investment. The Ministry of Cities also states that 30 per cent of Rio de Janeiro's populace has no connection to a proper sanitation system (Alvardo, 2015). Even in those areas that have some sort of poor connection, only about half of the sewage waste is entered, untreated, into several

watercourses (Alvarado, 2015). Also, quite frequently cities have ‘sanitation systems’ that are not in good working condition (Hosek, 2013).

Every year, 217,000 Brazilians suffer from gastrointestinal complications that are linked to poor sanitation and therefore miss work, affecting their income streams (Alvarado, 2015). Children also suffer from this problem as studies show that children with access to suitable sanitation have an 18 per cent higher education attainment than those without access (Alvarado, 2015). The insufficient waste removal of trash aggravates the problem of sewage. Often, sewage runoff blends with trash, which is then eroded away into the oceans. Although more inhabitants are beginning to see the harshness of this problem, there is still a lack of education on the issue so it continues to act as a major barrier (Hosek, 2013). Due to the lack of basic services in favelas, many times residents are forced to find other means of sourcing services for their immediate needs, using solutions which are illegal in most cases (Alvarado, 2015).

With regards to electricity, many individuals steal it from the overhead cables which run through favelas, often at times risking being electrocuted in the process (Alvarado, 2015). According to Alvarado (2015), many people living in favelas are prepared to risk their lives by stealing electricity and connecting illegally but do not take into consideration their consumption levels; they use the electricity to be able to provide for the necessary needs of their families, such as cooking, refrigerating and lighting needs. This case study clearly shows that with a lack of basic services, other health and life-threatening risks emanate from this lack. Government funding for the provision of basic services is a cost to the state instead of an investment, but by looking at the provision of interim services, local governments will be able to decrease several issues that are associated with the absence of basic services, while the government finds other means of addressing the issue of favelas as a whole.

4.6. Informal settlements in South Africa

The South African government has a progressive legal and policy framework that governs the right to housing. These programmes include state-subsidised housing programmes which seek to redress the apartheid legacy and grant eligible beneficiaries a variety of state-subsidised housing options (Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa [SERI], 2018). Statesubsidised housing therefore plays a critical role in addressing the acute shortage of affordable housing available to poor and low-income households in South Africa

(Huchzermeyer et al., 2006). The South African government has, in terms of the framework, been able to make considerable gains over the years. However, these gains mask the various systematic challenges that continue to compromise the enjoyment of the right of access to adequate housing. Sapire (1992) states that these challenges stem from the manner in which legal frameworks are being implemented in practice. The implementation of the right to adequate housing has been plagued by poor planning, lack of coordination, insufficient capacity, a failure to adequately monitor the implementation of the government policies and lack of political will. These challenges are acute in the context of informal settlements and inner city “slum” buildings (Tibajiku, 2008). Those living in informal settlements experience inadequate housing, lack access to basic services or maintenance and face the threat of evictions, amongst other challenges. The informality characterised by poor living conditions as well as social and economic exclusion is a critical challenge in the country. As a result of the critical lack of affordable housing, many poor and low-income households have had to resort to living in South Africa’s growing informal settlements (SERI, 2018).

The National Housing Code refers to informal settlements mainly in terms of illegality and informality, inappropriate locations, restricted public and private sector investment, poverty and vulnerability, as well as social stress, amongst others. Informal settlements remain an eyesore across major cities in South Africa (Huchzermeyer et al., 2006). They consist of nonconventional housing built without complying with the legal building procedures. These settlements are usually built at the edge of the cities where land is cheap and neglected (Moser and Satterthwaite, 2008). Moreover, these informal settlements are often better located than the housing developments to which the government seeks to relocate them. The urban poor usually uses salvaged materials like wood, tin and corrugated iron to build these settlements. These urban households regularly live in these awful conditions which increase the spread of contagious diseases (Cairncross et al., 1990).

In South Africa, substantial inequalities exist between urban and the rural boundaries in relation to access to basic social services. Ziblim (2013) states that there is about 21 per cent of the population that does not have access to better-quality sanitation services, keeping in mind that the difference is 14 per cent in the urban area, compared to the 33 per cent in the rural areas. Hopkins (2006) argues that the development gap between the urban and rural division adds to developing trends in rural-urban migration, predominantly among the youth, and further

reinforces the socio-economic inequalities, as well as challenges posed regarding access to shelter and adequate housing in the cities. The rural-urban migration usually occurs due to people seeking job opportunities in urban areas. According to Chetty (2012), “estimates suggest that 26 per cent of households in the 6 metropolitan areas in our country live in informal settlements, often ‘illegally’ and with limited access to services”, (Chetty, 2012:01).

The challenge of informal settlements does not only stem from migration but also from “escalating housing prices, limited access to land and housing finance, land regulations which govern sub-division of land, highly regressive land taxation, and low supply elasticity of subsidised housing” (Chetty, 2012:01). As a result of their financial status, the poor are forced to resort to other means of shelter. Informal settlements are the result of a failed system regarding the formal housing sector. There are challenges in the process of setting aside land suitable for housing. The challenge is mainly “pressure from high-income groups who wish to avoid perceived devaluation of their properties from being in close proximity with housing for the poor, as well as the perceived tax revenue losses when compared to other uses – in particular, up-market gated communities” (Chetty, 2012:01). Upgrading of informal settlements and developing low cost housing is a challenge, as the people currently occupying the land need to be consulted and if they do not approve of the project, the project comes to a halt, therefore, there are more people residing in informal settlements and in turn impacting negatively on the environment. The previously disadvantaged being the ‘Black’ Africans are still highly disadvantaged when it comes to job opportunities and access to housing. “Regardless of their political conflicts all major protagonists have agreed that there is an enormous shortage of affordable housing for the working classes” (Hendler in Napier, 2007:21).

A number of people migrate to the city from rural areas in search of better job opportunities. Housing becomes an issue for the migrants, which in turn leads to the establishment and development of informal settlements. According to the Housing Development Agency (2013:14), between 2001 and 2011, 20 per cent of the KwaZulu-Natal population lived in informal settlements.

4.6.1 Case study of the provision of interim services in the eThekweni Municipality

The local Water Service Authority in South Africa realised the provision of interim water and sanitation services within the incremental upgrading of informal settlements (Crous, 2012). The eThekweni Municipality has successfully provided interim services, more specifically interim communal water and sanitation facilities (Crous, 2012). The eThekweni Municipality (EM) devised a strategic method for the upgrading of informal settlements, which was the rollout of interim communal ablution blocks on a large scale, over a four year period. These communal ablution block amenities did not use dry sanitation services but were rather waterborne services (Crous, 2012). This decision was made strategically in line with the obligation to merge those services with waterborne services, as permanent services were to be implemented when funds became available. This rapid rollout in the eThekweni Municipality was accomplished by the speedy employment of community ablution blocks (CABs) made from shipping containers that were modified (Gounden, 2011). EThekweni Water and Sanitation (EWS) was additionally accountable for the employment of custodians to oversee and manage the ablution blocks, as well as for the provision consumables that consisted of cleaning items and toilet paper (Gounden, 2011). In this case study, it is important to note that the eThekweni Housing Department shifted its focus in informal settlement upgrading from the provision of toilets only to the provision of infrastructure, which consisted of bulk water and sewer infrastructure, electricity supply and roads, which provided interim relief to informal settlements that were listed to be upgraded in-situ (Nkici, 2012).

The rollout of interim services by the eThekweni Water and Sanitation Unit was carried out in partnership with the eThekweni Housing Department, the Health Department, and with the Architecture Department so that unnecessary expenditure was reduced (Nkici, 2012). EWS was and still remains the primary link between communities and interim municipal services, and is also the implementing agent of interim municipal services. In the eThekweni Municipality case study, it was found that settlements that were provided with full municipal services within three years but were held in reserve for future full-service upgrading in-situ in the Municipality's Housing Plan were provided with interim services (EM, 2012).

According to Crous (2012), informal settlements were classified into four categories by the municipality, namely: Category One - Imminent full upgrade; Category Two - Incremental upgrading with interim services; Category Three - Emergency Services only, as full upgrading

was not possible; and Category Four – Relocation. This case study on the eThekweni Municipality also stated that with the backlog in sanitation services sitting at 231 387 households, the provision of interim services could not be a short-term project, and Crous (2012) projected that about 220 community ablution blocks would be required per year, with overall ablution facility requirements numbering 3085 throughout the eThekweni Municipality by the year 2026.

Therefore, it is clear that the implementation of interim services cannot be delivered on an impromptu basis but must, in fact, form part of the integrated planning of informal settlements. Such service provision, along with the maintenance and operation of these amenities, must be effectively planned for to ensure their longevity and sustainability.

4.7. Home Based Enterprises and Livelihood Strategies in Informal Settlements

According to Kigochie (2001), high unemployment and lack of affordable housing for the urban poor are some of the most pressing problems in less developed countries. To curb both problems, international donor agencies urge governments to employ policies that combine shelter provision with job creation. Such policies can relax building codes, making housing affordable, and remove barriers that inhibit the growth of the informal sector. Governments are also encouraged to cooperate with non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations and residents in an effort to create jobs and provide affordable housing. Homebased enterprises (HBEs) are found in low-income areas where they provide jobs and shelter for the poor (Gilbert, 1988), and involve economic activities conducted in the home. Davis et al. (2007) describe the history of South African land rights as one that has led to the formation of informal settlements today, stating the fact that European settlers colonised South Africa and proceeded to dispossess indigenous people of the land they traditionally occupied. They then formed legal systems which defined land rights, where legislation such as the Natives Land Act of 1913 was passed and prevented black Africans from owning or renting land outside designated land reserves.

Black people were further kept away from desired urban land by apartheid land laws, such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, which confined black Africans to “native reserves” where they were allowed to exercise traditional forms of land ownership and were denied the ownership of land in the country. Apartheid weakened in the 1980s and with the subsequent 1994

democratic elections, the restrictive land laws were abolished with the fall of the apartheid regime. As a result, rural-urban migration of the previously disadvantaged South African black population increased. However, once they had reached the cities, these migrants faced another problem of being unable to afford inner city accommodation. The urban poor who could not afford the high costs associated with inner city accommodation opted to live in urban informal settlements. As a result, there has been a perpetual increase of informal settlements since 1994 in South African cities (Huchzemeyer et al., 2006). In Cape Town, for example the estimated number of informal dwellings increased from 24 000 in 1993 to 68 000 in 1998, and this growth escalated to a further estimated 100 000 in 2003, an increase of more than 300 per cent over the 10 year period (Abbot and Douglas 1999, cited in Huchzemeyer et al., 2006). Informal settlements continued to increase all over South Africa and the use of the house for income generation became a more prevalent livelihood strategy, practised by poor households living in informal settlements. The increase in informal settlements was not left unchallenged by the South African government, for reasons such as that in some cases the land picked by informal settlement households for building was reserved for other uses. The intervention by government was motivated by the mandate to give poor people proper housing. However, in the end the relocations impacted home-based enterprises (HBEs) negatively, an example being Marconi Beam, in Cape Town (DAG, 2009).

