

**BENEFICIARY PERCEPTIONS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING IN  
SOSHANGUVE EXTENSION 3, CITY OF TSHWANE, GAUTENG**

**by**

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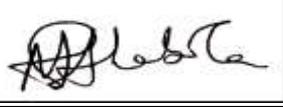
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## DECLARATION

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I declare that this master's dissertation entitled: **INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING PROJECT AND PERCEPTIONS OF BENEFICIARIES: THE CASE STUDY OF CITY OF TSHWANE, GAUTENG PROVINCE**. Submitted at the University of South Africa is my own, independent work and that all the sources cited in this in this study have been acknowledged by the way of referencing.

SIGNATURE



DATE: 19/02/2021

(MR. E MATHEBULA)

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## **ABSTRACT**

The evidence from both international and local literature reviews shows that, informal settlement upgrading is a global practice. The adoption (although at a minimal scale) of informal settlement upgrading programs and related policies in developing countries (South Africa included), should in the main be understood within a twofold context- first, is a failed policy on conventional public housing model, second, is a subsequent role and influence of theoretical writings of JFC Turner on informal settlement upgrading as a possible policy alternative to conventional public housing in 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, evidence from empirical study findings in Soshanguve Extension 3 area present some interesting results. Amongst others, is the extent to which implementation of upgrading project in Soshanguve Extension 3 area seems to have promoted a generally acceptable access level to certain basic service and housing infrastructure. This despite the project implementation being criticized for its deviation from certain key housing policy principles including those (principles) underpinning theoretical writings of Turner on informal settlement upgrading. Using both literature and empirical findings, the study has, in a nutshell, succeeded in presenting a balanced reflection on strengths and weaknesses in the general performance of informal settlement upgrading projects in developing context particularly South Africa.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IDT	Independent Development Trust
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
KIP	Kampung Improvement Project
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SOSHANGUVE	SOtho, SHAngaan, NGUni and VEnda
UISP	Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The shortage of adequate housing or shelter particularly for poor urban households is a universal phenomenon, although more severe in developing countries. It, amongst other things, manifests itself through informal settlements and backyard dwellings. Of the two dominant forms, the study will focus on informal settlements and the related government policy on informal settlement upgrading, particularly in developing countries. Informal settlements have been in existence for a very long time and thus are a common phenomenon, particularly in developing countries. It became a global phenomenon accelerated by various socio-economic factors, including rapid urbanisation across the globe. Owing to a contemporary industrial revolution coupled with a rapid increase in rural-urban migration, various governments especially those in developing countries, have not been able to afford to provide their citizens with adequate housing (Khalifa, 2015). Consequently, such a mismatch between housing demand and supply has led to the widespread emergence of informal settlements on the outskirts of most of urban areas in these countries (Mbatha, 2009). In consequence to rapid urbanisation, the literature indicates that about 54.5% of the world's population live in urban areas (United Nations, 2016). Owing to growing housing demands in these fast-developing urban areas, about one billion people have been found to be living in informal settlement conditions around the globe in 2016, with the bulk of these residing in developing countries (United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), 2016). As with most developing countries, South Africa is no exception, with the country having just over 2 million households still living in informal settlements (Housing Development Agency (HDA), 2013). Informal settlements are characterised by poor housing, inadequate sanitation and people living in crowded settlements with or without legal rights to the land on which they live. Living conditions in these informal settlements are relatively poor, with residents exposed to a multiplicity of basic livelihood problems, ranging from poor access to basic sanitation and water supply; solid waste accumulation; recurrent shack fires; safety and security risks, to a range of health hazards (HDA, 2013).

Most countries, particularly the developing ones have tried to resolve the problem of housing shortage by providing a state-funded, public housing model to their poor households; a model which most countries including South Africa, are still embracing. Notwithstanding the strides made in solving the housing shortage through the public housing model, it seems that the conventional public housing model does not adequately address the housing needs of homeless people, particularly those residing in informal settlements (Meth, 2017). Thus, the failure by the public housing model to respond to the housing needs in informal settlements, has prompted a critical response from scholars, such as JFC Turner (Boyars & Turner, 1976) and international agencies, such as the World Bank (World Bank, 1991). Common to their response towards the failing public housing model, is their (Turner and the World Bank) advocacy for the adoption of informal settlement upgrading as an alternative policy. Through the influence of Turner and the World Bank, some of the developing countries have started, reluctantly and on a small scale, to experiment with informal settlement upgrading as a possible policy alternative to the conventional public housing model and policy. Some of these countries include Kenya, Tanzania, Peru and late comers, such as South Africa. It is against this background that the study intends to provide a critical analysis of the perceptions of project beneficiaries in various informal settlement upgrading projects. In addition, a literature review on the extent to which these informal settlement upgrading projects have promoted access to adequate shelter and service infrastructure amongst previous informal settlers in developing countries will be undertaken. The Soshanguve Extension 3 area in Pretoria (South Africa) will be used as a case study.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Despite being a dominant and most preferred housing model, literature and research shows that provision of conventional public housing did not respond adequately to the housing needs of poor households in informal settlements. One of the main contributing factors to the widespread failure of the public housing model in developing countries is its unaffordability, both by the state and target beneficiaries (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2010). Consequently, the housing landscape in developing countries has over time, become synonymous with the growing number of informal settlements in most urban peripheries in developing countries. For instance, just over 2 million households in South Africa were

residing in these informal settlements in 2016 (Dlamini, 2016). Consequently, the adoption (although on a small scale) of informal settlement upgrading by some developing countries in the 1960s was inevitable. The initial response to the growing number of informal settlements in a post-apartheid South Africa was driven mainly by the Housing White Paper 1994 (Department of Housing, 1994). Despite a lack of policy, designated specifically to the upgrading of informal settlements during the first decade of post-apartheid South Africa, the country saw the first version of policy on informal settlement upgrading in 2004 with the promulgation of the Breaking New Ground Policy and its accompanying strategy on informal settlement upgrading framework the Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme (UISP) (Department of Housing, 2004). It is therefore, the view of the researcher that this study will make it possible to conduct a scientific assessment of the general performance of informal settlement upgrading projects in terms of provision of adequate shelter, service infrastructure, social amenities and beneficiaries' satisfaction in developing countries, including South Africa.

### **1.3 Research aim and objective**

The primary study aim is to provide a critical analysis of the possible role of informal settlement upgrading projects in promoting access to adequate housing and other related service infrastructure in South Africa. The study will use an informal settlement upgrading project in the City of Tshwane in Pretoria as a case study. To achieve the primary aim above, the study has the following specific secondary objectives:

- To provide a review of the origin, development and general performance of informal settlement upgrading as an alternative to the conventional public housing model and policies in developing countries.
- To provide an analysis of the origin, development and general performance of informal settlement upgrading as an alternative to the conventional public housing model in a post-apartheid South Africa
- To provide an analysis of the beneficiaries' perceptions regarding the general performance of an informal settlement upgrading project in Soshanguve Extension 3 area in the City of Tshwane, Pretoria.

- To make policy recommendations and possible solutions to challenges facing policy makers and project implementers, including beneficiaries in an upgrading project area.

#### **1.4 Scope of the study**

The study was undertaken in Soshanguve Extension 3 (see Figure 1) area which is an upgraded informal settlement area located in Tshwane Metropolitan, Pretoria in Gauteng Province. While drawing lessons from both the international and South African literature (see Chapters Two and Three), in contextualising the study, the primary focus was on analysing the perceptions of the project beneficiaries in this upgraded informal settlement area (see Chapter Five). The perceptions of these project beneficiaries were tested against various project aspects, such as housing provision; public participation by relevant stakeholders, including project beneficiaries during the project planning and implementation phases; access to basic services (water, sanitation, electricity, and refuse removal); public transport and road infrastructure; social amenities, such as clinics, schools and employment opportunities; and poverty alleviation through the upgrading project. Despite the existence of several informal settlement upgrading projects undertaken in and around the City of Tshwane, the study focused only on one upgraded informal settlement. Amongst the possible study population, emphasis was on heads of households who are beneficiaries and older than 18 years who will be chosen as participants in the study (see details in Chapter Four).



Source: Tshitangano (2020)

Figure 1.1: Soshanguve Extension 3 Map

### 1.5 Limitation of study

According to HDA (2013), the City of Tshwane had a significant increase in the number of informal settlement dwellers between 2011 and 2013, with the city currently housing at least 133 informal settlements in total (Puseletso, 2017). Owing to the small sample size used for this study (see details in Chapter Four), it will be difficult to generalise the study findings. Therefore, to generalise outcomes for the study to a larger population of upgraded informal settlements in Tshwane, the study would have to look at a larger population and more than just one upgraded informal settlement project area. Therefore, this would in the main, be partly biased to selected participants in this specific study, as different informal settlements have different and unique challenges and characteristics. The other challenge faced by the study is time and financial constraints; thus, the decision by the researcher to focus on a small sample size in an attempt to avoid the high costs related to the hiring of fieldworkers and data

capturing. Finally, the study will reflect on the views and perceptions expressed by the selected project beneficiaries and those of a community leader (Ward committee chairperson). Those views of city officials responsible for informal settlement upgrading will not be included due to their non-participation in the study.

## **1.6 Literature review**

In endeavouring to present relevant literature to the study, the researcher will give a brief but detailed discussion on the historical overview of informal settlement upgrading policy and projects in various developing countries. In this discussion, the study intends to provide a twofold analysis of a historical overview of informal settlement upgrading in developing countries. First, is a discussion on how the poor performance by a public housing policy in developing countries, has prompted a paradigm shift to an informal settlement upgrading policy, (see Chapter Two). Second, is a discussion on the general performance and challenges of informal settlement upgrading policies and programmes in a South African context, (see Chapter Three). (For a full discussion and analysis, see Chapter Two and Chapter Three).

## **1.7 Conceptual framework**

The purpose of this section in the study is to provide a description and justification for the chosen conceptual framework (see details in Chapter Two). The importance and the significance of this conceptual framework and related key concepts could be measured in terms of their possible influence on housing policy making and the implementation processes for informal settlement upgrading in developing countries, with a particular focus on the South African context. For this study (see Chapter Two), the discussion and analysis are grounded within a conceptual framework built on Turner's writings on informal settlement upgrading. Amongst selected concepts from Turner's writings are *'dweller control'*; *'housing by people'*; and *'freedom to build'*. These concepts are fully described in Chapters Two, contextualised in Chapter Three and tested in Chapter Five.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

The study employed a mixed method approach that comprises both the qualitative and quantitative methods. The integration of the quantitative and qualitative data in the form of a mixed methods study has great potential to strengthen the validation and credibility of the study findings. The description and justification of the various research strategies and designs comprising this chosen mixed research approach, is done comprehensively in Chapter Four.

### **1.8.1 Sampling size and selection**

The researcher utilised both the non-probability and probability sampling techniques. An example of the non-probability sampling technique to be employed in this study was purposive or judgemental sampling, while for probability sampling, the study employed the simple random sampling method. The sample size for this study was a household survey of about sixty (60) respondents. Furthermore, a sample size of no more than fifteen (10) participants was purposively selected to participate in both in-depth interview and in a focus group discussion. For the comprehensive discussion and justification for the sample size; the sampling strategies chosen; the rationale for selected participants/respondents, and the criteria applied, see Chapter Four.

### **1.8.2 Data collection and analysis methods**

As indicated in the previous discussion, the study utilised both non-probability and probability sampling designs. In light of this, the researcher found it appropriate to employ a household survey, coupled with in-depth interviews and a focus group discussion as tools for data collection. For data analysis, the study will employ the following: first, software known as the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS), which is found to be appropriate for quantitative data gathered through a household survey. Second, is content analysis that preceded by a full transcription of qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews and a focus group discussion. For a comprehensive discussion and justification for choosing these data collection and analysis methods, see Chapter Four.

## 1.9 Ethical Considerations

As with any academic project, this research study is guided by research ethics. This is implemented as part of the efforts by the researcher that this study does not yield the information at the expense of a person or any other subject involved (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). While the intention is not to provide a comprehensive explanation and description of the key aspects of research ethics, the following are worth noting: informed consent; voluntary participation; privacy and confidentiality, and anonymity. For a comprehensive discussion and justification for the significance and actual application of these ethical considerations, see Chapter Four.

## 1.10. Conceptualisation

There are several key concepts used by the researcher in this study. To avoid the misinterpretation of these key study concepts by the reader, it is appropriate that the following key concepts are properly and fully defined: informal settlement upgrading; dweller control; public housing; in-situ upgrading; security of tenure, and progressive development

For this study, the researcher defined the concept of **Informal settlement upgrading** as the improvement in terms of the housing quality and the provision of basic infrastructure and essential services in informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2009). In the South African upgrading context, the government, since the inception of Breaking New Ground (BNG) 2004, has prioritised in-situ upgrading where suitable, to minimise the disruption of the social and economic lives of the informal settlement dwellers (see Chapter Three).

From an upgrading perspective, the researcher defines **dweller control** as the concept of dwellers being in control of major decision-making in the housing process of the designing, planning, construction and management of their dwellings and neighbourhood infrastructure (Harris, 2003). In the South African context, dweller control is mainly enhanced through community participation in planning and implementation. However in the main, dwellers are normally reduced to being spectators in the actual housing construction, since most construction is done by state-appointed contractors (Department of Housing, 1994).

**Public housing** could be regarded as housing development provided by the state/ government which aims to provide decent and safe housing to low-income or non-income level households (Milligan, Dieleman & van Kempen, 2006). In South Africa, although there are some other public housing or social housing models, the most prominent amongst the low-income and non-income group is the government's fully subsidised housing model, known as Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses and owned by the beneficiaries. In this study, the researcher will be using RDP interchangeably with the public housing or state-driven housing model.

**In-situ upgrading** encompasses the on-site development of informal settlement conditions, as well as providing right of occupation with minimal disruption to dwellers' lives (Dasgupta & Lall, 2009). The primary intention of this practice is to keep as many as possible dwellers on-site to sustain their economic and social activities (Masiteng, 2013). However, the BNG 2004 through its UISP programme provided the alternative of relocation when environmental conditions were not suitable for on-site upgrading (in-situ upgrading).

For the purpose of this study, the researcher will use **security of tenure** as described by UN-Habitat (2004). This is the land and residential property occupation rights agreement between individuals or groups within both the legal and administrative mechanisms to safeguard occupants from evictions. It is important to note that in the South African housing delivery context, the government, since the inception of the democratic government in 1994 has mainly engaged in the provision of individual occupation rights, authenticated by the provision of title deeds (Smit, 2010).

**Progressive development** can be defined as the gradual or ongoing improvement of housing units, infrastructure and improved access to basic services in the informal settlements which intend to establish more organised, safe and sustainable communities (Pugh, 2003; Chambers, 2005). The term is mainly applied to in-situ upgrading developments where the improvement of family finances enables the improvement of informal settlements over time.

### **1.11. Chapter layout**

The study comprises several chapters. The following are the study chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction and orientation to the study

Chapter 2: International literature on the informal settlement upgrading experiences.

