



**In-Situ Upgrading of Informal Settlements: A Case study of
Barcelona 1 – Lamontville, Durban**

By

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my own work, and has not been submitted in part or in whole, to any other academic institution. The study was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Rosemary Awour-Hayangah from School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Date: 2013

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Signature.....

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Declaration	i)
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ACRONYMS

BNG	Breaking New Ground (New South Africa's housing policy initiated in 2004).
CBO	Community Based Organisation
ESIS	Emergency Servicing Informal Settlement
IDT	Independent Development Trust (1990)
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
MDG	Millenium Development Goal
MM	Mahila Milan (Kenya CBO)
NSDF	National Slum Dwellers Federation (Kenya CBO)
PTUPF	Pamoja Trust and the Urban Poor Federation (Kenya NGO)
ROSCA	Rotating Servicing of Informal Settlement
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resources Centre (India NGO)
STIPA	Support for Tropical Initiatives in Poverty Alleviation
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT), since 2002 known as UN-HABITAT

ABSTRACT

This study examines the case for in-situ upgrading of informal settlements. The housing delivery process as set out in the housing policy has been slow and, to an extent, qualification for subsidy has tended to exclude some sections of the society. The main objective of the study is to identify the social, economic and physical characteristics of informal settlements that would justify in-situ upgrading as opposed to relocation of the residents to a Greenfield development. Both primary and secondary sources of data were utilised in data collection. The research confirmed residents of Barcelona 1 need proper houses with basic services. The general use of land; is also problematic, there are no roads and the residents walk in between shacks to access their sites. Living conditions in Barcelona 1 do not match up with what is proposed in the recent Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy initiative, which states that everyone should have access to sustainable human settlement conditions with basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation. Community Based Organizations (CBOs) focus on assisting the community with socio-economic activities, and have contributed in the development of the settlement by providing training skills workshops on small business and issues concerning HIV/AIDS.

The present study sees a need for the settlement to be upgraded on site, in preference to other options less favourable to people's needs, such as greenfield development which disrupts social and economic networks when people are relocated far from their workplaces and burdened with added transportation costs. By comparison, in-situ upgrading will create minimal disruption for the inhabitants of the settlement. Among the recommendation put forward is that the government, the housing department, non-government organisation and community based organisations should all intervene in the upgrading of informal settlements. The study concludes with none of the development promised by the government having yet taken place in the study area, any forthcoming housing policy implementation should take account of the impact of different development option on informal settlements. It can be

argued that government and the housing department alike have failed to satisfy housing demand in South Africa, since people continue to suffer from inadequate housing. Secondly, in-situ upgrading rather than relocation to Greenfield where feasible should be the preferred from development option given the social, economic benefits and networks of existing informal settlements.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Background of the study

Informal Settlements have undergone a historical process from initial denial of basic services by respective governments to acceptance that they are social and economic entities in their own right and should be supported and encouraged to grow (Abbot, 2001). Informal settlements in South Africa have been growing at a rapid rate. According to the Housing White Paper (National Department of Housing, 1994), approximately 18 percent of all households in South Africa (1.5 million households) live in squatter conditions in urban areas, with no formal tenure. The number increased to 1.84 million in 2001 (Department of Housing, 2004). It is estimated that the number of households living in informal settlements has increased to 2.1 million in South Africa (Delivery, 2010).

Housing policy in South Africa has seen a sequence of different housing delivery systems. During Apartheid blacks were barred from residing in 'white' areas and had to live either in townships or in impoverished rural areas known as Bantustans. Indeed, few houses were built for Africans in the apartheid era. Attempts to catch up with the housing backlog inherited from this policy, require the construction of about 130, 000 houses every year backdated to 1994 (Knight 2001). The integrated socio-economic framework known as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) adopted as government policy, by the African National Congress in the post-Apartheid era in 1994, which set a goal of 300, 000 new houses annually with a minimum of one million low-cost houses to be constructed within five years (Knight 2001).

It is estimated that in 2007, 2.4 million households in South Africa lived in informal settlements (almost 10% of the 12.5 million households), (Del Mistro, et al., 2009). The stated aim of the government is to have no household living in informal settlements by 2014 (Del Mistro, et al., 2009). Misselhorn (2008) argues however, that this is impossible because of the current level of state

funding; this stands at R10 billion a year, of which only R4.1 billion is available for the upgrading of informal settlements, whereas at least R14 billion a year is needed. This is compounded by the shortage of well located and affordable land, the slow housing delivery process, complex administrative processes, obtaining approval for the environmental impact, and the high quality of land registration which increases the time and cost (Del Mistro, et al., 2009).

EThekweni Municipality's Integrated Housing Plan of 1994 sought to eliminate informal settlements by moving shack owners who qualify for a housing subsidy to newly developed RDP houses. However this programme has not solved the growth in informal settlements. In 2004, a new Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme was initiated through the new housing plan dubbed "Breaking New Ground 2004". The Breaking New Ground policy aims at minimal disruption to residents' lives and seeks to improve living conditions in informal settlements (Department of Housing, 2004). Unlike the RDP; the upgrading programme does not require individual households in informal settlements to qualify for subsidy. Informal settlement households that qualify for upgrading are all those that reside in inadequate informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2006). In comparison to the Greenfield¹ housing projects developed for the informal settlements dwellers on the peripheries of cities, which are marked by transit problems in getting to work. Greenfield development destroys social networks and affects the economic network (Huchzermeyer, 2006). The in-situ approach, on the other hand, results in minimum relocation, minimizes disruption of socio-economic networks by reducing the number of household that are relocated to another site, and enables as many families as possible to remain on the existing site (Abbott, et al., 2001; Del Mistro, et al., 2009).

¹ Greenfield development is part of development programme, where residents' are moved to greenfield areas while their informal settlements are being upgraded, (Huchzermeyer, 2006)

The main argument that is pursued in this research is that in-situ² upgrading of the informal settlements is a viable and complementary alternative to greenfield housing delivery approach. This study will attempt to argue for in-situ upgrading of Barcelona 1 as a legitimate attempt to meet the housing needs of the residents, as opposed to greenfield relocation. The argument for in-situ upgrading is based on the fact that the informal settlement in Barcelona 1 has been in existence for the past twenty one years and the community has established coping strategies including social and economic networks that need to be retained in the case of upgrading, as opposed to relocation to a Greenfield RDP development, which would involve disruption of existing neighbourhoods and communities (Bay Research and Consultancy Services, 2002).

Further, it can be expected that the residents have created socio-economic networks and that their children are probably attending schools in the neighbourhood. Some of the residents survive through informal sector activities such as small shops, salons, and shoe repairs. Generally, in any informal settlement, reciprocity within communities and between households is based on trust, social ties, and accumulated inter-household knowledge (Bay Research and Consultancy Services, 2002). It is argued that greenfield development disrupts social and economic networks in cases where people are relocated far away from their workplaces with added transportation costs. Through upgrading, formality can then be introduced into the settlement, where regularization and basic services, such as water, electricity, sanitation and roads could be provided.

1. 2 History of Informal Settlements in South Africa

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, et

² As opposed to Greenfield relocation

al. 2006). A number of factors have contributed to the growth in informal settlements in South Africa, but basically it is a response to shortage of housing, which is part of the legacy of apartheid. Sapiro (1992) argues that, the main force that drives people to informal settlements is economic decline and rising unemployment. Huchzermeyer, et al. (2006) postulate that informal housing, even if based on illegal occupation of land, is recognized by some as affordable and 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 make shift structures using all kinds of materials, with no security of tenure, and depending on the informal economy (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000). The South African government in the past reacted harshly to informal settlements and the illegality of these settlements resulted in forced removals (Knight, 2006).

Eviction was common in South Africa, especially in the period between the 1920s and the 1950s and was backed by law (Payne, 1984). The situation worsened, as forced removal did not succeed and informal settlements continued to grow. Knight (2006) argues that, informal settlements are here to stay for the next decade and beyond. Moreover, given the concern on informal settlement conditions, research needs to be undertaken to determine the residents' current living conditions. This will also enable the researcher to identify their coping strategies in issues with respect to social and economic networks, such as unemployment, poverty and access to basic services. "The importance of upgrading is to preserve existing economic systems and opportunities for the poor; it also preserves community structure and safeguards that already exist in the family and the community, as opposed to resettlement, where there is socially and economically disruptive, to households and communities" (Bay Research and Consultancy Services (BRCS, 2002:18). A primary recognition in South African housing policy is

that people are inadequately housed because they lack sufficient income to participate effectively in the market for housing (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

The National Housing Department has produced a policy document known as “Breaking New Ground” (BNG) which consists of issues dealing with housing demand, supply and delivery. BNG came up with a strategy for a new human settlement plan in informal settlement, where the ³Department of Housing will accordingly introduce a new informal settlement upgrading instrument, which is in-situ upgrading” (Department of Housing, 2004: 5). Legalisation of the occupancy is an important element in the upgrading process. In Kenya, for instance, the centerpiece of the slum upgrading strategy was a policy intervention to legalise land-title and provide security of tenure to residents of the largely illegal and informal settlements (Mukhija 2003).

It is assumed that many informal settlements are in need of sustainable interventions that take the plight of the residents into consideration as they have nowhere to go, and they do not own land. “Tenure insecurity is the central characteristic of informal settlements with varying aspects of unhealthy and hazardous living conditions to which overcrowding and lack of basic services may contribute” (Huchzermeyer, et al., 2006:3). These common challenges are faced by informal settlements around the world, as well as in Barcelona 1. The Barcelona study area was chosen because the researcher saw that there is a need for the residents to be included in the new sustainable human settlements to be developed in terms of the BNG policy. The researcher is also interested on issues to do with land regularization and basic services as part of in-situ upgrading. The researcher will also attempt to find out what is being planned by housing officials for Barcelona 1 informal settlement.

1. 3 Research Problem

Housing delivery process as set out in the housing policy has been slow, and to some extent qualification for subsidy has tended to exclude some sections

³ Known as Department of Human Settlement

of the society (Huchzermeyer, 2006). The new approach of upgrading as incorporated in Breaking New Ground Policy is a step towards addressing this situation. However, what is not clear is the criterion to be used in establishing the suitability of informal settlements for upgrading. Literature abounds with frameworks setting procedures for upgrading (Knight, 2006). The researcher argues that each informal settlement has unique characteristics and these procedures may not be applicable to all. In addition, not all informal settlements qualify for upgrading. This study explores parameters relevant for assessing the suitability of informal settlements for in-situ upgrading with emphasis on social and economic aspects of the settlements.

1. 4 Research Objectives

The objective of the study is to identify the social, economic and physical characteristics of informal settlements that would justify in-situ upgrading, as opposed to relocation of the residents to a Greenfield development. Arising from the broad objective of the study, the specific objectives include:

- Establishing the role played by community organizations and ⁴social networks in the improvement of the dwellers' well-being.
- Exploring the relationship between the sources of livelihood and the ⁵economic characteristics of the informal settlement.
- Exploring the suitability of existing physical facilities for adoption of ⁶in-situ upgrading of the settlement.

1. 5 Research Question

The main question raised in this study is “which social, economic, and physical characteristics of Barcelona can justify its in-situ upgrading, as opposed to the relocation of its residents to a Greenfield development?”

⁴ Social networks are the relationships that the residents have created amongst themselves, which includes trusts and supporting each other.

⁵ Economic characteristics include sources of income, as most of the residents survive by informal sector.

⁶ In-situ upgrading means building on site, where there is a minimal disruption on residents to relocate.

1. 6 Sub-Questions

- What is the role played by the community organizations towards improvement of Barcelona 1 Informal settlements?
- Which economic activities are undertaken by the Barcelona 1 community?
- To what extent are the community's sources of livelihood linked to its location?
- Are the existing physical and social facilities suitable for adoption in in-situ upgrading of the settlement?
- What are the resident's views on upgrading of their settlement, as opposed to relocating them to Greenfield development?

1. 7 Thesis Structure

The dissertation will be structured as follows: Chapter 1 deals with the introduction and background of the study, the research problem, research objectives, the research question and sub-questions.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 looks at the relevant literature and presents the theoretical framework of the study. An outline is given of informal settlement experiences in South Africa and internationally, in conjunction with the identification of the role played by Community-based Organizations.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 contain conceptual and thematic framework. The framework for this study is based on the following approaches: Sustainable Livelihood Approach, Development Approach, Community Participation Approach, Integrated Approach and Enabling Approach, in relation with the case of informal settlement in South Africa particularly in Barcelona 1.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 contains research methodology of the study. It describes how the study was designed and conducted. The chapter describes the selection of the

participants in the study and includes data collection and data analysis procedures used.

Chapter 5

The findings of the investigation are presented in this chapter. The major themes and categories that emerged from the data analysis are discussed. This chapter also contains a synopsis of the findings on Barcelona 1 living conditions, housing types, challenges, and social networks.

Chapter 6

This is followed by summary of findings, conclusion and recommendation which are drawn from the findings and recommendations, to government, NGOs, CBOs and private sectors, and the ways in which the findings can be used to improve the situation in Barcelona 1 informal settlement.

1. 8 Chapter Summary

Chapter one presents the background of the study, which looks at the problems of South Africa's informal settlement from the apartheid era to the post-apartheid period. This has been done by looking at the changes South Africa has gone through in trying to eradicate informal settlements. The changes in housing policy are briefly described. The current government has introduced several programmes in dealing with housing issues, but even now many people still live in informal settlements. Breaking New Ground is the new policy which aims to promote sustainable human settlements. Reasons for choosing the topic and research problem are described. The research objectives, research question and sub-question are also specified.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes in situ upgrading as the preferred upgrading mechanism, compared to Greenfield development. It also looks at living conditions in informal settlements in South Africa and Internationally. The aim is to identify commonalities and lessons from other countries which could be relevant to the case of Barcelona 1. South Africa's housing delivery policy is also considered in the chapter with the aim of highlighting what went wrong in the past. The role of the community-based organisation (CBO) also plays a big part in this chapter as it indicates important ways in which CBOs serve as an intervention process in trying to help poor communities, specifically in informal settlements. Breaking New Ground, which is a new policy, is also outlined to highlight the new housing mechanisms.

“Informal settlements can be upgraded using one of two approaches: either total redevelopment or *in-situ* development (Del Mistro, et al., 2009: 338). Total redevelopment results in the entire area being demolished and families being relocated to Greenfield sites, which in turn destroys the social networks and adversely affects the economic network because ‘greenfield’ sites are usually further from urban opportunities” (Del Mistro, et al., 2009: 338). In addition, relocation causes considerable disruption by increasing distances from workplaces and schools, resulting in unemployment and school drop-out (Metagora, 2006). Therefore the preferred alternative is *in-situ* upgrading which aims to minimise the disruption to social and economic networks by reducing the number of households that are relocated to another site or elsewhere on the site (Del Mistro, et al., 2009).

The ⁷Comprehensive Housing Plan which is being implemented through a pilot project in each province in South Africa will improve the living conditions of households in informal settlements. The informal settlement upgrading projects provide for phased area-based development, and fund community

⁷ Was introduced under new policy (BNG), the cabinet approved the plan for the development of integrated sustainable human settlement, (Pocket Guide to South Africa, 2008).

participation and project management as an integral part; the plan aims at eradicating and upgrading all informal settlements by 2014 - 2015 as a prime target (Pocket Guide to South Africa, 2008).

Consideration is also given to programmes that have been implemented internationally that can offer useful experience in the upgrading of informal settlements in South Africa. This section of the study identifies a) commonalities; b) lessons that can be learnt from other countries; c) economic activities, social networks, and physical infrastructure being sustained by informal settlers; and d) how these settlements could be made sustainable through provision of basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation and road access.

International examples are presented of in-situ upgrading of informal settlements, highlighting processes, policies and programmes. The reasons why people live in an informal settlement are examined, taking into consideration their coping strategies, in relation to housing policy on informal settlements in South Africa. The section also elaborates on why *in-situ* upgrade of informal settlements is one of the alternatives which is seen as the best option for sustainability of residents in South Africa. The importance of Community-based Organization, as an intervention process in trying to help the community is also examined.

2.2 Historical Background of Housing Developments in South Africa

During the apartheid era, racial segregation determined all land and housing in South Africa. Individuals were only allowed to find accommodation in an area designated for the use of a particular racial category and the state determined whether they qualified (Morris, 1998). The apartheid legacy has its origins deep in the colonial period and the basic decisions of that era profoundly affected the manner in which later bureaucracy enforced twentieth century legislation in South Africa (Christopher, 1987). The legacy of this system has been a huge housing backlog, in which people who are homeless

construct informal housing for themselves on land that does not belong to them.

The apartheid government forcibly and often brutally evicted and relocated millions of black South Africans in order to secure the largest share of land, and best land, for white South Africans, resulting in overcrowded areas of abject squalor with no running water, electricity, sewage services or paved roads (Wickeri, 2004). During the apartheid era, black South Africans experienced appalling conditions in the hostels for migrant single sex workers, the forced relocations of families to residential areas classified by race, the sterile environment of dormitory towns with row upon row of standardised houses with inadequate community and commercial facilities, the eradication of communities under the guise of 'slum clearance', and living without security of tenure in rental stock provided with the assumption that all blacks would return to their 'homeland' when work contract ended (Del Mistro, et al., 2009).

The end of white minority rule following the first democratic elections in 1994 heralded an end to de jure segregation, and the promise by incoming leaders of 'housing for all' (Wickeri, 2004). Despite those promises, however, millions of South Africans continue to face housing crises; the result is the continuing expansion of informal settlements, driven in part by the failure of housing delivery to address the growing demands of the urban poor in part explains the increase in informality within South Africa (DAG, 2007). There have been shifts in South Africa's experiences on housing delivery over the years. In the late 1980's and early 1990's the 'toilets in the ⁸veld' were a response to the sudden influx of people into the cities after repeal of the Influx Control Act (Del Mistro, et al., 2009). The previous government⁹ delivered houses by quantity not quality, trying to reach a certain number of houses to be built; one of the complaints about housing provision under the Redistribution

⁸ Toilets in the veld was the housing project which was part of site and service, the contract built toilets first as a plan for the community to meet half way, the community were then supposed to continue building their houses. Therefore, the whole area ended up with toilets without houses.

⁹Known as the Mbeki Era.

Development Plan (RDP) was the size of these houses (Del Mistro, et al., 2009).

“In 1995, about 90% of Whites, Coloureds and Indians lived in cities or towns outside of the homelands; in contrast, only 28% of the African population did. While 58% of Africans were resident in homeland towns, the remainder lived in homeland rural areas” (Morris, 1998: 20). This has resulted in the increasing number of informal settlements in South Africa as the African population migrates to the cities. People are moving from rural areas to urban areas to seek employment and this has been one of the major challenges for housing authorities (Huchzermeyer, 2006). Moreover, according to 2001 estimate, there were 11 million households in South Africa. In 2002, 12.7% of all households lived in ¹⁰informal structures and units increased to 15.9% in 2005 and declined slightly to 14.5% in 2006 (Statistics, 2007).

The 1994 African National Congress (ANC) led government embarked on an ambitious programme to provide 1 million houses within its first five years in government (Del Mistro, et al., 2009). The capital subsidy was initially limited to funding new ‘Redistribution Development Program’ houses, but subsequently could also be used to fund individuals buying already-built houses. The cost of building accommodation for rental by institutions, the upgrading of the hostels and self-help construction on ¹¹fully serviced sites (Del Mistro, et al., 2009). The historical background on housing delivery in South Africa varies through different stages from the apartheid era to post-apartheid, as discussed below.

2.2.1 The Native Urban Areas Act (1923 – 1939)

During the apartheid era housing delivery differed from the post-apartheid era. In the past there was segregation between whites and blacks. Apartheid policy imposed inequality between the ¹²two races. The 1923 Urban Areas Act extended segregation into cities, restricting African residency in urban areas.

¹⁰ Referred to shacks

¹¹ Referred to People Housing Programme

¹² Blacks and Whites South Africans

When the country's industrial sector expanded during World War II there was a new demand for African labor (Parnell and Hart, 1999), and African rural-urban migration created overcrowded shantytown settlements around cities (Mkhondo 1993). In 1936, the Land Act of 1913 was extended to deny property rights to Africans who had purchased land prior to the 1913 Act and moved them to reserves.

The Urban Areas Act of 1923 empowered Municipalities to set up separate townships for African residents. This Act successfully segregated the population as people classified as Africans were subject to the ravages of legislation that became known as the 'pass laws' (Morris, 1998). The majority of urban Africans had already been consigned to African-only townships prior to the advent of apartheid in 1948. Millions of Africans were prosecuted under the pass laws between 1950 and 1959. In addition, the pass laws vigorously controlled freedom of movement as every African person was told where he or she might reside, and moving out of one's designated residential area without permission was an offence.