In informal settlements HBEs are a very common and popular form of economic livelihood strategy for the urban poor, because the physical layout of informal settlements and design of the individual dwellings varies greatly. These variances in settlement layout and design of the dwellings allow for high housing densities in informal settlements, which house the potential customers of households operating HBEs. Tshikotshi (2009) conducted research on informal settlements' upgrading in Seraleng, North West Province. Seraleng is a South African township located around the Platinum Mines of the North West Province. Households in Seraleng's informal settlements were located close to the urban areas where the formal and informal economies were vibrant and HBEs were booming. However, the informal settlement upgrading project in Seraleng relocated households far away from the urban areas to the outskirts of the city. The location of the upgraded settlement burdened the ability of households to practice economic livelihood strategies using their houses. The households that practiced HBEs were unable to cope with the distance they had to travel to buy stock for their HBE shelves and to do so for a small group of residents. As a result, the operation of an HBE in this low density

upgraded settlement was not feasible for the household operating the HBE, due to the smaller customer base.

Some of the households then opted to sell their housing and return to the informal settlements in order to continue operating HBEs, which were their sole sources of income. The households that remained in the upgraded housing were those that had access to transport and/or formal employment, or were simply also those that earned enough income to survive, and were not the intended poor beneficiaries of the upgrade. Therefore, in the Seraleng case, informal settlement upgrading impacted the use of the house for income generation, and affected the majority of the poorest households negatively. Informal settlement upgrading in South Africa is not yet inclusive of HBEs and households that operate HBEs have to, by their own means, work out solutions for how they will re-establish their HBEs in the newly upgraded settlement.

4.8. Legislative Framework

4.8.1 The Constitution of South Africa 1996

Section 26 of the South African Constitution (1996) protects the right of every South African citizen to have access to adequate housing and shows that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to ensure the progressive realisation of this right. Also, section 27 of the Constitution further states that everyone has the right to health care services, including reproductive health care, as well as sufficient food, water and social security, and that the state must assist in supplying these resources. This is important in informal settlements, as access to these facilities may prove to be challenging without state intervention. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) Section 27 (2) states that every South African citizen residing in the Republic of South Africa has the right to access clean and potable water and that the government should take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. In realisation of this right Section 2 (a) of the Water Services Act, 108 of 1997 ensures the right of citizens to have access to a basic water supply and the sanitation services necessary to ensure an environment that is not harmful to the health of the citizens. The Constitution is relevant to this study as it is the foundation on which people exercise their rights. The government responds to people's rights by providing government funded housing, and before government housing

can be provided, in some instances, interim services are provided while beneficiaries await adequate government funded housing.

4.8.2 The Housing White Paper 1994

This White Paper was the first post-apartheid housing policy to be adopted by the new democratic government (African National Congress). It sought to “create viable, integrated settlements where households could access opportunities, infrastructure and services, and within which all South African people would have access on a progressive basis, to: (a) a permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; (b) potable water and sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply” (Tissington, 2010:33). The White Paper further stipulates that despite environmental constraints and limitations on the fiscus, every effort will be made to realise this vision for all South Africans, whilst recognising the need for general economic growth and employment as well as the efforts and contributions of individuals themselves and the providers of housing credit, as prerequisites for the realisation thereof (White Paper on Housing, 1994). Since 1994, several housing programmes have been implemented in pursuit of the ideals of this landmark policy document, culminating in a significant policy shift in 2004, with the launch of BNG (Ziblim, 2013).

4.8.3 The Housing Act 1997

The Housing Act of 1997 (Act No.107 of 1997) was sanctioned to provide an effect to Section 26 (1) of the Constitution of South Africa. The Housing Act fundamentally provides for sustainable processes of housing development by providing the main principles that guide such processes at all spheres of government in South Africa. The Housing Act also outlines among others, the relationship, and functions of the National, Provincial, and Local tiers of government, the individuals, and communities in relation to housing development (Tissington, 2011). The Housing Act (1997) additionally encompasses pertinent provisions in Section 2 that assist municipalities to ensure a racially integrated, pro-poor, non-discriminatory, and participatory process of upgrading of informal settlements that are based on the ideologies of good governance. Key principles of this Act in relation to this study is that, Section 2(1) of the Housing Act (1997) states that all spheres of government must give priority to the needs of the poor with regards to housing development, and consult implicitly with communities and

individuals that are affected by the development of housing. Section 2(1) additionally orders all the spheres of government to safeguard housing development that: delivers as wide a choice of housing and tenure options as is practically conceivable; is socially, fiscally, and economically sustainable and affordable; is founded on integrated development and is managed in an accountable, transparent and unbiased manner, and maintains the practice of good governance. Prominently, Section 2(1) (e) (iii) states that there must be “the establishment, development, and maintenance of socially and economically viable communities, and of safe and healthy living conditions to ensure the elimination and prevention of slums and slum conditions.” Moreover, Section 2(1) (e) (vi) states that there must also be “measures to prohibit unfair discrimination on grounds of gender, and other forms of unfair discrimination by all actors in the housing development process.” These general ideologies of the Housing Act are instructive for the developments and modalities of the in-situ upgrading of informal settlements, which has been envisioned to aid the conception of integrated urban cities and to also diminish social exclusion in South Africa. According to Ziblim (2013:22), these general principles in the Housing Act are instructive for the processes and modalities of the upgrading of informal settlements, which aims to facilitate the creation of integrated urban cities and to reduce, if not eliminate, social exclusion in South Africa.

However, according to Tshikotshi (2009), the 1997 Housing Act has serious weaknesses including the failure to direct housing policy on whether delivery should be through projectlinked grants or settlement-wide developments, or whether individual ownership should be given precedence over communal ownership or rental alternatives (Tshikotshi, 2009). Miraftab (2003) adds that the Act does not uphold the spirit of democracy as it provides that the Housing Code is the preserve of the Housing Minister and, that the minister has the right not to engage in any consultative process in deciding national housing policy (Miraftab, 2003). Huchzermeyer (2003) observes that this thinking is based on the misconception that informal settlement interventions are simply a form of housing delivery and that the role of communities is therefore not important. The result is that subsidies have often been offered in top-down housing projects for large-scale housing settlements (COHRE, 2005). Huchzermeyer (2003) points to the many problems associated with project-linked subsidised housing, including, *inter alia*, poor quality and peripheral locations that lack commercial and social services. However, Ziblim points out that the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme derives its policy context from the BNG policy document of 2004 (Ziblim, 2013:22).

4.8.4 Breaking New Ground

From 2002 to 2003, the Department of Housing (now the Department of Human Settlements) undertook a comprehensive review of the housing programme after recognising a number of ‘unintended consequences’ of the existing programme. These included peripheral residential development, and poor quality products and settlements, just to name but a few (Tissington, 2011).

The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) was a result of the BNG policy document which was adopted in 2004 by the South African government. According to Tissington (2011), the aim of BNG was to augment the delivery of well-located housing of suitable quality through various innovative, demand-driven housing programmes and projects. The policy sought to achieve the following specific objectives:

- Accelerate the delivery of housing as a key strategy for poverty alleviation
- Utilise the provision of housing as a major job creation strategy
- Leverage growth in the economy
- Combat crime, promote social cohesion and improve the quality of life of the poor.

Ziblim (2013:24) states that these objectives reflect a revolutionary approach to the challenge of informal settlements, in the sense that, for the first time, the issue of informal settlements was conceptualised not merely as a housing problem but as the product of an underlying socioeconomic predicament that needs to be addressed. Hence, the policy saw housing as a catalyst to achieve broader socio-economic goals, including economic growth, job creation, poverty alleviation, and social cohesion. However, Charlton and Kihato (2006) note that BNG has been criticised for not fully addressing the key weaknesses in the previous policy identified by the department or offering clear direction on the difficult political issues of land ownership, the land market and rights around property values. Although the programme strives for broader outcomes, key indicators of performance appear to remain largely quantitative, and focus on the number of houses produced and budgets spent (Charlton and Kihato, 2006).

Furthermore, while BNG built on the basic principles of the 1994 White Paper on Housing, Ziblim (2013) points out that it diverges in a number of ways from previous national housing programmes, including the importance it places on informal settlement upgrading as part of efforts to deliver adequate housing to the poor in South Africa (Ziblim, 2013:24).

Huchzermeyer (2008) and COHRE (2005) note with concern the use of the term ‘eradication’ of informal settlements in the BNG policy document. Eradication or elimination connotes some use of force to wipe out all informal settlements in South African cities. McLean (2006) maintains that despite the adoption of BNG, the urban poor are still being housed in projectlinked housing developments located on the urban outskirts. However, according to Tissington (2011), the UISP seeks to supplement pre-existing mechanisms and housing instruments to facilitate a housing delivery system that is more responsive, flexible, and effective.

4.8.5 The Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme (UISP)

The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) is a programme which offers grants to municipalities that are accredited to undertake sustainable housing development projects that are designed for improving the conditions of informal settlements. The primary notions of the UISP are to enable a phased in-situ upgrading of informal settlements in contradiction of the relocation of informal settlement dwellers to Greenfields (Franklin, 2011). By this, the UISP aims to accomplish three correlated goals which are health, safety, tenure security, and to enable the occupants of informal settlements through participatory processes (DoHS, 2009).

Chapter 13 of the National Housing Code (DoHS, 2009) highlights that the challenge of informal settlements upgrading must be approached from a pragmatic perspective in the face of changing realities and many uncertainties. The problem of informal settlements should not only be a ‘housing problem’, it should rather be identified as an epitome of a fundamental social change, the resolution of which demands a multi-sectoral partnership, long-term commitment and political endurance. The UISP notes that the direct and radical approach to slum “eradication”, which is normally characterised by the forced relocation of slum communities, tends to provide short-lived and temporary solutions to the menace of slums. While this method immediately does away with slums, the same settlements often get reinvaded. Therefore, underlying the UISP is the acknowledgment that a subsidiary method confronts the physical reasons for the development of informal settlements, through more comprehensive multi-sector cooperation, and haste is the key to sustainable informal settlement ‘eradication.’ In this context, UISP is executed in four key stages that primarily focus on the provision of basic services, community participation, and security of housing. The final stage is the housing

consolidation stage that is not financed under the UISP. Hence, support needs to be pursued from other pertinent national housing programmes at this stage (DoHS, 2009).