Chapter 3: Review of South African literature and policies on informal settlement upgrading in a post-apartheid era.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

Chapter 5: Data analysis, interpretation and results

Chapter 6: Conclusion, summary and recommendations

## **CHAPTER TWO: INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING AND PROVISION OF HOUSING, BASIC SERVICES AND SOCIAL AMENITIES: EXPERIENCES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

### **2.0 Introduction**

Synonymous with World War II was the destruction of housing infrastructure, particularly in developing countries. Subsequently, the literature shows that the post-World War II period saw a global housing shortage, particularly in developing countries (Arku, 2006; Ntema, 2011; Ballegooijen & Rocco, 2013). Housing shortage amongst poor households in developing countries manifested itself through an ever-growing number of informal settlements and backyard dwellings, amongst other things (Ahsan & Quamruzzaman, 2010). Addressing the plight of the growing number of poor households without adequate shelter, particularly those residing in informal settlements, most governments in developing countries prioritised investment in the production of mass public housing models (Turner, 1968, 1982; Yifu, 2012). Despite the promulgation and implementation of post-World War II public housing policy discourse, most developing countries continued to experience the widespread development of informal settlements due amongst other things, to the inability both of the poor households and governments to afford rebuilding and the provision of a new stock of low-income public housing (Turner & Robert, 1972). Subsequent to the failure by the public housing policy to appropriately respond to the housing needs of households residing in informal settlements, most governments in developing countries were left with no option but to further explore other policy alternatives. One such policy alternative is informal settlement upgrading. The introduction of informal settlement upgrading into the public housing landscape is not without context. For instance, the literature shows that the late 1960s and early 1970s, following in particular Turner's influence on low-income housing policies and the involvement of the World Bank in funding sites and service schemes, saw the beginning of the recognition of informal settlements as a base for informal settlement upgrading in developing countries (Abbott, 2002; Sliuzas, 2003). The primary focus of the study will be on the significance of informal settlement upgrading in transforming the urban low-income housing landscape and related service infrastructure across developing countries. However, it is appropriate to contextualise such discussion within a historical overview of how various

challenges facing public housing discourse have (directly or indirectly) given rise to the emergence of informal settlements.

Against the background above, the primary aim of the chapter is to provide a critical analysis of the role of informal settlement upgrading in promoting access to improved housing, basic services, and social amenities, amongst poor households in developing countries. Coupled with this primary aim, is the key research question on the extent to which informal settlement upgrading could serve as a mechanism for facilitating amongst other things, ‘dweller control’; ‘housing by people’; ‘freedom to build’; and ‘housing consolidation’. To achieve the primary aim stated above, the chapter is structured as follows: First, is a brief summary of the conceptual framework chosen for the study; second is the public housing model and its challenges; thirdly, is the performance of informal settlement upgrading in developing countries; fourthly, is the discussion on the general challenges facing informal settlement upgrading projects in developing countries, which are subsequently followed by the successes of informal settlement upgrading in improving the lives of the poor. Finally, there is the conclusive section of the chapter.

## **2.1 Conceptual framework: An overview of selected concepts of JFC Turner's self-help housing theory and writings on informal settlement upgrading**

The focus now shifts to a brief analysis of the conceptual framework which is grounded within the theoretical writings of Turner on informal settlement upgrading. Worth noting is the fact that Turner’s advocacy for informal settlement upgrading is informed mainly by two aspects; first, is his lived personal experiences in Latin America and his opposition to a mismatch between the conventional public housing model and the housing needs of the urban poor, especially those residing in informal settlements. Second, is his opposition to the hostile attitude of states towards the existence of informal settlements and the subsequent lack of faith in informal settlers’ capabilities to solve their own housing challenges (Conway 1985; Berner, 2000; Ehebrecht, 2014). As a policy alternative to the unsustainable conventional public housing approach, both international and South African literature and research shows that informal settlement upgrading could potentially promote what Turner terms ‘*progressive development*’ which the literature has consistently equated to ‘*progressive*’ and ‘*incremental*’

housing and service infrastructure development (Harris, 2003; Landman & Napier, 2010; Alhassan, 2013). It is in this context that Turner does not only advocate informal settlement upgrading but further argues that any approach to housing development (informal settlement upgrading included), has the potential to address the plight of poor households, provided that government's involvement is limited to a supportive role only, while creating an enabling environment for the practice of '*housing by people*' or '*freedom to build*' amongst other things (Turner & Fichter, 1972; Boyars & Turner (1976), Harris, 2003; Ballegooijen & Rocco, 2013). Turner further criticises governments' hostile attitudes towards informal settlements and their general failure to recognise and acknowledge informal settlements as a base for informal settlement upgrading in developing countries (Abbott, 2002; Sliuzas, 2003). For governments to play a supportive role and thus, create an enabling environment for affordable low-income housing, Turner emphasises the recognition of informal settlement upgrading as a basis for '*dweller control*'. This would ensure that informal dwellers are able to actively influence all key decision-making processes related to the upgrading of their informal housing and circumstances in general (Fichter, Turner & Grenell, 1972; Ballegooijen & Rocco, 2013; Cohen, 2015). It is the view of Turner that the practice of dweller control by project beneficiaries in an upgraded informal settlement could, over a period of time, allow these beneficiaries to progressively construct dwellings of the type and quality that corresponds to their economic capacity, social circumstances and cultural habits (Turner, 1976; Marcussen, 1990). This usually leads to what the literature on housing, including upgraded settlements, term as '*housing consolidation*'.

Endorsing Turner's view on informal settlement upgrading as a progressive solution to inadequate housing, Pugh argues that 'Households are able to improve their housing incrementally, using better material and adding space over a period of some fifteen years or so' (Pugh, 2001: 402). Thus, through the practice of the principles of 'housing by people', 'freedom to build' and 'dweller control', Turner is of the view that any decision-making process on housing aspects, such as house plans, designs, and type of building materials, including actual implementation or housing construction, should dwell with the beneficiaries of any housing project, including those in upgraded informal settlement areas (Abrams, 1966). This view is informed mainly by his argument that the application of these three principles usually translates into both affordable housing, improved quality of life, and a high level of housing satisfaction amongst dwellers (Arroyo, 2013; Arroyo & Åstrand, 2013). His idea was evidently in contrast with the top-down or 'mass housing' approach, typically

exercised in the provision of conventional public housing. The views of Turner as expressed through three principles or concepts (dweller control; freedom to build; and housing by people), makes it appropriate for this study to argue that project beneficiaries in any housing development, including upgraded informal settlement areas, should (through the creation of an enabling environment by governments), be empowered as active participants in key decision-making processes intended to achieve housing outcomes befitting their economic, social and cultural status and orientation (Turner, 1967, 1977; Turner & Fichter, 1972). Therefore, at the centre of these three principles or concepts in particular, should be the active participation and involvement of project beneficiaries. These in turn, increase the prospect of any housing project to yield a meaningful and progressive housing development, including housing consolidation in some upgraded settlements (Boyers & Turner, 1976; Berner, 2001; Pasta, 2020). With dwellers allowed to influence decisions related to the construction of their own houses, the housing milieu would be much more accessible, cheap and affordable, to both the poor households and the government because the role of the government would be reduced to only the provision of those services with which households could not provide themselves. These include basic service infrastructure (water, sanitation, electricity, etc.), land, laws, tools, credit, know-how and land tenure (Kemeny, 1989; Harris, 2001, 2003; Fegue, 2007). From Turner's view, the function or purpose of the dwelling and the accessibility of social amenities, employment and other services are of paramount importance as they will benefit the dwellers and make it possible for them to progressively improve their housing and immediate neighbourhood in general, through what he called 'community development' (Ntema, 2011; Wakely, 2014). It therefore remains an undisputed reality that using Turner's self-help housing theory and the literature writings as tools, Turner managed to advocate informal settlement upgrading as an alternative to the conventional public housing model. His theoretical advocacy did not only find resonance with governments in developing countries but has over time, led to a sporadic policy shift to an informal settlement upgrading paradigm, as well (Skinner, 1983; Habitat, 1987). Through the selected principles of Turner's theory stated above, the study intends to do two things. First, to provide a context and lenses for critiquing of the literature review on low-income public housing and informal settlement upgrading projects (see Chapters Two and Three), and then an analytical framework for empirical findings (see Chapter Five).

In summary, it is the view of the researcher that the application of Turner's principles and theoretical concepts should provide lenses through which this study is able to critically evaluate the performance of the informal settlement upgrading project in Soshanguve Extension 3 area (see Chapter Five), in terms of the following: first, the extent to which the initial provision of basic service infrastructure - water, sanitation and electricity by the City of Tshwane has created an enabling environment for subsequent initial housing development in this upgraded informal settlement area. Second, the extent to which provision of initial core housing by the Gauteng Provincial Government has allowed the active participation of beneficiaries (dweller control), during project planning and the management phases, during the actual project implementation and housing construction (freedom to build and housing by the people), in Soshanguve Extension 3 upgrading project. Third, the extent to which provision of both basic service infrastructure and initial core housing have provided the basis for progressive housing development and consolidation in terms of further extensions and the redirecting of basic services inside the house. Fourth, the extent to which upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area has facilitated access to progressive development in terms of social amenities - schools, clinics, police stations, and including access to other opportunities, such as land tenure and economic opportunities. Fifth, the extent to which the practice of dweller control, housing by the people and the freedom to build in Soshanguve Extension 3 upgraded area, has led to an improved sense of belonging and high satisfaction levels amongst respondents.

## **2.2 Conventional public housing model and development of informal settlements in urban peripheries**

The international literature shows the extent to which informal settlement upgrading could possibly be seen as an alternative policy approach in addressing poor, socio-economic circumstances in informal settlements. This follows the global failure by public housing models to respond to the housing needs of informal settlers. Therefore, before it is possible to analyse provision and access to housing, basic services and social amenities in upgraded informal settlements across developing countries, it may be appropriate to briefly show (if any), a possible linkage between the shortcomings of the conventional public housing model and the growing number of informal settlements. In essence, the conventional public housing

model ordinarily encompasses the provision of the state's subsidised mass housing to poor households, qualifying for such assistance (Malpezzi & Mayo, 1987; Schmidt & Budinich, 2008). The public housing model is known for being state driven, where the state usually assumes full responsibility as the sole provider, able to play a role of being the financier and developer at the same time (Midgley, Hall, Hardiman & Narine, 1986). The state's involvement in housing provision is a historical practice that dates back to the period prior to World War II. Thus, the state's role should also be understood within the context of the post-World War II period. According to the literature, the destruction of the infrastructure, particularly housing during the Second World-War and the subsequent need to rebuild urban centres in particular, seemed to have prompted growth in the demand for housing infrastructure amongst poor households in the developing countries (Arku, 2006; Takahashi, 2009). In responding to the growing demand for public housing, most governments particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, engaged in the mass housing production of state-driven and heavily state funded low-income public housing projects (Rondinelli, 1990). In the main, the mass production of low-income public housing was accomplished through the establishment of housing ministries, housing banks and public housing corporations (Wakely, 2014). Notwithstanding strides made in the provision of state funded low-income housing across developing countries, the literature shows a growing mismatch between demand and supply. The mismatch could be attributed to a number of challenges faced by governments in developing countries.

### **2.2.1 An overview of factors responsible for inadequate provision of low-income public housing**

Given the magnitude of infrastructural destruction, particularly housing during World War II, it would seem that various state-driven response initiatives in the post-war era were not adequate and thus, produced fewer public housing units than expected (Wakely, 2014). In general, the inadequate supply of low-income conventional public housing in most developing countries (post-world war II) could, amongst other things, be attributed to the following reasons. First, is the unaffordability both by governments and poor households. The literature shows how most governments in developing contexts could (for various reasons), not sustain the heavily subsidised housing model, given their limited fiscal

resources, due to competing national interests (Menon, Hodkinson, Galal, Reckford and Charles, 2019; Jaiyeoba & Asojo, 2020).

Second, is the widespread shortage of state-owned land for housing development in key strategic areas close to economic opportunities (Rondinelli, 1990). As argued by Fong (1989), a historical and skewed land ownership between state and private individuals seemed to have disfavoured and undermined state efforts to invest in low-income public housing in key strategic areas. For instance, the literature shows that in Bogotá Colombia, the costs of land usually make up more than half of the total cost of any housing development (World Cities Report, 2016). Furthermore, a lack of state-owned land in countries, such as Zambia, Nigeria, Kenya, Thailand (Bangkok), India, Guyana, Brazil and Chile, have been found to be biased towards the developmental needs of the private sector, at the expense of governments' efforts to provide shelter to poor urban households through low-income housing in key strategic locations, where easy access to socio-economic opportunities could be possible (Lipman & Rajack, 2001; Henderson, 2007; Green, 2009; Gilbert, 2014; McTarnaghan, Martín, Srin, Collazos, Gold, Suminski & Guzman, 2016; Phiri, 2016). In some developing countries, particularly Bangladesh, the cost of the land has become a detrimental effect to low-income groups' housing affordability; yet, encompassing, superfluous housing for the upper-income class has severely triggered an insufficiency for the poor urban group (Haque, 2009; Khare, 2016). To further delve into the significance of land, studies by Maigua (2014) and Gopalan and Venkataraman (2015) argue that the efficiency and effective provision of the public housing system in most developing countries is highly influenced and compromised by the exorbitant costs of strategic pockets of land, as well as the unsuitability of certain pieces of land earmarked for housing development. The land cost is believed to have deeply affected the entire provision of public housing because the land price is so high that a significant portion of housing costs are consumed by land costs, than actual housing construction and key housing aspects, such as building materials and labour. In general, this suggests that the high price of land would affect both the housing quantity and quality, including the actual physical location where such public housing development takes place (Maigua, 2014; Gopalan & Venkataraman, 2015). In their efforts to mitigate the negative impact of the shortage of state-owned land and unaffordable land costs in key strategic locations, most governments in developing countries are left with no option but to undertake most of their low-income housing projects in peripheral locations. Consequently, based on the available

international literature, this option seems to have had a number of unintended socio-economic consequences on both urban spatial planning and the socio-economic wellbeing of poor households. The international literature in conformity shows a widespread criticism both of housing policy and various projects on the public housing model, due to their peripheral location in relation to socio-economic opportunities (Hingorani & Tiwari, 2013; Deng, Chan & Poon, 2016; Monkkonen, 2018). The unaffordability of urban land in most developing countries undermines the efforts by governments in developing countries to build integrated urban communities and human settlements which, in turn, perpetuate the marginalisation and exclusion of the urban poor from having convenient access to socio-economic activities and opportunities. To illustrate this, Brown (2001), Bajracharya, Pradhan, Amatya, Khokhal, Shrestha and Hasan (2015), and Duren (2018), explicitly affirmed that the distance between the peripheral government subsidised neighbourhoods and city centres in cities, such as Goiania, Brazil; Barranquilla, Colombia; Kathmandu, Nepal; Maharashtra, India; Harare, Zimbabwe and in Ethiopia, considerably affect the livelihoods of low-income groups, negatively (Duren, 2018; UN-Habitat and Cities Alliance, 2011). The effects of peripheral location on low-income group is dire because a significant number of members of the working class who reside in these peripheral settlements of the above-mentioned countries and beyond, are said to spend close to half (50%) of their monthly income on transport costs, while those residing in city centres spend far less than that on transport. Equally, the working class who live in the peripheral areas, such as informal settlements are believed to spend three times more on travelling time between their neighbourhoods and places of work, compared to those who live in the inner cities (Fong, 1989; Acevedo-Garcia, McArdle, Hardy, Dillman, Reece, Crisan, Norris & Osypuk, 2016; Zhang, 2017; Libertun de Duren, 2018). To overcome this, the literature shows instances where some of these poor working-class members decided to either sell or rent out their state funded housing and return to informal settlements so that they could be closer to their working places and job opportunities (Ludermir & Alvarado, 2017; de Duren, 2018).