Under the Urban Areas Act of 1923, Africans were only given the right to reside permanently in a town or city if they had been born in that particular town or city. "Most of the African population were not given the right to reside in urban areas but were forced to remain on White-owned farms or to reside in so-called homelands. The homelands were a central feature of the Apartheid system" (Morris 1998:28). The post-apartheid era, however has witnessed a major restructuring of South African cities to achieve the maximum possible degree of racial segregation (Christopher, 1987).

2.2.2 South Africa's Housing Delivery Systems and Housing Policy (1979)

South Africa's housing delivery systems have not solved the problem of growing informal settlement. Prinsloo (1995) identified a number of different delivery systems and financial schemes in housing provision in South Africa.

These include:

- Self-help – where citizens erect their own housing/services on sites either provided by or purchased from the government.
- Assisted self-help – where citizens build their own housing with subsidised ‘starter kits’ provided by the government
- Site and service schemes – where government services residential sites with development and other infrastructure services.
- Informal housing – residential settlements that have not been officially designated by government.
- Mass housing programs – construction of multiple public housing units (Prinsloo, 1995). Understanding these categories of housing delivery is necessary as they highlight delivery systems that have taken place in South Africa and offer lessons for present and future housing delivery, the hope of not repeating mistakes of the past. These are summarised below.

2.2.3 Site and Services Schemes, Self-help System (1979 – 1985)

Self-help and assisted self-help housing strategies have a long history in South Africa, dating back to the earliest African settlements of the colonial era (Parnell and Hart, 1999). Self-help and site and service schemes, later known as the People Housing Process (PHP), constitute the vast majority of government-sponsored housing initiatives in the country (Lupton and Murphy, 1996; Parnell, 1996). This scheme allowed owners to be involved in construction; as Turner argued, “The main criterion in respect of housing was whether the owner was in control of the construction process, design and management” Marais, et al. (undated).

From the 1970s to the 1990s, the housing strategy in South Africa involved delivery of shelter through site and service schemes. These schemes were part of a strategy to contribute effectively to informal settlement upgrading. The purpose of self-help was to provide recipients with a site and services, coupled with a nuclear (starter) home that can be extended over time, Marais et al. (undated).

Self-help is typically a slow delivery method but offers several advantages including mobilisation and realisation of local social capital, greater participation by residents in the design process and potentially achievement of a bigger housing product as a result of sweat equity (Messelhorn, 2008). Morris (1998: 34) argued that, the site and service represent the central thrust of the ANC government's new housing policy. Site and Service means that: residents are provided with a site and basic services, which is a tap, toilet and at times a basic foundation and very small rooms. It is the household's responsibility to erect whatever structure they can afford". The policy was criticised for being neo-liberal and consequently, for providing housing product that was too small (Tomlinson, 1996). The small housing product was commonly associated with macro-economic motivations (national budget constraints; savings on labour costs) and never with the concepts of housing satisfaction and dweller-control (Marais et al., undated). The houses consist of just one room, built from corrugated iron, and with a density level of about three people per room (Morris, 1998).

Informal settlements and formal mass housing programs are by definition antithetical to one another, and represent contradictory lines of development in the century South African housing provision (Marais et al., undated). For example, during the post-second World War housing crisis, formal housing was constructed in the form of four-roomed 'matchbox' houses, at the same time as self-help approaches were being promoted (Lupton and Murphy, 1996, Parnell and Hart, 1999). The self-help approach was officially called the 'People's Housing Process' (PHP) after 1987 and was implemented mainly through self-help groups called 'Housing Support Centres', the name was later changed to 'Community Driven Housing Initiatives' (Marais et al., undated). The site and service approach was further promoted through the Independent Development Trust capital subsidy scheme that was introduced at the turn of the decade (Urban land issue paper, undated, accessed March 2010). The self-help approach was not a success since it was a slow delivery method which did not suit the poor, as we still have millions of South Africans who are homeless and live in informal settlements.

2. 2.4 Independent Development Trust (IDT) (established in 1990)

The most significant development in housing policy was the creation in 1990 of the Independent Development Trust (IDT). IDT was founded by the National Party (NP); it was endowed with a fund of 2 million rands to upgrade social and physical infrastructure using participatory approach (Lyons et al.1999). The government-funded institution was to address the housing needs of the country, through a benchmark measure of poverty that was never established. This gave the IDT some flexibility in how it funded its efforts (Pikholz, 1997). The housing goals of the IDT were to provide subsidies, and other services such as housing education, in order to incorporate targeted areas into the political and economic systems of cities and towns (Pikholz, 1997).

The IDT also introduced a capital subsidy scheme in 1991 as a pilot project for state subsidisation. A subsidy of R7, 500 was granted on a project basis for low-income families. The subsidy was intended to socially and economically integrate the poor into a better living environment. It was implemented through provincial and local governments, non-government organisations, community agencies, developers and utility companies (Prinsloo, 1995). “The IDT capital subsidy scheme, although created under the auspices of the National Party apartheid government, would essentially provide the basis of the subsidy set out in the White Paper on housing of 1994 under the ANC” (Gusler, 2000: 13).

IDT was a success in the sense that it created 19,705 jobs and provided 15,000 training opportunities in governance, and technical skills (City Press, 2007). However, its failures were the financial blockages that existed between the IDT and the Department of Welfare; Director-General Angela Bester reported that the department did not have the capacity in skilled staff to manage Poverty Relief Funds in the 1998/9 financial year. As a result, the important task of monitoring the distribution of fund was neglected. Provincial Welfare MECs raised concerns regarding the appointment of the IDT to disburse the fund to poverty-relief projects. They argued that the use of

the IDT in this process has complicated it and caused long delays (Ntenga, 2000). Moreover, it did not solve the problem of the growing informal settlements in South Africa.

IDT was also a failure as it failed to contain an increase of informal settlement and had subsidised working people only, while leaving out unemployed people (Gusler, 2000: 13). Under this approach, in order for someone to qualify for housing he/she needed to earn a specific amount of money. In terms of this scheme, a capital subsidy of R7500 was available to provide households with incomes of under R1000 per month with serviced sites (BESG et al. 1998).

2. 3 Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) (1994)

In the 1980s a combination of National Party policies, housing shortage, economic recession and poor rural conditions led to accelerated urban migration and the erection of more shacks in the process (Sapire, 1992). When the African National Congress came into power and tried to correct the mistakes of the past government, it came up with a new housing delivery strategy within the Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP). “The RDP was essentially the African National Congress (ANC) ‘manifesto’ during the elections of 1994” (Mackay, 1995: 136), Socio-economic development formed a vital part of its agenda.

The principles of the RDP have guided “development culture” in South Africa (Lyons and Smuts, 1999). The ANC’s chief aim in developing and implementing the RDP was to address the immense socio-economic problems created by apartheid regime. Specifically it aimed to alleviate poverty and address the massive shortfalls in social services across the country (Metagora, 2006). Proponents of the RDP argue that the programme oversaw many major advances in dealing with South Africa’s most severe social problems. Between 1994 and the start of 2001, for instance, over 1.1 million cheap houses eligible for government subsidies had been built, accommodating 5 million of the estimated 12.5 million South Africans without proper housing (Metagora, 2006). Del Mistro, et al., (2009) point out that the government embarked on

RDP to provide 1 million houses within its first year in government. The capital subsidy was initially limited to funding new 'RDP' houses, but subsequently could also be used to fund individuals buying already-built houses.

Huchzermeyer (2003: 595) states that the government "has required the relocation of informal settlement households predominantly to vast, peripherally located standardised dormitory development". In the process, existing structures were demolished, and relocation to another site meant that social and livelihood networks were weakened and destroyed (Del Mistro, et al., 2009). Furthermore, Huchzermeyer (2006) argues that as a result of the continued support for state-delivered development rather than a people-driven development the vast majority of subsidised housing developed in South Africa since 1994 has been project-linked or contractor-driven. This approach encourages individuals to 'sit back and wait for government to deliver'. The paternalistic development approach is popular with local politicians, whose support-bases within the community are defined by the extent to which they are able to broker such delivery (pg. 50).

The Housing White Paper of 1994 set out a new housing policy to supersede those of the apartheid era. The White Paper stemmed from the efforts of the National Housing Forum (NHF), which comprised key players in the housing sector and political constituencies, in conjunction with the principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Goodland, 1996). The RDP's economic policy provided a strategic framework to address problems in that it recognizes the interrelatedness and necessity of meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy and democratizing the state and society. In implementing programmes, changes are necessary in institutional arrangements as well as in the orientation policy (Discussion document, 2004). RDP objectives were to be achieved through the leading and enabling role of the state, a thriving private sector and active involvement by all sectors of civil society. Housing was a major feature of the RDP's published guidelines which set out the national goals of the new government that came

into power in 1994. Yet plans for a fully subsidized, comprehensive state building initiative were scrapped on the basis of the economic constraints of the state and the history of rented public housing in the country and in Europe, although the ANC had campaigned on promises of a large scale plan to accommodate everyone with houses (Goodland 1996).

However, critics have questioned the scope of change of housing delivery represented by many of the statistics, and have argued that, realities on the ground signify a far more modest housing improvement than the government claims. The critics of the RDP cite poor housing quality. One research investigation in 2000 found that only 30 percent of new houses complied with building regulations. Critics also note that new housing schemes are often dreary in their planning and layout, to the extent that they often strongly resemble the bleak building programmes implemented by the apartheid government during the 1950s and 60s (Metagora, 2006). One of the main criticisms, as already noted, was that it had catered for working people only, leaving out the unemployed and those who had unskilled jobs, who do not meet the requirement to get this subsidy. This had led to the growing number of informal settlements in South Africa (Metagora, 2006).

2. 4 People Housing Process (1998 – 2008)

The National Housing Policy supporting People's Housing Process (PHP) policy was adopted in May 1998, by the Minister of Housing. PHP is a low-income housing delivery approach, promoting the involvement of beneficiaries in the development of their own houses. The approach was to promote involvement of beneficiaries in the development of their own houses.

During Peoples Housing Process, the government supported individual families or groups who wished to enhance their subsidy by organising, planning, designing, and building their own houses and their contribution is sweat equity as opposed to hiring a contractor (Ogunfiditimi, et al., undated). The policy focuses on poor families in both urban and rural areas, using capital subsidies to allow people to obtain their own homes. It also assists

people to obtain access to technical, financial, logistical and administrative support to build their own homes on either an individual or a collective basis (South Africa Yearbook, 2002/3). PHP was different from other delivery mechanisms because the scheme encouraged the involvement of beneficiaries in the construction of their houses (Ogunfiditimi, et al., undated).

PHP aimed at:

- mobilising and supporting community effort
- facilitating access to subsidies in appropriate ways to support people's housing initiative
- promoting the most cost effective use of resources
- fostering partnership between all level of government: civil society, public sector, and other players
- regularising settlements and create secure tenure
- building capacity and skills whenever required
- promoting culture of saving
- Facilitating maximal transfer of skills for economic upliftment (Ogunfiditimi, et al., undated).

In addition, the broad mandate of the People Housing Process Trust (PHPT), aligned with the National Housing Policy supporting the PHP, stipulates and defines the PHPT as capacitating and engaging with national, provincial and local governments and civil society to meaningfully participate and support the PHP, in order to create adequate capacity for the PHP in June 1997 to implement a Capacitation Programme to support the PHP (S.A Yearbook, 2002/3). It is further stated that the main objective of the programme is to develop capacity in all levels of government, non-governmental and community-based organisations, and communities to support the PHP. The PHPT has five programmes, as listed below:

- Communication
- Training
- Research and development to develop a database of information with easily accessibility

- Corporate services to ensure efficient and effective functioning (S.A Yearbook, 2002/3).

The PHPT was funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Centre for Human Settlement, and the US Agency for International Development. Government assistance to the PHP was in the form of subsidies, facilitation grants and housing support funding (S.A Yearbook, 2002/3). However, this scheme was not successful, as it did not solve the problem of the growth in informal settlements in the country. It did not accommodate the poorest of the poor. Housing delivery under this scheme left out a number of people who could only find accommodation in the informal settlement.

2. 5 New Housing Policy: Breaking New Ground Policy (2004)

Since 1994, the South African government's housing policy has aimed at eliminating informal settlements through relocation of residents to formal housing (Department of Housing, 1994; Khan and Thring, 2003). Informal settlement upgrading, defined broadly as the formalization of settlement in the residents' original locations, is, however, increasingly becoming accepted practice worldwide (Van Horen, 2000). The new housing policy known as "Breaking New Ground" (BNG), unveiled by the national Department of Housing in September 2004, indicates a new direction and includes a programme specifically for informal settlement upgrading (Department of Housing, 2004). BNG policy focuses on housing problems through different sections; for example: it has proposed that informal settlements need to be taken into consideration by applying in-situ upgrading.

The Department of Housing has introduced a new informal settlement upgrading instrument to support the focused eradication of informal settlements, in line with international best practice (BNG, 2004). BNG policy aimed to deal within adequately of housing, as the provision of informal settlement was not dealt with properly in previously implemented policies, which saw politicians attempting to extract benefits from the conditions

prevailing in the informal settlements by using housing as a reward for votes” (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006: 43).

The section on progressive informal settlement eradication in the BNG policy document states that, informal settlements must urgently be integrated into the broader urban fabric to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion. This new approach, “envisages that municipalities will play a significant increased role in the housing process” (Department of Housing, 2004: 10). The process is described in greater detail in the informal settlement upgrading programme business plan. The funding mechanism for upgrading is accordingly to be introduced to support upgrading on an area, as opposed to individual basis. This approach will maintain fragile community network, minimise disruption, and enhance community participation in all aspects of the development solution (BNG, 2004).

2.6 Poverty in Informal Settlement

There is no single universal definition of poverty, with many differences in the ways various researchers, and the poor themselves, define and perceive poverty. Some researchers view poverty in quantitative terms. Others, including the poor living in informal settlement, attach more meaning to qualitative dimensions of poverty such as independence, security, self-respect, identity, close and non-exploitative social relationships, decision-making freedom, legal and political rights (Wratten, 1995:17). The World Bank (2010) defines poverty as hunger, lack of shelter, being sick and not being able to see a doctor, not having a job, fear for the future, powerlessness, and lack of representation and freedom. UNCHS (1996: 108) defines poverty as “deprivation or human needs that are not met. It is argued that within this broad framework, ‘poverty’ signify ‘lack of’ or ‘deficiency in’ can be defined in either quantitative or qualitative terms, or a combination of the two”. Quantitative definitions of poverty have been derived from conventional economic approaches and qualitative definition from participatory planning. Using quantitative and qualitative approaches, poverty can be defined in two

different dimensions: as lack of income and as lack of basic infrastructure and social services (Sheuya, 2004).

Moreover, it is argued that the lack of adequate income or assets or a combination of the two may lead to a situation where poor households may decide to live in overcrowded and poor quality housing that lack basic infrastructure and services (Sheuya, 2004). Indeed basic infrastructure is the most important necessity in human livelihood, as the situation becomes worse if services are not accessible to the poor. The poor often end up having to rely on unhygienic or unsustainable ways to relieve themselves. Poverty can be defined as “lack or deficiency of the necessities required for human survival and welfare” (Wratten, 1995: 11). When poverty is defined in spatial terms, it refers to the lack of infrastructure and social services (Sheuya, 2004). Residents of informal settlements are faced both with their own personal lack of resources and trying to manage harsh living conditions. In addition, they are supporting one another through the social networks they have created amongst themselves. Most importantly, what matters to them is to have a roof over their heads. It is argued that lack of access to housing exposes one to the structural violence of poverty, its severity and associated complexities of despair and deprivation – relative or absolute – which constitute a significant threat to human security (Tshitereke, 2008).

Indeed, according to Turner (1986), the concept of “housing” should be viewed as a verb rather than as a noun, housing is not just a shelter, it is a process and an activity. Consequently, the house should not be viewed according to its mere physical characteristics, but according to its meaning to those who use it. Under certain conditions, a shack may be supportive to its inhabitants, while a ‘standard’ house may be oppressive (Van der Linden, 1986). “It is increasingly acknowledged that incremental in-situ upgrading is more likely to improve living conditions and reduce poverty as communities are able to maintain important social networks and livelihood strategies while improvements are made in their physical living environments” (DAG, 2007:21).

2.7 Vulnerability in Informal Settlements

There are different definitions of the term vulnerability. Vulnerability typically refers to vulnerability to hunger – the gap between the ability to access food and the minimum consumption needs of the family. Chambers (1995:175) uses two concepts to define vulnerability. The first is exposure to shocks, stress and risks, and the second is defencelessness or “a lack of means to cope without damaging loss”. About 690 000 people or nearly 23% of the population live in poverty and additional 510 000 or nearly 17% need their living conditions to be improved. More than half of females within the metropolitan area are classified as being poor (Marx, et al; undated).

It is argued that, informal settlers' lives are at risk through their vulnerability to damage by fire and heavy rains. Knowledge of the various types of risks and shocks makes it possible to formulate different strategies for managing them. Management strategies can be instituted either in response to shocks as these take place or after they have already occurred (Sheuya, 2004). It can be argued that in-situ upgrading can be a solution to some problems of the informal settlers, as upgrading will also deal with shocks, vulnerability and provide adequate houses.

Moser (1998) has not only highlighted the limitations of using income /consumption data to measure poverty, but has also demonstrated that in order to understand poverty there is a need to differentiate between poverty and vulnerability. One must relate vulnerability with asset ownership, and categorise coping and asset management strategies (1998:3-5). Moser further defines vulnerability as “insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of changing environment”.

Small Island Developing States (SIDS) Perspective (2003) looks at social vulnerability as reflecting the degree to which societies or socio-economic groups are affected by stresses and hazards – whether brought about by external forces or intrinsic factors internal and external – that negatively

impact the social cohesion of a country. This is similar to Barcelona 1, as vulnerability affects their socio-economic activities, where their networks are being disturbed by stresses, shocks and hazards and can lead to the growth of poverty.

Poverty is usually characterised by the inability of individuals, households, or communities to attain at least an acceptable minimum standard of living due to a lack of resources (Ngwane et al. 2001:201). The concept of poverty can, therefore, be defined as referring to several different forms of deprivation, such as lack of resources, including the lack of income, housing and health facilities, as well as lack of knowledge and education. Poverty is furthermore, characterised by living in neighbourhoods with poor institutions and weak social norms, which might exacerbate the resultant poor levels of nutrition and health (Rosalina et al. 2007: 135).

In South Africa in 2004 the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) reported that the proportion of people living in poverty has not changed significant between 1996 – 2001, these households living in poverty have sunk deeper into poverty and the gap between rich and poor has widened (Schwabe, 2004). Recently, the degree of urban poverty existing in developing countries including South Africa has increased dramatically (Motloun & Mears, 2002: 531, Schwabe 2004:1). Such degree of urban policy is particularly true for the Vaal Region, which is the industrial hub of Gauteng province. The Region, which is situated approximately 70km South of Johannesburg, has a population of 794 599, of whom 48% are unemployed and where 46% of households live in poverty (McIlrath & Slabbert, 2003). The result of a baseline survey conducted in 340 randomly selected households resided in a non-permanent zinc shack and had been living like this for more than five years (89%) (Olderwage-Theron et al. 2005: 24), (Olderwage et al. 2008: 93). Such percentage is high, especially when it is compared to 25% of all households who live in informal settlement in the rest of South Africa (Armstrong et al. 2008: 17).

This case relates to Barcelona 1 informal settlement where the residents have spent more than 15 years without any developments and they continually live in poverty. In Barcelona about 22% are unemployed, and 38% are involved in informal sector and their businesses are not guaranteed to survive as poverty leads to collapsing of their businesses. As they do not get any funding support from the government, and the rest survive by government grants.

Further, South African housing interventions can learn from the World Bank's recognition that vulnerability is one of the underlying causes of poverty. The other two causes are the lack of income/assets, and the sense of voicelessness and powerlessness (World Bank, 2001:34). To understand the World Bank's current conceptualization of vulnerability one also needs to note how the Bank has changed its approaches to poverty and poverty reduction since 1990.