4.8.6 The Draft National Sanitation Policy 2016

The Draft National Sanitation Policy (2016) encompasses the policy points which are important to be able to maintain fairness in the sector of sanitation, which is one of the important components of interim services. The Draft National Sanitation Policy (2016) supports: sanitation institutions to ensure the provision of fair and equitable sanitation which is sustainable in South Africa; sanitation service provision that is on privately owned land; sanitation in sustainable human settlements; sanitation provision to backyard occupants; sanitation provision in informal settlements; free basic sanitation; sanitation in public institutions; emergency sanitation; integrated planning of sanitation; hygiene and end-user education; the National Water and Sanitation Advisory Committee; and also enforces sanitation regulations. The draft national sanitation policy consists of key principles that talk about the importance of the provision of sanitation, especially to underprivileged communities. The right to access to basic sanitation is one of the key ideas within this policy as it outlines that ensuring universal access to basic sanitation is renowned as a constitutional obligation of the national sphere of government, with constitutional accountability for the provision of basic sanitation services at the local sphere of government. Moreover, municipalities must take practical methods to realise this right. Highlighting hygiene and end-user education in sanitation service provision is a key objective of this policy as hygiene education is the key to increase the benefit of the provision of sanitation service to the public. Sanitation improvement must prioritise hygiene education in development and implementation. End-user education is essential for users to fully realise their sanitation responsibility, rights and water management and the demand for effective management must be prioritised in sanitation improvement.

The Draft National Sanitation Policy (2016) also states that there is a need for the reasonable regional provision of development resources because the restricted national resources accessible to keep up the provision of basic services should be justifiably distributed among provinces, while considering the population and level of development of specific areas. Among other principles of the Draft Sanitation Policy (2016), this policy is important in the context of this dissertation to outline that there is a policy that speaks specifically to the issue of sanitation

that can guide informal settlement dwellers in realising some of their rights and expectations. Municipalities can also refer to this policy as a guideline in the packaging of various projects that are inclusive of sanitation and water management, such as the Interim Services Programme.

4.9 Chapter Summary

The main aim of this chapter was to explore the various theories that influenced the study, as well as the conceptual framework. These theories included the Basic Human Needs Approach, Modernisation Theory and the Housing Asset Triangle. This chapter has explored both international and South African literature in exploring different scenarios and contexts of the nature of informal settlements and the successes and failures of the implementation of basic services in the promotion of livelihood strategies. Common and exclusive survival strategies that are found in informal settlements were also explored to give a better sense of the nature of survival strategies locally and internationally. Case studies were also used in justifying whether informal settlement dwellers' lives were improved after the provision of basic services and whether or not they were able to create income generating activities.

It was notable that cities throughout the world, but more specifically in the developing world were shown to be challenged by the rapid growth of informal settlements, and the absence of basic services had hazardous effects on both health and the environment. In all of the literature studied, these development encounters were revealed as realities for most South African cities. The South African municipalities were, however, proactively addressing the problems associated with informal settlements through the provision of interim services.

CHAPTER 5 - THE STUDY AREA

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present a detailed account of Cato Crest as the case study area in which the study was conducted. It is one out of six informal settlements that make up the greater Cato Manor Township. It is of importance to explore the complex historical background of the case study area, as it reveals factors contributing to the current state of the settlement. Furthermore, Cato Crest mirrors informal settlements in South Africa, therefore making it an important case study to understand the multifaceted dynamics of such settlements. This chapter will: provide a brief history of Cato Manor; provide a profile of the Cato Crest informal settlement; and provide the status of in-situ upgrading of the informal settlement.

5.2. eThekweni Municipality

The eThekweni Municipality is a metropolitan municipality that was created in 2000 and encompasses the city of Durban (eThekweni Municipality, 2019). The eThekweni Municipality is located on the east coast of South Africa, within the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The eThekweni Municipality covers an area of approximately 2,291 km² and is the economic hub of KwaZulu- Natal (eThekweni Municipality, 2019). EThekweni has 103 wards and is one of 11 districts of KwaZulu-Natal. Most of its population of 3,442,361 people speak isiZulu (StatsSA, 2011). The municipality was formed from seven formerly independent local councils and tribal land.

(StatsSA, 2011) states that 1.1 and 1.4 million people reside in informal settlements, which are predominately situated on land that is difficult to purchase and very difficult and costly to develop due to unstable and steep slopes (eThekweni, 2011). The eThekweni municipality has been hands-on in responding to an array of challenges faced by households in informal settlements, through the implementation of broad-based service delivery programmes aimed at providing necessary basic municipal services. According to the eThekweni Municipality's IDP (2018/2019) their vision is, "By 2030, eThekweni will enjoy the reputation of being Africa's most caring and liveable city, where all citizens live in harmony". The eThekweni Municipality has amended its vision to ensure that there is alignment with strategic documents such as The Provincial Growth and Development Strategy and the National Planning Vision (eThekweni

Municipality, 2011). These two key strategic documents have a 2030 timeframe. The importance of this information is for understanding of the status of the case study area of Cato Crest, and it is important to get an holistic overview of its municipality.

5.3. Historical Background

Cato Crest informal settlement is part of the greater Cato Manor Township. Cato Estate was named after George Cato, who was the first Mayor of Durban. In 1845, he was granted 1800 hectares of land in Cato Crest in compensation for having his beachfront property expropriated for military purposes (Maylam, 1983). The Mayor and his descendants farmed the hilly and fertile soil of Cato Manor until the turn of the century. The land was then subdivided into a number of smaller farms, which were sold to white land owners (Madlala, 2004). According to Makhathini (1994), from 1900 to the 1930s, a large portion of the area was rented or sold to Indians who remained in South Africa after completing their period of indentured labour. Furthermore, the land that was rented and sold to the Indians was used to grow vegetables and fruits for market sale. This then allowed for the area to experience a steady influx of black migrants from rural areas who were seeking employment opportunities in Durban. This resulted in the landowners of Cato Manor renting the land to blacks, and those who couldn't afford the rent erected shacks alongside the Umkhumbane River which meanders through the area (Popke, 1997).

In 1932, Cato Manor was incorporated into the Durban Municipality and shack occupants were proclaimed unlawful. Despite the Influx Control laws, the flood of black inhabitants continued. Cele (2010) maintains that the authorities deliberately ignored these laws, as the Indian landowners found that letting out shacks was more profitable than growing vegetables and also set up shops and transport stops. During the 1940s, the estimated population of people residing in the Cato Manor area was 50 000 (Makhathini and Xaba 1995 cited in Leclerc-Madlala, 2004:3). Living conditions typically reflected an urban slum, with much overcrowding and lacking basic services like electricity, water and proper sanitation. These conditions contributed to pressures which led to the eruption of conflict between the Indian and black populations of Cato Manor in 1949. This resulted in the Cato Manor Riots, allegedly sparked by an Indian man assaulting a 14-year-old black boy near Durban's Indian market (Maylam, 1983). The violence lasted for two days, leaving 1 white, 50 Indians and 87 blacks dead and more than 100 people injured. Much property was destroyed (Maylam, 1983). This caused many Indians to

leave the area. It also resulted in neighbouring white communities putting pressure on the city authorities to use the Native's Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923 to remove illegal tenants from Cato Manor to designated areas.

Cele (2010) states that during the 1950s, the Indian landlords who had left the area because of riots returned to collect rent. Some landowners continued letting entire plots to blacks, and this resulted in more shacks being erected and also the sub-letting of them. At the time that the shacks were rapidly increasing in Cato Manor, the national law of the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 was passed. Landowners and tenants were forcefully removed from the Cato Manor area, Indians were relocated in Merebank, Phoenix, and Chatsworth, while blacks were relocated in Chesterville, Umlazi, and Kwamashu (Maylam and Edwards, 1996 cited in Cele, 2010:10). Evictions were militantly opposed, often resulting in conflict between residents and officials, and the loss of lives (Pithouse, 2006). By the late 1960s, Cato Manor was to all intents and purposes empty; all that remained were a couple of houses, the beerhall, a couple of Hindu sanctuaries and avocado, litchi and mango trees, once the pride of Indian farmers (Popke, 1997; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). The few remaining occupants established the Cato Manor Residents' Association to oppose further evictions and housing developments that were racially motivated.

From the 1980s, two important phases of development occurred in Cato Manor. Formal houses were constructed at Wiggins (Singh, 2012). On the other hand, black people slowly started to move back into the area, reclaiming land and establishing informal dwellings. An informal settlement re-emerged in the area that today is known as Cato Crest (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). The abolishment of influx control and apartheid laws escalated the migration of previous and new inhabitants. Post 1994, Cato Manor continued to attract a big number of informal settlement dwellers and continuous land invasions. The formation of the Cato Manor District Association was perpetuated by the need to deliver infrastructure in the area. In 1995, Cato Manor was selected to be one of the largest lead projects, reflecting its significance and importance (Cato Manor Social Development Strategy Review, 2005 cited in Cele, 2010:10). Cato Manor was thus targeted as a strategic area for integrated community and housing development on an area formerly reserved for white people. The Cato Crest settlement is thus informed by the rich history of Cato Manor that includes removals and population movement. This has left a legacy of contending land claims, attacks and disputed settlement rights.

Through different pieces of legislation (including the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950) "the politically-sanctioned racial segregation government increased influx control, set out on mass evacuations and implemented stricter private control on blacks and along these lines upheld private isolation" (Motladi, 1995:57). Currently, a large percentage of landlords in Cato Crest participate in practices of giving out illegal subdivided sites, and renting shacks or rooms to people (Motladi, 1995). Thus for the majority of residents, access to land and land markets is through informal practices. Due to the inability to participate in formal land markets and satisfy their housing needs, people resort to informal settlements. Cato Crest offers people shelter despite it being accessed mainly through informal practices. Therefore, Cato Crest is faced with a challenge of continuous growth as an informal settlement.

5.4. Location

Cato Crest informal settlement is part of the greater Cato Manor Township. Cato Crest is a densely populated informal settlement, about seven kilometres from the inner-city centre of Durban in the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal. Due to this location the area has always been an attractive place for people to settle. Nowadays it is locked-in between the residential areas of Westridge, Wiggins and Bonela. Cato Manor is now mostly formalised with RDP housing and infrastructure. Cato Crest is one of the few remaining parts with informal settlements, but also contains new RDP houses and temporary tin houses. Some people are residents of Cato Crest because they were born and grew up in the settlement. Other residents opted to reside in the study area because it offers very cheap rentals. Moreover, some people reside in Cato Crest because they came to stay with family member(s), and received the land/houses as inheritance from family members. On the other hand, there's a portion of people who currently reside in the study area because they were promised housing, and some saw the opportunity of the latter. This study will focus on the informal dwellings that still exist in the study area of Cato Crest.