Third, is the availability of affordable local building materials (Bredenoord, 2016; Baja, 2020). Other than land ownership, the influential aspect in the provision of public housing is the cost of building materials and the associated inadequacy and disregard of local building materials. This places additional financial constraints on the very limited state resources, since the state would have to increase its subsidy, which as a result, negatively affects the

quality and the quantity of housing development. As argued in the literature (see also Hammond, 1990; Omole & Bako, 2013), a lack of locally produced building materials and their subsequent importation, have pushed costs for building materials to be in the range of between 50% and 60% of the total cost of housing aspects. This is found to be a common phenomenon amongst poor communities in areas, such as Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean to some extent. Such dependency on external supply or the importation of building materials causes most of these countries' victims of unreasonably inflated building costs; thus, making public housing unaffordable (Gichunge, 2001). Some countries where initial budgets are affected by this include Ethiopia, Zambia, Bangladesh, Costa Rica, Brazil and Nepal (Hadjri, Osmani, Baiche & Chifunda, 2007; Zami & Lee, 2010; Aziz, Memon, Rahman, & Karim, 2013; Zewdu & Aregaw, 2015; Alabi, 2017). In most of the aforementioned countries, locally manufactured building materials usually perceived to be affordable, easily accessible and recyclable are disregarded, all in the name of not complying with and meeting rigid and acceptable norms and standards attached to conventional building materials, which are largely sourced externally.

Fourth, is the institutionalised lack of capacity and the corruption in governments (Hassan, 2011; Bah, Faye & Geh, 2018). The literature also attributes the historical failure of the public housing model to institutionalised corruption amongst politicians and government officials. For instance, in Nigeria, a government official informed the ministry dealing with housing about the corruption of about 5.4 million Naira, meant for a housing project, but instead, the money was channelled to individuals through dubious means (Adeleye & Ogunshakin, 2005). Equally, another comparable study by Remmert and Ndhlovu (2018) shows that 13 percent of people in Namibia have lost faith in the municipalities' public housing delivery system as they believe that they are steeped in corruption and nepotism. Moreover, it is worth noting that corruption is not solely unique to Africa but is a worldwide phenomenon that also affects other countries. For instance, in Indonesia, a state-owned company diverted the land marked for social housing development and illegally sold it to a private company to build luxurious homes which were unaffordable to the low-income group (Wodoyoko, 2007). Corruption in land appears to be a common practice in most developing countries similarly to Indonesia, the Malaysian government had lost approximately RM46.9 billion in 2017, due to public service corruption, and the amount which could have allowed the state to build at least 117 000 public housing units had it been utilised properly (Kana, 2018). The trend of corruption seems to be widespread in the housing fraternity as the

literature shows that in Peru and Ghana, following the corruption of public officials, some public houses in projects targeted for poor households ended up being occupied by unintended beneficiaries. Moreover, some houses were even occupied by the tenants that in turn, paid the rent to the corrupt officials (Cockburn & Romero, 2013; Boamah, 2014). While all these challenges differ from one country to another, most of them are found to be common across most developing countries. These corruption practices commonly seem to promote the mushrooming of informal settlements directly or indirectly on the peripheries of most cities. This is a phenomenon which in turn, seems to have made the undertaking of this study and its focus on the relevance and significance of informal settlement upgrading, more feasible and relevant.

### **2.2.2 Informal settlements as unintended consequences of inadequate provision of low-income public housing: An overview of scope and scale**

Subsequent to the various challenges or weaknesses of the public housing model discussed above, it does not come as a surprise to see a universal growth in housing shortage amongst urban poor households, particularly in developing countries. Thus, the public housing shortage manifests itself in various ways, with informal settlements and backyard dwelling being two of the most prominent manifestations. It is within this manifestation that the literature further reveals a possible linkage between a historical general decline in the provision of state funded public housing and the growth in the number of households residing in informal settlements across developing countries, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America. For instance, estimates by United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) (2001) put the total global community that still resides in inadequate housing, mainly in informal settlements in developing countries, at 1.3 billion people. Unless efforts both by governments and other key stakeholders yield the desired results, the number is expected to reach 2 billion by 2030 (Habitat, 2017). Despite this gloomy global prediction, the situation is even direr in the developing context. Evidence shows that because of inadequate public housing and homelessness caused mainly by the state's inability to provide adequate housing for the urban poor in developing countries, between 600 and 850 million urban dwellers in Latin America, Africa and Asia live in urban slums (Alan, 2000; Mitlin, 2001; Stewart & Bakchin, 2002; Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003). Given the high rate of urbanisation, it is estimated that by 2020, about 160 million people in Latin America only, will be living in

informal settlements (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2014). According to the United Nations, an estimated 61.7% of the urban dwellers in African countries live in informal dwellings, with the number of urban dwellers expected to grow from 400 million to 1.2 billion by 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2017). Indicative of the critical situation and a looming crisis in Africa, could be the following numbers of informal settlers: 3.3 million informal settlers in Burkina Faso; 4.6 million informal settlers in Cameroon; 21 million informal settlers in the Democratic Republic of Congo; 6.4 million informal settlers in Kenya; and 1.8 million informal settlers in Malawi (UN-Habitat, 2016). In South Asian countries there is an estimated 212.5 million homeless people with the majority residing in informal settlements (Nenova, 2009).

As indicated earlier in this study, the growing number of informal settlers across developing countries is a culmination of public housing policy failure and states' inability to adequately respond to the growing housing needs and demands amongst poor urban households. In the main, such failure could be attributed to a combination of the various shortcomings that have led to a global failure of the state funded public housing model, mostly in developing countries. Such a failure affects in particular, poor households and others who in the main are dependent on the state for their basic needs, including adequate shelter. As a result of the failure by most governments to supply enough low-income public housing, the majority of poor and low-income households are left with no option but to resort to taking refuge in the informal sector to satisfy their housing needs; something which in turn, has led to the proliferation of informal settlements in peripheral locations in most urban areas of developing countries (Rojas, 2017). The literature shows a mixed response by governments in developing countries towards the proliferation of informal settlements. In the next section, the focus will be on how governments have responded to the growing number of informal settlements on the outskirts of most urban centres.

### **2.2.3 Emergence of informal settlements and governments' responses**

In many parts of the world, particularly Africa and to some degree Latin America, the literature shows that governments' responses to the mushrooming of squatter settlements has been hostile. There has been direct action that includes policies and programmes on

demolition and replacement or demolition without replacement (Kubale, Palmer & Patton, 1988; Abbott, 2002). The literature further shows that amongst developing countries, Kenya, Indonesian, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Cameroon, and India have commenced with the demolition of informal settlements. Evidence of this amongst other things, could be the 1970s campaign called *Turudi mashambani* ('let us return to the rural areas') that was undertaken by the Kenyan government to forcefully evict squatters in Nairobi (Macharia, 1992). In Lagos, Nigeria, between 1990 and 2007 a minimum 700, 000 people are believed to have been forcibly dispossessed from their informal settlements with no other possible housing and means of livelihood (Roberts & Okanya, 2020). In 2006, an unpleasant demolition forced evictions and relocations of about two thousand families in the informal settlement village of Bassac (Cambodia) (Kothari, 2006). Through the 2008 operation 'Murambatsvina' (which translates to 'restoring order') in Zimbabwe, and the 2003 -2007 Abuja eviction in Nigeria, callously evicted slum residents without providing any alternative accommodation (Shale, 2006; Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2008). In Abuja it is estimated that more than 800 000 informal settlers were forcefully evicted from several informal settlements between 2003 and 2007 (Shale, 2006; Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2008). A similar experience was encountered by informal settlers in Mumbai. In 2004 through the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, the government carried out an operation to demolish at least 52 000 shacks of the poor inhabitants in informal settlements (Madebwe & Madebwe, 2015; Research and Advocacy Unit, 2017). This, despite these informal settlers having resided in these informal settlements over a number of years and had already established ways of living in these areas, over and above investing more by establishing an informal settlement neighbourhood and associated social capital (Savirani & Aspinall, 2017; Harjoko, 2004). Regardless of having 9 million citizens who live in informal settlements in Mumbai (Johnson & Nadkarny, 2012), the state, informed by the 1956 Act, carried out the demolition and clearance of informal settlements without providing any alternative accommodation to the affected population. Subsequent to the approval of the petition by the Bombay High Court to demolish informal settlements on the periphery of a National Park in Mumbai, the Indian government presided over the further demolition of informal settlements (Rishud, 2003; UN-HABITAT, 2003). As far back as 2010, the informal settlements of the Jhuggi Jhopri Clusters in Delhi experienced demolition and forced eviction which was done merely to clear the city in preparation for the Commonwealth Games ( Banda & Sheikh, 2014; Heller, Mukhopadhyay, Banda & Sheikh, 2015). The beautification of the city triggered the

displacement of the poor, affecting their lives in terms of employment, and social setting, as well as affecting the education of their children (Banda & Sheikh, 2014). The demolition of these informal structures (shacks) eventually resulted in more than 50 000 households being forcefully moved to a peripheral location of Delhi (Dupont & Ramanathan, 2008; Banda & Sheikh, 2014). The literature shows that despite mass protest from the informal settlement dwellers, the local government of Manila, the Philippines, carried out a state sponsored large-scale eviction (UN-Habitat, 2003). There have been violent and brutal evictions and demolitions carried out in different countries, such as Chile, Costa Rica and Mexico (UN-Habitat, 2003; Centre on Housing Rights & Evictions, 2006). Similarly, in 'La Toma' in Peñalolén (Santiago Province in Chile), the informal settlement inhabited by about 500 households, and la Candela and la Managuita (Costa Rica) inhabited by 5000 and 1000 households respectively, and Colonia Labradores Blancos (Mexico) inhabited by 20 households were all subjected to demolition undertaken by the respective governments (The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), 2006). Noteworthy, is the fact that for most of these informal settlers, with exception of those in Colonia Labradores Blancos and 'La Candela' informal settlements, none was provided with any form of alternative accommodation (COHRE, 2006). Similar to the Jakarta and Mumbai incident, Zimbabwe and Nigeria both performed forced evictions and relocations which, according to Huchzermeyer (2011) and Padawangi (2019), was to put themselves in a beneficial position in relation to attaining and maintaining beautification, with the ultimate objective of attracting mainly foreign tourism and foreign investment. The informal settlers' eviction, according to Huchzermeyer (2011), can be traced back to the slogan 'cities without slums' which was integrated into the United Nations' Millennium Development Goal (MDG) seven: target 11 with the aim of attaining slum-free cities around the globe (Huchzermeyer, 2013).

The approach of attaining the goal of cities without slums became a political issue, which subsequently, caused the demolition of some slums in most of the developing countries, such as Mexico, Cost Rica, Kenya, Nigeria, India, Indonesia, and Zimbabwe. If the experiences from various countries above are anything to go by, it may be appropriate for the study to advance a twofold argument; first, it would seem that the housing landscape in developing countries is bound to be characterised by the presence of informal settlements as an integral part for the foreseeable future. Second, the growing number of informal settlements on the outskirts of most urban areas could be indicative of the extent to which governments have failed to formulate a proactive response to preventing the development of new informal

settlements. Consequently, the literature shows how the widespread failure of the state-driven public housing model and the subsequent hostility by governments towards informal settlements, did not only attract criticism but, further led to the rise of Turner's scholarly work on informal settlement upgrading in the 1960s and 1970s and the subsequent (although on a minimal scale), policy paradigm shift from public housing to informal settlement upgrading discourse. Next is the discussion and analysis of how the growing number of informal settlements and the failure by governments to either suppress the surge in the number of informal settlements, or to recognise these informal settlements as a base for settlement upgrading, may have led to the emergence of informal settlement upgrading as an alternative policy to the public housing policy.

#### **2.2.4 Informal settlement upgrading as a policy alternative to public housing and the role played by the writings of JFC Turner**

While the 1950s and early 1960s saw the widespread adoption of demolition and the replacement of squatter settlements in different parts of the developing world, particularly in Africa (Abbott, 2002), the late 1960s and early 1970s experienced a shift in this hostile posture initially taken by governments. Although on a minimal scale, such a shift in governments' attitude could, to a certain extent, be attributed to the scholarly influence of Turner. The literature shows that in the late 1960s and early 1970s the low-income public housing landscape and policy discourse were significantly influenced by Turner's writings, together with the involvement of the World Bank in funding sites-and-services schemes in developing countries (Abbott, 2002; Sliuzas, 2003). This saw the beginning of the recognition of squatter settlements as a base for informal settlement upgrading, through sites-and-services schemes by some governments (Abbott, 2002; Sliuzas, 2003). While the focus of this discussion is mainly on the writings of Turner, it may be appropriate to indicate that the World Bank also played a role in advocating informal settlement upgrading through its concept of 'sites and services schemes' (World Bank, 1990). It is also noteworthy to mention that Turner's views on informal settlement upgrading are on one hand, informed mainly by the social aspects of the programme, while on the other, those of the World Bank are informed mostly by economic aspects (Ntema, 2011). In spite of that subtle difference, they both advocate informal settlement upgrading as the possible alternative to the conventional public housing model, particularly for those households residing in informal settlements. Thus, the influence of both Turner and the World Bank on changing the initial negative

perceptions and hostile attitudes in developing countries towards informal settlements cannot be over-emphasised. Thus, contrary to the hostile attitude and opposition to informal settlements by governments, Turner in particular, embraces informal settlements and sees them as an integral part of the housing solution (Turner, 1976). Inspired both by the historical failure of the conventional public housing model and his lived personal experiences in Latin America, Turner conceptualised and thus, advocated informal settlement upgrading as a possible policy alternative to public housing (Turner, 1976; Vliet, Huttman & Fava, 1985; Mayne, 2017). Contrary to governments who historically see informal settlements as an ‘eye sore’, Turner (through his writings), advocates for the recognition of informal settlements as an integral part of the urban housing version and a sound basis for informal settlement upgrading (Williams, 2000; Nazire, Michihiro, Seth & Shigeki, 2016). His central contention is rooted in the acknowledgement and effective management of informal settlements as a progressive remedy to the housing provision problem (Abrams, 1964; Turner & Robert, 1972; Boyars & Turner, 1976; Baumann, Huchzermeyer & Mohamed, 2004). Turner considered an upgrading model as an advanced approach to the housing shortage problem, as it has the potential to empower and capacitate informal dwellers with the opportunity to house themselves, by incrementally developing their informal dwellings. As seen in the previous discussion in this chapter, this can be confirmed by his advocacy of a shack as a house in process (Turner, 1976). His fundamental argument was chiefly about the programme’s potential to capacitate dwellers residing in informal settlements in all the housing processes from the design, building and management of their dwellings, to their neighbourhoods (UN-Habitat, 2016; Corburn & Sverdlik, 2017).