The World Bank (2008) makes the link with a decline in well-being. Shocks triggering the decline can occur at the micro (household), meso (community) and national or international level. This is an important framework for better understanding the relationship between poverty, and vulnerability. In the World Development Report (1990:3) published in 1990, "three strategies were proposed to reduce poverty: 1) promote the productive use of labour, which is the poor household's most abundant asset; 2) provide basic social service to the poor, particularly primary health care and education; and 3) provide social safety nets" which will lead to protection of vulnerable groups and the very poor (Sheuya, 2004).

Huchzermeyer (2008: 13) postulates that "eradication of informal settlement in South Africa displays insensitivity to the vulnerability of poor people's livelihoods and in the process of rushing to meet the intimidating 2014 deadline". This is the "burning" question these days, if South Africa is going to reach the target of dealing with informal settlements.

2. 8 In-situ Upgrading as an Alternative Solution

In South Africa, in-situ upgrading is an alternative to other mechanisms that have been employed in the past such as relocation to Greenfield of housing projects for the informal settlement dwellers. Furthermore, informal settlements are characterized by high levels of poverty, to the extent that poverty alleviation is now considered by the World Bank to be the primary objective of upgrading (Sheuya, 2004). The Expert Group Meeting of (UNCHS) emphasises that “informal settlements are composed of people, not just housing. Hence, physical upgrading of the environment, without enhancing the self-respect of the inhabitants and helping them achieve sustainable livelihoods will not produce lasting improvements” (Majale, 2002: 30). It is necessary also to provide secure land tenure and to improve basic infrastructure and service delivery.

Further interventions such as the upgrading Informal Settlement Programme (UISP) are needed in order to deal with the importance of assisting people where there are, that is in-situ. The programme is against relocation as it argues that it is the last resort to be undertaken and should be based only in exceptional circumstances on a voluntary and co-operative basis. This is a message that the National Upgrading Support Program (NUSP), a partnership between the National Department of Human Settlement (NDHS) and the Cities Alliance to support the implementation of the informal settlement upgrading programme, is seeking to reinforce through inter alia the creation of a company of practice, where a forum of public sector practitioners lessons can be learnt and capacity building can take place (Tissington, et al, 2010).

The community will not make it alone on this but it is at the municipal level that pressures are most acutely felt and hence too where the planning for development takes place, including identifying informal settlement for upgrade and setting targets for delivery using municipal planning instruments, like Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and their associated Housing Sector Plans (HSP) (Tissington, et al 2010). As a result communities living in informal settlement need to be in IDP if they are to have any hope of

upgrade in the foreseeable future. If they are not, then there are no other options as they are unable to participate in the residential property market. Unless people register on a ¹³housing demand database and wait partially for their name to come up, they are identified a queue-jumpers at best and very often illegal (Landfirst, 2010).

The question of access of being on the list or in IDP is not new, but it was recently reinforced at a workshop held in Johannesburg organised by ¹⁴Landfirst 2010. This event brought together community based organisation, NGO's, social movement and academics working in various ways on informal settlement upgrading and managed land settlement across the country. These included representatives from the Informal Settlement Network (ISN), Landless People Movement (LPM), Shack Slum Dwellers International (SDI), Isandla Institute, DAG, Community Resource Centre (CORC), Webber Wentzel, Legal Resource Centre (LRC), Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), Mvula Trusts, Planact, Urban Landmark, Afesis-corplan, BESG, and others. This workshop's focused was on the priority question was about how the process for the identification of informal settlement upgrading taking place, and informal settlement identification of being on the list was given a new emphasis of a shift in development context (Landfirst, 2010). The workshop identified the need to create a national platform for discussion community needs and technocratic delivery.

Moreover, the reality is complex in implementation of the informal settlement upgrading being slow and plagued by various obstacles not least the lack of capacity at the local level as well as political will to do incremental in situ informal settlement upgrade for poor on what is often well relocated land. It is necessary to follow required steps in upgrading of informal settlements. According to the Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme (UISP), which is a programme created on the basis of the new Comprehensive Housing Plan; the upgrading should be carried out through four phases: 1) Application process,

¹³ A new name for a housing waiting list

¹⁴ A network for civil society organisation advocating a pro-poor approach access that emphasizes incremental, development and socio-economic right institute of S.A. (SERI)

2) Project initiation, 3) Project implementation and 4) Housing consolidation (Mcgregor, et al., 2007).

2. 9 Community-based Organizations in Informal Settlements

Community-based Organizations (CBOs) are an important element in this present study, where one of the objectives is to highlight the importance of their role, in the lives of informal settlement dwellers, particularly in Barcelona 1. “Local governments’ stability and performance are both improved when CBOs provide access and information to citizens and when they help bring communities’ social capital to bear upon local projects” (Goss, 2001:44). Different organizations will each have a different focus, but the aim will be similar, to help in the upliftment of the community in order to bring change. “CBOs are categorized through different sectors, which focus on coping and survival, income generation, service delivery, governance, advocacy and culture, youth and sport” (CCS Grant Report, 2004: 59). In terms of coping / survival, CBOs deal with life realities such as food security, sickness and HIV/AIDS or other health care and awareness groups (Galvin, 2004). The issues that CBOs focus on are critical in informal settlements world-wide.

Community-based Organisations have been credited with the ability to successfully engage communities in activities which have contributed in tangible ways to improving their living conditions through infrastructure improvement, capacity building and institution strengthening (Grant, 2000). Stokvels, as one focus of CBOs, have begun to operate a parallel savings structure to meet children’s education costs. This shows that people have experienced stokvels as useful enough to extend the model to other areas of their lives where they struggle (Galvin, 2004).

CBOs cannot function independently; support is needed from other sectors, especially the government. They also need to work closely with the councillors and committee members, as they are the ones who are close to the communities. In some cases, the relationship between the ward committees

and the CBO are very tense, as the ward committee seems to duplicate what is supposed to be delivered by the CBO (CCS Grant Report, 2004:65). The report also records that members of the CBO argue that, the ward committee members are supposed to work hand in hand with the CBOs – the purpose being to provide a range of skills and organizational expertise on which the community can draw to build the capacity of individuals within those structures. The CBO is supposed to facilitate development and the councillor is supposed to monitor it (CCS Grant Report, 2004).

- i) The Clare Estate Drop In-Centre (CEDIC) is one CBO operating** in eThekweni Municipality, a community-based project, supported by CHOSA that has been helpful to the informal settlement in Kennedy Road, in Durban, South Africa. Its mission is to identify and support community-based organisations that reach out and take care of orphans and vulnerable children in South Africa. This organisation is the only organisation in the area providing much needed and essential services to orphan and other vulnerable children (Sacks, 2009).

2. 9.1 CBO Case Studies in South Africa.

i) Ntuthukoville Case 1

Community-based organisation become active participants in the development process at the local level and have struggled to assert themselves in relation to outside organisations including NGOs and local government (Galvin, 2004). Municipalities were involved in Municipal Community Participation in 1994 in KwaZulu-Natal. CBOs based in Ntuthukoville, a shack settlement, and the Built Environment Support Group (BESG), an urban development NGO, entered into a community maintenance partnership. The CBO was a trust that had been established in 1994 to plan and manage a municipal upgrade project to bring services (electricity and water) to Ntuthukoville. Since little was done to improve housing once the upgrade was complete, the trust advocated for additional services and housing improvement. Thus arose the idea of a partnership in which the

community would provide maintenance services for itself under contact with the municipality (Butterfield, 2009).

Ritz Jogiati (BESG) pointed out that what we have developed is a programme whereby the communities themselves provide the services in partnership with municipalities. Not only have we created jobs but also we are able to deliver these services at a much lower cost than municipalities without privatizing services (Krone, et al. 2002). BESG provided training, and cajoled municipal leaders to support and extend the project and mediated disputes amongst informal settlement dwellers. A staff of seven unemployed community residents was hired and trained. It has been stated that over the following two years from 1994, storm drains and ditches were cleared to reduce flash flooding, sports grounds and the community hall were cleaned, cleared, and improved and road verges were kept mowed and litter-free. Once cleared of rubbish, residents demonstrated commitment to keeping the community clean by discontinuing dumping and littering, and policing against outsiders who did the same (Butterfield, 2009).

Further, the CBOs' achievements were that, the project provided the community with services on sites, such as toilets, water, etc. The community benefited whilst the project was being implemented as the workforce was employed from the community. About 70 unskilled jobs were created, 46 people received training in building skills, and employment opportunities were created for approximately 6 community members as part of the support staff for the mutual help projects (Xakaza, 1999).

ii) Case Study Number 2

Alfred Nzo District Municipality (Umzimvubu and Umzimkhulu local municipalities)

Alfred Nzo is one of the poorest and least-capacitated district municipalities in South Africa (De la Harpe, 2003). The institutional model that Alfred Nzo district municipality has developed for its rural areas consists of community-based organisations that are supported by support services agents (SSA's)

(Butterfield, 2009). An operation plan was developed known as the Village Level Action Plan (VLAP), for all rural schemes in which CBOs perform all service provision tasks (Illing, et al., 2004).

In the two local municipalities, Umzimvubu and Umzimkhulu, CBOs were created with the assistance (contracted by Alfred Nzo Municipality) of one NGO, Mvula Trust (who played a leading role in articulating the partnership arrangements) and two small private companies. The CBOs became 'water service providers', a legal designation in the legislation. The CBOs selected a board and hired in operators from among their own. The municipality provided initial investment to build each water scheme; indeed through its political process, it decided each year how many and where new schemes were to be built. The arrangement worked well until August 2005 when the municipality decided to renew the contracts with Mvula and its two private-sector counterparts (Butterfield, 2009).

The case addresses the overall South African policy and legislative framework within which community management takes place and the strategy adopted by the Alfred Nzo municipality to ensure sustainable water services within this framework. The case outlines the processes to initiate and establish community-based structures for water services provision as well as arrangements to formalise the status of community-based organisations as water providers (De la Harpe, 2003).

From the literature review, CBOs play an important role in informal settlements. The researcher will attempt to find out if there are any similarities between Barcelona CBOs and Ntuthukoville and Alfred Nzo.

The important of CBOs for water service provision included, work done by local people, immediate source of information for operational reports, customer relations, reduction in vandalism, efficiency of operations, increased job opportunities at a local level, and relatively easy and quick to mobilise. However, the limitations were the lack of specialist technical

services, administrative requirements of an employer (for example, registering with SARS, paying UIF, and compensation). Due to these limitations it would be virtually impossible for a CBO based in rural community without direct access to a fax machine to restore the supply of water within 4 hours. Further, water services authorities need to acknowledge these limitations, as well as the fact that CBO will require varying levels of training in order to fulfil their function (Illing, et al. 2004).

2. 10 International Experiences: Informal Settlement Upgrading

This section presents international experiences with informal settlement upgrading success and failures in dealing with the increase of informal settlements, and how they can inform South African approaches in general and Barcelona 1 in particular. Role of community-based organizations played a role in helping the poor is also included like; Kenya, Brazil, and India, which face similar housing backlogs leading to the growth of informal settlements. Each of these countries has undertaken projects in upgrading of informal settlements.

The shortages of housing and increasing expansion of informal settlements are some of the many challenges that developing countries have to cope with. Approaches to slum upgrading, low-income housing and related infrastructure in developing countries are still evolving (PM Global Infrastructure, 2006). They vary from case to case, depending on a large number of political, institutional, social and economic factors. Some government-supported upgrading schemes have managed to reach a scale that has had a country-wide impact on living conditions of the urban poor (PM Global Infrastructure, 2006). Other countries have also undertaken in-situ upgrading of informal settlements, and South African initiatives can learn from them.

2.10.1 Case Studies:

1) Kenya Informal Settlements Upgrading

Historically, upgrading initiatives in Kenya started in 1929 when an improvement was proposed to the traditional circular forms of grass-thatched housing, greatly influencing the new housing that dominated the peri-urban settlement (Cities without slums 2005). Present-day slum residents have also organized themselves to protect their interests; one such example is the Kisumu Slum Dwellers Association (KSDA) which mobilizes membership in a bid to access housing improvements.

The Kenya government in collaboration with UN-Habitat has set up a programme called the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) to upgrade informal settlements (Government of Kenya, 2005). This programme is successful in that its main objective is to improve the livelihood of people living and working in slums and informal settlements in Kenya's urban areas. This entails promoting, facilitating, and where necessary providing security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation and provision of physical and social infrastructure, including addressing the problems and impacts of HIV/AIDS (Government of Kenya, 2005).

Objectives were drawn from the partnership between the government of Kenya, Nairobi City Council, Cities Alliance and UN-Habitat:

- a) To consolidate, rationalise and institutionalise a broad range of shelter-related policies, including creation of institutions and mechanisms for sustainable funding and development of shelter and related infrastructure.
- b) To implement decentralisation, partnership, consultation, stakeholder participation, leadership and empowerment of beneficiary communities in upgrading projects.
- c) To establish socio-economic and physical conditions prevailing in slums and informal settlement, through relevant mapping in order to set the stage for improvement in land tenure, basic services, livelihood and housing structures.

- d) To establish institutional framework and mechanism for effective implementation of slum upgrading and shelter related programmes.
- e) To develop and implement appropriate service improvement, including design delivery strategies and approaches (IRC, 2008).

The KENSUP programme calls for full engagement and active participation of stakeholders, including ¹⁵Non-Government Organisations, ¹⁶Community-based Organisations, the public and private sectors, and donors (Government of Kenya, 2005). Further, KENSUP supported implementation strategies and of the international development to the HABITAT Agenda through provision of access to basic services, developing and enhancing human capital and creation of environment for citizen participation engagement and empowerment slum dwellers (Government of Kenya, 2005).

Two Kenyan NGOs, the Pamoja Trust and the Urban Poor Federation (Muunganowa Wanavijiji), are working in informal settlements where a high proportion of Kenya's urban population live in Nairobi and several other urban centres (Gemmill et al. 2003). In addition, there are urban poor organizations structured on community-based savings schemes. Slum enumerations undertaken by the federation and house modelling (where communities develop their preferred design for housing) help to build consensus among the inhabitants on upgrading and tenure, and develop community capacity to manage these. This also helps to build a critical mass of communities to engage municipal authorities or national government while building the capacities of its leadership (Gemmill, et al. 2003).

Another local NGO called 'Support for Tropical Initiatives in Poverty Alleviation' (STIPA) contributes to poverty alleviation effort through use and promotion of locally available resources such as providing health services, and giving financial support for small businesses within the poor

¹⁵ NGO's have a broader scope of activities that might assist CBO's and pursue commitments that do not directly benefit NGO members, Alkire, et al. (undated)

¹⁶ CBO's aimed at furthering the interests of its own members, Alkire, et al. (undated)

communities (Cities without slums, 2005). STIPA aims at improving the economic and social well-being of the needy communities directly/indirectly. Its overall goal is to offer capacity building for the already existing indigenous initiatives in poverty alleviation among the people (Kenya Community-based Health Financing Association) (KCBHFA), (undated). In addition, it has been noted that, STIPA's local networks can help develop programmes related to livelihood improvement strategies (Cities without slums, 2005:56).

Community-based organizations operate differently in different countries, but they have similar aim, that is to help the poor and to try to bring about positive social change. In Kenya, CBOs helps by contributing labour and money to projects initiated agencies for the capacity to implement local housing and service schemes (Otiso, 2003).

In Kenya, CBO's provide entry points to those institutions that are prepared to work with the communities in slum areas. They provide avenues to mobilise the population, since many in the community are registered members of one or another of those CBOs. They also provide a nucleus that can be used to build Community Planning Units as part of the upgrading project, since they tend to be area-specific including in terms of membership (Cities without slums, 2005).

Another success is that one of the projects has been that more youth have been trained in building and construction. This initiation has helped them to send scores of young people to train as electricians and plumbers in different training schools such as Don Bosco Catholic training facility (Jagero, 2009).

2.10.2 Case Study 2 - Brazil

In Brazil, there were attempts to deal with squatter settlements even before their rapid growth in the 1940s (Osorio, 2007). The Brazilian government from the 1950s to the 1980s concentrated on providing housing units and stimulating the construction sector. The lack of available land forces thousands of Brazilians into urban areas, where many of them live in

cardboard or tin shacks in the slums known as *favela* or *villas*” (Osorio, 2007). By the mid 1980s, political parties, the church and urban social movements had started a drive to force changes to Brazil’s housing policies. These policies brought the urban poor to the centre of housing policy development (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006).

In 1987, a housing concept was introduced in Brazil known as *mutirao*, a form of aided mutual help in which organized communities also played an important role in the management of the housing process. It was based on direct and collective participation of the urban poor in the building/management of low-income housing construction. A public loan is then made available for the purchase of the building materials with reasonable repayment terms. Communities provide labour and coordinate the purchase of the building material (Huchzermeyer, 2004).

Over the past 20 years, from the year 1988, there have been attempts in the city of Sao Paulo to address the housing problem through the principle of social inclusion. The programs for squatter and slum upgrading went beyond housing issues to embrace a wider goal of ensuring citizenship rights (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006). This general policy trend was one of the factors that led the residents of *favelas* to feel safe enough to upgrade their own housing conditions. The government also started construction on low cost housing with the cooperation of the *favelas* dwellers (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006).

The evolution of policies in Brazil has reflected the changes of conceptualization in the relation between physical improvement and quality of life. Policies moved away from eradication of slums and displacement towards legalization of tenure and upgrading (Frediani, undated). Policies in Brazil were aimed at squatter-upgrading intervention, which focuses on re-urbanising the squatter settlements and integrating them into the formal city. In 1988, the new Brazilian constitution opened up possibilities “to resolve a range of problems stemming from social inequality in cities, particularly by

recognizing the right of the citizens to participate in formulating and implementing public policy and to promote public control of the state” (Osorio, 2007:8).

According to the national housing policy, the problem of lack of housing in Brazil has various dimensions. Thus, if public policies are to be efficient, they should be drawn up bearing in mind not only the lack of housing and land, but also the necessity to improve the existing structures and to guarantee access to adequate sanitary and environmental conditions, Osorio (2007) argues that, to improve the housing quality, attempts have been made to develop policies of title regularization capable of satisfying the demands of those living in informal settlements, together with improvement programmes for those living in settlements where infrastructure is still lacking.

There have been successes and failures in upgrading of informal settlements in Brazil. The success has been that policies moved from eviction to multidimensional upgrading intervention in squatter settlements. This shift has been motivated more by economic and political factors than a change in ideology (Frediani, undated). However, housing finance failed to promote democratic access to land because the credits offered benefited almost exclusively the middle and upper classes. In addition the public housing built by the government for the poor was too expensive and of poor quality (Osorio, 2007).

In 1993, a conservative party which had been voted into municipal administration in Sao Paulo halted all in-situ upgrading projects of the previous administration and developed the Cingapura Programme. Residents were moved into controlled temporary housing on the same land; the favela was demolished and replaced by high rise blocks of flats into which favela residents were to move (Huchzermeyer, 2004).

2.10.3 Case study 3 - India

India has had a long history of informal settlements and slums upgrading. It has also had a long experience with different types of networks to assist these communities. In the early 1990s the idea proposed by Himanshu Parik of mobilizing slum dwellers in Indore for environmental upliftment had good results. Parik argued that, current programs that spread their resources too thinly over a large slum population impose solutions which are inappropriate and have failed. Instead, he promoted the concept of “slum networking”, involving the mobilization of slum dwellers across different slums to improve their own environment, particularly for water supply and sanitation (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006).

Parik believed that the slum problem had to be addressed in the entire city and not in isolation, and had to be accompanied by the financial involvement of the slum dwellers in the project to ensure commitment and promoted the provision of medical, educational, recreational, social and cultural facilities through an integrated Community Development Programme (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006). The communities were contracted by the government to implement, manage and evaluate infrastructure projects, placing at the centre of planning and implementation of works which can trigger wider social, economic and environment benefits (Payne, 2001).

In India, community-based organizations can be defined as organizations formed by members of a low-income community, most of whom offer their services voluntarily (Sen, 1998). Sen further states that the policy encourages local governments to involve NGOs and CBOs in planning, organizing, implementing and maintaining urban services. NGOs are fully supported in their efforts to organize CBOs to upgrade shelter, increase employment and provide basic services for the poor.

Rotating Servicing of Informal Settlement (ROSCA) is one of the NGOs that focus on financial self-help organizations in which participants pool regular contributions which will be given, in whole or part to each participant in turn.

The collateral savings can be deposited with a bank, where loans for individuals or groups can be arranged. This enables them to have a direct link between the financial institution and the slum dwellers (Smets, undated).