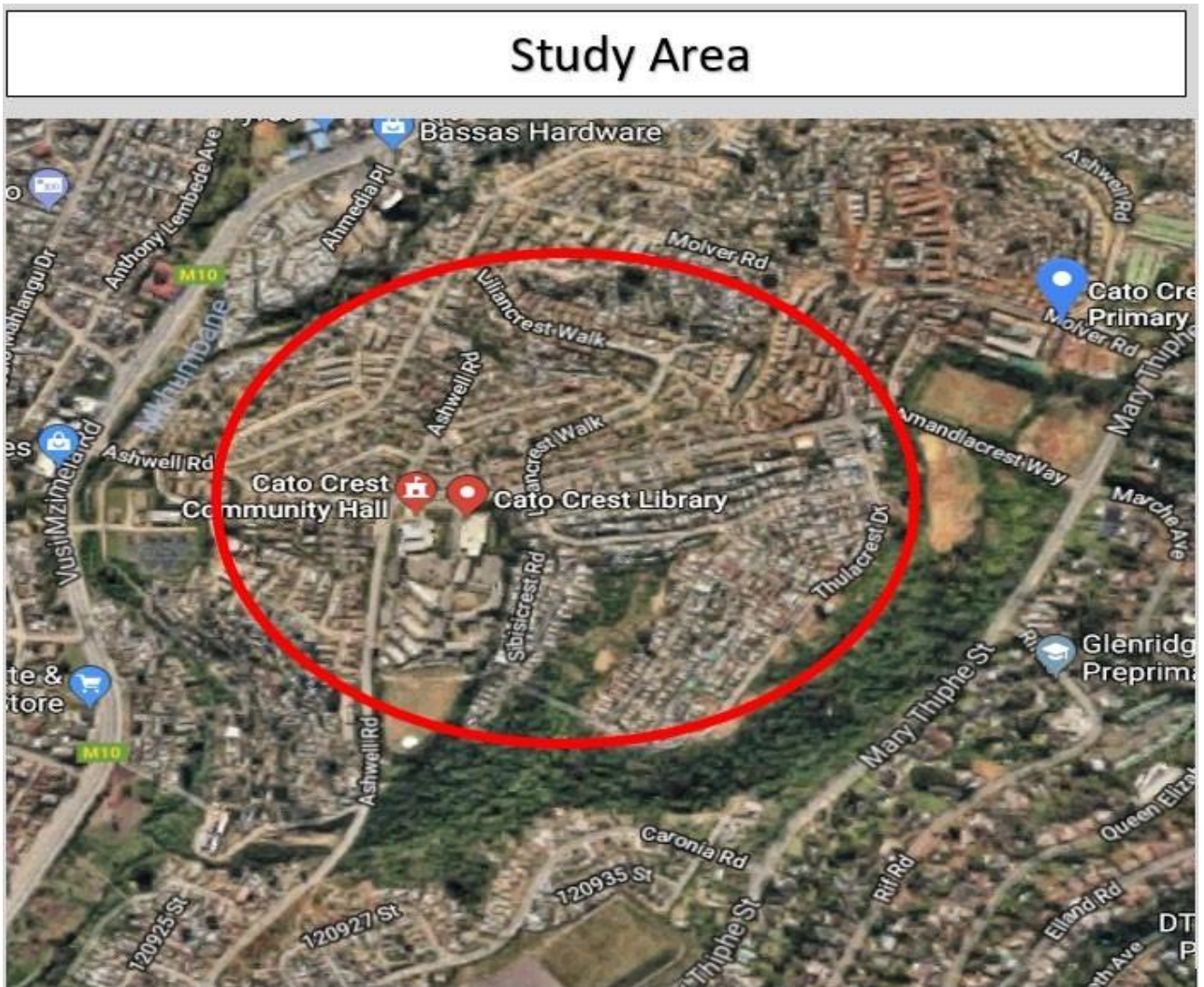


Figure 5: Showing the study area of Cato Crest

Source: Google Maps (2019)

5.4.1 Cato Crest

Cato Manor occupies 1800 hectares of land, and Cato Crest occupies 97 of those hectares (Patel, 2009). It is made up of two wards (wards 30 and 31), divided into 12 "regions" (Community Pioneer, 2014). Each "region" has an Area Committee that is part of the Community Development Committee, also called the 'Ward Committee' or "Board of Trustees" by occupants. These structures are very important as they are the first point of contact and a rich source of data for inhabitants and the ward representatives. Cato Crest is a densely populated territory and is home to an estimated 17,856 people (StatsSA, 2010). Given the rapid rate of urbanisation, there is a high rate of population growth. Residents are part of numerous ethnic

groups and are mostly blacks of Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele and Sotho extraction. Migrants from other African countries, such as Zimbabwe, Burundi and Malawi, to name but a few, also reside in Cato Crest. However, the predominant dialect is isiZulu, the dialect of the province (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004).

Patel (2009) notes that Cato Crest is characterised by three types of dwellings which include RDP houses which were constructed by the eThekweni Municipality, shacks and transit camps for individuals who are waiting for their formal houses to be completed. Furthermore, inhabitants in Cato Crest range from tenants, landlords, owner-occupiers, and squatters in shacks and low cost houses. Therefore, Cato Crest has a multitude of tenure options with irregular degrees of tenure security and insecurity. There are various reasons as to why people chose to reside in Cato Crest, the most favourable reason includes access to economic opportunities due to the proximity of the city to the informal settlement.

The location of Cato Crest is of significance to the study. Patel (2011) notes that it is surrounded by white working-class areas that have voted for the Democratic Alliance (DA) since 1994. In contrast, most inhabitants in Cato Crest have voted in favour of the African National Congress (ANC). Moreover, changes in legislation led to the redrawing of wards that has affected voting patterns. Around 2006 and 2011, the settlement was separated into wards 30 and 31. The thirst for land and housing has strongly impacted residents' political affiliations and rivalries.

5.4.2 Social Characteristics of Cato Crest

StatsSA (2016) notes, that around 77 per cent of the Cato Crest's population is younger than 35. Only 24 per cent of the population is in formal employment, with an unemployment rate of approximately 45 per cent. This suggests that many residents are not able to sustain themselves. Educational levels are low, with only 0.07 per cent of the inhabitants having a post-matric qualification, 45 per cent having secondary schooling and 34 per cent having primary schooling. Cato Crest settlement is strategically located, offering access to a number of social amenities within the settlement and in the surroundings within walking distance. Social amenities available with ease to Cato Crest inhabitants include a community hall, cultural and historical sites, educational facilities (which include two multipurpose centres consisting of a school, library, community hall, and a sports field), health facilities, libraries, municipal offices,

religious institutions, a police station, sport fields, shopping centres, the Bellair Market, and the recently constructed Intuthukho junction.



Figure 5.1: Showing Cato Crest Primary School

Source: Researcher (2019)



Figure 5.2: Showing Cato Crest Library

Source: Researcher (2019)



Figure 5.3: Showing Cato Crest Community Hall

Source: Researcher (2019)

5.4.3 Basic services and infrastructure in Cato Crest

However, in Cato Crest there is limited water and sanitation available in the area, as the access to water for the area includes standpipes which are located at a distance from the informal settlements. This results in residents having to travel long distances to acquire a basic need such as water. In terms of sanitation there is litter that is present within the area and also sewage water running in between the roads, which indicates a sewage pipe has burst. There is limited to no vehicular movements as roads are tiny due to the overcrowding of informal settlements. There are small pathways to walk in between the informal settlements (Mbambo, 2013).

5.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter summarises the historical background of Cato Crest and covers the location of the study area, the location of Cato Crest is important as it attributes and enables the settlement to be integrated into the urban fabric. Also, the location of Cato Crest is close to the CBD therefore it would be understandable as to why the area may consist of informal

settlements as this becomes a pull factor for urban migrants. The in-situ upgrading of Cato Crest breaks down the traditional norm of spatial location, placing low-income settlements on the periphery of cities and towns. Lastly the location of Cato Crest offers important socioeconomic relations with easy access to employment opportunities and amenities.

CHAPTER 6 - DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings, analysis and interpretation of data collected from a municipal official, the Ward Councillor, the community of Cato Crest and personal observations. The objectives of this study are used as themes to allow for a thematic analysis of the data collected. The purpose of this study was to assess if the provision of basic municipal services promoted livelihood strategies in informal dwellings, more specifically the generation of income, as well as to explore the various livelihood strategies that the provision of basic municipal services could bring about. The findings of the collected data in this dissertation are used as indicators to assess the level of satisfaction by the community with basic municipal services/ interim services provided by the municipality to the residents of Cato Crest.

6.2. Data Analysis and Interpretation of Data

Semi-structured interviews and questionnaires were conducted to collect the data. For this study, the researcher interviewed a total of two municipal officials (eThekweni Municipality and the Cato Crest Ward Councillor), and questionnaires were issued to 30 Cato Crest residents who accepted them. Both the municipal officials and residents were given a series of questions which were developed in line with the objectives of the study.

The interviews between the researcher and municipal officials took place at their offices i.e. the eThekweni Municipality and the office of the Cato Crest Ward Councillor. Both offices are in Durban. Responding of Cato Crest residents to questionnaires took place in the Cato Crest informal settlement in Cato Crest Durban between the researcher and residents of the informal settlement. Interviews with municipal officials were recorded and jotted down at the same time. Each of the 30 respondents from Cato Crest were given a questionnaire to complete.

6.3. Research Findings

Questionnaires were designed for the residents of Cato Crest. A total of 30 respondents were given questionnaires to answer, the responses are shown below.

6.3.1 Socio-economic overview

To get a better understanding of the study area of Cato Crest, data that was collected in the form of questionnaires, photos, interviews, and non-participant observations were used to assess the economic and social aspects of the participants and the structure of the Cato Crest informal settlement. Where there were questionnaires involved, they were translated in Zulu verbally so participants can be able to answer questions accordingly. The gender distribution of Cato Crest and the economic activities of the participants were analysed to establish the economic activities of the participants in Cato Crest as this influenced the improvement of housing and investment. The study on gender was also conducted to establish gender distribution and the cohesiveness of the inhabitants of Cato Crest.

6.3.1.1 Social overview

Table 6.1: Showing the Gender of the respondents in Cato Crest

Gender	Interval	Percentage
Male	25	60%
Female	15	40%

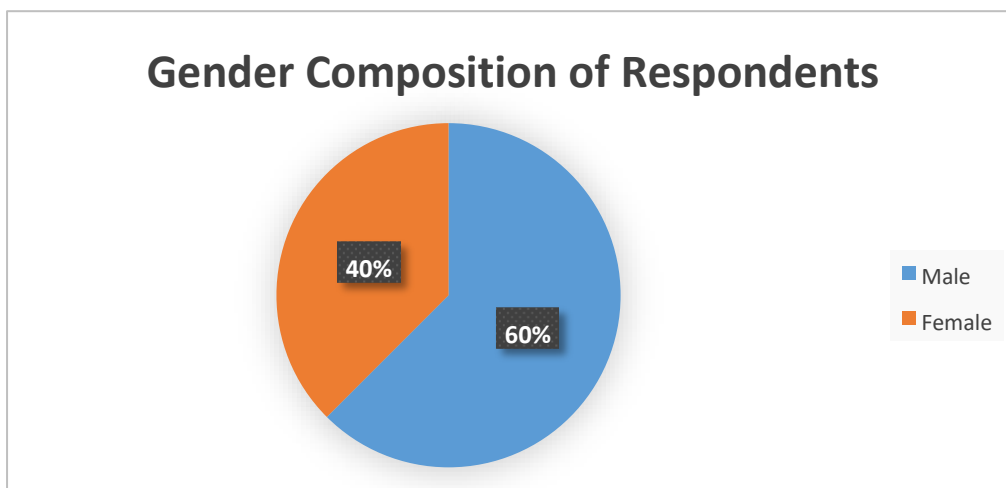


Figure 6.1: Showing gender composition of respondents. Source: (Researcher, 2019).