In the process of upgrading informal settlements, Turner is of the view that dwellers in the form of families and communities should progressively invest in sweat equity as a way of cutting building costs and encouraging community participation and co-operation. Therefore, the government can focus solely on the delivery of basic services, as well as help those who are too poor to provide housing for themselves (Mutekede & Sigauke, 2007; Marais, 2008; Landman & Napier, 2010; de Sousa Moretti, Denaldi, Paiva, Nogueira & Petrarolli, 2015). In his argument, Turner believes that dwellers are the experts of their own situations, and the state cannot dictate what is best for them. Advancing Turner's ideas, Moreno and Oyebanji (2010) and Harris (2003) emphasise the need for dwellers in the informal settlements to control major decisions in contributing to the design, construction, and management of their houses to achieve maximum satisfaction and enhance individual and social well-being. By so

doing, the community or public participation of the informal dwellers in developing their community will be enhanced (Moser, 2000; Williams, 2000). From his experience in Peru, urban informal settlements (barriadas), Turner established that in significant upgrading, it is imperative to allow the dwellers themselves to resolve their housing challenges, since they have the best understanding of their needs and circumstances (Bromley, 2003). In this context, informal settlement dwellers create a settlement that matches and is appropriate to their status. Moreover, informal settlements, according to Turner, in the initial stage may appear incompetently and shambolically built; however, in time they may progressively be transformed (through amongst other things, informal settlement upgrading) into a formal and advanced settlement over the time, as their economic status improves (Turner, 1976; Pugh, 2003). Such informal settlement development process Turner termed people-driven 'progressive development' which is usually associated with a high level of satisfactions amongst dwellers, as opposed to state-driven 'instant development' usually known for its disgruntlement amongst dwellers and a high level of dissatisfaction (Harris, 2003; Pugh, 2003; Nyakuwa, 2010). As shown in the literature (see also Sheng, 1990; Buckley & Kalarickal, 2005; Begum, 2015), Turner's argument is based on the idea that informal settlements may seem to be disorganised in their initial stage but with time, they can be consolidated into a highly developed settlement. His idea was that for the progressive realisation of conventional housing, informal settlement dwellers with their available skills and resources, can organise themselves and improve their shacks into a proper structure over time (Abbott, Martinez & Huchzermeyer, 2001). At the same time, there will also be a skills transfer and the creation of employment opportunities as dwellers with different skills, such as plumbing, electrical skills or building could be incorporated into the development and maintenance of neighbourhood infrastructure (Mkhize, 2003). In this context, Turner put emphasis on the fact that upgrading has the potential to create both sustainable settlements, as well as economic opportunities for the communities (Harris, 2003; Ward, 2016).

In stipulating governments' responsibility in informal settlement upgrading in support of Turner, Ward (1982; 2016), indicates that once the urban poor organise themselves together into a settlement on land acquired either informally or through squatting, and build their own houses, the government will be encouraged to deliver basic services which dwellers cannot provide for themselves, such as tenure security, credit, water, sanitation and other basic services (Hollingshead & Rogler, 1963; Harris, 1997). Supplementary to Turner's book, *Freedom to Build*, his fundamental belief concerning informal settlement upgrading success

is that the effective provision of both security of tenure and services pave the way for the consolidation and development of housing in the informal settlement area. (Turner & Fitcher, 1972). The extent to which the latter is being experienced in practice is discussed in section 2.3 below. Another equally significant aspect that influences the improvement of informal settlements is the expanded arrangement of the security of tenure. Turner acknowledges that tenure strategically motivates informal settlement dwellers' commitment to improve their dwellings, considering that the uncertainty of land occupation will have been cleared (Wekesa, Steyn & Otieno, 2011). Therefore, he regards tenure of security largely as an important aspect the state should provide as a driving force, in resolving the issue of informal settlements (Turner, 1967a; Turner, 1976b).

As indicated earlier, Turner's advocacy for informal settlement upgrading does not only resonate with certain governments but seems to have influenced even policy perspectives of big institutions, such as the World Bank who eventually ventured into the debates by advocating sites-and-services schemes (Turner, 1976; World Bank, 1990). Following the influence of Turner, the World Bank through its twin programme on informal settlement and site-and-services started to be an imperative player in resolving the housing challenge in urban developing countries, through the development of the existing informal settlements through funding of affordable serviced plots (Bamberger, 1982; Harris, 2003; Mureithi, 2016; Ward, 2016). Consequently, governments are now only legally responsible for the provision of land, basic services and infrastructure or serviced plots, while the construction of top structure (core housing) is the dweller's responsibility, with more emphasis on reaching out to the low-income earners in urban areas (Reimers, 1992; Reimers & Maria 1995).

The World Bank supports the progressive upgrading, not only as a way of promoting dweller control which in its fundamental nature translates to satisfaction; however, it sees it as a way of reducing government expenses (Bamberger, 1982; Van der Linden, 1986; Pugh, 1994; Harris, 2003; Gattoni, 2009). More importantly, most of the site-and-services programmes advocates and inspires community participation where the households, community organisation and community leaders are incorporated into the planning and implementation of the project. They also assist in organising community skills to exploit the available skills in developing sustainable and affordable communities (Gattoni, 2009). They can also be a vehicle to mobilise resources which could be used for community development, as well as maintaining the neighbourhood. In summary, on the basis of the existing literature, it may be

appropriate for the study to argue that it is both the post-World War II failure of the conventional public housing model to respond to the housing needs of the urban, poor households and the subsequent development of informal settlements in most urban peripheries that advocate informal settlement upgrading by Turner and other proponents of the people-driven housing process. Next is a discussion on the significance of informal settlement upgrading to improve the circumstances of the former informal settlers.

### **2.3 The performance of informal settlement upgrading projects in improving the general living conditions of project beneficiaries**

It is important that an analysis of the potential of informal settlement upgrading projects to improve the lives of project beneficiaries goes beyond just mere advocacy by its proponents and reflects on documented real experiences in these upgraded communities. The focus now shifts to an analysis of the effectiveness of informal settlement upgrading in promoting sustainable and habitable communities and neighbourhoods in developing countries. While there are shortcomings and thus, room for improvement (see discussion in 2.4 below), the existing international literature has evidently shown how the upgrading of informal settlements has been effective in changing the circumstances of poor, urban households in various countries. Since the primary focus of the study is on the effectiveness of the informal settlement upgrading model, the various accomplishments such as poverty alleviation; improved standards of living; sanitation and basic infrastructure improvement; and security of tenure amongst other things, will be discussed in this section.

Accordingly, despite being adopted by few developing countries, the implementation of policy and programmes on informal settlement upgrading, seems to have yielded mixed results in various developing countries. Following a minimal adoption of informal settlement upgrading in various developing countries, the literature indicates a successful implementation of this programme in Kenya (Bassett, 2005). For instance, the government of Kenya, together with the UN-Habitat through the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP), managed to successfully achieve their main objective of improving the livelihoods amongst former informal settlement inhabitants in most urban areas, through

upgrading (Bassett, 2005). Subsequent to a joint Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme, project beneficiaries seemed to have experienced amongst other things, tenure security; improved community participation; community land control; economic opportunities; and the provision of physical and social infrastructure (Bassett, 2005; Egondi, Kyobutungi, Kovats, Muindi, Ettarh, & Rocklöv, 2012). One such community is in the *Kalifi upgraded area (Kenya)* where, through tenure of security and housing consolidation, ordinary residents were able to increase their households' income while reducing poverty (Macoloo, 1994). It is further argued by Macoloo (1994) that with improved household incomes and access to basic services, such as water and sanitation, Kalifi residents can suddenly afford the maintenance of basic infrastructure and have experienced improved quality of life, respectively. This to a large extent, confirms the view expressed by the World Bank (1993) on the possible strong link between housing improvement, poverty reduction and security of tenure. Amongst other things, the bank believes that the regularisation of security of tenure will capacitate project beneficiaries economically, because it will facilitate access credits with their property, functioning as collateral security. In Senegal, the informal settlement upgrading project undertaken by the government in Dakar, has made it possible for poor, local communities to successfully complete a housing project by investing \$8.2 for every dollar provided by the government (Wakely & Riley, 2010).

Furthermore, the literature shows how, in Guatemala, the settlement upgrading has positively addressed certain historical, social and economic challenges. In terms of the quality of life, the evaluation of Guatemala's upgrading projects shows that at least the mortality rate amongst project beneficiaries has declined by almost 90%, due to improved sanitation. Moreover, improved social cohesion seems to have helped to reduce crime by almost 43% (Kuiper & Van der Ree, 2005; Khan, 2007). As argued by Rojas (1995) and Corburn and Sverdlik, (2017), through an upgrading project in Karachi, the Pakistan government managed to increase the access to improved provision of sanitation, which in turn, helped to significantly reduce infant mortality and the prevalence of waterborne disease amongst project beneficiaries. Similar to the Karachi upgrading project, a group of women in Ahmedabad upgrading project (India), managed to use their collaboration project in sanitation as a tool to reduce waterborne diseases by half (Corburn & Sverdlik, 2017). Improved infrastructure, particularly streetlights in an upgraded informal settlement or what

the literature refers to as 'Favelas' in the Brazilian context, led to a reduction in the rate of crime (Felbab-Brown, 2011). A number of crime-related deaths declined in several upgraded informal settlements in Casablanca (UN-Habitat, 2011). Furthermore, a research survey in Algeria shows an improvement from 11.4% to 92% in the number of households who expressed a sense of safety from crime, since upgrading in Bouakal (Naceur, 2013).

Through tenure security, most informal settlement upgrading projects seem to have experienced an improved sense of place attachment amongst project beneficiaries. For instance, while there are incidents of outmigration of the original project beneficiaries (see discussion in 2.4 below), the literature shows that in both Ecuador and Mexico, security of tenure seem to have led to an improved sense of belonging, with more project beneficiaries opting to invest in their housing, while permanently residing in them as opposed to either selling or renting them out (Payne, Durand-Lasserve & Rakodi, 2009). Even those who decided to rent out, did so without compromising their livelihoods. Instead, it was used as a tool to further improve their household's income. For instance, in Gaborone (Botswana), beneficiaries of an upgraded project area managed to build extra rooms which in turn, enabled them to meet their monthly expenses, such as paying for the plots and the general maintenance of infrastructure in their neighbourhood (Bassett, Gulyani & Farvarque-Vitkovik, 2002). Similar to Ecuador and Mexico experiences, the literature shows the extent to which settlement upgrading projects in Mumbai, Chennai, Jakarta and Philippines seem to have succeeded in permanently retaining a significant number of original project beneficiaries. For instance, evidence show that about 75% to 87% of the original beneficiaries of the upgrading projects never moved out of their upgraded areas five years after completion, in Chennai and Jakarta respectively (United Nations, 2007; Huchzermeyer, 2009; Magalhães & Villarosa, 2012). Subsequent to informal settlement upgrading in Algeria, India, Indonesia, Chile and Peru, evidence from surveys in these countries have shown a significant improvement in sanitary infrastructure which has greatly improved the lives of the residents in the various upgraded settlements (Naceur, 2013). The upgrading projects have not only improved the neighbourhood, but have also reduced poverty levels (Naceur, 2013). Another set of evidence shows that in the Visakhapatnam slum development area in India, the income and the land value rose by 50% and 82% respectively (Counihan, 2017), while subsequent to the informal settlement upgrading in Manila, the property value

increased by at least between 60% and 85% (Jimenez, 1982; Keare, 1983). Similarly, the study by Brakarz and Aduan, (2004) established that the property values in the Favelas after upgrading, greatly increased by between 80% and 120%. In addition, the Kampung Improvement Project (KIP) which was the first settlement upgrading project funded by the World Bank seems to have improved the lives of beneficiaries significantly (Counihan, 2017).

It is also argued by Jota (2011) and Naceur (2013) that the improvement of the neighbourhood through settlement upgrading in particular, contributes immensely to an improved sense of safety amongst project beneficiaries. For instance, in an upgrading project called the East Maamobi Accra District Rehabilitation Project (Ghana), the living conditions of the dwellers was reported to have been prominently improved, as the area is reported to be a flooding area; the flooding risk was suddenly reduced. The risk was reduced because the World Bank implemented the provision of a drainage system, roads and a ventilated pit latrine infrastructure (Danso-Wiredu & Midheme, 2017). In the Mathare 4A project (Nairobi); Kampung Improvement Programme (Jakarta); Favelas projects (Brazil); and the Mumbai and Chennai projects (India) successfully provided basic infrastructure services (water, electricity, refuse removal and sanitation) to their respective residents (Kigochie, 2001; Rishud, 2003; Handzic, 2004). For instance, in the Mathare 4A project, before upgrading, residents had to utilise their resources to attempt to provide some of the basic services (Kigochie, 2001). Subsequent to the upgrading of the Mathare 4A housing project funded by the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW), the German government-owned development bank, residents had access to basic infrastructure, such as roads, pedestrian paths, toilets, and good sanitation. The projects went to the degree of affording concrete housing to those who had been dwelling in shacks (Pétursdóttir, 2011). Similarly, in the Favela Bairro improvement programme, beneficiaries there seemed to have experienced a significant increase in accessibility to the most fundamental basic services- with 81% of favelas included in the programme being connected to the city's water system, compared with 55% in non-targeted settlements (Lucci, Bhatkal, Khan and Berliner, 2015:13). Though there have been some problems and criticism of cost-recovery in most African countries, there was some successful cost recovery stories in both Asia and Latin American upgrading projects. The literature shows that through its upgrading projects in Mumbai and Chennai, the Indian government is said to have accomplished the full cost recovery, even before project completion in Mumbai recorded a surplus, which created favourable conditions for the

funding of future projects (Owens, Gulyani and Rizvi, 2016). Similarly, in Chennai, sites-and-service and upgrading project cost-recovery was efficiently achieved because of the increased growth of fully serviced plots (World Bank 1990; Owens, Gulyani & Rizvi, 2016). In Marinilla, Colombia, 84% of the project beneficiaries were found to have repaid their bills in full (Cardone & Fonseca, 2003).

The issue of gender equity seemed to have been an integral part of some of the upgrading projects. According to Corburn and Sverdlik (2017), an evaluation of three upgrading projects in Visakhapatnam, Indore, and Vijaywada (India), showed the extent to which most of the women were prioritised in relation to improved night security watch, neighbourhood lighting and water provision. The work of the above authors further shows how women in the Ahmedabad upgrading project increasingly acquired access to credit and electricity, as the electricity utility prioritise female-headed families (Corburn & Sverdlik, 2017). Consequently, this helped to improve the social standing of these women in the society, as well as giving them means to alleviate growing poverty (Rachael, 2004). The UN-Habitat (2008), supports projects that must take the local context or beneficiary context into consideration, as well as involving all respective stakeholders in the improvement. Notwithstanding the strides made in changing both the low-income public housing landscape and the general household livelihoods through informal settlement upgrading, the approach is not without weaknesses or criticism. In the next section, focus will shift to an analysis of the various challenges faced by governments, in implementing informal settlement upgrading projects.

#### **2.4 The general challenges facing informal settlement upgrading projects**

Having considered the contribution of informal settlement upgrading in improving the living circumstances and well-being of former informal settlers in the previous section (see Section 2.3), the focus now shifts to a critical analysis of the various socio-economic and environmental challenges facing communities residing in upgraded informal settlements across developing countries. Notwithstanding the strides made by governments in transforming the housing landscape through informal settlement upgrading projects, the international literature shows some inherent developmental challenges facing both the policy

and implementation of settlement upgrading programmes in most developing countries. Key to the discussion will be the following challenges: general failure to target and cater for initial target group, out migration and selling off serviced sites by original owners; unaffordability amongst project beneficiaries and governments; followed by the unaffordable maintenance of service infrastructure; and finally, the poor location of upgrading projects and the absence of property rights.