Another NGO, the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), supports the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) and Mahila Milan (MM), two CBOs which organize hundreds of slum and pavement dwellers to address issues related to urban poverty and collectively produce solutions for affordable housing and sanitation (SPARC, 2004). These CBOs also focus on improving housing and living conditions and basic service provision and supporting savings groups that are reaching hundreds of thousands of low-income dwellers. This alliance has shown how work in many different areas can contribute to poverty reduction through interventions such as community-based and community-managed savings and credit groups, house construction, and the development of community-managed resettlement programmes; but to do so, they have to be based on what low-income groups and their organizations can do for themselves (Gemmil et al., 2003).

In the informal settlement upgrading programme in the city of Visakhapatnam in India, 170 settlements with a total population of 200 000 were upgraded. The main interventions were improvements in physical infrastructure, like water, drains, latrines, paved roads, and community halls, together with educational and other initiatives including pre-school and adult literacy centres, primary health care, and economic development. It was found that the improvements in physical infrastructure had a significant impact on poverty alleviation, for example, reduction of flooding, making roads passable, reduction of the burden of collecting water, enhanced use outdoor spaces with street lighting, all resulted in a major improvement in quality of life (DAG, 2003).

2. 11 South Africa's Informal Settlement Upgrading Experience

Since the end of apartheid, South Africa has undergone upgrading of informal settlements as part of the new strategy under 'Breaking New Ground'. The introduction of the 'Breaking New Ground' framework in 2004 resulted in the first Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme (UISP), providing a platform to initiate upgrading projects which do not require project-linked housing subsidy finance (DAG, 2007). Since the introduction of the programme, government has focused on an approach aimed at eradicating informality, either through evictions or highly technocratic and often market-driven infrastructure development upgrading programmes (Huchzermeyer, 2004). There are upgrading projects which have been put in place and some are still under construction.

2.11.1 Emergency Servicing Informal Settlement (ESIS) Project (Cape Town)

There have been a number of projects in the upgrading of informal settlements in South Africa. One such is the Emergency Servicing Informal Settlement (ESIS) Project in Cape Town, which is the first phase of the three-phase incremental upgrading plan outlined in the City Framework for Upgrading Informal Settlements (Graham, 2005).

ESIS Project aimed at providing basic services (water, sanitation and refuse removal) to all informal settlements within the city. However, development priorities of residents differ in the various upgrading projects. Some, for instance, urgently need proper houses while others need electricity and water more than they need roofs. Upgradeable' settlements would receive full services and tenure in the second phase and formal housing in the third phase (Graham, 2005).

2.11.2 Emergency Servicing Informal Settlement Successes

One area of success in the ESIS Project has been the City of Cape Town's approach to community engagement and governance in informal settlement interventions. "Community participation plays a big role in community

engagement, where they manage the project and gain experience from the project. Community participation is accepted by all stakeholders as a necessary component of any settlement intervention but what form it should take in practice is highly contested” (Graham, 2005: 35).

The nature of in-situ upgrading means that it cannot be externally designed and it requires extensive negotiation and participation with the settlement residents (Graham, 2005). The City of Cape Town has typically taken a guarded, managed approach to community engagement. In the planning phases of the ESIS Project consultation sessions were held with ward councillors and community leaders to generate cooperation for the project, but feedback from these sessions did not seem to have any real effect in the project execution (DAG 2005).

Community participation is an important approach, which involves participation from the beginning up until the end of a project, as it has been applied in the case of Cape Town. A carefully designed and managed community participation/consultation process is thus seen as a means of gaining the necessary cooperation from residents, while at the same time ensuring that the City’s interests are protected (Graham, 2005). Furthermore, community participation in ESIS project was used as one of the mechanisms to empower the community. Huchzermeyer, et al. also notes that, “Community participation should be viewed as a mobilizing and empowerment tool that capacitates the communities in self-management of the development of the project” (2006: 44).

2.11.3 Emergency Servicing of Informal Settlement (ESIS) Failures

One of the failures faced by the City of Cape Town in the ESIS Project was the lack of additional land, community politics, bureaucratic red tape, and difficulties accessing finance and resources by the ESIS Project. Both state and non-state stakeholders consider the lack of available land, relocation, and the construction of new housing to be one of most critical issues for informal settlement intervention in Cape Town (Huchzermeyer, 2004).

Further, the constraint labelled by officials as “community politics” refers to disagreements between the City and the community leaders over levels of service and location of services, alleged by residents to be the result of a lack of consultation (Huchzermeyer, 2004). A striking feature of the ESIS Project was how many disruptions were caused by disputes over opportunities and payment for casual employment of settlement residents during the installation of services. In addition, the City acknowledges that lack of data and knowledge around livelihoods strategies, incomes and affordability levels in informal settlements affects the appropriateness and sustainability of their interventions (Graham, 2005). The project aimed to address these issues through socio-economic surveys in upcoming upgrading projects (DAG, 2003).

Another failure was that the ESIS Project was slow to start because Development Support had to establish a new project office to cope with the scale of the project and the servicing deadline (Graham, 2005). The City has now in 2007 allocated 21% of the current capital budget to informal settlement upgrading, and the restructuring of the housing subsidy system would suggest that a dramatically increased source of funding is available for future upgrading (DAG, 2007).

Officials remained concerned that the financial support for upgrading was strongly linked to the continued political support for upgrading, which may disappear at any time (Huchzermeyer, et al., 2006). A common criticism of Cape Town’s informal settlement intervention, and much of the reason for its ad hoc nature, was that there is no strategic, guiding policy, both in terms of the objectives of upgrading and the location of new permanent settlements. Consultation or participation was not extended to the implementation of the project (DAG, 2003). The chief obstacles in the ESIS project were difficulty in finding available land, community politics, finances, and late starting of the project.

2.12 Temporary Relocation Area (TRA): A Case of Langa and Delft (Cape Town)

Temporary Relocation introduces the N2 Gateway housing development as a pilot project of 'Breaking New Ground': A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements, approved by South Africa's Cabinet in September 2004. The N2 Gateway project aimed at providing a mix of higher-density subsidised rental housing units, subsidised full-ownership or 'BNG' houses, and credit-linked 'bond houses'. The project, aimed at reducing the massive housing backlog in Cape Town, began as a joint initiative of the three tiers of government – the National Department of Housing, the Western Cape Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing and the City of Cape Town (COHRE, 2009).

During 2005, a new term came into use in the South African housing sector, namely the 'temporary relocation area' (TRA). TRAs were part of a strategy to provide temporary housing for residents who needed to be temporarily relocated so that new housing development could commence. The TRAs consist of large numbers of houses closely packed together. The TRAs differ from typical RDP housing projects in that the houses are smaller (24 m², as opposed to the minimum RDP house size of 30m²) and are prefabricated, there are no individual plots or individual title, and there is a lower level of service (DAG, 2007).

The TRA's were constructed for families waiting upon the completion of their N2 Gateway houses by the provincial government and its partner company Thubelisha. Though the TRAs were built as 'temporary structures', many residents have lived there for three years with no indication from Thubelisha or provincial government about when or where they will be moved (Chance, 2008).

2.12.1 Langa

The Langa site required a lot of work before it could be used, including repairs to the sewerage and water pumping stations. The development in Langa was

delayed by drainage problems and the fact that it was a very wet winter. On 3 April and 4 April 2005, 99 households were relocated from Tent City to the temporary houses at the nearby Langa TRA. Together with the temporary houses, the first batch of people also received a bulk bed, food parcel clothing and starter kit, paid for from the Mayoral fund.

In most cases, poor people end up not getting their houses because of corruption. The houses are given to people who have money. After initial allegations of irregularities in the allocation of houses in the Langa TRA, steps were taken to ensure that only the most 'vulnerable' households were allocated the houses in the Langa TRA: for example, the aged and households with people requiring regular medical treatment at a clinic in Langa (DAG, 2007).

2.12.2 Delft

The Joe Slovo informal settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town was required to relocate 15km away to a temporary relocation area in Delft. According to provincial and local government, their relocation was required to facilitate the upgrading and building of formal housing as part of the N2 Gateway Project, (Liebenberg, 2009). A delivery rate of up to 60 units per day was achieved in the Delft TRA, which was considered faster than the delivery of the houses in Langa TRA. Families were moved in as soon as units were completed from June 2005 onwards. Initially 2000 units were developed in three phases for the people displaced by the Joe Slovo fire (DAG, 2007).

In the case of Joe Slovo, the decision was that in situ upgrading was not feasible and the community should accordingly be relocated to Delft. An initial commitment that 70% of those relocated would be able to return to low-income houses in Joe Slovo morphed over time into a diffuse undertaking to apply 'objective criteria' in allocating the housing units in Joe Slovo to be relocated community (Liebenberg, 2009).

In February 2005, Thubelisha Homes¹⁷ were appointed as the project manager and implementing agent on the N2 Gateway project. Thubelisha Homes took over the responsibility of establishing new TRA in Delft Phase Four and which was subsequently developed to accommodate households being moved from Joe Slovo to accommodate for further upgrading of the settlement (DAG, 2007).

The ongoing operation in 2006 of the TRA's (Phase one to four) has been problematic especially in Thubelisha, where there has been conflict between Thubelisha Homes and the City of Cape Town about the funding of service provision, resulting in problem such as the ablution blocks not being cleaned because there is no money to pay the cleaners (DAG, 2007).

The negative sides of relocation for residents were that people were not happy about the relocation as most of them feared that the relocation to Delft would destroy their already fragile livelihood and communal networks, and that they would lack access to schools, transport and other facilities on which they depended in the Joe Slovo settlement (Liebenberg, 2009).

Short-term bus services were provided for the residents of the Delft temporary relocation area. Initially only children were transported to school; later a bus service for adults was also introduced, but discontinued on 13 August 2005 (DAG, 2007). There was also unhappiness expressed by people living in backyard shacks in Delft about the provision of temporary housing for people from Joe Slovo, and 148 units in Tsunami were illegally occupied by people from Delft. The future of the residents of the Delft TRA is uncertain. It is intended that most households will eventually be allocated permanent houses in Delft, although the timeframes are not clear.

From the findings it was reported that the majority of households (68%) were unhappy about moving to Delft TRA. Lack of access to a range of affordable public transport was the main reason why people were unhappy about the move to Delft. One respondent summed up: *"Delft is far away from work*

¹⁷Thubelisha is one of the housing institution

opportunities and transport is very scarce". Another commented that *"here there is no choice in terms of mode of transport, we are forced to use taxis, and there are no trains*. And another respondent said *"in Langa I was staying next to the train station and here taxis and buses are expensive"* (DAG, 2007: 24).

DAG 2007 also mentioned that another reason for not being happy about the move to Delft was because people had lived in Langa for a long time and had social networks there and worried about moving to a new area. One responded said: *"All my family are staying in Langa and coming to a new place not knowing anyone, was very difficult"*. Therefore, it is important to involve the community in participation as it will allow them to make an input in decision-making. "Households directly affected by the relocation from Joe Slovo to Delft were not involved in the decision-making process about their relocation and the nature of temporary accommodation that was provided" (DAG, 2007). This is one of the main problems that the residents are faced with; they also need to be included in decision making.

Community leaders felt that there had been no real participation; people were mainly just told what had been decided for them. The lack of involvement by residents in decision making resulted in inappropriate choices about the location of the settlement and the type of housing to be provided. This created immense dissatisfaction and a sense of dependency in which affected households are just waiting for their 'brick houses' to be provided (DAG, 2007).

In addition, the link between temporary relocation area and in-situ upgrading is that both are forms of housing development for people in informal settlements. They differ in that with TRAs people are accommodated in Greenfield areas where they find difficulties in access to their workplace, and their social and economic networks are being broken. In in-situ, it is only a minimum disruption and the majority remain on site while their shacks are upgraded. In-situ upgrading process is the chosen process for this study as it will lead to more successful betterment of Barcelona 1 informal settlement,

compared to other areas like Langa and Delft (Cape Town) where TRAs have been unsuccessful (DAG, 2007).

2.13 Ethekwini Municipality's Informal Settlements Upgrading

In-situ upgrading of informal settlements, a new strategy, gave municipalities the power to secure “the provision of land, municipal services infrastructure and social amenities” (Department of Housing, 2004: 4). The programme sets out to achieve security of tenure, health and safety and the development of social capital. There are an estimated 195,000 informal dwellings in the eThekweni municipal area, excluding the newly-incorporated rural areas (Makhathini, et al. 2003).

In addition, an audit, assessment and evaluation of all 554 informal settlements were undertaken. Informal settlement were then categorised in one or another of essentially three intervention categories, depending upon whether subsidies had already been approved for the project and whether the land was developed. For full in-situ upgrade (99 settlements with 74,400 dwellings): the provision of full level of infrastructure, formal top structures and individual ownership, using project-linked subsidies. It has been estimated that 30% of these households will need to be relocated due to the need to density overcrowded settlements (Makhathini, et al. 2003).

2.13.1 The Case of Zilweleni In-situ upgrading

The ¹⁸Zilweleni Residence Association (ZRA) was formed in 1989 by a small community of 84 tenant households in the area of Desai in Southern Pinetown to protect themselves against eviction by the landowners. In 1990 the ZRA approached an NGO called the Built Environment Support Group (BESG) with a request for assistance in negotiating the buying of the land in upgrading the settlement (BESG, 1998). The community felt it could be better if it formed its own trust to oversee development in the area, which became known as Zilweleni Development Trust (ZDT), consisting of five community members, to be developers. The objective of the Trust included encouraging

¹⁸Zilweleni means we are struggling

community participation in the upgrading of Zilweleni, providing security of tenure and helping members acquire housing raising funds for the Trust, and managing the funds in accordance with the objectives of the Trust. The trust was also tasked with implementing development in the area (Ndinda, 2007).

The ZDT appointed BESH as the project manager, and the project was implemented in 1994. Community members were involved in many aspects of the project; including security, site pegging, allocations, and toilet construction. Sinqobile Contractors, a partnership of unemployed residents who were trained in basic building skills, was formed to undertake the construction of toilets for the project. A community block yard was established to make concrete blocks for the toilets (and sell to residents in the area who wanted to improve their housing) (BESH, 1998).

Community-based surveyors were used to meet with groups of neighbouring households to decide where plot boundaries should go. The community as a whole decided where the roads should go. This necessitated a few people having to move the ZDT provided those people with small loans to enable them to rebuild new houses (BESH, 1998).

Although plot sizes and shapes are irregular, the overall living environment created was much better than most new housing projects, as investment in existing housing was preserved, existing vegetation was maintained, and existing social and economic networks were not disrupted. The granting of secure tenure and the provision of basic services resulted in building boom in Zilweleni, as households saved up money and began upgrading their housing by adding on concrete-block extensions or replacing their existing structure with concrete block (BESH, 1998).

Some of the community members who received training on the Zilweleni project went on to long-term careers as builders. The training of a number of community members in building skills and block making also provided great impetus for the consolidation of the area. The provision of secure tenure and

infrastructure, and the capacity building of the community organisation and skills training of members of the community stimulated further development in the area. The ZDT was involved in building a crèche and later a community advice office in Zilweleni. Many of the property owners began to improve their housing, and many concrete block houses were subsequently built, even without any formal support (BESG, 1998).

The Zilweleni project was one of the first instances where a community-based development organisation (CBDO) acted as a developer in South Africa. The project clearly demonstrated the success of the community-based development model for in situ upgrading, and shows how in situ upgrading can result in a much better quality living environment than relocation to a new housing project or a rollover upgrading project would have. The community subsequently named the area ¹⁹Sinqobile (BESG, 1998).

2.14 Chapter Summary

The conclusion can then be drawn that in-situ upgrading of informal settlements can be an effective process, especially when the members of the respective community work together, and support is coupled with a positive attitude. This has been investigated in Sinqobile. The cases reviewed also demonstrated that commitment from government, NGOs and CBOs also plays an important role in upgrading housing development projects. These experiences have informed the study of Barcelona 1.

¹⁹Sinqobile means that we have won.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3. 1 Introduction

According to Rapport conceptual frameworks are neither models nor theories (Rapport, 1985). Rapport argues that the two terms are used in many contradictory ways and suggests that models “describe how things work, whereas theories explain phenomena” (1985:256). It is argued that, conceptual frameworks do not describe how things work nor do they explain a phenomenon, rather, they help to think about phenomena, to order material, revealing patterns, and pattern recognition typically leads to models and theories (Sheuya, 2004). The theoretical framework for this study is based on the following approaches: Sustainable Livelihood Approach, Development Approach, Community Participation Approach, Integrated Approach and Enabling Approach, as a way of bringing the way forward in bettering poor people lives in informal settlements.

3. 2 Conceptual Definitions

a) Informal settlement

The common expressions for these are *slums*, *shanty towns* and *squatter settlements*, but the most appropriate concept is *informal settlements*²⁰. UN Habitat Program (2003) has defined informal settlements as follows:

- i) Residential areas where a group of housing units have been constructed on land to which the occupants have no legal claim.
- ii) Unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorised housing) (World Health Organisation, 2008).

According to eThekweni Municipality informal settlement, structures which are made of rudimentary materials (wood, cardboard, metal sheets, mud, etc.) without any building approved, often on land that has been illegally occupied. Services are very basic or not available at all (Eighty20, 2011). Therefore this research has adopted eThekweni municipality definition, as Barcelona 1

²⁰Ackelman, et al. (2008)

informal settlement characteristics match the definition, it is comprised of rudimentary materials and they do not have enough basic services.

b) In-situ upgrading

In-situ is Latin and means in the “place” in English it is often spoken of as “on-site”. In-situ upgrading means upgrading an existing informal settlement with as little relocation of the residents as possible (Ackelman et al., 2008). The City of Cape Town describes in-situ upgrading as the opposite of Greenfield or roll-over projects (City of Cape Town, 2006). That means Barcelona 1 will be residing in their houses, whilst the building project is implemented, this will allow them to continue live a normal lifestyle they are used to, than to put them in far areas where they cannot reach resources easily. Another important part is the fact that they have created strategies, it will then cost them a lot to adopt new environment.

c) Adequate housing

UN-Habitat (2002) defined adequate housing as more than a roof over one’s head. It also means adequate privacy, adequate space, adequate physical accessibility, adequate lighting, heating, and ventilation, basic services such as water-supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities, suitable environment quality and health related factors and accessible location with regard to work all of which should be available at an affordable cost. This is supported by section 26 (1) of the constitution, which states that, everyone has the right to have adequate housing (Republic of South Africa Constitution, 1997). Barcelona 1 residents need to be provided with adequate houses with basic services, the services should be part of in-situ upgrading, and currently they do not have access to basic services.

According to Human Rights Education Associates (2009): human rights to adequate housing are the right of every woman, man, youth and child to acquire and sustain a secure home and community in which to live in peace and dignity. The rights to housing is codified as a human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, therefore it seems like Barcelona 1

case is not considered as part of South African rights to housing as people are still living in bad conditions.

d) Greenfield development

A Greenfield development is when an underdeveloped area is taken under possession and is being built as a residential area (Ackelman, et al. 2008). On the other hand Greenfield development happens where informal settlement residents are relocated to Greenfield areas while their sites are developed (Huchzermeyer, 2006). Further in Barcelona 1, Greenfield development will not be a viable strategy, as it will bring more stress to the residents, because they will have to stay in far areas from their workplace, schools and other resources. The means of making money, like informal sector will be disturbed and that might cause their small businesses to collapse, therefore relocation to Greenfield areas is not a viable strategy for Barcelona 1.

Theoretical Framework

3.3 Sustainable Livelihood Approach

Sustainable livelihood is a livelihood that comprises of people, their capabilities and their means of living food, income and asserts. Tangible assets are resources, stores and intangible assets are claim and access. A livelihood is environmentally sustainable when it maintains the local and global asserts in which livelihood depend, Chambers and Conway (1991). Barcelona 1 residents are experiencing stress, shocks from bad conditions they live under, and the only way to survive these will be through sustainable livelihood approach. Stress and shocks comes in many forms, in Barcelona 1 people experience shocks caused by fire hazardous, heavy rains and winds, therefore sustainable livelihood approach will be a viable option for Barcelona 1, to be able to deal with stress and shocks.

Sustainable Livelihood approach aims to identify and develop the assets, strategies and strengths of poor groups across all sectors in order to meet the livelihood goals of the community users (Farrington, 2001). This study will attempt to establish how Barcelona I informal settlement dwellers have

created their ways of getting resources. The central element in the study of livelihood lies in understanding people or households, the multiple strategies they adopt in order to obtain or create assets, Sanderson (2000:96-7). What gets in their way whilst searching for them, what they do with the assets, and who controls the resources on which assets are based? (Sheuya, 2004). Sustainable Livelihood (SL) approach starts by looking at households and how they use their resources to make a living. Poor families have their own ways adapted for hunger survival. This study will attempt to establish how Barcelona 1 informal settlement sustains their livelihood.