(Table 6.1) and (figure 6.1) above show that 60 per cent of the 30 respondents from Cato Crest were men and 40 per cent of them were women. There were a number of reasons as to why there were more men than women living in informal settlements. Some of these reasons involved the role which men play in society. Men are expected to take care of women and children, and therefore they leave their homes in search of better opportunities and end up living

in informal settlements as a result of a lack in housing. Women are expected to stay home in the rural areas and take care of children and their homes. Most of the women who live in informal settlements would have encountered problems where they lived and moved to urban areas in the hope of experiencing changes in lifestyle.

Table 6.2: Showing the language spoken in Cato Crest

Language Spoken	Interval	Percentage
IsiZulu	20	93%
IsiXhosa/ Other	10	7%
Total	30	100%

Source: (Researcher, 2019).

(Table 6.2) shows the languages spoken by the respondents in Cato Crest. It can be seen that 93 per cent of the respondents in Cato Crest spoke isiZulu and 7 per cent of the respondents spoke IsiXhosa or other languages. Although isiZulu was the dominant language spoken, the respondents understood English when filling in the questionnaire, however, they preferred to answer in their home language so as not to give biased opinions.

Table 6.3: Age of participants

Age	Percentage
18-25	30%
26-30	27%
31-40	40%
41-50	5%
51-60	10%
61 years and above	5%

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

(Table 6.3) shows that in Cato Crest most of their inhabitants' ages ranged from 31-40 years, which meant these were people who resided with their families and was established in the previous figure that the area was a male dominated area.

Table 6.4: Duration of stay in Cato Crest

Duration	Interval	Percentage
1-10 years	5	5%
11-20 years	7	15%
21 years and more	11	80%
Total	23	100

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

(Table 6.4) shows that of the 23 people that were interviewed, most of them had resided in Cato Crest for more than 21 years because most of them had first been residing in Cato Manor and then relocated to Cato Crest. The reason for the relocation was due to the overcrowding of the informal dwellings that were available in Cato Manor. Also, most people chose to stay in Cato Crest as it was near the CBD and allowed the residents to travel easily to town (CBD). Another reason for the growing population in Cato Crest was the search for economic opportunities. This covered the income generation perspective of the research as people relocated in the search for economic opportunities. Although the study area was close to the CBD for some residents it was regarded far because some of them had to walk to town and there were no other means of commuting to the CBD, hence why this made it far for others to travel to the CBD.

Table 6.5: Type of electricity used

Electricity type	Percentage
Illegal connection	80%
Prepaid meters	5%
No electricity	15%

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

(Table 6.5) demonstrates that illegal connections in Cato Crest were a norm as there was no sort of upgrading or temporary apparatus put in place for the residents to utilise. Therefore, residents received their electricity via the formal houses. Also, most residents said they had applied for an electricity permit but hadn't received a response yet. This then resulted in the residents making illegal connections to compensate for this lack of access to their own electricity.

The electricity that was provided in the informal settlement was stipulated by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and sanctioned in the Bill of Rights. The state has the duty to guarantee that people who reside in informal settlements are provided with secure and safe electricity which is also a basic need, therefore it is municipalities' responsibility to provide it.

Table 6.6: Showing roads and access to Cato Crest

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

Road Type	Function	Condition
Main access	Tar	Moderate
Road in settlement	Gravel / Pathway	Bad

(Table 6.6) demonstrates that there was an existing main road that allowed for transport to enter and exit the site. This also allowed for residents to be able to use public transport in order to travel in and around Cato Crest. However, the pathways and gravel roads to the settlement were bad as there was excessive overcrowding in the settlement.

The National Housing Code (2009) and its UISP assisted in making funding available for the provision and implementation of interim and permanent municipal infrastructure, such as pedestrian roads and footpaths and roads to informal settlements. The delivery of municipal services and infrastructure helped with the severe living conditions faced in informal settlements. Moreover, the delivery of municipal services certified that settlements were reachable, allowing for easy access by vehicles that made it convenient for when an emergency took place and the relevant emergency vehicles, such as ambulances or police vehicles needed to access the settlement (e.g. during fire, flooding, etc.).

Based on the field questionnaires and observations made in this study, the majority of the people in Cato Crest did not have access to roads; the people of Cato Crest used pathways to move through the area because there was only one main road going into the area and when trying to access the informal dwelling there were only footpaths present, due to the overcrowding in the area. Footpaths were man-made and had remained that way and not been upgraded as this was what the community saw a convenient for them. The main road was not maintained by anyone and when there were potholes, the Ward Councillor was notified by the community; however, the potholes still remained as no efforts were made to have them fixed.

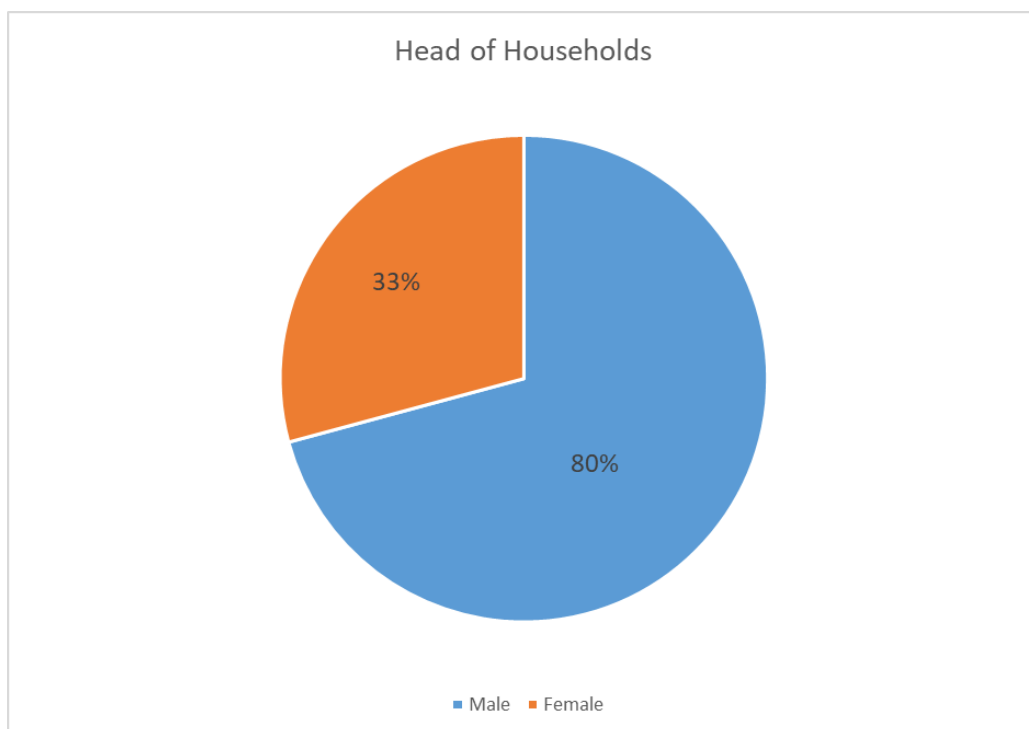


Figure 6.6: Heads of households

(Figure 6.6) above states that 80 per cent of the respondents of Cato Crest that participated by answering the questionnaire were the heads of households. Furthermore, 33 per cent of the respondents indicated that they stayed with family in the informal dwellings in Cato Crest. In terms of gender, 93 per cent of the heads of households were men.

Table 6.7: Showing access to water in Cato Crest

Water Type	Percentage
Communal Taps	97%
Self- connected piped water stand	3%
Total	100%

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

The majority of the community accessed their water from communal taps which were not well distributed within the community, as the respondents complained that it was quite a walking distance for some residents to reach the taps. This was not suitable for the elderly and the communal taps were indeed located some a distance from the informal dwellings. Only 3 per cent of the community had access to self-connected piped water stands. These were

predominantly found in the formal houses within the area, and there were only a few surrounding the informal dwellings.

6.3.1.2 Economic overview

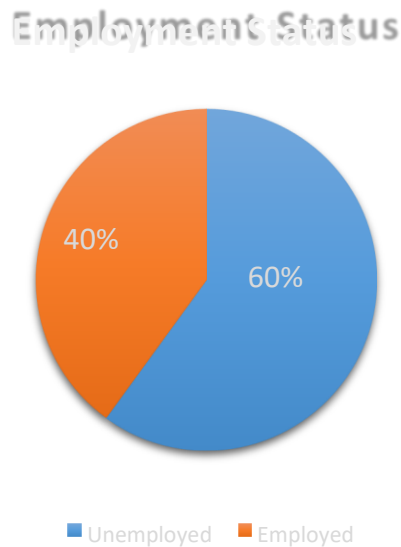


Figure 6.7: Employment status

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

Table 6.8: Showing employment status

Employment status	Interval	Percentage
Employed (skilled)	0	0%
Part -time	5	22%
Self-employed	10	22.2%
Unemployed	15	55%
Total	30	100%

(Table 6.8) above demonstrated that 55 per cent of the respondents were unemployed. A further 22 per cent of the population were employed part-time and 22.2 per cent were self-employed, which meant that although unemployment in the area was high, the respondents were trying to make ends meet by creating their own ways of generating income. However, unemployment remained a very big issue in the settlement.

Table 6.9: Monthly income levels

Monthly Income Range	household	Percentage
R0-R500	5	33%
R501-R1000	3	13%
R1001-R1500	2	10%
R1501-R2000	1	8%
R2001-R3500	1	8%
Above R3501	0	0
Total	12	100%

(Table 6.9) above shows the average different income levels per household in the study area. Broken down, 33 per cent of the people in Cato Crest either did not have a monthly household income or were living on under R501 per month. Twenty per cent of the Cato Crest participants had an average monthly household income of R1001-R1500 that they lived on. Only 8 per cent of the participants from Cato Crest had a monthly household income of up to R3500 and these people were predominantly ones that owned small businesses in the area.

The main businesses that were observed by the researcher were small tuck shops that sold basic goods. From the researcher and the participants' perspectives, the reason that there were a lot of tuck shops in the area was that the main shopping centre was far away from the settlement, as was the CBD, therefore residents needed to be able to purchase their daily essentials at a closer place. Also, some residents did not have money to continuously travel to town (CBD). In South Africa, if an individual or household earned less than R3500 a month they were considered as a low-income earner (SA Stats, 2015).