The literature shows that the implementation and subsequent outcome in various upgrading projects is historically faced with some criticism because in certain instances, these projects have failed to reach the initial target group. For instance, contrary to the initial project plan, more middle- and upper-income households seem to have benefited during the phase I and phase II upgrading project in Dar es Salaam, than poor households who were the target group (UN-Habitat, 2011). The exclusion was because of excessively high standards that were averse to the poor because most of these projects had fixed and strict standards that were imposed on the plan or on the quality of the houses to be built (UN-HABITAT, 2011). At the same time, the red-tape accompanying the projects subsequently led to an unwarranted delay that was believed to have accelerated the cost, as well as heightening the affordability predicament amongst poor households, as initial target group. As a consequence, many of the poor, urban group were not able to comprehend the cost of both the provided core housing and the associated infrastructure, prompting some to either sell their house to the middle-class or rent it out while they went back to the informal settlements (Mashumbusi, 2011). Furthermore, subsequent to 'land sales' by the original project beneficiaries in two Kenyan upgrading projects located in Dandora and Kisumu, the demographic profile of these projects suddenly changed from being neighbourhoods of predominately poor households, to being neighbourhoods of predominately middle-class households (Bassett, 2005). Similarly, the Burkina Faso's CISSIN upgrading project was also affected by a similar effect, where at least 50 percent of the original project beneficiaries had to sell their serviced plots almost 10-50 times the original value due, amongst other things, issues of unaffordability (Gulyani, 2002).

There are various reasons why some of upgrading projects did not benefit target groups, that is, poor households in informal settlements. First, is the issue of unaffordability amongst project beneficiaries and governments to some extent. The literature shows that in countries, such as Tanzania, the Philippines, Kuala Lumpur and Malaysia, some of the upgrading

projects are being directly or indirectly affected by the non-payment of upgrading related loans and improved basic services, due to the unaffordability amongst poor project beneficiaries. Evidence from two Tanzanian upgrading projects implemented in 1983 shows that between 64% and 80 % of households were unable to afford regular payment of basic services due amongst other things, to poverty (Kombe, 1994). Furthermore, Rondinell (1990) argues that costs associated with improved basic services in some upgraded plots in Kuala Lumpur became a hindrance, due to the unaffordability of these improved basic services. Consequently, the rate of occupancy continued to decline, as most of these upgraded plots remain unoccupied. Similarly, evidence on Zambian upgrading projects in Lusaka shows that more than 50% of project beneficiaries were in payment arrears and many of them had made no payments for both the collection of service charges and government project loan repayments (Bamberger, Sanyal & Valverde, 1982; Keare & Parris, 1982). While this could be attributed mainly to unaffordability, there is also an issue of inefficient enforcement by government to some extent. A subtle narration flourished that politicians were reluctant to enforce the payments because they had little or no gain from the projects (Keare & Parris, 1982). Another project with similar experiences is Chawama upgrading project, where about 85% of the project beneficiaries were found to be in arrears; some were owing for at least 11 months. Consequently, the growing rate of the unaffordability of basic services amongst project beneficiaries, made it difficult for most governments to live up to the principle of 'cost-recovery' in some of these upgrading projects (Rondinell, 1990; Rakodi, 1991). To a large extent, poor or a lack of cost-recovery in upgrading projects meant that most countries could not replicate these projects at the rate they would have wanted to (Kamete, 2000; Bassett, Gulyani, Farvarque-Vitkovik & Debomy, 2002). Owing to poor cost-recovery measures, evidence shows that despite being financed by the World Bank, the cost-recovery rate in an upgrading project in Lusaka, was the lowest compared to 62 similar urban upgrading projects in other parts of Africa and the developing world, such as Asia and Middle East (Sanyal, 1987).

Senegal's Fass M'Bao upgrading project which was funded by the French Development Agency, aimed to recoup at least 38% of the total cost from the occupants; instead, it failed to meet the target and recouped only 10% of the total cost (World Bank, 2002). Contrary to the expectation of monetary repayment of upgrading related costs in Mali, project beneficiaries

opted for repayment through provision of labour (Gulyani & Connors, 2002). Some were believed to have not paid simply because they knew that their houses were unlikely to be demolished; thus, only a few cases happened to be the issue of unaffordability (Gulyani & Connors, 2002). Furthermore, contributing to the culture of non-payment in most upgrading projects is the lack of political will and the capacity to enforce cost-recovery plans by most governments in African countries. For instance, in Nigeria's First Urban Project, community leaders were understood to have been boasting about poor cost-recovery and even challenged any pressure to compel repayment of the project costs (Solo, 1991). Other than a lack of political will and capacity, the services rate for infrastructure is said to have been an impediment to the low-income groups, since they would have to pay more for the services. Yet, they already had the burden of costs related to the actual construction of their dwellings which critically affected cost-recovery (Mukhija, 2001; Gattoni, 2009; Lindgren, 2012). Another challenge faced by most upgrading projects is the poor standard and maintenance of infrastructure. As argued by Kamete (2001), in Zimbabwe, residents in an upgrading project expressed their frustration concerning the poor quality of the infrastructure by refusing to pay for the costs in government's cost recovery plan. Despite being selected as one of the best upgrading programmes in developing countries at the Istanbul Habitant II conference, the Kenyan model in settlement upgrading was difficult to sustain by government, due amongst other things, to a lack of cost-recovery (Bassett & Jacobs, 1997; Bassett, 2005). Therefore, cost recovery in both site-and-service and upgrading proved to be a challenge as it affected the construction of housing, together with the maintenance of the infrastructure and the neighbourhood.

As shown above, another critical matter in some upgraded projects is the issue of the continuous management and maintenance of infrastructure. A major cause of its failure particularly in the African, Asian, Latin America and the Caribbean context is the poor cost recovery. Rakodi (1991), argues that infrastructure maintenance is affected by the absence of determination and limited financial resources, which is as a result of poor cost-recovery and economic crisis. Evidence shows that project beneficiaries in some of upgrading projects in Zambia in the 1970s, in Burundi in the 1980s, and in Tanzania in the 1990s, seemed to have failed to maintain their infrastructure, which led to the deterioration of road conditions and water pipes, as well as garbage collection becoming a problem (Bassett et al., 2002). Some

of the upgrading projects are also criticised for the slow delivery of adequate shelter to poor households. In criticising the performance of informal settlement upgrading projects, Reimers (1993) and UN-HABITAT (2011) argue that a significant number of poor households who qualified for upgrading projects, seemed to have failed to build the housing they had hoped for because building materials were not affordable. In many developing countries the high-cost of building materials cause housing to be excessively unaffordable to the poor. For example, in Chawama (Lusaka), due to the scarcity of local building materials, dwellers utilised imported building materials in the construction of their houses. The shortage of building materials due to the high demand, forced the residents to import which caused the price to increase exponentially and affected the rate of construction and completion of the houses (Reimers, 1993). Consequently, unaffordable prices of imported building materials made the construction of houses unaffordable to the low-income group because those who could not afford to acquire imported building materials, completely stopped the construction of their houses (Mbonane, 1999). Related to the shortage of local building material, is the lack or low levels of housing consolidation in some of the upgrading projects. The literature raises a threefold argument regarding a lack or low levels of housing consolidation; first, is the outmigration of the original project beneficiaries (Marris, 1981); second, is the absence of adequate building materials, particularly in Africa (Rakodi, 1992); third, is inappropriate building regulations (Teedon & Drakakis-Smith, 1986).

Notwithstanding strides made by informal settlement upgrading projects in poverty alleviation, it would seem that there are some projects where poverty-stricken households did not only sell their properties but the building materials allocated by government, as well. For instance, in the “Camplands upgrading project in Kingston, Jamaica, many poor households sold their project-allocated building materials, such as cement, steel, timber, and roofing sheets on the open market for a profit and constructed their dwellings with new or second-hand materials that they could acquire more cheaply on the informal market” (Wakely & Riley, 2011:34). In Pakistan, some beneficiaries sustained their livelihoods by selling their plots before the actual housing construction occurred (Siwawa, 2018). Moreover, another practical example in the Caribbean, Guyana’s low-income settlement programme beneficiaries could not afford to pay for the plots, as well as the services, thus leaving more than half of the plots unoccupied (Gattoni, 2009).

Ironically, some beneficiaries sold the plots largely because they could not afford to build housing (Gattoni, 2009). Another grave mistake, with reference to the site-and-service projects including settlement upgrading, was to frequently overlook the social, cultural and economic impact of settling poor people far away from economic zones which embrace urban centres. In advancement of the issue, the site-and-service paradigm was criticised for the location of most of the upgrading projects, since most are located in the peripheral location of cities which Reimers (1993) suggests as not the model's principle. Nonetheless, it was guided by the availability of affordable land for low-income settlements (Cities Alliance, 1999; Perlman, 2010; Croese, Cirolia & Graham, 2016). This was criticised because it burdens the poor people with transportation expenses, since most of the economic activities are understood to be in cities, as well as most amenities (Reimers, 2002; Tamura, Miyakazi & Honma, 2014). An example is the Indian Ahmedabad upgrading project, where most of the beneficiaries after being relocated to an upgraded settlement, left the settlement and returned to the slums because they were relocated to the periphery of the city which was not favourable to their economic position (Harari & Wong, 2017). Similarly, in Guyana and Buenaventura (Colombia), the location of most upgrading and site-and-service projects became problematic to the low-income families, given that most of these projects were reported to be distant from employment, cultural activities and some social amenities, such as schools, recreational facilities and clinics, which burden households with extra expenditure on transport (Rojas, 1995; Gattoni, 2009). In the case of Buenaventura, the poor location of the project went against the residents' cultural and economic activities which sustained their livelihood. As stated by Kariuki (2015), the peripheral location of Kibera slum upgrading project, left some poor households with no option but to rent out their houses and return to the informal settlements. Their intention was to raise some sort of income to sustain their life, as there was less support from either the government or the funder to improve their income status. This signifies inadequate planning and support, as most of the social amenities were not part of the project (Kariuki, 2015; Harari & Wong, 2017).

There are also instances where some upgrading projects seem to have failed to create employment opportunities for poor urban dwellers. In the Favelas of Brazil, according to Jaitman and Brakarz, (2013), residents from the Favelas had less chance of being employed compared with others. Yet again, most of the Favelas residents are employed in the informal

economy. This situation weakens their position of trying to improve their living standards, and undermines the main principle of upgrading, which is poverty alleviation. In the Mavoko upgrading project in Kenya, the rate of unemployment was estimated to be as high as 72% amongst project beneficiaries. Similarly, the majority of residents in the Machakos (Kenya) upgrading projects were largely engaged in the informal sector, as the unemployment rate was sitting at 16% (UN-Habitat 2005). Essentially, their main source of income was derived from running "small kiosks, hawking, bicycle repair, carpentry, furniture making, roasting maize, herbalists, hairdressing and barbershops"(Pedersen, 2008: 77). To alleviate the level of poverty in Mavoko, most of the elderly unemployed, uneducated women survive through collecting and cleaning bones, while others wait at factories for the employer to pick them for a job (UN-Habitat 2005; Pedersen, 2008).

The most problematic feature of informal settlement dwellers, is the absence of formal property rights. Property rights (security of tenure), Turner regards as the most significant element that empowers beneficiaries to improve their houses, with the certainty of eventually owning the property (Harris, 2003). It therefore provides and warrants beneficiaries with access to financial assistance, because beneficiaries can borrow against their titled property from financial institutions. (Wyatt, Street, Cousins, Dunmore, McAllister, Carr, Pugh, Coldwell, Welch, Ballantyne & Humphries, 2017). In Peru, it is understood that at least 75% of those with priority title deeds have greatly improved their homes and are said to have many rooms in their homes because they could access loans from financial institution against their properties (Calderón, 2004; Payne, Durand-Lasserve & Rakodi, 2009). However, contrary to this, is evidence showing that not all upgrading projects provide tenure security, which could in turn, allow project beneficiaries to use their properties as collateral. For instance, the literature shows that in some projects in Peru, Tanzania, Mexico, and Brazil, security of tenure seems to provide residents with the certainty of owning the property, while the majority cannot use their properties as collateral to gain access to finance required to improve their properties. Studies show that in some parts of Peru, Mexico, Indonesia and Africa are laid bare on the grounds on which loans are being accessed. In Peru, Mexico and Indonesia loans are significantly accessed mainly on the basis on the borrower's ability to repay the loan, rather than the possession of collateral (Deininger & Feder, 2009). For instance, in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, Indonesia, despite housing loans being offered to the poor for further improvements or consolidation, most beneficiaries rarely secure any loan because of the widespread culture of a low-repayment rate amongst poor households, and that

the general status of their settlements are usually perceived in a negative light (UN-HABITAT, 2009). Equally, studies in Africa reveal that loans are obtained predominantly on two factors: individual's income and employment (Durand-Lasserve & Payne, 2007; Deininger & Feder, 2009; Payne, Durand-Lasserve & Rakodi, 2009). In addition, despite public or community participation in the decision-making process being key to the success of any upgrading project (see also Abrams, 1966; Turner, 1978), it would seem that there are some projects where sections of the target group are marginalised by project implementers. For instance, a lack of community participation in the Kisumu (Kenya) upgrading project led to a situation where the latrine infrastructure which was built was deemed undesirable, especially by a Muslim group which is believed to be one of the factors that led not only to a high level of dissatisfaction, but to poor cost-recovery, as well (Bassett, Gulyani & Farvarque-Vitkovik, 2002). Another possible hindrance to the successful implementation of informal settlement upgrading projects is incompetent municipal officials. According to Huchzermeyer (2013), for a successful informal settlement upgrading programme, local government officials must understand the need of the competitiveness of cities, as well as considering the need to balance it with the obligations placed upon them by the Constitution. Such obligations are to serve sustainable development, goal 11 of the United Nation which seeks to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (Hermanson, 2016).

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided an overview of the origin and development of informal settlement upgrading in developing countries. The evidence from the existing international literature shows that the failure by most governments in developing countries to sustain the conventional public housing policy and model (particularly post-World War II), has had a twofold implication. First, it led to the proliferation of informal settlements on the periphery of most urban centres in developing countries. Second, the subsequent failure by the conventional public housing policy and model to appropriately and adequately respond to housing needs of poor households in these informal settlements, left most governments with no choice but to recognise informal settlements as an integral part of the urban housing version, rather than an 'eye sore' they could no longer condemn. The sudden shift from a

hostile to a more accepting attitude of most governments towards informal settlements could, amongst other things, be attributed to the influence of Turner's advocacy and writings on informal settlement upgrading in the 1960s. It could thus be appropriate to conclude, that both the failure of the conventional public housing model to respond to the housing needs of informal settlers, and the subsequent recognition of these informal settlements as an integral part of urban housing, seems to have made informal settlement upgrading a feasible policy alternative. While most informal settlement upgrading projects could amongst other things be commended as vehicles for improved service infrastructure and health conditions; tenure security and the subsequent investment in housing consolidation and social amenities; some of these upgrading projects continue to face challenges. Some of the challenges include the outmigration of the original project beneficiaries who either sell or rent out their housing, possibly due to the unaffordable maintenance of improved service and housing infrastructure, including travel costs associated with the peripheral location of their upgraded areas. Some of these original project beneficiaries are most likely to return to informal settlements, perceived to be conveniently closer to economic opportunities in city centres. Consequently, other than affecting the rate of investment in housing consolidation and service infrastructure in upgraded areas, such out- migration has the potential to further reverse the gains that some governments might have made in eradicating informal settlements.