This approach is relevant to the case study of Barcelona 1 informal settlement as the poor residents are facing bad living conditions while they are trying to deal with poverty and unemployment. Poor communities like Barcelona 1, need support when they are dealing with harsh living conditions. Von Kokze (2008) postulates that to cope and to make the livelihood sustainable requires the creation and maintenance of systems of support and a power base for wielding influence in order to affect policy channels.

Lessons from other countries that have used Sustainable Livelihood approach in dealing with issues of poverty and harsh living conditions in informal settlements are relevant to the South African situation. For instance, in Laos, UN-Habitat have created an approach through strengthen the capacity of provincial-national policy dialogue and decision making on sustainable livelihood issues (JSLP, 2008).

Sheuya sees Sustainable Livelihood approach as recognizing that households have a range of strategies on which they can base their livelihoods. These strategies depend on the different assets available to them, which in turn are determined by the broad economic, social, and political context existing at that particular time. In this way, sustainable livelihood approach avoids the temptation of treating employment creation as the most appropriate strategy for poverty reduction. While employment creation is indeed important, it is not the only source of income as there are sources like skills development (Sheuya, 2004). "Households anywhere in the world come in different shapes

and have access to a variety of resources or assets including, Human Capital, Social Capital, Natural Capital, Physical Capital, and Financial Capital”
<http://www.aldsa.org/resources/livelihoods.html>

Human capital has been identified as the most important asset for poor people. It includes the number of household members available to work in income generating activities, their education levels, the skills they have acquired and their health statuses (Sheuya, 2004). A number of authors postulate that informal settlers have chosen to stay where they are because they want to be near resources, such as schools and their workplace, and to sustain their informal sector. Relocation, on the other hand, may cause breaking of social networks that lead to increase poverty level. “Households possessing insufficient human capital may rely heavily on social networks for survival and maintenance which aid access to productive assets, diversification of income sources and increased income levels” (Chant, 1997: 35).

Social networks in the community are an important factor as they build up trust within the community. This is relevant to Barcelona 1 residents as they depend on social networks as part of surviving mechanisms. They have created networks and they rely in maintaining them. This is one of the main reasons why they cannot afford to be relocated to Greenfield areas. According to Pretty and Ward (2001:211) “the resources that are within social capital are: relations of trust, reciprocity and exchanges, common rules, norms and sanctions, and connectedness, networks and groups” (Sheuya, 2004). One approach used by UN-Habitat in Laos was to improve the livelihood asset based on vulnerable target populations and enhance their resilience to shocks, through the provision of an integrated inter-agency livelihood support programme (JSLP, 2008).

Social capital may be as important as human capital for the successful adaptation of income-earning activities (Parashar et al., undated, accessed 12 July 2008). Woolcock (2002:23) uses the terms “binding and bridging” and

“linkages” to describe the horizontal and vertical relationships respectively. The former refers to relations between family members, close friends and neighbours who are in many ways similar, and the latter to relations with distant friends or colleagues. Linkages are vertical relationships, which people manage to establish with individuals in power, particularly government officials. In this way, the concept of social capital is centred on networks within, between, and beyond communities. In going beyond communities, it can bring to the fore front the role of the government in community development. It appears that social capital is currently making a comeback in economic development (Sheuya, 2004).

Physical capital includes housing, water, energy, and transport. For poor urban households the most important thing is often housing because besides providing shelter, it can be used for productive purposes such as renting rooms and reproductive uses (Moser, 1998:10). Physical capital also includes production equipments that enable people to pursue their livelihoods (Sheuya, 2004).

Financial capital represents the resources available to households, including pensions, remittances, savings, and credit. This also embraces ways in which to save money: opening a bank account, for example, is no longer just an option for the rich with the availability of accounts, such as the Mzansi account, which is designed for low-income and unemployed people. This can bring benefits to people living in informal settlements, who are dreaming of having secure houses with access to basic services. Poor people usually engage themselves in money savings, which plays a role in uplifting one another (Moser, 1998). Barcelona 1 residents have experienced these opportunities, when bank representatives visit the area, they also benefit in accessing these resources as they are part of the community.

Natural capital on the other hand includes land, water and other ‘common pool’ environmental resources. In relation to land issues in informal settlements (Sheuya, 2004) it is common knowledge that informal settlers

build on land that does not have basic services like water. This is very important, as informal settlements like Barcelona 1 deserve to get land titles as part of upgrading of informal settlements, because they cannot upgrade their houses without securing of tenure (Huchzermeyer, 2004).

Sustainable livelihood approach has been used at Mdudwa village at Xopozo area, under the Ingquza Local Municipality. People at Mdudwa depend on a diverse range of livelihood strategies, including state pensions, farming livestock, formal and informal employment and hawking, Ntshona, et. al (2003). Barcelona 1 settlers can adopt same strategies in overcoming stress and poverty. At the moment Barcelona 1 residents survive by various pension grants, formal and informal employment. They need to extend on these strategies and do things, such as farming and sewing, which can help them in accessing healthy food as a means of sustaining their livelihood strategies that already exist. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, and maintain its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resources base (DFID, 1999). It appears that informal settlements worldwide can cope with stress and shocks. Carnie (1998) postulates that the sustainable livelihood framework is used as the basis for gaining an understanding of the benefits of locality on the ability of households to survive and achieve a better quality of life. It uses the idea of 'asset portfolios', which are sets of physical objects, relationships and abilities that are able to provide a household with coping mechanisms. Table 1 below identifies sustainable livelihood benefits indicators used by the researcher in this study.

Table 1: Example of sustainable livelihood benefits indicators used for this study

Type of Capital	Examples of indicators
Physical Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permanence of housing structure • Overcrowding • Access to basic services: (water, electricity and sanitation) • Access to socio-economic facilities
Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional functionality & effectiveness • Access to informal networks
Natural Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of land and ownership (land titles) • Availability of water for growing vegetables • Proportion of households burning
Human Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational & skills level • Proportion of households who are in need for food assistance (food security)
Financial Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household disposable income • Regular inflows of money

Source: Venter, et al., (2006)

3.4 Developmental Approach

According to Chinemana (1992:4), development entails seeing progress in the lifestyle of people. It is the upward movement of an entire social system, which includes both economic and non-economic elements. Development can therefore be interpreted as a long-run, sustained process, involving improvement or progress (Muller, 2004). It is argued that the development approach in an informal settlement plays an important role in changing thinking about the lack of basic services and improves the lives of the poor. According to Gran (1983:20) and Friedman (1992:7), “Development has to begin with the people who know most about their own livelihood systems. The

knowledge and skills of these people have to be valued and, in the process they should be encouraged to develop themselves” (Gran 1983:20 & Friedman 1992:7). This approach looks at development in people’s lives where people move from being unskilled to being skilled as a way of improvement. Moreover poor people need developmental support in their small businesses in order to sustain their enterprises as a viable source of income and help with credit and other kinds of social networks that exist in informal settlements (Gran, et al. 1983). This approach is suitable for Barcelona settlers as some of them own small business to survive and they have challenges in their businesses, some of them don’t have skills in businesses. They need to be taught on how to run a business. Government need to intervene and provide necessary training for small business owners in poor communities, so that their businesses will be sustained.

3.5 Community Participation Approach

Community development is defined as a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world (Biddle and Biddle 1965: 78-9). It involves co-operative study, group decisions, collective action, and joint evaluation that bring together all helping professions and agencies that can assist in problem solving. The main aim of this approach is to improve social, economic, and cultural conditions of communities by means of programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements.

Community participation and commitment are essential for any project to be sustainable. Success in sustainable development projects can also depend on whether or not the objectives of community participation are met (Huchzermeyer, et al.; 2006). Huchzermeyer further postulates that participation is especially important in informal settlement upgrading, where there are already existing communities and significant numbers of vulnerable households whose livelihood strategies may potentially be at risk because of inappropriate interventions.

Poor people need to be empowered since most of them are unemployed, therefore if they are given a chance to participate in upgrading of their settlement, that can give them something to do, an opportunity to do things for themselves. "One of the objectives of community participation is to empower people. This can help people to take control of their destinies by making decisions and having control over resources that affect their lives. One way to encourage communities to make informed decisions is to educate them on issues, for example sustainability. In this way they will be able to attract and manage resources in an efficient way" (Bolnick, et al.; 2004). In Barcelona 1 community participation can be viable strategy since their residents are willing to build their houses when government decide to upgrade for them. This will also give them skills opportunities.

Moreover, when communities have control over resources affecting their lives, it can lead to change in knowledge and skills. In the process, they become self-aware, gain confidence and become self-reliant. Theron (2005: 116-118) postulates that community participation ensures that projects are developed according to the needs of the people. This can improve the outcome of projects through cost sharing, increased efficiency and effectiveness. This approach is very helpful as it enable communities to assess their own situation, organize themselves as a powerful group and work creatively towards changing society and building up a new world. This increases the capacity of individuals, allows communities to mobilize and help themselves, minimizes dependence on the state and creates a bottom-up approach (Midgley et al., 1986:8).

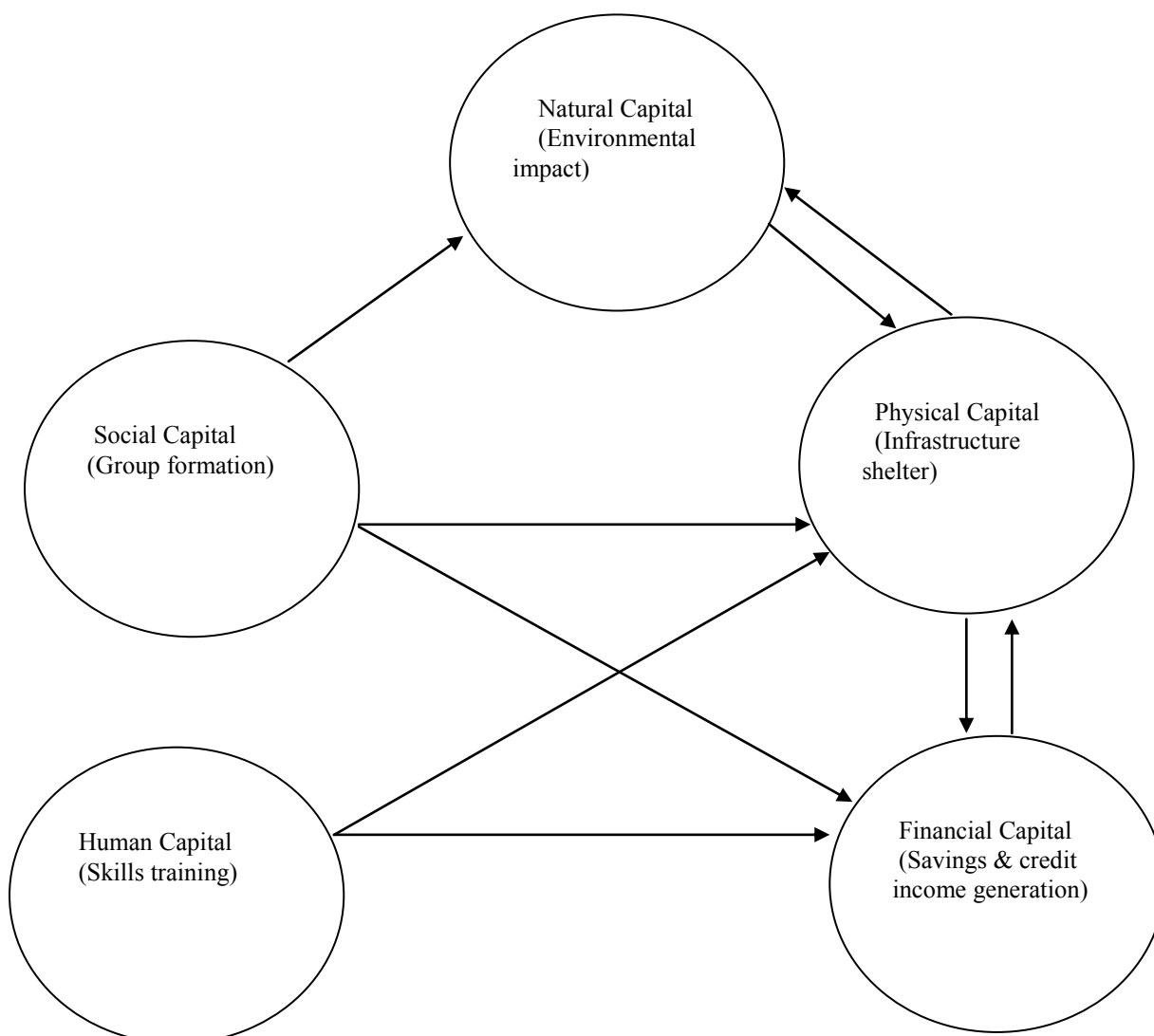
3.6 Integrated Approach

Integrated approach means taking into consideration physical, financial, human and social assets (Majale, undated). In an integrated approach, it is important that facets of poverty are addressed through a multi-faceted strategy that includes strengthening social capital (strengthening community institutions and social networks, such as neighbourhood committees, savings groups and income-generating activity groups) strengthening human capital

(improved health and education), strengthening financial capital (increasing income and access to credit) and strengthening physical capital (access to infrastructure and shelter). Understanding households' existing livelihood strategies, through participatory livelihood assessments, is an important first step towards achieving a more integrated approach to development (Majale, 2003: 119).

On the other hand, integrated approaches in practice means that informal settlement upgrading initiatives need to have a range of complementary programmes that addresses physical, social, and economic development needs, as they have done in India's upgrading programme (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006). The integrated Urban Housing Development Project in Kenya and India are examples of ways in which these linkages can work in practice as shown in the figure below.

Figure 1: An integrated approach to development (Source: Majale, 2003)



This approach could also be useful in informal settlements in South Africa to improve poor people's lives. Integrated urban upgrading programmes in India included the following interventions (Barrett, 2000, Amis 2001; Majale, 2003):

- Physical development: roads, pavements, stormwater drainage, water supply, sanitation, street lighting, solid waste management
- Social/human development: setting up neighbourhood and women's groups, youth activities, forming savings groups, pre-primary education, adults literacy, community health, mother and child care
- Economic development: mobilising community savings, supporting income generating activities through vocational training/skills upgrading and facilitating access of small business to finance and trade.

Moreover, understanding households' existing livelihoods strategies, through participatory livelihoods assessments, is an important first step towards achieving an integrated approach to development. In Freedom Park, for example, DAG 2007 assisted the community in undertaking a livelihood assessment, which was then used as a basis for implementing a range of development initiatives in partnership with other NGOs: for example, a community food garden, a recycling project and a proposed community advice office were established or provided to the community (Huchzermeyer, et al. 2006). It is clear that integration should happen at both level of activities and the level of partners. That is between actors at all levels, from local to national. Both municipal and central government need to be supportive of the integrated approach for it to work (Majale, undated).

Integrated approach is suitable for Barcelona, as it can help them sustain their small businesses through economic development assistant from the government. Residents can also gain through human development where they can learn and support, and uplift each other, as they have different activities; like money savings, educational and health issues. Barcelona residents need government intervention in order to sustain this approach.

3.7 Enabling Approach

Enabling approaches have been understood as advocating that legal, administrative, economic, political, urban stakeholders and financial institutions should facilitate and secure shelter and tenure for the most vulnerable segment of urban dwellers (Sietchiping, 2005). In the 1990s, the enabling approach was implemented through establishing security of tenure with support principally from international agencies, namely UN-Habitat and the World Bank, as a contingent measure to limit the eviction and demolition threat in informal settlement (Sietchiping, 2005).

Enabling approaches look to government to provide basic infrastructure and expect the future residents to add the remaining components of housing needs (UNCHS-Habitat, 1995). It is argued that, rather than providing residents with a complete house, it would be better for government to find a balance in helping squatters whereby they will be expected to contribute. According to this approach the lack of basic infrastructure in informal settlements needs to be addressed. This will impact on sustainability of their informal sector activities: road access, for example, especially when residents go to buy their stock for their small businesses.

Enabling approaches comes with solutions to problems concerning security of tenure. This approach, via its emphasis on security of tenure, also postulates that “the availability of and the accessibility to urban land provide a sense of ‘belonging’ and brings stability to an urban area” (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000: 35). Security of tenure approach derives from the assumption that when the residents have the sense of appropriation, they gain confidence, motivation to invest or upgrade and improve their environment (Sietchiping, 2005).

In addition, if poor people are given a chance to own land they are already using, they will be motivated to improve their homes. As Turner (1994) observes, housing is a social necessity; when housing is left to the people themselves they will improve their houses and live in a sustainable environment, and their socio-economic activities will also improve

(Marcussen, 1990). Marcus further argues that enabling approaches seem to be successful in South Africa as they encourage beneficiaries to improve their houses themselves, more especially in informal settlements. On the other hand, Huchzermeyer, et al. (2006: 119), have argued that “Understanding households’ existing livelihood strategies, through ²¹participatory livelihoods assessments, is an important first step towards achieving a more integrated approach to development”.

Enabling approach can be useful for Barcelona, government need to help poor people, and meets them half-way. Their houses needs to be upgraded, when upgrading is complete settlers can then contribute through paying for electricity and other basic services. Government must also help them with their small businesses, like providing short courses for business management, so that their informal sector can be sustained and residents can support each other.

3. 8 Chapter Summary

This chapter as a whole looks at various mechanisms and approaches that need to operate on housing delivery and experiences from other countries. The failure of housing delivery to address the growing demands of the urban poor in part explains the increase in informality within South Africa. Evidence suggests that as more and more people are drawn to cities in search of a better life and economic opportunities, the trend towards the urbanization of poverty and informality will continue. Therefore, very urgent interventions are needed to address the issue of growing informal settlements. Community-based organizations have been discussed in this chapter, as they play an important role in improving a community’s well-being.

In-situ upgrading is the chosen option in this study as the failures of Greenfield development have been identified in the literature. The case of in-

²¹ Participatory livelihood assessment is an effective method to determine the gaps in existing livelihood strategies conduct a feasibility analysis and arrive at an action plan or strengthen livelihood at the grassroots level, (Power management institute, 2010).

situ upgrading of Barcelona 1 is examined in an attempt to contribute to an understanding of the likely consequences of relocation.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology which was used in the study. It briefly describes the study area and how the data was collected.

4. 2 The study area

Lamontville is one of the oldest of Durban's townships, established in 1934. It is situated approximately 20kms from the Durban city centre, with a total population of 29,879 (Census, 2001). Lamontville consists of five informal settlements: ²²Barcelona 1, Barcelona 2, Joe Slovo, Kwa-Lahlumlenze and Kwa-Gijima (Census, 2001). Barcelona 1 settlement as the chosen settlement in this study is one of the oldest informal settlements in Lamontville.

Ethekwini Municipality started upgrading Barcelona 2, which was established after Barcelona 1. The residents in Barcelona 1 informal settlement were very angry about the decision and asked, 'why did eThekwini Municipality start with Barcelona 2', as it is the newer settlement. During the pre-reconnaissance survey the researcher asked one of the project managers why they started with Barcelona 2 and not 1; she replied that 'the Minister²³ of Housing has chosen Barcelona 2 because it was situated opposite the airport, as it does not look nice for the tourist, especially now that we are approaching 2010 Soccer World Cup' (²⁴PM, 2009).

4.3 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary data were utilised in this research. During primary data different groups of those selected to take part in the study were visited by the researcher. The researcher at this stage had consulted with the community, housing officials and CBOs to obtain their permission; dates for the meeting were confirmed.

²³Mabuyakhulu at the time (2009), before Tokyo Sexwale

²⁴ PM – Project Manager, Mageba Project (2009)

4.4 Secondary Data

Secondary sources of data included books, journal articles, previous dissertations, Government publications, Census and Department of Housing documents, the Internet, conference articles and newspaper article that were relevant to the study. In these sources the focus was on government intervention in informal settlements. Data in regard sources international experiences are also used, with the aim of identifying solutions in dealing with the growing number of informal settlements and upgrading schemes.

4.5 Primary Data Collection

Primary data collection involved the use of various tools such as interviews, questionnaires, and tape recording to obtain information from the respondents. Interviews were held with ²⁵key informants. Permission to use the tape recorder was obtained before the commencement of the interview session with both the Municipal officials and residents.