6.4. Provision of Basic/ Interim Services in Cato Crest

Table 6.10: Access to housing

Access to Housing	Interval	Percentage
Yes	25	90%
No	5	10%
Total	30	100%

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

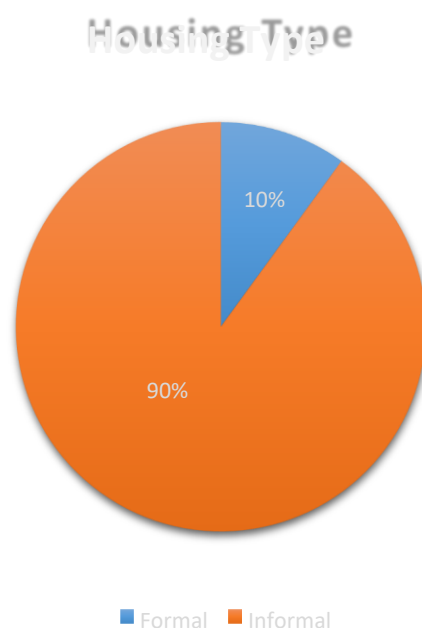


Figure 6.8: Types of housing

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

Table 6.11: Satisfaction with the municipality's effort in providing basic/interim services

Municipality	Doing Enough	Interval	Percentage
Yes		2	5%
No		28	95%
Total		30	100%

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

Ninety-five per cent of the residents of Cato Crest felt as though the municipality had not fully addressed their needs as a community. This meant that although there was some form of formal houses within the area, a large portion was still filled with informal dwellings erected in hazardous places and conditions, where poor hygiene posed a major hazard. Also, the community of Cato Crest felt as though the municipality had failed to address their need for basic services. Such services included access to water, electricity and sanitation as these were described as the core services needed in the area. In terms of housing, many people in the area had been on the waiting list for quite some time but still hadn't received their formal housing. Moreover, residents did not want to travel long distances to the communal stand pipe in order to access their basic need for water. The remaining 5 per cent felt as though the municipality had addressed their needs as they were able to access basic services such as water and electricity. Thus it was clear that only a very small minority were satisfied with the services provided by the municipality.

Table 6.12: Showing access to sanitation

Access to Sanitation	Interval	Percentage
Yes	5	10%
No	25	90%
Total	30	100%

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

Ninety per cent of the people in Cato Crest felt as though they did not have sufficient access to sanitation in the area and thus felt unsafe. Although abolition blocks (mobile toilets) were provided in the settlement, some residents felt that these were unhygienic because the majority of the community had to share one abolition block. This could result in unwanted disease transmission and thus caused a major environmental and health risk within the area. Another cause for concern was when people needed to use the abolition blocks at night, especially children. This was risky as anything could happen in terms of crime within the area and there had been cases where people had fallen in the dark on the way to and from this facility. The remaining 10 per cent who were satisfied with the sanitation within the area were those who lived in formal dwellings.



Figure 6.9: Showing ablution blocks

Source: Researcher (2019)

Table 6.13: Showing access to waste disposal services

Access to Waste Disposal Services	Interval	Percentage
Yes	5	33%
No	20	80%
Total	25	100%

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

The absence of regulation and management of solid waste in informal settlements posed a serious health hazard and contributed to global warming as it affected the environment negatively. The suitable administration of domestic solid waste could certainly contribute to the welfare of poor households, improving the environmental quality and improving the health of informal settlements by reducing illnesses and improving sustainability by protecting environmentally delicate areas such as wetlands and waterways. According to the National Treasury (2011), poverty levels could be reduced through waste management with the creation of innovative job opportunities which contributed to the local economic development (LED) of informal settlements.

Eighty per cent of the residents in Cato Crest felt that the municipality was not doing enough in terms of finding solutions to help the community dispose of their waste. There had been complaints that the DSW truck only came around to collect the solid waste once in a while and this left residents with no option but to dispose of their waste around their living areas. This created unhygienic conditions for the residents and led to the spread of environmental diseases. The remaining 33 per cent, however, came from the formal houses that existed within the area. Those residents were able to dispose of their waste within their households, which was a different story from that of the informal dwellers. The community claimed that they had lodged many complaints and taken part in many protests to get proper basic services. The picture below illustrates how the community of Cato Crest disposes of their waste.



Figure 6.10: Showing waste and an illegal electricity connection

Source: Researcher (2019)

6.5. Livelihood Strategies Practiced in Cato Crest

The concept of livelihood is widely used in contemporary writings on poverty and rural development, but its meaning can often appear elusive either due to vagueness or to different definitions being encountered in different sources (Ellis, 2000). A popular definition is that provided by Chambers & Conway (1992) wherein a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social assets) and activities required for a means of living. Briefly, one could describe a livelihood as a combination of the resources used and the activities undertaken to live. Livelihood strategies were practiced on a daily basis in Cato Crest as this allowed the residents to have an income and meet their daily requirements for living. Although there was insufficient access to water, sanitation and electricity within the area, the residents had still found a way to make use of what they did have. However, this was quite difficult for them. The residents of Cato Crest used home-based enterprises which included small tuck shops and small furniture shops within the area. The furniture shops were a thriving sector because locals were supporting each other in buying the furniture and also using old waste to make the furniture. These enterprises required electricity and water, however, there were no traces of interim services available within the area of Cato Crest. Business owners thus resorted to illegal electricity connections and sometimes had their businesses disrupted because of these illegal connections.

6.6. Challenges in the Provision of Interim Services/Basic Services

With the implementation of housing programmes and policies, there were always gaps and challenges that were encountered in practice. Gaps in the Housing White Paper (1994) paved the way for a revision of that policy and brought about the BNG (2004). The provision of interim services also had its own challenges as not all aspects had been taken into consideration and the beneficiaries of these services thus encountered problems with the service provision. From the questionnaires administered, discussions held and observations made in this study, long-term challenges were revealed.

In terms of the provision of interim services, the challenges that were encountered by the participants of this study were many. The maintenance of the ablution blocks and standpipes were the main concern for residents, as when they were faulty it took quite a while for them to be fixed. When pipes burst, the running water caused the sandy areas to become muddy and it

became a challenge to drive and walk through the area. In addition to this, a vast quantity of water was wasted when this happened. Reaching consensus amongst residents on where certain facilities were to be situated was also a challenge as inevitably the facilities would be far away for some residents but close for others. Negotiations between the Ward Councillor and the residents regarding construction and the laying of pipes also proved challenging as some pipes had to go through peoples' sites.

6.7 Challenges Experienced by the Municipality in Providing Water and Sanitation

6.7.1 Scarcity of water/drought

There was a huge drought across the whole of South Africa at the time of the study, and the eThekweni Municipality's Water and Sanitation Departments were affected by the drought. The eThekweni Municipality's Water and Sanitation Project Manager stated that the water levels in the three main dams supplying Durban were extremely low, at about 38 per cent full. The area of Cato Crest was thus affected by this water shortage and at times the residents only received water at specific times in the morning and in the evening.

6.7.2 Vandalism and security

In Cato Crest there was a high rate of theft of steel and copper, so the municipality had to make sure that it used other materials such as plastic for water pipes to connect water to individual dwellings and for the additional stand pipes within the study area.

6.7.3 Illegal connections

The rapid population growth and constant migration to the Durban CBD, but predominantly to areas such as Cato Crest near the Durban CBD, by people in search of employment opportunities and security, had a great impact on the growth of local informal settlements. The Project Manager stated that because Cato Crest residents lived in an informal settlement where they did not pay for water, even though some residents used illegal water connections, the municipality had not disconnected these illegal water connections. The Project Manager further stated that in a bid to stamp out illegal connections, the municipality at times cut off the water supply until the problem was solved. The illegal connections normally caused water shortages due to water wastage from leakages.

6.7.4 Non-payment for services

The provision of a sustainable water supply required funding. Financing was intended to come from cross-subsidisation through user tariffs (Mosime, 2014). In Cato Crest the EWS which dealt with water meters tried to ensure during the upgrading project that every household applied for a water meter, in order for their water supply to be connected to their dwellings. This was to facilitate their monthly billing for water. The Project Manager said the problem with the Cato Crest residents was that they had not paid for water before when they had used the communal stand pipes, so it was difficult to get them to pay for water once it was connected to their dwellings. This was also verified by the fewer application forms received for water meters by the residents of Cato Crest, and this had a negative impact on the income generated by the municipality.

6.7.5 Bursts water pipes and leaks not being reported

The Project Manager claimed that the municipality had held a meeting with the Cato Crest community in the Cato Crest community hall to raise awareness about water preservation due to water scarcity. The residents were encouraged to report burst and leaking pipes to the municipality on their toll-free number in order to reduce the water wastage. The researcher observed that in the study area there were burst pipes and water leaks that had not been attended to because there was running water on the edges of the roads. Because most of the residents of Cato Crest got their water from the communal stand pipes, they were reluctant to report such problems.

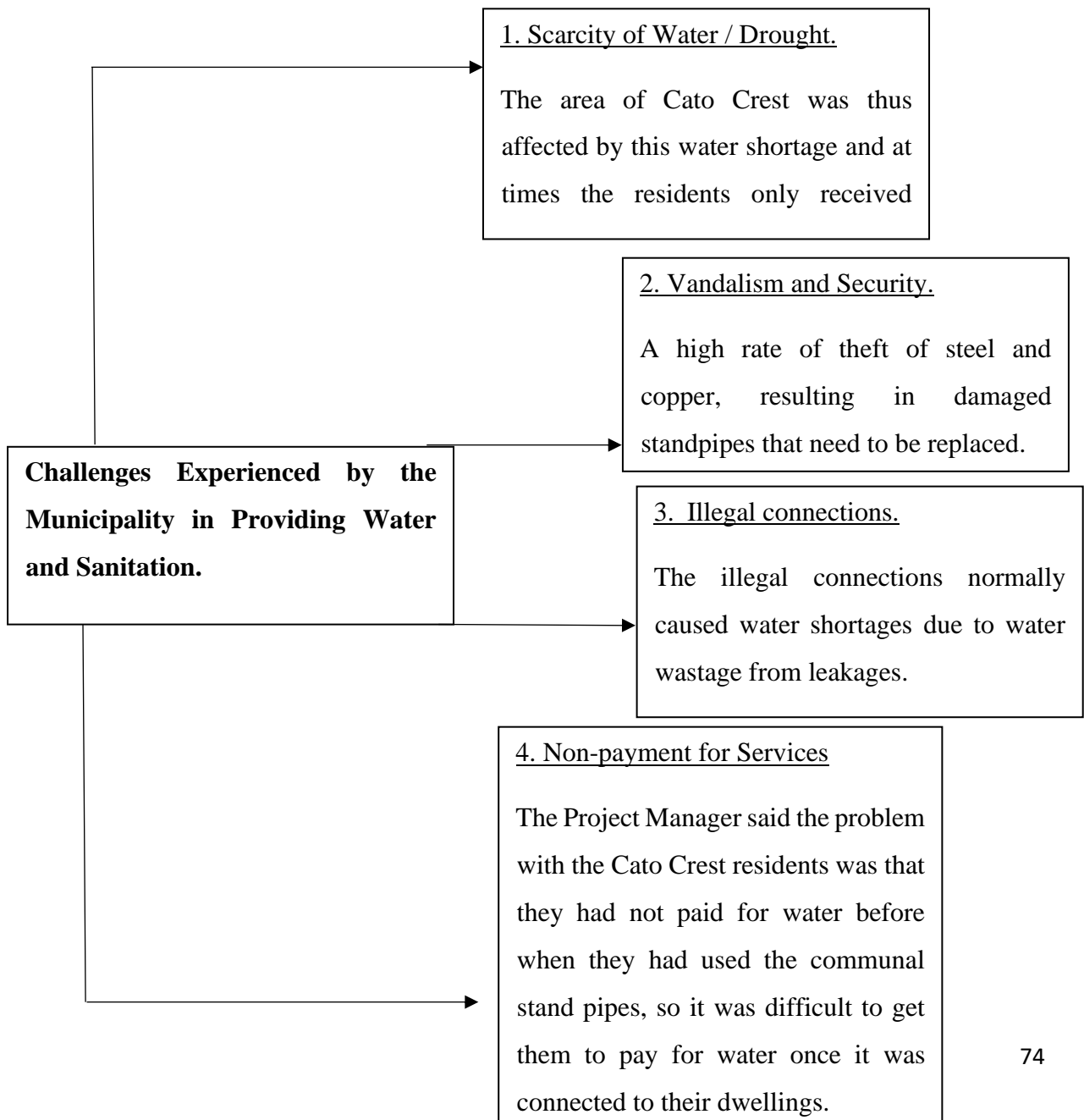
6.7.6 Cato Crest residents unhappy with service delivery