## **CHAPTER THREE: POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA AND ACCESS TO HOUSING; BASIC SERVICES AND SOCIAL AMENITIES IN UPGRADED INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS**

### **3.0 Introduction**

Chapter Two presented a critical analysis and discussion on the general performance and experiences in various upgrading projects across developing countries. Amongst other things, the chapter presented a comprehensive account of both the historical development, success and challenges emanating from the implementation of informal settlement upgrading projects in these countries. Although there are contextual differences, the South African literature and research on public housing and informal settlement upgrading, have, to a certain extent, shown similarities in terms of experiences of those in other developing countries. One such similarity is the fact that as in most developing countries, the introduction and adoption of programmes and policies on informal settlement upgrading in a post-apartheid South Africa, are largely being prompted by the widespread failure of the programmes and policy on the conventional public housing model, known as the contractor-driven RDP housing programme (see discussion below). Against this background, the chapter intends to provide a discussion and analysis of how policy and programmes on informal settlement upgrading have been implemented and have subsequently changed the low-income public housing landscape in South Africa. To achieve this, the chapter is structured as follows: a brief discussion and analysis of housing policies (the 1994 White Paper on Housing and Breaking New Ground 2004) and the extent to which they addressed the shortage of low-income public housing in a post-apartheid South Africa. The policy discussion subsequently, is followed by the nexus between the White Paper on Housing 1994 and Breaking New Ground 2004 to Turner's basic upgrading principles, as discussed in Chapter Two. This is followed by a discussion on the performance (successes and challenges) of the implementation of informal settlements, followed by a conclusion.

### **3.1 A historical overview of conventional public housing model in a post-apartheid**

#### **South Africa: Literature overview**

The origin and development of a policy and programmes related to informal settlement upgrading in a post-apartheid South Africa should be understood within the context of a long-standing history of the provision of low-income housing, dominated by a conventional public housing policy and model. Thus, government's investment in informal settlement upgrading in a post-apartheid era should, to a certain extent, be understood within the context of the failed contractor-driven RDP housing model. It may, however, be appropriate to indicate in advance that the state funded housing development that took place between 1990 and 2003, was in the main, guided by the Independent Development Trust (IDT) programme and the Housing White Paper 1994. This did not only mark the first version of a post-apartheid public housing model but one which later became heavily dependent on state subsidies. According to the literature and research, the annual budget for subsidised low-income public housing since 1994, has seen a steady growth, with the latest figure for the 2019/20 financial year showing a share of about R14.7 billion in the national budget, being budgeted for various programmes in housing provision, including informal settlement upgrading (Mboweni, 2019). Subsequent to the fiscal commitment by government since 1994, the South African housing landscape continues to experience a growing number of beneficiaries of state funded, low-income housing delivery, particularly in former black communities. The literature shows that there is currently a commendable figure of just over 3 million low-income public housing units that are being built through government's subsidies in South Africa since the inception of the RDP programme in 1995 (Pretorius, 2019). This and other available evidence (see discussion below), makes it appropriate for the researcher to argue that the South African public housing model is, to some extent, 'quantitatively commendable' while it remains 'qualitatively less impressive'. Furthermore, evidence documented in the literature shows that most case studies (contractor-driven RDP projects), demonstrate amongst other things, the attainment of land tenure and the subsequent change of households' statuses from being shack dwellers to being home owners and dwellers of formal housing (Mehlomakulu & Marais, 1999; Himlin, 2005; Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013; Narsai, Taylor, Jinabhai and Stevens, 2013). Notwithstanding the strides made in addressing the shortage of low-income public housing amongst poor households, there are however, weaknesses and criticism

levelled against the implementation and general performance of the state-driven public RDP housing model. In the main, the challenges facing the provision of state-funded and contractor-driven RDP housing projects should be understood within the context of multiple internal and external issues. Amongst the challenges documented in the literature is the inadequate state subsidy due amongst other things, to an inadequate national budget; poor quality and standard of housing outcomes; inadequate housing size; lack of provision of bulk infrastructure and basic services; social amenities; economic opportunities; and finally, a lack of well-located land (Mehlomakulu & Marais, 1999; Baumann, 2000 Moola, Kotze & Block, 2011; Zunguzane, Smallwood & Emuze, 2012; Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013; Narsai et al., 2013). These issues are discussed in detail below.

As shown in the literature (see also Baumann, 2000), inadequate and unaffordable National Housing Budget allocation remains a challenge facing the attainment of the sustainable provision of low-income public housing delivery. This challenge, to some extent, emanates from funding constraints associated with the centrepiece of government's macroeconomic growth plan called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in the early 2000s (Baumann, 2000). As a macroeconomic policy framework then, the GEAR seemed to have a limited housing budget, due to its conservative monetary and fiscal outlook (Baumann, 2000). Other than an inadequate national housing budget allocation, there is also the challenge of underspending the allocated budget. Given the lack of internal capacity, it does not come as a surprise to see R91 million of the total money budgeted for housing development by the National Department of Human Settlement being underspent. The money was not spent mainly due to the late appointment of contractors and the absence of building materials, to some extent (Ziblim, 2013). Furthermore, despite the provision of just over 3 million housing units, evidence shows how the South African housing landscape continues to be dominated by an ever growing number of households residing in informal settlements on the peripheries of most cities. Evidence shows that in 2016, approximately 1 in 7 households in South Africa were in informal dwellings, with most found mainly in informal settlements (Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa, 2018). The bulk of these households facing housing shortages reside in big towns, cities and metropolitan areas; thus, it is no surprise to have over 170 informal settlements in and around the city of Tshwane (Mkhize 2016); just over 200 informal settlements in and around the city of Johannesburg (Ndimande, 2019); about 40 informal settlements in the Mangaung Metropolitan municipality (Mangaung

Metropolitan Municipality, 2018/19 – 2020/21), to mention but few. Other than growing informal settlements, the other challenges that could be directly associated with the public housing model in a post-apartheid South Africa, is the promotion of quantity at the expenses of quality. For instance, the literature shows that most of the housing projects and development across the country are largely commendable on the basis of quantity, while criticised in terms of the quality of the housing units built. For instance, the study done in the Amathole District in the Eastern Cape Province uncovered that about 93.6% of the public housing beneficiaries were not satisfied with the quality of the walls in their houses, while 91.2% complained of poor roofing (Manomano & Tanga, 2018). Similar findings were made by Statistics South Africa, which found that state-subsidised housing beneficiaries in South Africa criticised amongst other things, the quality of the walls and roofing which they reported to be unacceptable (Statistics South Africa, 2018). The literature shows how dwellers in these contractor-driven RDP housing projects complained about the safety and health risks posed by the non-durable asbestos material that government and appointed contractors used to roof their houses (Ntema, 2011; Narsai et al., 2013). The use of asbestos for roofing was being criticised for two weaknesses; first, the unbearable smell it produces, especially during the hot summer months with high temperatures which has adverse consequence on human health; second, for its inability to stop heavy downpours from flooding their houses, thereby allowing rain to destroy their household furnishings and other belongings (Ntema, 2011; Narsai et al., 2013). Regarding the poor state of the walls, dwellers in these contractor-driven RDP housing projects, complained about various structural defects, such as cracking and unplastered walls, including poor ventilation and energy inefficiency associated either with small sized or misplaced windows (Mehlomakulu & Marais, 1999; Moola et al., 2011; Zunguzane et al., 2012; Narsai et al., 2013).

Equally, a study by Manomano and Tanga (2018) is understood to have found that approximately 93.6% of the public housing beneficiaries in Eastern Cape, expressed dissatisfaction with regard to the structural aspects of their housing, such as weak, cracking and collapsing walls, compared to a mere 6.4% who expressed satisfaction. In some of the housing projects, there is evidence of "roofs, walls, doors, floors and windows being of a poor standard and most crumbling, pulling off, breaking without any external influence, due to the poor material used in making them" (Mashwama, Thwala & Aigbavboa, 2018:4). Related to the issue of poor housing quality, available evidence shows that in 2013 there were

over 5 000 cases where project beneficiaries complained of poor quality housing to the then public protector, Thuli Madonsela, in which some houses had such extreme faults that they had to be demolished and rebuilt (Baily, 2017). Poor workmanship did not inconvenience only project beneficiaries but the government as well. Despite limited fiscal resources, the poor quality of the contractor-driven RDP housing units meant that extra funding had to be marshalled by the state to undertake a national project rectification programme. The support for this position was substantiated by Jeffery (2015) and Mokgalapa (2012) when they pointed out that the national government had to spend over R2 billion, just for the rectification of the poorly constructed houses in various parts of the country. In addition, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Mayor, Mzwandile Masina expressed his concerns about the quality of public houses and even suggested a review of the quality of these houses. This was after at least 300 state-driven houses were damaged by a storm in October 2017 (Eyewitness News, 13 October 2017). Similarly, Tomlinson (2015), criticised government for a widespread lack of government monitoring and evaluation of the state appointed contractors, tasked with undertaking construction of the low-income public housing, in different parts of the country. As argued by Zunguzane, Smallwood and Emuze (2012), the poor quality of contractor-driven RDP housing should be understood within a twofold context; first, government's tendency to appoint inexperienced contractors and unskilled labour by most of the service providers. Second, government's failure to consistently undertake monitoring and evaluation of the housing construction work done by the state's appointed contractors. As argued by academics and scholars, another contributing factor to poor performance and thus, poor quality housing outcomes in most housing projects, is the imbalance or the absence of the beneficiaries' participation in the design and construction processes (Bailey, 2017). Consequently, poor quality and the small size of these public housing units made it difficult for financial institutions, such as banks to consider them as assets that could be lent against credit as collateral security, due to the fact that they were seen as having no market value (Adebay & Adebayo, 2000).

An additional, significant factor that hinders the effective performance of the public housing approach is maladministration in the form of corruption in the allocation of housing, as well as the squandering of the financial resources. To start with, corruption in housing allocation contributed enormously to the poor performance of the public housing programme (Rubin, 2011). The available evidence shows that between 2012 and 2013 at least 10% of complaints

or cases reported to the Public Protector's office were related to irregular allocation of housing and the manipulation of housing waiting lists, by the housing officials and local councillors (Human Settlements, 2013). In addition to corruption in housing allocation, corruption and fraud in the tender system is believed to be a critical hindrance to the successful provision of sustainable public housing development in South Africa. Tenders in the construction of public houses has mostly been awarded to unqualified contractors, which has resulted in either incomplete housing projects or the construction of poor quality housing outcome. For instance, according to Casac (2011) in Mpumalanga province, at least an entire housing project worth 9.5 million was demolished due to the poor quality bricks used to construct the houses, including unqualified contractors being appointed. Moreover, ironically, in Gauteng, the provincial government failed to hold accountable a company that is alleged to have squandered about a R58 million RDP tender, without delivering a single completed housing unit (Marutlulle, 2019). The continuing spread of maladministration in the public services substantiates the deficiency of the answerability of top officials to their juniors and generally to the broader population, together with the bureaucratic nature of our government. They provide a palatable position for the absolute embezzlement of state money through the issuing of fraudulent tender arrangements with private companies (Marutlulle, 2019).

Critics further observed that RDP housing also indirectly contributed to the growing number of informal settlements in various cities across the country because those who do not qualify for a housing subsidy, will ultimately try to realise their housing needs in informal settlements (African National Congress, 1994; Le Roux, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2013). Other than RDP-housing related challenges, growth of informal settlements in most mining towns could also be attributed to the living-out allowance provided to mine workers by mining companies (Rubin & Harrison, 2016). Coupled with other significant, instrumental elements to the public housing delivery challenges in South Africa is unaffordability, due to inadequate funding and a lack of internal capacity within the state's institutions and agencies. Owing to very limited financial resources, the Department of Human Settlements budget does not enable the department to encompass the entire community's housing needs; instead it covers only a small fraction of the identified people in need of housing (Department of Human Settlements Annual report, 2011-2012). Without a doubt, the South African government has been determined to provide shelter for the poor since dawn of the democratic dispensation in 1994; however, such determination has not been enough to deal with the housing predicament

as the housing demand continues to increase. The country continues to experience a mismatch between housing ‘demand’ and ‘supply’ (Sikota, 2015; Nieuoudt, 2019). Yet again, a lack of capacity by the state, directly affects the provision of public housing.

Another factor contributing to the inefficient, state funded public housing provision is the lack of state-owned land coupled with the unaffordable costs of privately owned land in strategic locations in and around towns and cities. With land in strategic areas being owned largely by the private sector, this has not only led to costly and unaffordable land for the state but has also pushed poor households targeted through state funded housing developments away from economic opportunities to the periphery, where land is said to be cheap and more affordable for government (Fuller Housing Centre for Housing, 2014). Ordinarily, the high land costs in these strategic locations profoundly inconveniences the poor urban group, given that the majority of low-income developments will eventually be located on the periphery. This situation disenfranchises poor people from economic employment and social opportunities. The perpetuation of the apartheid legacy of spatially segregated neighbourhoods for poor households, further exacerbates the economic inconvenience associated with travelling long distances and the time between their homes and place of work. Consequently, one of the economic implications of this urban sprawl and the peripheral location of state funded low-income housing development, is unaffordable transport costs for the working class, who are usually beneficiaries of such housing projects (Charlton, 2014). On the whole, the RDP housing system is alleged to have failed to act as a poverty reduction driver because RDP housing burdens low-income households with unreasonable expenses. This is a huge problem because their location is not user-friendly, through the inaccessibility of essential public services, social amenities and economic activities (Govender, 2011; Tissington, 2011). It could thus, be appropriate to argue that developing poor quality housing on the peripheries without basic service infrastructure and social amenities, goes against the minimum standards and principles of RDP stipulated housing policy. Amongst the principles advocated by RDP is the need to ensure that state funded housing units must provide a reasonable living space, privacy, protection against weather, sanitation facilities and convenient access to clean, drinkable water (Jones & Datta, 2000). The 30 to 40 m-square RDP housing unit is not only being criticised by dwellers for compromising their privacy, but by being unable to accommodate all their furnishings, as well as their big families (Mehломakulu & Marais, 1999; Sebake, 2010; Moola et al., 2011; Zunguzane et al., 2012;

Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013; Ntema & Marais, 2013; Narsai et al., 2013). Situating low-income housing communities on the outskirts of cities, only further captures the low-income resident in the net of poverty and unemployment, thus increasing their dependency on the state for housing maintenance (Govender, 2011).

Consequently, if all the above operational weaknesses and complaints by beneficiaries in various contractor-driven RDP housing developments in South Africa are anything to go by, it may be appropriate to argue that these housing initiatives have, to a large extent (contrary to the vision of the Housing White Paper 1994 and probably the dwellers' expectations), failed to deliver amongst other things, the envisaged "affordable and adequate shelter" and "integrated human settlements" (see also BNG, 2004; Housing White Paper, 1994). Other than institutional weaknesses and a failure to align the actual project implementation with the Housing White Paper 1994, the other key contributing factor to the growing housing shortage, is a mismatch between key policy objectives set out in the Housing White Paper 1994 and the housing needs of households residing in informal settlements. Consequently, the misalignment has led to a situation where government has not had a coordinated response to either prevent the development of new informal settlements or eradicating the existing ones. Consequently, the country has seen a significant increase in the number of households residing in informal settlements, from 1.4 million in 1994 (Department of Housing, 1994) to the current figure of just over 2 million (Faber, 2017). The mismatch between the key objectives and principles of the Housing White Paper 1994 and the realities especially in the ever-growing informal settlements seems to have left government with no other option but to consider a shift towards informal settlement upgrading as an alternative to the contractor-driven RDP housing model. The performance of informal settlement upgrading as a possible alternative in South Africa, shall form the basis of the discussion and analysis in the next section.