4.5.1 Key informants:

In-depth interviews were conducted with the following selected informants:

a) The Acting Director of the eThekweni Municipality Housing Department, provided information on housing policy and in-situ upgrading of informal settlements in the municipality.

b) Housing Project Managers from eThekweni Municipality Housing Department, Three project managers were interviewed in this research. Project managers provided useful information on housing projects on both current and previous upgrading projects, in eThekweni Municipality. The names and sites are not presented, to preserve confidentiality. They explained the successes and failures in in-situ upgrading.

c) Barcelona 1 Councillor, The councillors' role within the municipality structure is to report back to the municipality about community needs, such

²⁵Key informants were purposely selected based on their knowledge, expertise and experience into the issue to be investigated.

as waste collection, water, electricity, and to ensure that those needs are fulfilled and that living conditions are in good state. The Barcelona councillor was interviewed with the aim of identifying measures that had been taken in improving coping strategies of the residents. Interviewing the councillor was very important, because she handles community issues and reports them to the municipality and vice-versa.

d) Residents of Barcelona 1, A total of 40 residents of Barcelona 1 were interviewed. They provided information on the current situation and shared their experiences with social networks that exist. Residents interviewed consisted of household members of about 4 to 6 per family, heads of households whether female or male. Residents' response was critical in providing information on views on upgrading vis-à-vis moving to a Greenfield area. Residents were interviewed on the premise that difficulties experienced in living in Barcelona 1 environment can only be expressed fully by residents themselves. They were given an opportunity to state their needs and explain their livelihood strategies. From the data collection, it was estimated that Barcelona 1 consists of about 55% women-headed households, 40% male-headed and 5% child-headed (Researcher, 2009).

4.5.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus groups discussions are an important part of data collection, as they are valuable tools for exploring how points of view are both constructed and expressed (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). Focus groups were particularly suited to this study because they allowed the participants to explain their thoughts in a context related to their personal experiences. The participants provided information on survival strategies adopted and difficulties they faced as a community. There were four focus group discussions; each had ten participants. The focus group members were selected based on the heads of the household. The discussions took about 3 hours for 2 days and were held in Barcelona 1 outside their shacks.

4.5.3 Community-based Organization and Committee Members

participated in focus group discussions. They provided useful information on the steps that are being taken to improve the situation in Barcelona 1, and they shared their experiences that arose while trying to address the provision of basic services. The researcher contacted one CBO ²⁶(Ithemba Lethu Centre) for this study, and there was one committee member that was used in this study.

4.6 Data Collection

The councillor, committee member, housing officials and the residents were contacted to provide useful information on the possibilities to improve living conditions for Barcelona 1 informal settlement. The research process was organised at 3 stages namely:

- a. Pre-reconnaissance – basic information on Barcelona 1 was sourced for secondary and primary
- b. Reconnaissance survey
- c. Sampling procedure – data collection

a) Pre-reconnaissance Stage

A researcher is usually expected to choose techniques that are likely to elicit data needed to gain understanding of the experiences in question, contribute different perspective on the issue, and make effective use of time available for data collection (Glesne, et al. 1992: 24). For this study the researcher contacted the councillor and the committee member, to get permission to conduct the research in the chosen settlement, gather information on the history of Barcelona, and familiarize herself with the study area's residents. The fact that the researcher had personal experience of Lamontville, having previously lived there, was a facilitating factor in her gaining access to the residents.

The committee member was very useful in introducing the researcher to the residents, as the research data collection involves some invasion of privacy.

²⁶Ithemba Lethu Centre – is the only CBO that operates in Barcelona 1

During household survey, the researcher made contacts with the residents. Informed consent was obtained by providing the participants with an explanation of the study. The researcher had to explain the purpose, objectives, and ethics of the study to the committee member. The names of the participants were not recorded, as confidentiality and anonymity was central to the ethical aspects of research.

On the other hand there were problems, such as some people not wanting to participate, saying that they are tired of people making empty promises. The only things they want are houses with water, and electricity. Such persons' views were respected, since participation in the research was voluntary, and the next available household was included in the study.

Three project managers were used in this researcher. During the interviews they provided different useful information as they are dealing with different areas of housing development including upgrading of informal settlements. The names and sites are not presented, to preserve confidentiality.

b) Reconnaissance Stage Survey

A reconnaissance survey was conducted in a preliminary visit: the researcher visited the area to observe the settlement and to identify households²⁷ selected to participate in the survey, with the aim of getting more information through interviews. This was also a preparation for focus group discussions, which followed after the survey. The reconnaissance survey was very useful in this study, because the researcher was able to participate in the survey, and observe the living conditions and general activities undertaken in Lamontville. The researcher was accompanied during this phase of the study by a community leader. Forty residents were randomly selected.

During the reconnaissance survey it was established that Barcelona 1 is situated approximately 4km from the entry to Lamontville. It had 115

²⁷Random sample is selected so that all sample of the same size have an equal chance of being selected, <http://wikipedia.org> (2009)

dwelling units, and 1520 residents between 2006 and 2007 (Barcelona Councillor 2008). In 2010, it is estimated²⁸ that there are 360–380 households, and the population to have increased to 3600²⁹. The Project Manager³⁰ from Mageba projects postulated that the average shack size in Barcelona 1 ranges from 20–35 square meters. Open-ended questions were used in gathering the relevant information on housing conditions. Interviews were carried out in English with the housing officials, and the residents 'household survey and focus group, data collection' was translated to isiZulu by the researcher.

c) Sampling procedure

Sampling procedure was used to collect information on respondents from selected members of the community. Sampling is the act, process of selecting a sample for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Mugo, 2006). In this research, sampling was undertaken with the purpose of drawing samples of population in order to determine their characteristics. In Barcelona 1, a sample size of 40 participants were selected through simple random sampling, so that each unit in the population has an equal chance of being selected (Mugo, 2006). Reconnaissance survey revealed that at times there was more than one family sharing one shack. The researcher randomly chose one head of the household for the interview. The researcher collected activities and the period of the information on employment type infrastructure, income, household members, economic activities and the period the informants had stayed in the settlement. It also recorded their views on in-situ upgrading compared to Greenfield development.

4.7 Observation

Observation was another technique used to collect data. A checklist of issues to be observed was prepared. The researcher sought the following information:

²⁸ Estimation by the eThekweni municipality - Sizakala (field worker: 2010)

²⁹ Estimation by the eThekweni municipality - Sizakala (field worker: 2010)

³⁰ Consultants company

- Living conditions
- Nature of shacks, and material used
- Movement
- Use of space
- Economic activities taking place in the settlement
- General physical condition

4.8 Data Analysis

Bogdan & Biklen (1992:153) defines data analysis as a “process of systematically searching & arranging interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials which were assimilated by the researcher to increase her or his understanding of the mind which enables the researcher to that which was discovered by others.” In this research, data consisted of transcripts and notes taken during the visit and immediately after the interviews through primary sources. “Qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern human behaviour” (Creswell, 2003). Research approach adopted enabled the researcher to appropriate data and the informants had a chance to respond to problems they face in informal settlements.

Thematic analysis is an approach that deals with the creation and application of coding data (Bryne, 2001) which was appropriate for this study and it enabled the researcher to analyse the information collected through varied sources based on a given theme. As part of the analysis in this study, histograms were used in presenting data on income. The researcher transcribed the recorded information, which was used in conjunction with data, which had been collected during the ³¹field survey.

4.9 Limitations

Collection of data was successful but there were limitations; the researcher had found at the beginning that some community members did not want to participate in this research because; they were angry and tired of promises.

³¹See observation section

But after the researcher had explained with the help of the committee member that this work is academic, they then participated. Another challenge was from housing officials; it was difficult to get hold of them, sometimes when the researcher made an appointment with them they were not available at the agreed time. This resulted in late submission. At the end the researcher was able to combine everything and collect adequate information.

4.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has described the research methodology for this study. Both primary and secondary sources of data were utilized in data collection, with secondary information sources consisting of literature from books, journals, dissertations, conference papers and the internet. In these sources, the focus was on in-situ upgrading of informal settlement experiences, and on currently running projects and government interventions. The data collection tools that were used are interviews and focus group. The results emerging from the analysis of data will be presented in the next chapter.

Locality of Lamontville

Map 1: Locality
Map: Lamontville



Map 1, Locality Map,
Lamontville

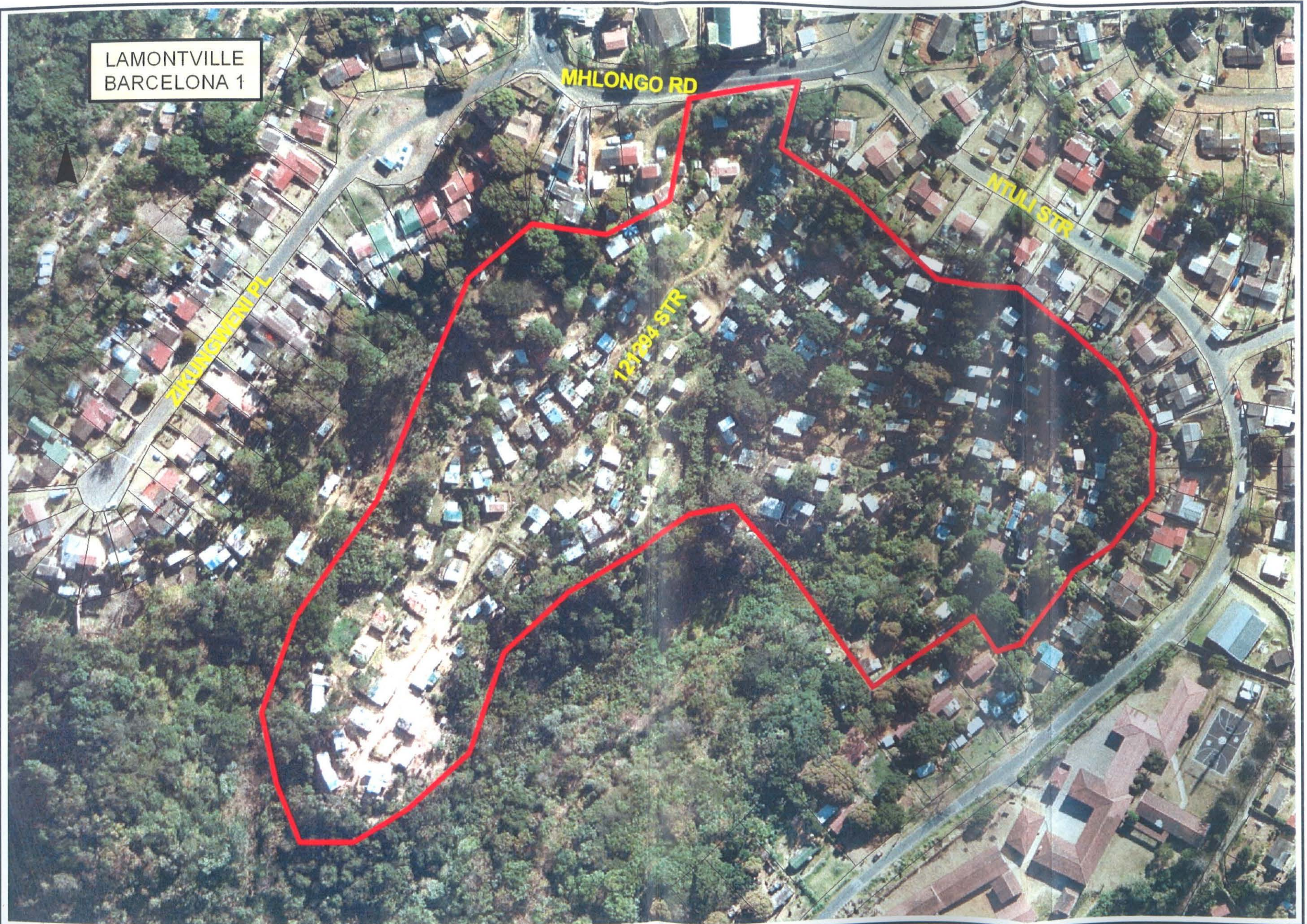
LAMONTVILLE
BARCELONA 1

MHLONGO RD

NTULI STR

121284 STR

ZIKUNGWENI PL



CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the research from the residents' and service providers' views on living conditions and discusses lessons that have been learnt in the study. The purpose of this analysis is to help us to understand Barcelona 1 residents' living conditions and to gather information on how Housing officials response to the situation. This will then allow the researcher to present on living conditions in Barcelona 1. The characteristics of the participants are summarized in tables below (for example table 2), and the significance of the experiences of the participant is discussed.

5.2 Socio-Economic Facilities and Sources of Livelihood in Barcelona 1

5.2.1 Duration of the stay in Barcelona 1 informal settlement

Table 1 below shows the number of years the residents have lived in Barcelona 1 informal settlement. About 47.5 % of the residents have been living in Barcelona 1 for 15–19 years and 35.0% between 10–14 years. Residents commented that for all these years, the government has been promising to build houses for them, but this has not happened. The figures show that these people have spent a considerable portion of their lives in Barcelona 1. Only one participant has been living there for less than 9 years. Number of years is important, as the government needs to understand that these people are in need of better living conditions, and that they have been living in harsh conditions for many years.

Indeed the results of the interview confirm that the residents in Barcelona 1 are in need of adequate housing, as the majority of them have lived there for many years, and throughout this time there has been no development; *'it is only promises from the government, when they are canvassing for elections'*, said one of the residents. According to the researcher: *'One cannot expect people to live under harsh conditions for so many years without access to basic services'*.

Table 2: Residents' length of residence in the area

Years	Number	Percentage
5 – 9 yrs	1	2.5
10 – 14 yrs	14	35.0
15 – 19 yrs	19	47.5
Over 20 yrs	6	15.0
Total	40	100

Source: author, 2008

5.2.2 Household Size in Barcelona 1

The household size in Barcelona 1 ranges from 1 to 12 members per household, with about 47.5% having 5 to 9 members as indicated in Table 2. About 27.5% of interviewee shares less than 5 members per household. Almost all the interviewees lived in squashed conditions in their shacks. They pointed out that their shacks are very small and overcrowded, especially for households consisting of 8–12 members. They also stated that they have no privacy, with siblings sharing the same space within the shack. They use the same space to bath, sleep, and cook.

Size is an important factor in housing development as it allows members of the household to have privacy within the dwelling. But in Barcelona 1 that is not the case; people are forced to share space as there are no alternatives. The limitation of space causes problems for households, as some will need privacy for washing, dressing or studying. For instance, parents need their bedrooms as well as kids. Indeed when we talk about adequate housing, space needs to be taken into consideration for households to perform their duties at home without interference (Gemmil, et al, 2003). In Barcelona 1, the largest group (47.5%) of households have 5–9 members sharing one shack, which causes problems as they all use one space. Upgrading will help them to get bigger space and privacy in their houses.

Table 3: Household Size

Household Members	Number	Percentage
1 – 4 members	11	27.5
5 – 9 members	19	47.5
10 – 12 members	10	25.0
Total	40	100

Source: author, 2008

5.2.3 Economic Activities Sustaining Barcelona 1 Community

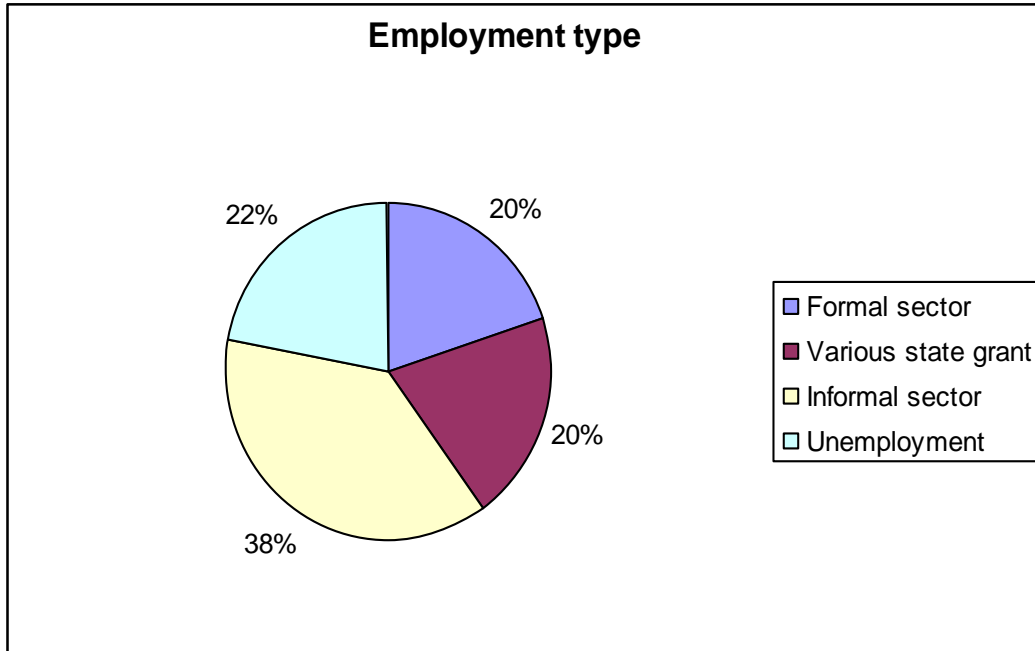
Figure 1 below shows categories of employment status of residents interviewed. Small businesses are the most common way of generating income in Barcelona 1, through spaza shops and shebeens as confirmed by the survey results. Generation of income through spaza shops indicates that people are self-employed. Informal sector employment is dominant in Barcelona 1, as is typical of informal settlements in the country. In South Africa the share of employment of informal sector was estimated at 36.4% (Naledi, 2004).

At present, about 38% of the residents are spaza shop owners, with those working in the formal sector accounting for 20%. Formal sector employees are those who have permanent and temporary jobs in factories, schools and clinics. In most cases they work as cleaners, security guards and house-keepers, and most of them do not have any formal education; some of them did not reach high school level. About 22% of those interviewed are unemployed. Those who are unemployed were asked how they survive; some stated that they survive on government support grants, most commonly by the child-support grant. The proportion on government support grants (child support/sick/old-age pensioner) have been combined in Figure 1 as “various state grants” with a total of 20%.

The issue of unemployment affects a number of people in Barcelona 1; about 22% are unemployed. If in-situ upgrading of informal settlement is going to be implemented, it can partly solve the problem of unemployment on a temporary basis. This is because residents can benefit by getting jobs in construction while building their houses. In so doing they will gain experience and skills and can apply them in future opportunities. Further, as part of upgrading, the municipality could cater for informal sector enterprises, rather than people having to run businesses from their shacks where there is no space. If they can be provided with a small market place within the area, their business can grow. It is not appropriate to run a shop in their shacks as the

space is used for different purposes, this will lead to collapsing of the business because of health reasons.

Figure 2: Barcelona 1 Employment Sector



(Source: author, 2008)

5.2.4 Trading Facilities

As shown in Figure 1, about 38% of the residents conduct informal-sector businesses. When participants were asked about the sustainability of their spaza shops they mentioned that, it is better than nothing as it is the only way of getting income; they commented that “at least we do not go to sleep with empty stomachs”, even though at times they face difficulties where customers take food on credit and delay or fail to pay back, which causes businesses to collapse. One of the spaza shop owners mentioned that he had stopped giving his neighbours food on credit because they are untrustworthy. A spaza shop is shown below in Photo 1. In-situ upgrading will play a role in this part, as the residents will be taking part in job opportunities when upgrading process start and they will be able to support spaza shops and be able to pay their debts, while gaining skills and experience.

Photo 1: Spaza Shop



Items are piled together on the table as there is not enough space.

Source: author, 2008

5.2.5 Saving Schemes

About 80% of households have committed themselves to financial savings schemes, where at the end of every month, for duration of 12 months, they contribute amounts ranging from R50.00 to R250.00. Table 4 indicates that, three participants were able to contribute as much as R250 per month. Ten contributed R150 monthly, seven contributed R100 monthly, and twenty contributed R50. This is the preferred way to save; they contribute what they can afford as they come from different backgrounds. At the end of the year they divide the money accordingly; some use it to buy Christmas groceries and pay school fees. One of the respondents mentioned that, “this is the only way we save money”. The researcher argues that these people could get support from other stakeholders like banks, and NGO’s so that they can improve their saving capacity and enabling some of them to access credit.