The Project Manager stated that the Cato Crest residents were not satisfied with the services provided during/following the upgrading project because they thought every household was going to have its own water connection. When they were told that they needed to apply for a water meter in order for water to be connected to their dwellings, they became very disgruntled and embarked on service delivery protests. When the municipality provided more communal stand pipes for the residents of Cato Crest, still more residents became dissatisfied when these communal stand pipes were not located near their residences as it meant that they would have to walk some distance to collect water and come back to their residences.

There was also much dissatisfaction with the chemical toilets; many Cato Crest residents were unhappy due to the fact that these chemical toilets were far from their dwellings and they were inaccessible at night because they did not have electricity for lighting.

6.7.7 Political interference

The Project Manager claimed that a local election was imminent when the project for the provision of water and sanitation in Cato Crest had started three months previously, so there had been huge political pressure and interference from the Ward Councillor to start the project. Not all of the contractors had been selected yet, but because of the pressure from the Ward Councillor the municipality had to take on local contractors and start the project. Those local contractors were inexperienced and had to be taught what to do throughout the project, resulting in delays. Below is a flowchart diagram showing the challenges experienced.



6.8. Key Role Players in the Provision of Basic Services

Implementing interim services required several departments and officials to be involved in the successful implementation of projects. In the case of this dissertation, the eThekweni Water and Sanitation (EWS) Department was the lead in terms of conceptualising, planning and implementing the interim services programme to respond to the BNG requirements/stipulations, as discussed in Chapter Four. According to the Project Manager from EWS, the interim service programme in eThekweni was the first to be implemented in South Africa. Key role players identified in the interim services project were: eThekweni Municipality Water and Sanitation; eThekweni Electricity; Durban Solid Waste (DSW); the eThekweni Municipality Human Settlements/ Housing Unit; the eThekweni Roads and Storm Water Department; the Ward Councillor; community members from the area where the services were scheduled to be provided; the Community Liaison Officer (CLO); and the various contractors.

The **eThekweni Municipality Water and Sanitation** Department was responsible for the provision of interim services in Cato Crest and was the implementing agent for this project. The EWS conceptualised the project and assembled the key role players to successfully implement the project of interim services. EWS had to work very closely with the Department of Human Settlements. As much as EWS was the main role player in the provision of interim services in Cato Crest, they provided the concept and vision for this project, water services in the form of stand pipes, and ablution facilities. Other services had to be negotiated with other departments to successfully provide a full package of interim services.

The **eThekweni Municipality Human Settlements/Housing Unit** was an important role player in the provision of interim services in Cato Crest, as EWS's concept of the provision of interim services had to be planned around the eThekweni Municipality's Human Settlements Division as they were the main role players in the provision of sustainable human settlements. Future development plans for Cato Crest by the eThekweni Municipality's Human Settlements Division had to be considered when the EWS conceptualised the provision of interim services. This was done so as to reduce unnecessary costs in future developments and so that Human Settlements could utilise the current provision of interim services to carry out their plans of insitu upgrading by using the already existing interim services and make them permanent.

The **Ward Councillor** was the key community liaison and advisor to the community of Cato

Crest. Without the acceptance of any project in Cato Crest by the Ward Councillor, no project could be implemented in the community. The Ward Councillor's role in the provision of interim services in Cato Crest was to set up a meeting with the community and methodically explain the importance of the project of interim services and how the community itself would benefit in the form of basic services, future housing development and job creation directed at the community itself. In this study the Ward Councillor supported the project as he saw it as bringing a better life for the people that voted for him to be their representative.

6.9. Interview with the Ward Councillor

The interview with the Ward Councillor revealed the following: construction was set to get underway at a site in Cato Crest that would see 74 formal housing units being erected for residents living in the nearby informal settlement. The councillor revealed that the project had been a long time coming and he was relieved that residents would finally be moved out of the settlement. He further stated that said land near the Cato Manor clinic had been identified for the project. *"People have been waiting very long and it is good that the municipality finally decided to start building. The construction should take about six months and this is only the first phase,"* he said. Some of the economic activities, opportunities and tradesmen that the Councillor had seen in Cato Crest were: tuck shops, the selling of crops (small-scale agriculture), car washes, panel beaters, kiosks, 'kitchens', mechanics, Digital Satellite TV installers, builders, painters, plumbers, gardeners, electricians, and internet cafés, to mention a few. These livelihoods were all possible because of the provision of interim services as without electricity and water, most if not all livelihood strategies would not have been able to prosper.

Workshops promoting livelihood strategies had not been carried out in the community as people used their own discretion to exercise whatever livelihood strategies they pleased. Workshops that were usually conducted in Cato Crest addressed crime, health and teenage pregnancies. Community meetings were usually held to propose new developments and programmes so that the community could have their say on the proposals. Various issues were raised and addressed at these community meetings and the Councillor always promoted community participation at these meetings as they were for the benefit of the people rather than himself.

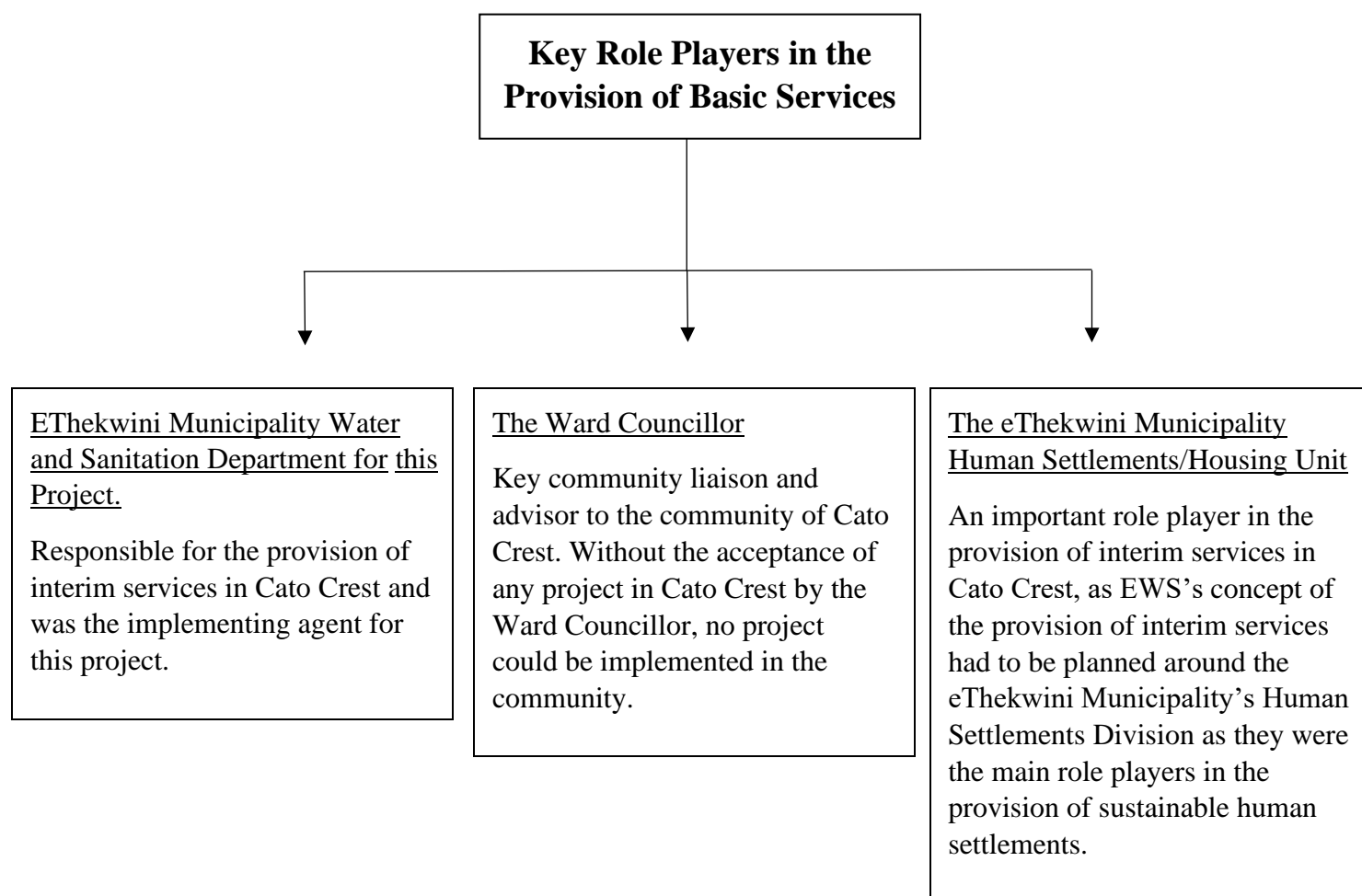


Figure 8: Flowchart diagram showing Key Role Players in the provision of basic services.

Source: (Author, 17/04/2021).