### **3.2 Informal settlement upgrading and the policy objectives in the Housing White Paper 1994 and Breaking New Grounds 2004: A possible correlation with JFC Turner's principles and writings on informal settlement upgrading**

The discussion above (see Section 3.1), presented both the success (although minimal and mainly quantitative) and the widespread challenges associated with the policy and programmes on low-income public housing since 1994. Given the growing number of informal settlements since 1994, the sudden promulgation of the Breaking New Ground policy and its accompanying Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme in 2004, should not come unexpectedly. There is evidence both in the Housing White Paper 1994 (although shallow and superficial in detail) and BNG 2004 and its accompanying UISP, that South Africa has never been completely opposed to informal settlement upgrading. Against this background, the focus of the discussion in this section shall be in two parts; first, is to identify specific key policy objectives and principles enshrined both in the Housing White Paper 1994 and BNG 2004 that could be used to justify government's intent to embrace the upgrading of informal settlements. Second, is to create a possible link of these key policy objectives and principles with Turner's principles and writings on the informal settlement upgrading concept.

#### **3.2.1 Housing White Paper 1994 and the possible intent to embrace informal settlement upgrading**

From the Housing White Paper 1994 perspective, the following are some of its key policy objectives and principles through which it could be argued that government seemed to have shown (at least on paper), its intent to embrace and accommodate the upgrading of informal settlements: first, the Housing White Paper 1994 advocates the promotion of "continuous housing improvements through consolidation and upgrading" (Department of Housing, 1994:26). It may thus be appropriate, to argue that through "progressive housing consolidation", where qualifying beneficiaries of state subsidies in the informal settlements and those in serviced sites, would be given the opportunity to supplement their subsidies, either through personal savings with credit or recycled building materials, to facilitate a gradual or progressive improvement of their housing. Second, is the policy advocacy for the 'right to housing' to be realised progressively (Department of Housing, 1994). This, to a

large extent, could be linked directly to the third policy stance and advocacy for the attainment of viable and 'integrated communities' in localities that could potentially allow progressive access not only to tenure security; portable water; adequate sanitary facilities; and waste disposal, but to convenient and progressive access to social amenities and economic opportunities as well (Department of Housing, 1994). The emphasis on tenure security in particular, should be understood within the context where governments intends to significantly empower residents in informal settlements with property rights, after it has been observed that at least 18% of all households (1.5 million households or approximately 7.4 million people) are forced to live in squatter settlements, backyard shacks or over-crowded conditions in and around urban areas, with no formal tenure rights over their accommodation (Department of Housing, 1994). The government's point of argument could possibly be that without the security of tenure, informal settlement dwellers are likely to be reluctant to improve their dwellings because they may feel less entitled to them. Against this background, the Housing White Paper 1994 sought to enhance the formalisation of informal dwellers; thus, empowering them to unreservedly invest in their dwellings (Department of Housing, 1994).

Fourth, the Housing White Paper 1994 also seemed to have liberalised the housing setting with its advocacy for the 'right to freedom of choice'. It supports both the collective and individual choices in the quest for satisfying housing needs. The endowment of 'freedom to choose' to residents puts them in an advantageous space to exercise full control over all processes up to the end-product. However, this is not surprising because the policy also stresses the need to capacitate residents with active participation in all housing processes. Significant to the central part of the study, which is informal settlement upgrading, freedom of choice and participation of dwellers in the design and planning of the neighbourhood's improvement and the housing construction process itself, are believed to be imperative attributes in predicting beneficiary satisfaction. This is according to the literature (see chapter 2) that the determination of "who physically builds" the house matters less; what matters most is 'who decides' on the processes related to the design, building and management of the houses (Boyars & Turner, 1976; Berner, 2001; Marais, 2008; Marais & Ntema, 2013). Finally, there is the concept of "people-centred development". The government through the Housing White paper 1994, distinctly exhibited its intent (at least on paper), to delivering community-driven housing development. According to this policy stance, community members and thus, project beneficiaries, such as those in upgraded areas may organise

themselves to collectively and individually mobilise and exploit available local resources and skills among themselves to realise their housing needs, including related economic and social needs (Department of Housing, 1994). Through this stance, the Housing White Paper 1994 policy, has unambiguously shown its intent to embrace and possibly advance a more inclusive, bottom-up and community-driven housing development. The Housing White Paper 1994 undertook to provide a conducive affordable financial system (housing loans) and environment to empower people, particularly the low-income group to incrementally improve their housing. However, despite the various principles discussed above, worth noting is the fact that the lack of strategic details in the Housing White Paper 1994, specifically on the upgrading of informal settlements seemed to have subtly promoted the proliferation of informal settlements in various urban centres across the country; thereby, showing a possible mismatch between policy intent and the actual implementation and contextual realities in informal settlement areas (African National Congress, 1994; Le Roux, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2013; Bailey, 2017).

### **3.2.2 Breaking New Ground 2004 and the possible intention to embrace informal settlement upgrading**

Before discussing and analysing specific policy principles and objectives related to government's intent to embrace informal settlement upgrading, it may be appropriate first, to make the following remarks and observations. The introduction of BNG 2004 and its accompanying UISP document, should be seen as a progressive policy shift from mere housing delivery guided by the Housing White Paper 1994, to a more integrated and sustainable human settlement development. Furthermore, the introduction and adoption of BNG 2004 and its accompanying UISP document, does not seek to replace but instead, refine and complement certain key policy objectives of the Housing White Paper 1994 (Huchzermeyer, 2006). It could also be argued that in comprehending the housing provision question, the BNG 2004 did not, however, fall far from the erstwhile Housing White Paper 1994, but rather sought to transform and re-orientate policy focus from being a mere supply-driven delivery as emphasised in the Housing White Paper 1994, to a demand-driven delivery housing model (Ntema, 2011). In pursuit of this quest, it would seem that while retaining key policy fundamentals, the BNG 2004 adopted a more strategic detailed and comprehensive housing provision plan than a mere superficial and shallow approach taken by the Housing

White Paper 1994, towards the upgrading of informal settlements. This said, the following key principles and objectives enshrined in BNG 2004 in relation to informal settlement upgrading are worth noting and further analysing: first, is the concept of “incremental provision of services, social amenities and tenure” by the BNG 2004 (Department of Housing, 2004). Second, is the advocacy for ‘progressive eradication of informal settlements through a phased in-situ approach. In essence, through the latter, the policy document is unambiguously advocating for the incremental development of shacks in informal settlements by means of in-situ upgrading, in desirable and habitable locations, as well as relocation from locations deemed undesirable for human habitation, through upgrading. Through phased in-situ upgrading, BNG 2004 intends supporting fragile community networks and endeavouring to minimise disruption in the informal settlements, as well as ensuring effective community participation in the four key and compulsory stages each informal settlement upgrading process funded by government, is expected to undergo (Department of Housing, 2004; Lug & Vawda, 2009). As emphasised in the BNG 2004 (Department of Housing, 2004), adherence to the following stages could possibly lead to in-situ upgrading, which is responsive to the housing needs of project beneficiaries in any upgraded area:

**Phase 1:** The first phase makes it mandatory to undertake a community survey to determine the housing and infrastructural needs of the community, through a process of consultation, including a determination of the geo-technical and physical suitability of the land for in-situ upgrading.

**Phase 2:** The second phase focuses on the provision of basic services, social amenities and secure tenure to the entire community.

**Phase 3:** During the final phase, housing is to be developed in response to community demand and may take a variety of forms, including medium-density housing and free-standing houses, constructed through mutual aid and community self-help or local contractors.

### **3.2.3 National policy discourse and informal settlement upgrading in the City of Tshwane**

According to the evidence and discussion above, one of the goals of national policy on informal settlement upgrading was attainment of total eradication of informal settlements in the country by 2014 (Huchzermeyer, 2013). Contrary to this, evidence in both city of

Tshwane and other parts of the country shows not only existence but a growing number of informal settlements in the country post-2014. For instance, in Tshwane there is currently a total number of 227 informal settlements with about 345 710 households (Williams, 2021). This is an increase of 158.36% in the number of informal settlements in the city between 2006 and 2021 (City of Tshwane 2007). Thus, the drive behind this upsurge could primarily be ascribed to in-migration and loss of income by the majority of residents in Tshwane due to the effect of growing unemployment rate amongst others (City of Tshwane Annual Report, 2018; BusinessTech, 2020). While city of Tshwane could be one of many microcosms of the national scope and scale for informal settlements, it may be appropriate for the researcher to argue that the city remains committed to national agenda on eradication of informal settlements. Confirming this could be existence of city's informal settlement strategy including some strategic partnerships. Reflecting on city's commitment to responding to the national call for eradication of informal settlements, the current Executive Mayor presented comprehensive plan on how the city intent to realise this commitment. As envisaged in city's informal settlement strategy, the goal is to incrementally upgrade existing informal settlements (Mitchley, 2021; Williams, 2021). It is in this context that over its short to medium term, the city plans to at least formalise no less than half of the current informal settlements in and around its jurisdiction. In turn, this will possibly facilitate upgrading that could be beneficial to an estimated number of 72 880 households in this short-to-medium-term (Mitchley, 2021). Through city's strategic partnerships on eradication of informal settlements, evidence shows that, the current informal settlement upgrading strategy advocates for mobilisation of funding for settlement upgrading through partnership known as 'upgrading of informal settlement partnership grant' (Mitchley, 2021; Williams, 2021). Consistent with the national policy, the current informal settlement strategy for the city advocates for informal settlement upgrading that prioritise basics such as service infrastructure and social amenities (Williams, 2021).

### **3.2.3 The Housing White Paper 1994 and Breaking New Ground 2004: Possible conformity with Turner's principles and writings on informal settlement upgrading**

The emphasise of concepts, such as "*incremental provision* of services, social amenities and tenure security" by the BNG 2004 (Department of Housing, 2004), and *progressive access* to secure tenure; portable water; adequate sanitation facilities; waste disposal" as advocated by

Housing White Paper 1994 (Department of Housing, 1994), could at a conceptual level be equated with Turner's concept of '*progressive housing*' or '*incremental housing*' and '*progressive development*' (Turner, 1976; Harris, 2003). With security of tenure being a common denominator in both the Housing White Paper 1994 and BNG 2004, it may be linked with one of Turner's views on informal settlement upgrading. With regard to the security of tenure, it is significant to note that Turner's contention is that securing tenure as part of a 'progressive solution' to the growing phenomenon of informal settlements, it could play a significant role in housing development, as it provides dwellers with the security and protection from unnecessary eviction. He further advances the argument that dwellers would have a sense of possession, which would also improve a sense of belonging to the land, as well as an inspiration to further invest in their housing (Turner, 1972). He is of the view that security of tenure empowers dwellers with the access to financial benefits, as they would borrow against their property as the collateral security, from conventional financial institutions (Doebele, 1983; Skinner & Roddell, 1983; Rakodi, 1987; De Souza, 1999; Durand-Lasserve, 2006). It could further be appropriate to draw similarities (at least at the conceptual level), between Turner's notion of '*progressive housing*' or '*incremental housing*' in the context of settlement upgrading (Turner, 1976) with BNG 2004's notion of '*progressive eradication of informal settlements through a phased in-situ upgrading approach*' (Department of Housing, 2004:18). The emphasis of the word '*progressive*' by Turner, should in the main, be understood in the context of his well-known view that informal settlement upgrading projects have the potential to provide a 'progressive solution' to the housing crisis, by allowing project beneficiaries to progressively construct dwellings of the type and quality that corresponds to their economic capacity, social circumstances and cultural habits (Turner, 1976). Another principle expressed in the Housing White Paper, 1994, which could be linked to Turner's principles and writings on informal settlement upgrading is the 'right to the freedom of choice' and 'people-centred development'. These two concepts or principles could directly or indirectly be linked with Turner's concepts of 'freedom to build': 'housing by people' and 'dweller control' (Turner, 1976). His argument is that by giving communities the freedom to build, as well as the freedom or ability to control major decisions regarding their dwellings, they can design and build houses and neighbourhoods which work better for them and are responsive to their cultural and economic circumstances and needs (Parnell & Hart, 1999; Harris, 2003). While conformity with Turner's views and principles at the implementation phase of informal settlement upgrading

in South Africa is debatable, evidence presented in this section makes it appropriate to argue that South African policies (Housing White Paper, 1994 and BNG, 2004), do not only embrace the concept of informal settlement upgrading but also cherish certain views and concepts expressed by Turner in his writing on informal settlement upgrading. Next, the discussion and analysis focuses on the actual implementation and general performance of upgrading projects in a post-apartheid South Africa.

### **3.3 Informal settlement upgrading projects and implementation experiences in a post-apartheid South Africa**

The discussion above focused on the extent to which South African policy discourse embraced the principles related both to informal settlement upgrading and the ideas and writings of Turner on informal settlement upgrading, as a possible alternative to the conventional public housing model. Like elsewhere in developing countries (see also Chapter Two), the South African government did not embrace the concept of informal settlement upgrading without controversy. While the primary focus of this section is to provide a critical analysis of the actual implementation of various upgrading projects and people's experiences in these project areas, it may however, be worthwhile to briefly outline a twofold historical overview that makes the initial attitude of the South African government towards informal settlement upgrading policy and programme to be no different from other developing countries. The literature shows that similar to most developing countries, despite the growing housing shortage and the subsequent sporadic emergence of informal settlements meant to highlight both the housing shortage and resistance against apartheid amongst black marginalised communities, the apartheid government responded by legislating some of most stringent anti-black urbanisation policies, such as influx control. This policy, to a large extent, was known for its offensive programme of forced removals through, amongst other things, demolition (Platzky & Walker, 1985). Subsequent to replacing the policy on influx control with a policy on orderly urbanisation in the late 1980s, the apartheid government decided (in 1990), to embrace the (IDT) as a vehicle to respond to the proliferation of informal settlements during the transition period in early 1990s, instead of adopting a well-crafted policy dedicated to informal settlement upgrading (Huchzermeyer, 2001). The policy vacuum on informal settlement upgrading was one of historical weaknesses, which was later

inherited by the democratic government in 1994. Despite inheriting the policy vacuum and a figure of just over 1.4 million households residing in informal settlements in 1994 (Department of Housing, 1994), the literature and policy analysis (see Section 3.3.2), shows that it took a democratic government at least another decade (1994-2004), before officially adopting the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme as part of the housing policy, entitled '*Breaking New Ground*': *A comprehensive plan for the development of informal settlements* (Department of Housing, 2004; Huchzermeyer, 2006). Against the brief background above, it may be appropriate to indicate in advance, that discussion and analysis of informal settlement upgrading in this section, will be informed largely by the outcomes in informal settlement upgrading projects as guided by both the IDT, Housing White Paper 1994 and BNG policy since 1994.