Table 4: Stokvels

Monthly contribution	Number	Percentage
R50.00	20	50%
R100.00	7	17.5%
R150.00	10	25%
R250.00	3	7.5%
Total	40	100%

Source: author, 2008

The indication here is that people in Barcelona 1 are trying to save as much as they can. Most people prefer to save what they can afford, and this is another way of supporting each other, as it does not pressurise those who cannot contribute more. Therefore upgrading will bring a sustainable life to Barcelona people where they can freely use space when they meet for their stokvel gatherings

5.2.6 Transportation Expenditure

Table 4 shows that 37.5% of the respondents spend between R200 and R250 monthly on transport, and 27.5% spend between R350 and R400. About 17.5% of the respondents walk to work, as it is close to where they are living. In addition, some are unemployed while others own spaza shops and rely on public transport to order their stock. Those who walk to work mentioned that it is another way of economising, because they can then use the money for other things like savings schemes such as stokvels and funeral societies.

In-situ upgrading will benefit residents in Barcelona 1 in terms of savings on transport costs. The researcher argues that the majority spend R200–R250 monthly on transport. If they are relocated to Greenfield areas they will have to pay more on transport, as Greenfield areas are known to be far from workplaces, schools and resources (Del Mistro, et al, 2009). So far, people are not happy with Greenfield development in South Africa; most of them

complain on high transport costs. For example in the ³²Delft case study (Cape Town), people were saying they pay double on what they usually spend on transport (Liebenberg, 2009).

When the residents were asked what would be the alternative, they responded: *the government should upgrade our shacks while we live here rather than moving us far away from job opportunities, and transport would be scarce.* Another respondent commented: *here in Barcelona 1 we do not have transport problem, taxis, buses and trains are easily accessible, that is why we chose to live here.*

Table 5: Transport Spending

Transport expenditure	Number	Percentage
Unemployed	7	17.5
Walk to work	7	17.5
R350 – R400	11	27.5
R200 – R250	15	37.5
Total	40	100

Source, 2008

5.3 Facilities in Barcelona - Focus Group Discussion Results

5.3.1 Access to Shelter

Housing in Barcelona 1 is in poor condition, as in any informal settlement. The dwellings have poor ventilation, and they are built with unstable materials like wood and tin which also leaks. Where water gets in and affects electrical fittings, the shacks are liable to be damaged or can be destroyed when there are heavy rains. Photos 5–7 show a range of shack dwellings observed in Barcelona 1.

5.3.2 Findings on the Housing Conditions

With regard to improving residents' living conditions, respondents from the Lamontville CBO, which has been active for the past 5 years, reported that it gives support on business skills, and provides HIV/AIDS counselling. This

³²Delft is the Greenfield development area where people were relocated in Cape Town.

shows a need for intervention from other departments, as there are other challenges such as unemployment which need to be looked at. Aside from the contributions made by the CBO, the Department of Housing itself needs to do more to improve the situation; the residents in particular need toilets, as they experience serious sanitation problems. The researcher argues that the Housing Department needs to work closely with private sector bodies, like the Slum Dwellers and DAG organisations, and with other departments like Water and Sanitation, in trying to better the situation in informal settlements.

Photo 2: Shack Dwellers with Protected Roofing



(Most have tyres on top of their roofs for protection against rain, lightning and wind).

Source: author, 2008

Photo 3: Shack dwelling - Barcelona



Electric cable

Leaking roof

Shacks have damaged roofs and electric cables get affected by water, and can cause hazards,

Photo 4: Shack building – Walling Material - Other forms of building material



Corrugated metal

Source: author, 2008

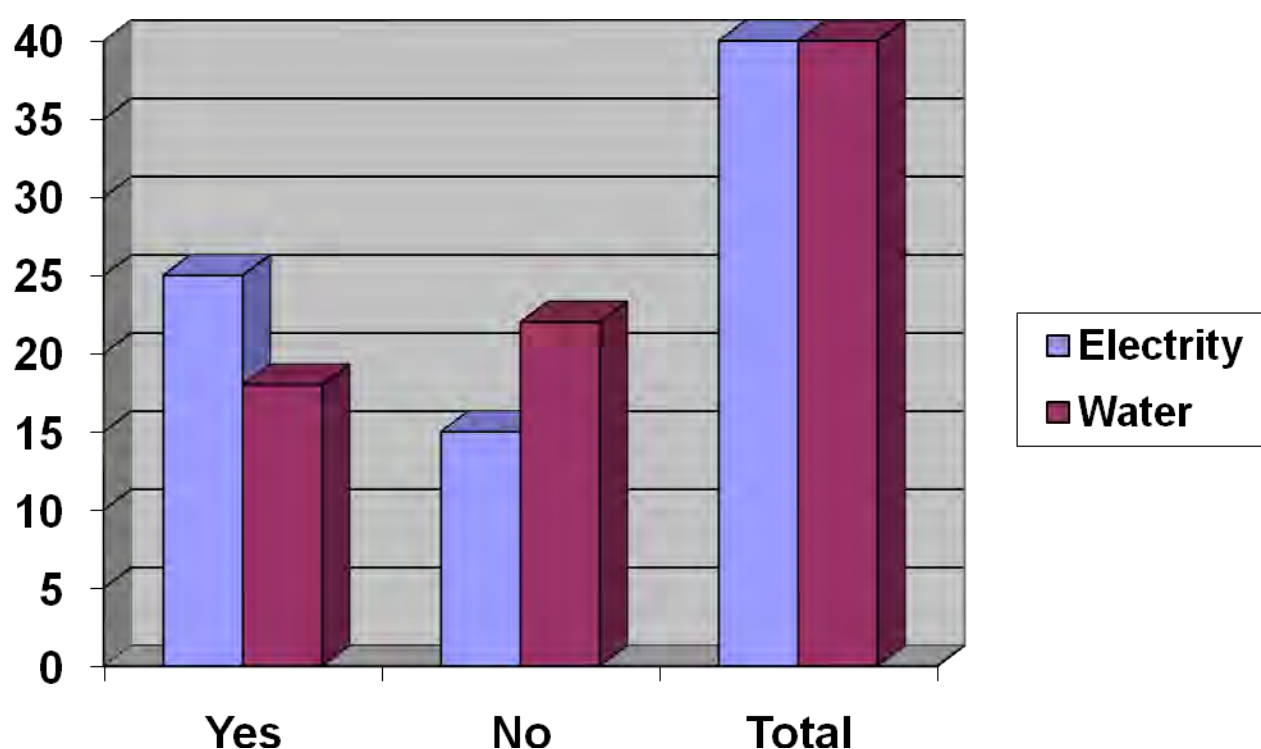
5.3.3 Access to Water and Electricity

The majority of the residents in Barcelona 1³³: have access to electricity, but they also explained that sometimes they are forced to rely on candles. Some households use electricity only for lighting and use charcoal for cooking, mentioning that it is another way of saving on electricity. Access to basic services plays a vital role in housing, as people need water and electricity on a daily basis. In Barcelona 1 there is a need for electricity and water to minimise unforeseen circumstances like fire, since some people use candles which are a serious fire hazard in shack settlements. For example, on 18 January 2004, a fire started by a man who fell asleep leaving a candle burning swept through the Nomzamo community in Cape Town; two people died and an estimated 1600 were left homeless, (Childsafe Newsletter, 2010). To avoid unforeseen circumstances upgrading of Barcelona 1 should come with full basic service.

³³ See figure 3

Figure 3: Access to electricity and water

Basic services	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Electricity	25	62.5	15	37.5	40
Water	18	45	22	55	40



Source: author, 2008

5.3.4 Findings on Access to Basic Service

About 55% of the households do not have their own water and have to get it from their neighbours. About 45% have water drums, and use buckets to fetch water from the neighbours. The drums are placed outside the houses and residents are provided with a specific number of litres of water each day by the Municipality. This then becomes a problem once water gets finished before end of the day; the residents are then forced to wait for the following day. The municipality only gives 25 litres per capita per day of water in Barcelona (Goldblatt, 1999). For households to be able to access water and there is an ³⁴installation charge of R50.00 for the drums, which some

³⁴Installation is done by the eThekweni Municipality.

respondents said they could not afford. Photo 4 below shows one of the water drums.

The Housing Department, in conjunction with the Water Department, need to take this issue seriously, as each household needs flush toilets, as specified as part of the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy. The participants were very frustrated about the unhealthy living conditions that they live in. They also mentioned that they get sick and cannot afford doctors' fees. The residents are very angry and want the Department of Housing, now called the Human Settlement Department, to deal with the issue urgently.

Photo 5: Water Drum



Residents get water from drums that are installed by municipality, since they do not have tap water.

Source: author, 2008, field survey

5.3.5 Sanitation Facilities

All households in Barcelona 1 use long drop toilets, like those shown in Photos 5 and 6. About 60% of the residents have no toilets, and about 40% share one toilet. It has been ³⁵established by the researchers; that the

³⁵Mentioned by interviewed participants

residents suffer from infectious diseases. This is also been identified by other researchers; for instance, McGranahan et al. note that; “High levels of toilet sharing often lead to poor sanitation conditions in the toilets themselves, create more opportunities for faecal-oral disease to be transmitted between households, and can lead to open defecation and faeces being mixed with solid waste” (1999: 43). Respondents also stated that sometimes they use buckets to relieve themselves and throw the waste outside after each use. They also commented that some of their neighbours did not want to take responsibility for their own actions while others tried to improve conditions by cleaning up. Residents could benefit a lot if upgrading can be implemented; they could have proper toilets and transmission of diseases and related conditions could be minimised.

Photo 6: Toilet 1



Toilets are built with scrap wood

Source: author, 2008

Photo 7: Toilet 2



Toilet-Pathway

Open toilet cover

Source: author, 2008

Photo 7 above shows another type of toilet that residents use; it is an open ground toilet. When the participants were asked about this kind of toilet and how they use it, they reported that *during the day these toilets are used mainly by children; and at night adults use it as well*. This type of a toilet has no privacy; it is situated directly in the pathway where people pass. When asked why they decided to build such a toilet they replied that *they did not have enough material to build a complete toilet because they had used all the material to build their shacks*.

This type of a toilet is very unhygienic, situated very close to the shacks, right where everyone passes, and where children frequently play without adult supervision. Sheuya (2003) has confirmed that some of the problems connected with high incidence of toilet-sharing include uncleanliness of the facility, the likelihood of contaminating diseases, and inconvenience. These toilets are drop-off toilets and are in bad state, as shown in Photos 6 and 7.

5.3.6 Energy for Cooking

About 60% of households use firewood and charcoal when there is no money for paraffin, while others cook outside using firewood in order to save electricity, as shown in photo 7. As one respondent reported that, *sometimes wood becomes scarce*. They are then forced to buy wood and charcoal; the other option is to use paraffin, which is now expensive, some of the interviewees explained. Firewood costs about R15.00 a bundle and charcoal costs R30.00 a pack. One of the participants responded that firewood *only lasts for about six to seven days and charcoal last two weeks if we cook every day*.

If there is no paraffin and wood, the residents of Barcelona have no other options and they do not cook for those days. One of the respondents stated that “*The only thing that keeps us surviving is togetherness amongst ourselves. For example, we treat each other as brothers and sisters, if my neighbour does not have food we eat together, that is the way we were brought up*”. That is why this community at Barcelona 1 must not be separated through Greenfield development which will affect their socio-economic networks.

Photo 8: Alternative Energy Source



Food prepared outside with firewood

Source: author, 2008

Table 6
5.3.7 Reasons for choosing the present settlement

Reasons	Number	Percentage
Near employment	5	12.5%
Overcrowded at home	10	25%
Informal business opportunity	10	25%
Had no place to stay	15	37.5%
Total	40	100%

Source: author, 2008

Table 5 shows that slightly more than one third of the residents (37.5 %) chose to live in Barcelona 1 informal settlement because they want to be near employment centres, as most of them come from rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal and other regions like Eastern Cape and Johannesburg. Judging from table 6, it can be argued that the common motivation is to find employment and wanting to be near employment sites and transport.

5.4 Community Organisation and Social Networks in Barcelona 1 Informal Settlement

5.4.1 Role played by Community Based Organizations and Social Networks

Community Based Organisations (CBO's) play a vital role in economic activities in Barcelona 1, as they organise business trainings and workshops for residents who are running businesses in the informal sector (Galvin, 2004). They teach them about savings and managing their own businesses. CBOs are beneficial to the community as they provide skills development to the community which will help the residents in the long run.

In Barcelona 1, ³⁶community-based organization, called Ithemba Lethu Centre focuses on assisting the community with socio-economic activities. It assists informal-sector activities in the area by providing training, giving tips

³⁶Lamontville is a small township and therefore there is only one CBO

on money-saving schemes, developing a business, and burial societies (Goss, 2001). A CBO representative interviewed commented that the Ithemba Lethu is helping residents deal with financial crises caused by high unemployment and working on poverty prevention. CBOs play a huge role in all development matters affecting individual residents and the community as a whole, through participation in various local government and developmental committees (CCS Grant Report, 2004).

Lamontville Ithemba Lethu Centre is the only CBO that operates in Barcelona 1, targeted at helping residents by providing skills through workshops, training, support and counselling for the community as a whole. They have different programmes, covering topics from skills development to business opportunities, particularly for people who run small businesses.

5.4.2 Interview with the CBO Representative

How has the CBO helped Barcelona 1 informal settlement?

The Ithemba Lethu chairperson mentioned that they have decided to help with business trainings/workshops to sustain residents' small businesses, as most people survive on informal sector activity. The CBO representative noted that they had seen a lot of improvement from business owners, which showed that they make use of what they learn from the workshops and training. Training participants are required to submit a report-back on their businesses which include the total amount of what they have made, the stock they buy, and time frames. About 80% have improved their businesses through the training programme, acquiring customer-care, management and saving skills. We also teach them how to start a business, how to communicate with customers, place orders for stock, manage businesses, and create social networks. We also teach them about cleanliness and hygiene for those who sell bakery products and food, and we encourage them to save their profit money, as it is going to help at a later stage. These workshops have been attended by 89% of Barcelona residents, mentioned the CBO representative.

In our centre (Ithemba Lethu Centre) we have an HIV/AIDS unit which specializes in counselling and educating young people about AIDS and the importance of using condoms. And for those who are already infected we have opened a centre where they have classes and talk about issues that affects them, like discrimination. We also provide home care for those who are sick, where we visit them, bath and feed them, and give them food parcels. Food parcels are for every poor family, but they need to register with us first so that it will be easy for us to have the number for placing orders. Almost every household receives parcels and the food consists of a basic meal, which is rice, maize-meal, cooking oil, vegetables and toiletries.

What are your future plans in continuing to support the community with educational programs?

We are planning to take it further; at the moment we have applied for international funding, so that we can provide more skills and buy office equipment for the centre. Our main goal is to help people expand their businesses, so that they can help and educate others. This relates to this study because CBOs play a huge role in our communities as they try to help not just in housing but also in other important things that can sustain the residents' livelihood.

5.5 Views from the Service Providers on In-situ upgrading

The service providers who were interviewed in this study included the councillor who provided information on the history and current housing conditions in Barcelona 1, and a committee member who represents Barcelona 1 resident accompanied the researcher and introduced the researcher to the residents. Three project managers provided information on different projects on the basis of whether they were a success or failed. And a policy director in planning provided information on recent policy and whether Barcelona 1 is included in upgrading of housing development in eThekweni Municipality.

5.5.1 Project Managers' Views on Upgrading

Project Manager 1 from eThekweni Municipality (Housing Unit) is currently³⁷ managing an in-situ upgrade/slum clearance project at Umlazi informal housing project. Project Manager 2 from eThekweni Municipality (Housing Unit) is tasked with managing and completing one of the upgrading projects in Cato Manor. Project Manager 3 works as a consultant³⁸ whose task is to manage informal settlement planning, and implement and oversee upgrading projects.

1. Procedures used by eThekweni Municipality to determine which areas qualify for upgrading of informal settlements.

Asked what procedures are used by the Department of Housing to determine which areas qualify for upgrading of informal settlements, the response from Project Manager 1 was, *'there are no procedures, South African housing goals are that every individual should live in adequate housing with basic services. It is stated that there should be eradication of informal settlement through different programmes, such as in-situ upgrade.* Project Manager 2 responded that *'the new BNG policy does not discriminate; it wants to bring sustainable human settlements, including people who live in informal settlements with no basic services. Therefore there are no specific procedures; everyone deserves to live in adequate conditions'.*

2. Housing Unit plan for improving residents' livelihood and economic activities

What is the housing department's plan for improving residents' livelihood and economic activities? Project Manager 1 responded that *'as a department, we give contracts jobs to local people in the project area'.* Project Manager 2 mentioned that *'during the development process we provide trainings on construction in informal settlements, which also helps resident's economic and social activities in a way that they teach others and the experience they gain will open more opportunities for them'.*

³⁷ February 2009

³⁸ Mageba Project

Project Manager 3 mentioned that *'other departments, such as the Local Economic Department, need to intervene to provide training skills for unemployed youth; she also stated that at the end of the day improving livelihood and economic activities is not only an housing issue, but also about improving the sustainability of residents' lives, other departments needs to intervene'*.

3. Residents' access to basic services.

Project Managers were asked to comment on residents' access to basic services in informal settlements. Project Manager 1 commented that *'residents must have access to basic services because they are part of the South African population and they have constitutional rights'*. He also said that *'each house that has been upgraded should be provided with the necessary basic services, since the Breaking New Ground policy states that people should be provided with adequate houses, water, electricity, sanitation and garbage collection'*. Project Manager 2 explained that *'prior to the commencement of housing development; services are usually inadequate, necessitating upgrading to ensure that appropriate services are provided to the satisfaction of beneficiaries'*. Project Manager 3 mentioned that *'the housing department needs to consult the waste department to collect garbage'*. He also commented that *'in terms of housing policy everyone needs to be provided with houses that have water, electricity and flush toilets'*.

4. What programs are in place to provide basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation?

When asked what programs are in place to provide residents with basic services in their homes, such as water, electricity and sanitation, Project Manager 1 responded that *'each in-situ upgrading project is provided with water and electricity'*. He gave an example of the project that he is running where basic services were being provided. Project Manager 2 stated that services *'are usually provided once the project starts, such as water and electricity connections'*. Project Manager 3 stated that houses *'are provided with all basic services, namely, water, electricity and sanitation'*.

5. *What has been done to improve livelihood and economic activities for residents' in informal settlement?*

Project Manager explained that *'most people in Barcelona 1 have jobs. Nothing has been done to improve their livelihood and economic activities'.*

5.5.2 Lessons learnt on Upgrading

6. *What lessons can be drawn from other upgrading projects that have been implemented in eThekweni Municipality?*

Project Manager 1 commented that *'upgrading informal settlements is not easy to deal with, for instance social networks breaks when people are relocated. And land complication can cause difficulties where portion of land will be for installation of water pipes, and electricity cables'.* This causes delays in completion of a project, but once it is complete it tends to be regarded as successful.

Project Manager 2 explained that the *'lesson that can be drawn from Cato Manor Project, which has been recognized by the department as a success and also got a presidential award for excellence in providing services, is that it has become a success because there was strong communication between workers and the project manager'.*

Project Manager 3 stated that in her experience *'upgrading has never get completed on time, and it is not a smooth process. There are always issues that arise. The delays may be caused by delays in approvals from various departments involved, like engineering, and planning, but most importantly it is the land application that needs to be focused on before the project starts'.*

Moreover, the researcher argued that the community needs to be informed about options that might be available, particularly in cases where they do not want to be relocated, which is the usual reaction. When asked how communities usually respond, when they are asked to relocate she pointed out that *most of them are afraid of losing their land, and they are afraid of*

losing their social networks, businesses, job opportunities, transport access and everything they possess.

5.5.3 Ward Councillor for Barcelona 1

The role of the Ward councillor is to make sure that the informal settlement residents are adequately informed and know their rights. The councillor needs to report problems that might occur to residents, such as fire emergencies, and ensure that basic services are being provided.

1. How do the residents access basic services (water, sanitation, and electricity) in Barcelona 1?

The ward councillor explained that *metered water is being provided to those who have purchased water drums, and electricity is only provided to those who can afford it.* She commented that, as most of the residents have electricity, *we have seen so much improvement compared to the past.*

2. How is the councillor dealing with the problems of access to basic services in Barcelona 1?

The ward councillor mentioned that *almost all residents wish to apply for electricity, yet many of them only have temporary jobs and others have spaza shops. The other problem is sanitation, as they do not have proper toilets.*

3. What sort of relationship is there between the councillor and the housing officials in the Ethekewini Municipality?

Project Manager 1 responded that *the relationship is good, as project managers are part of board meetings, where they discuss department's plans to overcome the increase of informal settlements and to provide mechanism on various issues pertaining to the lives of the residents in informal settlements.* In addition, project managers have to present reportson the situation and on people's needs in Barcelona 1 informal settlement.