6.10. Chapter Summary

Chapter six is the data representation chapter where the different data collected by the researcher was analysed as they engaged with the community as well as the municipal officials in terms of the livelihood in Cato Crest. This chapter represented how the community of Cato Crest was struggling in acquiring basic services and how majority of the community moved to this area in hopes of job opportunities and being close to the city. Moreover the ward councillor has made some progress in terms of trying to help provide the community with housing although it may not be for the benefit of everybody.

CHAPTER 7 – SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the research findings, based on the themes which were identified in Chapter Two and the pattern of the responses obtained. It also provides a conclusion based on the entire study, and lastly it provides a set of recommendations for challenges presented by the study.

7.2 Summary of Key Findings

The conceptualization of this study occurred from the hypothesis that the introduction of basic interim services allowed for economic livelihood strategies that previously could not be undertaken by the residents of the informal dwellings in Cato Crest. The information collected from the respondents was analysed and the themes emerging from the data were identified. In the Cato Crest area, the women were responsible for water collection for their households. The study also revealed the employment status of the residents of Cato Crest and 70 per cent indicated that they unemployed while 30 per cent reported being employed.

With regards to access to basic services, the study found that households in Cato Crest obtained water from various sources such as communal stand pipes, the local river and from illegal water connections. The findings revealed that 84 per cent of the respondents used communal stand pipes, 3 per cent indicated using the river and the remaining 19 per cent admitted that they used illegal connections.

The study found that most people in Cato Crest used communal stand pipes and even though there were few communal stand pipes before service provision, it could be argued that communal stand pipes brought about a level of change in the study area. With regards to sanitation, the study revealed that ablution blocks, the bush and other areas such as small open spaces were used for sanitation purposes. The findings revealed that 27 per cent of the participants used ablution blocks, 7 per cent used the bush and 3 per cent used other areas such small open spaces.

On the other hand, some of the respondents who used communal stand pipes claimed that the communal stand pipes were far from their dwellings. The study also found that most people in Cato Crest joined queues and had to wait when collecting water from the communal stand pipes. The respondents using the communal stand pipes also revealed that it took them some

time to get water and return to their houses, which was a problem as some Cato Crest residents were old and could not carry water by themselves and walk the distance of 150 meters. It could be argued that water facilities were not sufficient to cater for all the residents of Cato Crest as these water sources were far from most of the households.

On the point of roles and responsibilities of the official involved in the provision of water and sanitation; When the researcher met with the eThekweni Water and Sanitation official it became clear that there were five departments involved in the provision of water and sanitation in general in the eThekweni Municipality, namely: Water and Sanitation Design and Planning; a Customer Services Centre/Sizakala Centre; a Finance Department; Projects/Construction; and Water Operations/Wastewater branches. Regarding the issue of challenges experienced by the municipality in providing water and sanitation, the Project Manager mentioned the following: scarcity of water/drought; vandalism and security; illegal connections; non-payment for services; burst pipes and water leaks not being reported; Cato Crest residents were unhappy with the services provided; political interference and poor workmanship on the part of contractors or in-house staff.

The residents needed a functional ward committee, comprising of residents, irrespective of their political affiliation. They believed in community leadership that would listen to them, have proper discussions with them and report on any challenges or achievements made, without hiding anything. They believed that some of their problems with water supply and sanitation could have long been resolved, had there been a functional ward committee in Cato Crest

On the aspect of the suitability of Cato Crest informal settlement for housing, the study established Cato Crest as unsuitable for housing purposes. Even with such characteristics, the residents were comfortable residing in this informal settlement. The settlement had the potential to be upgraded, however, relocations made more sense in the case of Cato Crest as its geographical location restricted it from being upgraded.

The study revealed that in informal settlements, that there were various livelihoods that were currently being practiced in several ways. People tended to create their own livelihood strategies to make their lives convenient for their households. Without the provision of basic services creating livelihood strategies was, however, a difficult process. With the provision of basic services, especially water and electricity, people could practice better livelihood strategies such as the ones explored in this study. Therefore, the provision of interim basic services was very important in assisting people living in poor conditions to be able to create livelihoods for

themselves. The provision of interim services also responded to the Basic Needs Approach as the fundamentals a human being needed to survive in an informal settlement were addressed with the provision of water, sanitation and electricity. The provision of basic services responded in a two-fold manner to the core principle of the Basic Needs Approach where the question of rights vs. needs was expressed: interim services as an intervention in informal settlements responded to both human rights and human needs (Sarlo, 2013). Moreover, the provision of interim basic services created a better foundation for people to uplift themselves out of poverty by utilising these services to develop themselves and their households with dignity, namely with the provision of sanitation and waste management systems.

7.3. Conclusion

The pace of delivery was still perceived to be slow compared to the growing needs of the population. At the same time the government as the principal agent providing these basic services to South African citizens continually faced the challenge of balancing its Constitutional mandate of providing all citizens with basic services with the demand for improved services and a limited ability to pay for them among the poor. It is critically important for the government to continue investing in delivering basic services to all South African citizens. The findings of this study provided some insights that could be explored through further research. The study could therefore conclude that the eThekweni Municipality had, to a certain extent, lived up to its mandate of providing basic services to the urban poor so that their lives were changed for the better. Of course, the study found that there was more that still needed to be done to improve the housing conditions in informal settlements, but this could only be achieved by ensuring that the eThekweni Municipality secured the support and cooperation from all relevant stakeholders who were responsible for delivering services to the people of the eThekweni Metropolitan area.

7.4 Recommendations

The study found that access to safe drinking water and sanitation was fundamental to the enjoyment of other rights such as the right to education, health, safety and an environment that was not harmful to human health or wellbeing. A lack of access to water and sanitation not only impeded access to other rights but heightened the vulnerability of certain groups of people such as women and people with disabilities (South African Human Rights Commission [SAHRC], 2012).

7.4.1 The establishment of livelihood strategy workshops

Livelihoods in informal settlements are an important part of the process of eradicating poverty. If people in informal settlements can practice a wide range of livelihood strategies then they can uplift themselves out of poverty instead of waiting for a helping hand from government. The government already has a number of issues such as education, health care and the economic status of the country to address. The key benefit of this recommendation is that if local municipalities can organise participatory workshops to explore various ways of creating livelihood strategies (e.g. creating beadwork workshops, car washes, etc.) and create a platform to get informal settlement dwellers' ideas across, then this can assist people in trying to achieve their own means of livelihoods. Technologies and techniques that are proposed by a committee can be used as part of the creation of livelihood strategies and presented to informal settlement dwellers to implement so they can better their livelihoods. This recommendation has not been applied anywhere but the concept of livelihood strategies remains the same: it is about enlightening communities about livelihood strategies that is key in this recommendation.

7.4.2 Communication and information distribution

The study recommends that improved communication and information distribution strategies should be implemented. Information is power; it enables people to make quality decisions about services or products. This is critically important, even in providing basic services to consumers. The municipality should strengthen existing forms of information dissemination such as local newspapers (Mdlongwa, 2014). According to the majority of the respondents, the most preferred methods are ward committee meetings and councillor public meetings. Regular meetings with the community should be re-introduced where they are non-existent or underutilised. This kind of communication will encourage public participation in key municipal processes like public consultations for IDPs which will result in big benefits to all communities.

7.4.3 Restoration of ward committees

Lastly, the study found that there was a lack of ward committees. Therefore, the study recommends that the existence of ward committees should be enforced in upgraded informal settlements. In terms of Section 59 of the Municipal Systems Act, the ward committee has duties and powers delegated to it by the municipality. It is the duty of the ward committee to create communication channels, as well as co-operative partnerships, between the community and the council (Musa, 2014). A functional and effective ward committee should ensure that the following take place: they must advise and make recommendations to the ward councillor on policy matters that affect the ward; they must assist the ward councillor in identifying conditions, challenges and needs of residents; they must spread information in the ward concerning municipal affairs such as budget and service delivery options; and receive queries and complaints from residents concerning service delivery, and communicate these to the relevant structure and provide feedback to the community on responses received (Musa, 2014).

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ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Residents' (Beneficiaries') Questionnaire

Residents' (beneficiaries') Questionnaire (please tick appropriate box)

1. Gender

Male	
Female	

2. Language Spoken?

.....

3. Age

18-25 years	
26-30 years	
31-40 years	
41-50 years	
51-60 years	
61 years and above	

4. Are you the head of the household?

.....

5. How many people stay within your household?

.....

6. How long have you been staying in Cato Crest?

.....

7. Are you originally from Cato Crest? If not, where did you come from?

.....

8. What was the main reason that brought you to Cato Crest?

.....
.....

9. How did you access things such as electricity, water and sanitation?

.....

10. How far do you travel to access water and sanitation?

.....

11. Are there any interim services that have been installed recently?

.....

12. Are the interim services provided adding value to your daily needs, if so, how?

.....

..

.....

.

.....

..

13. Are you currently employed?

Yes	
No	

14. What livelihood strategies are currently being practiced in this area?

.....

.....

.....

15. What are the livelihood strategies practiced since the implementation of interim services, if any?

.....

.....

16. What are the income generation activities which have been started due to the availability of interim services in this settlement?

.....

Annexure 2: Interview Questions: eThekweni Municipality (Interim

Services Project Manager)

Interview Questions: eThekweni Municipality (Interim Services Project Manager).

1. What are the basic services currently provided within the settlement?
.....
2. How are communities that are to be provided with interim services identified?
.....
3. What is the status quo on the informal settlement of Cato Crest? Will there be an upgrading or relocation in place?
.....
4. How do you decide on the order of informal settlements that need to be upgraded?
.....
5. Which interim services have been installed in Cato Crest?
.....
6. When were these interim services installed?
.....
7. How has the implementation of interim services assisted the municipality with its upgrading projects in Cato Crest?
.....
8. Can the provision of interim services address challenges imposed by informal settlements?
.....
9. How do you select consultants/ contractors that are to provide interim services and are they given an option to use community members within the project's implementation phase?

.....

10. Is the community included in the phases of the process of the installation of interim services and also in the upgrading process?

Annexure 3: Interview Questions for Cato Crest Ward Councillor

Interview Questions for Cato Crest Ward Councillor

1. How long has the informal settlement of Cato Crest been existing?
.....
2. How long have you been councillor of the settlement?
.....
3. When you became the councillor, which basic services did the community have access to?
.....
4. What has the municipality informed you of in terms of the plans for the informal settlement? Will they upgrade the settlement or will there be a relocation?

.....
5. What are the development plans, with the provision of interim services such as water, sanitation, roads, electricity etc. for the area?

.....
6. Is the municipality involved in any of these developmental plans? If so, to what extent?

.....
7. What are the main complaints of these residents with regards to basic services?

.....
8. What are the economic opportunities in the area with the provision of water, electricity, roads, sanitation, etc.?

.....
9. What is the level of satisfaction of residents of Cato Crest informal settlement with regards to the interim services which were provided by the municipality, if any?

.....
10. What are the livelihood strategies that have been practised in this settlement?

.....
11. What are the income generating activities that are practised in this informal settlement?