4. Which programs will take place to upgrade informal settlements?

The ward councillor reported that an *in-situ upgrading project, which is entitled the Minister's project, will take place towards the end of November 2007, but it will start with Barcelona 2 informal settlement, rather than Barcelona 1.* The project was completed in August 2009, while nothing has been done for Barcelona 1, and people are continually living inadequately. The researcher went back to the councillor on the 24th August 2009, to find out if there has been any improvement on current status. The response was that *they are still waiting for the eThekweni Municipality to come and view the settlement so that they can decide whether it is suitable for in-situ upgrading.*

5. What programs are in place to enable residents to have access to basic services, while still waiting for upgrading?

The councillor responded: *at the moment, there is nothing but the councillor is planning to employ the residents in construction once the project starts, as part of capacity building.*

5.5.4 Views from the Director of Policy

The policy director at the eThekweni Municipality Housing Unit was asked to comment on the present situation in informal settlements in South Africa and also on issues of how the new Housing Policy (BNG) has helped or will help South Africans who still live in shacks. He was also asked how they are planning to speed up the delivery process and upgrade of the shacks. He was also asked how they are planning to speed up the delivery process and upgrade of the shacks. He responded that the department is doing its best to come up with policies that will accommodate every South African, especially those who live in poor communities and in informal settlements. For instance, the new housing policy "Breaking New Ground" which also looks at basic services for those who do not have access to water, electricity and sanitation. BNG also focuses on integrated human settlements where people get houses that have all necessary basic services. In-situ upgrade is another intervention that is taking place in informal settlements, where communities get their

houses renewed while they are on site; in most cases, we are forced to move some of the residents to Greenfield relocation for infrastructural procedures.

He further mentioned that the upgrading process in some of the projects like Cato Manor is doing very well, but in some areas they have not started, the reasons being that planning application have not been made. The usual step will be to check if land is suitable for development; if not the department have no other alternative but to relocate people to Greenfield areas. For example in Kennedy Road, shacks are built on hills and it is difficult to develop that area.

Furthermore, when making policies the department is trying by all means to ensure that it will be beneficial to the communities and that everyone will be accommodated, as people/households have different issues. For example, the new policy does not focus on one specific community but tends to look at each and every community. For instance, old houses are renewed; hostels and shacks are upgraded. Therefore, in order to live in a good environment we need to make policies that will benefit everyone.

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented findings of the research conducted in Barcelona 1 informal settlement, in Lamontville (South of Durban). The data was collected from the households living in Barcelona 1, through household surveys, focus groups, the ward counsellor, a committee member, project managers, and a policy maker who is presently³⁹ the acting director. The research found that people of Barcelona 1 are in need of proper houses with basic services. The researcher argues that the government should provide an in-situ upgrade of their settlements, as in other areas such as Cato Manor. At the moment, most of the houses in Barcelona 1 are easily destroyed by rains and heavy winds. Some of the houses have leaking roofs, which becomes a problem especially in rainy conditions when electricity appliances get damaged by water.

³⁹ July 2008

The data collected has also shown that people in Barcelona 1 are poor: most of them survive by getting ⁴⁰various grants; those who have no formal work do not have good jobs. Some of them survive by running spaza shops. The majority of residents interviewed have joined stokvels as a way of saving money. Further, the department of housing has only provided the residents with water and electricity, but some residents do not have electricity as they have to apply for it first, and the problem is they don't have money for the installation of electricity. This causes problems, as they end up cooking outside with wood and charcoal, which is not safe for children; they save electricity for lighting only. Moreover, people need to have proper sanitation, as they use toilets that are inappropriate and the department has not done anything to solve this problem. The community does have committee members whom they have voted for, and they attend ward committee meetings to present people's needs and deliver complaints to the Housing department. Problem arises when the Housing department fails to respond and residents do not know what is going to happen.

Another issue that frustrates the residents of Barcelona 1 is the fact that the Housing department has started an upgrading project in other settlements such as Barcelona 2, whereas they were the first settlement in Lamontville. The project manager interviewee explained that the Minister wanted to start with the other informal settlement⁴¹ (Barcelona 2) because it is near the airport. With the reason that South Africa will be hosting the soccer tournament in 2010, so therefore he wants the Department of Housing to remove all the shacks near the airport. 'This becomes an issue; if *South Africa was not hosting in 2010 would that mean that we were going to suffer forever?*' Asked one of the residents.

CBOs in informal settlement play an important role in trying to help the community in the struggle to overcome living in poverty, and inadequate housing. These two cases have shown that the presence of CBOs in poor communities can change people's lives, more especially in implementing basic

⁴⁰Namely child support grant, old-age, and sick pensioner.

⁴¹ Such as Barcelona 2 informal settlement

services like water and opening up job opportunities for the community. In Barcelona 1, the existing CBO has also opened up job opportunities and skills for its community, as some people are unemployed and some work in the informal sector (Butterfield, 2009). For example, people in Barcelona 1 informal settlement are being supported by the local CBO when they come across harsh living conditions, like dealing with poverty. The local CBO helps with food for the needy families in Barcelona 1, and with socio-economic activities which have helped to improve the informal sector.

The researcher observed that residents in Barcelona 1 are living in harsh conditions; their shacks are not stable enough to survive in heavy winds and rains and they have to be prepared frequently. The general use of land is also problematic: there are no roads for instance; when fire breaks out what would happen? The residents walk in between shacks for access. Ambulances and cars do not have access to go in since there are no roads; if someone is sick they carry that person up to the road, which is at a distance.

Movement of people within the settlement is quite bad, as they have to squeeze between the shacks. This also affects their economic activities, as they need transport to carry their stock. They have to conduct their businesses in their shacks where they create space⁴² and keep their stock; some create a space outside their shacks, putting a table or build a small shop next to their shacks. Space is used in various ways for small businesses. Some businesses are long-established, and some are new.

In Barcelona 1 social network exist which the community have created amongst themselves, help each other, for instance, by looking after each other's houses or kids while a neighbour is away. Economic networks involve money, and this is generated through workplaces, stokvels and funeral plans for mutual upliftment.

⁴² As shown in the picture, pg 75

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

The current physical condition of Barcelona 1 informal settlement is unsatisfactory, with inadequate basic resources affecting all informal settlement dwellers, this pandemic continues with little sign of rescue. Millions of poor people in South Africa live in informal settlement in inadequate shelter without basic services (sanitation, water, electricity, and waste removal) it is hard to fathom that the upgrading of informal settlement was not provided for until 2004, pilot upgrading started after 2004 to some areas, like ⁴³Cape town, (Landfirst, 2010). Barcelona 1 is a good example for not being upgraded till now in 2011.

This dissertation has focused on identifying the social, economic, and physical characteristics of Barcelona 1 informal settlement that could be improved by in-situ upgrading, as opposed to relocation of the residents to a Greenfield development. The community organizations and social networks involved in improvement of the settlement dwellers' well-being were investigated during collection of data. The researcher also looked at the relationship between the sources of livelihood, the economic characteristics of the informal settlement, and the suitability of existing physical facilities for adoption of in-situ upgrading of the settlement. These are based objectives.⁴⁴

6.1.1 The Role played by Community Based Organisations and Social Networks

Community based organisations (CBOs) play a vital role in bringing development to informal settlements (Galvin, 2004). Barcelona 1 study has demonstrated that CBOs are significant sources of development in poverty-stricken areas, especially in informal settlement where there are no resources (CCS Grant Report, 2004). The Barcelona 1 case study has identified that households had coping strategies which included informal sector, and formal

⁴³ See section 2.12.2 & 2.12.4

⁴⁴ See section 6.1.2

sector. They are working towards improving their ⁴⁵living conditions. CBOs in Lamontville offer services to the community, they help small business owners by offering free business training. They also provide services to households affected by HIV/AIDS and related diseases by supporting and training them to deal with challenges they are facing⁴⁶. Therefore CBO's play a huge role in poor communities like Barcelona 1, even though they do not eradicate poverty but their help is appreciated by the community.

The researcher argues that CBOs experience everyday issues that affect households, as the residents contact the CBOs when they face challenges. CBOs are in full support of in-situ upgrading of informal settlements, since their main aim is to improve housing and living conditions, provide basic services and support savings groups (Gemmil et al; 2003). It has been noted that CBOs have succeeded in other projects; for example, in the Ntuthukoville case study the CBO was responsible for planning and managing a municipal upgrade project to bring services like water and electricity to Ntuthukoville (Butterfield, 2009). CBOs work well if there are social networks within the community – as in Barcelona 1, where households have created trust and norms among themselves, with neighbours taking care of one another, and helping when they meet challenges, and looking after the children when the neighbour is ⁴⁷not around. Social networks bring in trust, connection; maintain reciprocity, rules and norms (Sheuya, 2004).

Barcelona 1 settlers have managed to deal with personal challenges with the help from CBO's. What is absent is adequate housing, particularly through in-situ upgrading as opposed to Greenfield which can make the situation worse, the community may lose their social networks if there are to be relocated. CBO can find it difficult to reach the residents when they are relocated, therefore relocation will bring lots of stress and residents may lose help from CBO. Therefore, it can be beneficial to the residents to be provided with adequate houses through in-situ upgrading. This may allow CBO to grow

⁴⁵See section 5.4.1

⁴⁶ See section 5.4.2

⁴⁷Observed by the Researcher, 2008, Field visit.

in the community and provide other strategies to alleviate poverty, as the community will have descent place to live in.

6.1.2 Sources of Livelihood and Socio-economic Characteristics of Barcelona 1

Most of the households in Barcelona 1 survive through various forms of home industry, which is one of the mechanisms for dealing with poverty. The findings on employment in the study show that 38% of households in Barcelona 1 are involved in informal sector activities, which indicates that the majority of residents are working towards improving their lives even though they do not have adequate houses and 20% are unemployed (Researcher, 2008). Small businesses are the most common way of generating income in Barcelona 1. Generation of income through spaza shops indicates that most people are ⁴⁸self-employed. Informal sector employment is dominant, as is typical of informal settlements in the country. When upgrading is implemented Barcelona 1 residents will not only benefit by getting houses but will also gain jobs and skills in construction. This will allow their livelihoods and socio-economic activities to be sustained.

Transport costs also play a role in this study, with the findings indicating that transport to work, school and other places is affordable where the residents are located at the moment. The residents need to build where they are, rather than having to move to Greenfield development areas where they will be far from workplaces, and schools. Barcelona 1 should not be exposed to challenges that face other areas, such as in the Delft case study (Cape Town), where people in the area said that, they pay double what they usually spend on transport to and from employment centres (Liebenberg, 2009). This is one of the challenges faced by the residents of informal settlements in South Africa, where people's living conditions are made worse instead of being improved (Gemmil, et al: 2003).

⁴⁸ See figure 1: Employment sector, Chapter 5

6.1.3 Physical and Social Facilities Suitable for adoption in In-situ Upgrading

Access to shelter is the main problem facing Barcelona 1 residents. The findings presented in chapter 5, section 5.3 shows that households have no proper houses. The dwellings are built with unstable materials which are easily destroyed by heavy rains and winds. The types of material used to construct housing are indicative at least of the prevalence of shack housing, (UNCHS, 1997). Access to water and electricity is also a serious issue since the findings indicate that some of the households cannot afford electricity. Lack of basic service is also an indication of the prevalence of the unserviced settlement. People need basic services on daily basis and safe ways of cooking, which the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy should be providing for them but has not done so, so far. Difficulty accessing electricity and water also hampers people's attempts to sustain their informal-sector income generation⁴⁹. Residents interviewed say that they are tired of the situation, that they want the government to help them with adequate houses. They want this to be done through in-situ upgrading, rather than Greenfield development, as they wish to preserve the social networks they have created which have improved their well-being.

Toilets are another serious problem for the Barcelona 1 residents. These are in a very poor state and upgrading is urgently needed to eliminate the unhygienic conditions. One of the toilets is built on a pathway with no privacy, and some residents have to endure highly undesirable arrangements using buckets to relieve themselves. In-situ upgrading is urgently needed in Barcelona 1 for adequate living conditions to be created.

6. 2 Conclusion and Recommendations

To sum up, this dissertation has presented findings and documented housing problems that are experienced by the residents in Barcelona 1 informal settlement. South Africa's "Breaking New Ground" housing policy is a good policy which aims to address the development of poor living conditions and to

⁴⁹See photo 8, chapter 5 (illustrates hazardousness of cooking on open fire)

eradicate the growing of informal settlement, but the problem is that there has been no development in the study area despite promises made by the government back in 1994. The researcher argues that housing policies should reflect the impacts of development on informal settlements and South Africa can learn from international case studies on in-situ upgrading of informal settlements which have been cited in this study.

One of the objectives of this dissertation was to look at Barcelona 1 informal settlement housing conditions in relation to access to basic services, social networks and the existing community-based organization. Section 26 of the South African Constitution declares that everyone must have access to adequate housing and that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right. In Barcelona 1 the rights to adequate housing have not been fully met and people still live in harsh, poor conditions.

The Breaking New Ground policy is a new, comprehensive government plan for the development of sustainable human settlements, supporting the idea that people need to live adequately, and aimed at redressing colonial and apartheid spatial planning and development through the delivery of socially, economically and spatially integrated housing (Department of Housing, 2004). Government intervention is needed through the Department of Human Settlement, working in conjunction with non-government organizations and community-based organizations – to deliver both adequate housing and poverty-alleviation assistance such as helping residents with skills development. Informal settlement residents are still suffering after 12 years of democracy; poor people must be included in policy formation so that their views can be heard about their needs. The Department of Human Settlement needs to communicate with the community to identify and target the problems that the residents experience in order to ensure that poor people live adequately with access to basic services.

In addition, the Department of Human Settlement must create a welcoming environment for NGOs and CBOs to intervene where appropriate on issues of inadequate housing and access to basic services, as we still have areas that are not developed. Non-government organizations need to be encouraged to arrange meetings with the community where they can discuss issues concerning the inadequacy of informal settlements and find solutions to improve their well-being. CBOs and NGOs need to work in conjunction with the municipality to meet community's needs.

Unemployment issues in poverty-stricken areas need to be taken into consideration by the South African government given that people in Barcelona 1 are experiencing lot of poverty as it is shown in data analysis, toilets type, building material and energy source. When the upgrading project starts, it should be compulsory for the residents to take part in employment activities where they can be provided with construction work. Moreover, there is a need for households to get additional support from NGOs in job creation, as other people might be interested in something different from informal sector income generation. In addition, the state through the local governments must support the efforts of the inhabitants to form and run community-based organizations and non-government organizations for upgrading purposes (Sheuya, 2003).

Further, the research argues for the case of in-situ upgrading of Barcelona 1 informal settlement as a possible option to deal with inadequacy that they are experiencing at present. Recommendations are made in the study, with the aim of improving the well being of the residents. Residents' social networks were looked at, and it will be important for community-based organizations, non-governmental organizations and the housing department to work together in dealing with housing inadequacy in South Africa in such a manner that does not disrupt the already established social networks.

The government needs to ensure that houses are given to those who are in need and it must deal with corruption in handing over houses (DAG, 2007). Security of tenure must be provided to shack owners, as it will give them the

opportunity to ⁵⁰increase their economic productivity by using their stand or home as a product site as ability to offer fixed property as security also may facilitate access (DAG, 2007). What maybe required as an immediate response is an interim held service delivery core (Informal settlement, 2011). Architects, development practitioners, government officials and academics, need to help poor people by being a driving force because this is not about housing alone; it is also about dignity and a question for true humanity (Landfirst, 2010).

In Barcelona the residents stated that there have been many promises of houses for them from government officials. They said officials have visited their informal settlement made promises about building houses for them but nothing has happened. They also said that, the councillor does not update them on what is happening about development. Barcelona residents' are suffering and this is not in line with the Breaking New Ground policy. This can partly be achieved in the short time by undertaking in-situ upgrading of Barcelona 1.

⁵⁰ See Chpt 5, section 5.2.4, the importance of trading facilities that can be easily sustained under security of tenure.

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Data Collection:**Interviews:**

Barcelona 1 Councillor, Lamontville, 15 June 2008

Committee Leader, Barcelona 1, Lamontville, 15 June 2008

Director (Housing Department), 17 June 2008

Project Managers, eThekweni Municipality, 18 -19 June 2008

Residents, Barcelona 1, Lamontville, 20 – 25 June 2008

Field Worker, Sizakala, eThekweni Municipality, 28 February 2010

APPENDICES**Appendices 1: Semi-structured Interviews with the Project Managers**

1. What is your role in eThekweni Municipality (Housing Unit)?
2. Which procedures used by eThekweni Municipality to determine which areas qualify for upgrading of informal settlements?
3. What is the eThekweni Municipality's plan in improving residents' livelihood and economic activities?
4. How is the situation on access to basic services in informal settlements?
5. What programs are in place to provide basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation?
6. Which lessons can be drawn from other projects that have been implemented in eThekweni Municipality?

Appendices 2: Semi-structured Interview Questions with Director (Policy) from eThekweni Municipality (Housing Unit)

1. What is your role in eThekweni Municipality?
2. Can you comment about the present situation in informal settlement in KwaZulu- Natal and about the new housing policy (BNG)?
3. What policy is used by the eThekweni Municipality to determine which informal settlement qualifies from upgrading?
4. What are your plans in improving the residents' livelihood and economic activities?
5. What is your comment in access on basic services in informal settlements?
6. What programs are in place that can enable residents to have access to basic services, such as electricity, water and sanitation?

7. Are there any plans to speed up the delivery process on upgrading their settlements?
8. What have you done to help Barcelona residents with their informal sector activities?
9. What lessons can be drawn from other upgrading projects that have been in place?

Appendices 3: Interview with the Ward Councilor of Barcelona Representative

1. What is your role as a Ward Councilor in Barcelona 1 informal settlement?
2. How do people in Barcelona access basic services, such as water, electricity, sanitation and transportation?
3. How are you as a councilor dealing with the problems on accessible of basic services in informal settlement?
4. What is the relationship between the councilor and the housing officials in the eThekweni Municipality?
5. Are there any programs that will take place in the near future on informal settlement upgrading in Barcelona 1?
6. Which programs are in place that will enable residents to have access to basic services, while still waiting for upgrading?
7. What has the councilor done to improve livelihood and economic activities of the residents?
8. What are the plans in addressing issues of basic services, like; water, electricity, sanitation and transportation, to all the residents?

Appendices 4: Interview with Community Based Organisation Representative

1. How has the Community Based Organisation intervened in Barcelona 1 informal settlement?
2. How has the training benefit the community?
3. What basic things are you teaching them in your workshops to improve their well-being?
4. Besides giving them business skills, what else are you training them on?

5. What are the criteria to receive food parcel?
6. What are your plans in continuing supporting the community?
7. What are your views on upgrading?

Appendices 5: Household survey

1. Number of years stayed in Barcelona 1

Years	
5 – 9 yrs	
10 – 14 yrs	
15 – 19 yrs	
Over 20 yrs	

2. Members of the household that lived in the house?

Household Members	
1 – 4 members	
5 – 9 members	
8 – 12 members	

3. Transport spending

Transport expenditure	
Unemployed	
Walk to work	
R350 – R400	
R200 – R250	

4. Access to Basic services

Without electricity	
Without water	

5. Employment type

Formal sector	
Informal sector	
Pensioner / Grant	
Unemployment	
Scholar	

6. Savings: stokvels

Contribution	
R50.00	
R100.00	
R150.00	
R250.00	

7. Reasons for chosen settlement

Reasons	
Near Employment	
Overcrowded at home	
Informal Business opportunities.	
Had no place to stay	

8. Would you prefer to relocate or to be on-site?

Relocate:	
On-site:	

Appendices 6: Focus group Guidelines / Themes

- 1.What problems you are faced with in Barcelona 1?
2. Are there any socio-economic activities that take place to improve your livelihood?
3. What are social networks that take place amongst residents?
4. How can livelihood strategies be improved?
5. How is access to basic services?
6. Are you involved in money savings (stokvels), if yes, specify type?
7. Do you have difficulty to get to your work place?
8. Does the community organization play a role towards improving the current situation?
9. What are the benefits of staying in Barcelona 1?
10. What are your views on in-situ upgrading of Barcelona 1 informal settlement, as opposed to relocation to Greenfield development? Which one would you prefer?
11. Do you feel that the Housing Officials, Ward Councilors and Community leaders, are doing enough in dealing with problems you are facing?