### **3.3.1 Level of access to housing, basic services and social amenities in upgraded informal settlements**

As indicated previously, the assessment of the implementation, subsequent housing and infrastructural outcomes in upgrading projects would cover a post-apartheid era which comprises a transition period (1990-1993) and the democratic era which started in 1994 to date. Although the intention is not to separate these two periods that (for the purpose of this study), have been deliberately grouped together and referred to broadly as a post-apartheid era, it may however, be noteworthy to indicate that for the transition period, analysis and discussion will be informed by the implementation and performance of upgrading projects, as guided by the IDT programme, while for a democratic era, the emphasis will be on these projects as guided mainly by the Housing White Paper 1994, and recently by the BNG 2004. However, before an in-depth discussion and analysis of the projects' implementation and outcomes is done, it may be appropriate to indicate that according to existing evidence in the literature, not all the local municipalities made provision and allocation for informal settlement upgrading in their infrastructural budgets and programmes. While it might be possible that there are some (although very few), small local municipalities who have upgrading as part of their infrastructural development programmes, the literature does in the main, show a well-documented history of upgrading projects mostly in the big cities and metropolitan areas. This said, it is not all the big towns and cities that are equally documented in the literature. For instance, in their upgrading drive for 2017/2018 and 2018/19 financial years, the city of Cape Town is said to have budgeted over R235 million (Van der

Westhuizen, 2017). Despite facing a huge and growing problem of informal settlements, the city of Johannesburg metropolitan municipality surprisingly allocated an amount of R74 million for the development of informal settlements during the 2017/18 financial year (Van der Westhuizen, Van Zyl, & Cele, 2017). Evidence further shows that for the financial year 2017/18, the Buffalo City metropolitan municipality made a budget allocation of only R63 million for its upgrading projects (Van der Westhuizen, Van Zyl, & Cele, 2017). Similar to the significant portion of the upgrading budget allocation in the city of Cape Town, evidence shows that the city of Ekurhuleni budgeted R290 million for the provision of serviced stands in numerous informal settlements for the 2017/18 financial year (Highlights of City of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality 2017, 2018). There is also evidence documented in the literature about the history and implementation of upgrading projects in the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, and the Matjhabeng Local Municipality (see Ntema & Marais, 2013; Marais & Ntema, 2013). Interesting and unique about the profiling and assessment of upgrading projects in the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, and the Matjhabeng Local Municipality is their profiling dates of almost three decades, with the first study being undertaken in 1990 (see also Botes, Krige & Wessels, 1991; Marais & Krige, 1997; Marais & Krige, 1999; Mehlomakulu & Marais, 1999; Marais, Van Rensburg & Botes, 2003; Mokoena & Marais, 2008; Ntema & Marais, 2013; Marais, Ntema, Cloete & Venter, 2014). This has undoubtedly made these two upgrading projects carried out in the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, and the Matjhabeng Local Municipality some of the very few existing longitudinal studies in upgrading related studies. As indicated earlier in the discussion, the few selected case studies mentioned above, are but part of the many which might not have been mentioned in this section. Evidence from these and many other case studies on upgrading projects, provide some mixed results in terms of how upgrading projects in a post-apartheid South Africa seem to have promoted access to improved provision of housing and related service infrastructure, including social amenities. Similar, to other developing countries (see Chapter Two), the literature shows that there are instances where upgrading projects seem to have contributed towards improved access to basic public services and infrastructure. The following are some of the aspects which, based on existing evidence, the focus will be on: improved housing and housing consolidation; improved access to basic services, such as drinking water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal; satisfactory access to social amenities, such as schools, clinics and public transport; improved livelihoods and

poverty reduction; a great sense of place attachment; security of tenure; a great sense of neighbourhood safety; and community participation in project implementation.

With regard to improved infrastructure and its concomitant reduction in crime rate, evidence from the South African literature illustrates how the upgrading projects in Philippi, (Cape Town) (Luthango, Reyes & Gubevu, 2016); Ntuzuma D Section in eThekweni (KwaZulu-Natal, Monwabisi Park) (Mbambo, 2013); and Thabong (Welkom) and Freedom Square (Bloemfontein) (Marais & Ntema, 2013; Ntema, 2018; Ntema, Massey, Marais, Cloete & Lenka, 2018), positively improved the provision of basic infrastructure. Subsequent to improved infrastructure, it was observed how other informal settlements related and addressed incidents, such as crime issues (Mbambo, 2013; Luthango, Reyes & Gubevu, 2016; Marais, Ntema, Cloete & Lenka, 2017). There is evidence showing that subsequent to the improvement in the provision of electricity and the social infrastructure, in both Phillip and Monwabisi Park, there was a sudden reduction in the rate of crime generally because of the enhanced provision of electricity infrastructure (Luthango, Reyes & Gubevu, 2016).

Furthermore, evidence shows that informal settlement upgrading in certain project areas effectively addressed some of the health problems usually associated with informal settlements. For instance, the residents in the Imizamo Yethu upgraded projects in Hout Bay, Cape Town, saw a decrease in coughing fever and TB cases because of the improved housing conditions that protect them from wet, damp and cold conditions; the same could not be said about those living in shacks (Shortt & Hammett, 2013). There is also evidence showing a correlation between improved infrastructure and health conditions in upgraded areas (Mbambo, 2013; Marais & Cloete, 2014). For instance, there is an indication of a possible positive connection between the provision of clean and safe running water, sanitation, affordable prepaid electricity, sewerage and roads in Ntuzuma D Section and a significant decline in the spread and infection rate of diseases and other health risks (Mbambo, 2013). The other important aspect that determines the improvement of informal settlements is their dwellers' relation to access to basic services and social amenities. Commonly, access to basic services influences dwellers in decision-making, regarding their choice of where to live (Tissington, 2012). The latest study done in an upgraded informal settlement in Thabong township (Welkom), shows how this project led to widespread satisfaction amongst the project beneficiaries, in terms of easy access to both basic services, such as drinking water,

sanitation, electricity and social amenities and public schools, clinics and a transport system (Ntema, 2017). Furthermore, what is significant is the growing number of project beneficiaries who seem to have consolidated their housing, by redirecting some of these basic services, particularly running water and flushing toilets, inside their homes in this Thabong upgraded area (Ntema, 2017). An equally noteworthy aspect of upgrading that has played a significant role in consolidating development in some upgraded informal settlements in South Africa, is access to tenure security. Similar to findings mentioned in Chapter Two, evidence from the South African context shows how some upgrading projects, where there is the attainment of security of tenure, seem to have empowered the project beneficiaries to acquire the right to occupy their property. They, in turn, use this property to further access either economic or financial opportunities they otherwise would not have qualified for, when they resided in informal settlements. This is further confirmed by a study done by Tissington (2012), where it is established that the strengthened security of tenure for upgrading project beneficiaries in the Bloemfontein (Free State); Polokwane (Limpopo); and Daveyton (Gauteng); upgraded informal settlements has improved greatly the residents' prospects of upgrading their homes through savings and the use of loans (Department of Human Settlement, 2011; Tissington, 2012). Once again, the absence of the fear of eviction, due to improved security tenure, presented residents with the liberty to invest in the improvement of their dwellings (Department of Human Settlement, 2011).

There is also evidence that shows how the in-situ upgrading in Ntuzuma and the Lamontville Barcelona and Freedom Square seemed to have improved the dwellers' livelihoods. The studies done by Masiteng (2013) and Mbambo (2013), show that subsequent to the beneficiaries' proximity to economic opportunities and social facilities, their income generation activities and savings significantly improved. Boosting this further, was easy access to an affordable public transport system, which made it possible for both the local business people and the general public to spend less on transport between their homes and local zones of economic and social opportunities, including their workplaces. As stated by Marais and Ntema (2013) and Ntema, Massey, Marais, Cloete and Lenka, (2018), in the case of Freedom Square upgrading (Bloemfontein) in particular, this upgrading project has also promoted spatial infilling with former Botshabelo and Thaba Nchu residents opting to permanently relocate to this project area, in their quest to cut costs for their daily trip of about 60km to Bloemfontein. They also had access to affordable and reliable local public transport

and improved basic services and social amenities. Related to livelihoods are the growing levels of poverty. Synonymous with improved livelihoods in some of the upgrading projects, the literature shows a minimal impact of upgrading projects in poverty alleviation. This view is, to some extent, confirmed both in policy (Department of Housing, 2004) and in the literature (Misselhorn, 2008; Ziblim, 2013; Ntema, Marais, Cloete & Lenka, 2017) where it is argued that some informal settlement upgrading projects are being used as tools to alleviate poverty. The view that poverty alleviation should be a primary goal of any upgrading project' is also being considered by the World Bank (Abbott, 2002). Another exceptional occurrence worth noting in this section is the few upgrading projects that seem to have embraced the principle of people- centred development (see also Department of Housing, 1994) or 'dweller control' as advocated by Turner (see also Turner, 1976). For example, a recent research study by Hendler and Fieuw, (2018), shows that meaningful and comprehensive coordination between the community, the Cape Town City Council and other important role players in the relocation of some residents in endeavouring to de-densify the Barcelona informal settlement, was successfully achieved. This was because the Barcelona informal settlement upgrading programme's de-densification by relocating other residents, was not resisted because the Cape Town City Council had facilitated proper and meaningful community participation. Incredibly inspiring in this case was that the relocated inhabitants were successfully located on the serviced land (Fieuw, 2015; Hendler & Fieuw, 2018). Equally, in Namibia Stop 8 settlement in Durban, the strong and effective participation of project beneficiaries through, amongst other things, the self-build approach, as well as the beneficiaries' inclusion in the most strategically important process, greatly improved the dwellers' satisfaction. As a consequence, beneficiaries demonstrated a great sense of buy-in to their community development, and type of dwelling, including the entire neighbourhood; thus, demonstrating a high level of place attachment. For instance, evidence shows that subsequent to place attachment, about 85% of the original project beneficiaries in this upgraded area continue to reside in their dwellings since the upgrading process (Loggia1 & Georgiadou, 2016). In spite of the positive contributions of some upgrading projects in the informal settlement discourse, there is however, indisputable evidence in the South African literature that there are several flaws and weaknesses in the performance of most upgrading projects in South Africa. Below is a critical analysis of some of the weaknesses and challenges facing upgrading projects in various urban centres across South Africa.

### **3.4 Challenges facing informal settlement upgrading in a post-apartheid South Africa**

Despite a brief overview in the previous section of some success stories about the performance of certain informal settlement upgrading projects, there is evidence of poor performance in various upgrading projects as well (see also Misselhorn, 2008; Huchzermeyer, 2010; Hendler & Fieuw, 2018). In actual fact, the argument made in the South African literature is grounded in the notion that the implementation of most upgrading projects seems to have failed to conform with both beneficiaries' expectations, policy objectives and to some extent, Turner's views on informal settlement upgrading. To a certain extent, this view is confirmed in the argument made by Bolnick (2010) and Bolnick and Bradlow (2011), that the upgrading of informal settlements have been inefficiently implemented, while its intended goals have been deeply compromised. Another criticism levelled against the implementation of upgrading projects, is their failure to transform and redress past apartheid spatial planning and inequalities in the housing landscape. A twofold criticism is being raised by Huchzermeyer (2010) in this respect. First, is the upgrading projects that continue to perpetuate a peripheral state funded low-income housing development on the outskirts of most urban centres, far from economic and social opportunities. Second, is upgrading projects that continue to follow a greenfield development model, instead of an in-situ upgrading development model. It is believed, therefore, that instead of sustaining in-situ upgrading, the government is persistently determined to eliminate informal settlements, through the relocation of informal settlement dwellers to peripheral greenfields development (Tissington, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2013). Despite their tendency to disregard upgrading principles as outlined in the BNG 2004 and its accompanying UISP, these relocations are also being criticised for disrupting established community networks and the livelihood strategies of informal settlers targeted for upgrading programmes (Fieuw, 2011). Seemingly, such action fits well with the narrative of Huchzermeyer (2010) and Graham (2006), who argue that some South African municipalities are steadily using oppressive approaches in the name of settlement upgrading to clear out and forestall the development of informal settlements closer to upmarket suburbs or city centres. The criticism raised by Huchzermeyer and others in this respect (peripheral project location), could amongst other things, be attributed to the challenge of unaffordable land for upgrading in strategic locations. Confirming this view, Bolnick and Bradlow (2011) argue that the

availability and acquisition costs of land, remain one of the practical challenges facing the effective implementation of upgrading projects in strategic locations. Similarly, Marais and Ntema (2013), also confirm that the issue of land remains a hindrance for most upgrading projects, due to the private ownership of land in and around urban centres, including neoliberal policies, which are believed to be market-oriented and somewhat repressive.

While the discussion above (see Section 3.4) has on one hand, acknowledged some level of provision of basic services in some upgrading projects, it may on the other hand, be appropriate to argue that where such basic service infrastructure, particularly water is installed, it is usually through communal taps which are not within the prescribed RDP walking distance of 200m (Zunguzane et al., 2012). The other challenge or weakness documented comprehensively in the literature is the growing outmigration of original project beneficiaries in some of the upgrading projects. There are reports of incidents where the original project beneficiaries either sold or abandoned their housing and (probably) returned to their informal settlement (Cross, 2002; Property24, 2011; Marais, Ntema, Cloete & Venter, 2014). To demonstrate the impact of the outmigration of the original project beneficiaries, evidence shows that only 45% of the original project beneficiaries still occupy their housing in an upgraded Namibia Stop 8 community in Durban (Georgiadou & Loggia, 2016), while in Thabong, the upgraded informal settlement in Welkom, the number of original project beneficiaries still residing in the area, declined to 74% (Ntema, 2017). Although the literature and research does not cite specific contributing factors to this challenge (outmigration), there is evidence of complaints by project beneficiaries in some upgrading projects that range from: housing units with structural defects blamed on the poor quality and standard of building materials; the peripheral location of their neighbourhoods, which in turn, make it difficult to access building materials and economic opportunities (Mkhize, 2003; Adebayo, 2008; Aigbavboa, 2010). As part of these complaints, the literature further makes reference to issues related to allegations of shoddy workmanship on most of the houses and the unsuitable designs, which in the main, are being blamed on the deliberate decision by both government and the state appointed contractors to exclude and marginalise project beneficiaries during the key decision-making processes (Biermann, 2004; Huchzermeyer, 2010; Jay & Bowen, 2011; Hunter & Posel, 2012; Chigumira, 2016). As indicated earlier in the discussion, the marginalisation of project beneficiaries in key project aspects, such as design and implementation, remain a challenge in some upgrading projects. The study by

Lizarralde and Massyn (2008), shows that in one of the projects in Cape Town, community participation was disregarded which in turn, affected the success of the project. Bizarrely, according to the South African Civil Society Information Service (2008), the state's major precedence centred comprehensively on housing supply and social infrastructure; thus, deeming dwellers' participation as a sloppy exercise that could be flouted. Convincing but perturbing evidence for the distorted participation in the South African context in the upgrading of informal settlements can be traced to a beneficiary perception study that was conducted in three communities in KwaZulu-Natal (Mt Moriah, Indlovu and Emnambithi upgrading projects) where more than 70% of the respondents in these upgraded areas complained about being excluded and marginalised by project managers, including their ward councillors during the project planning and implementation phases. In fact, they affirmed not to have received any feedback from them with regard to their concerns (Khan, Khan & Govender, 2013). Other weaknesses in some of upgrading projects is the high rate of unemployment amongst project beneficiaries- with evidence from Thabong upgrading project showing unemployment rate of just over 70% in 2014 (Ntema, 2017), and a degree of informality that persists in some upgrading projects (Adebayo, 2008).

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed and analysed informal settlement upgrading in the South African context from the literature, policy and actual implementation perspectives. The literature findings are mixed. Evidence shows some pockets of successes where informal settlement upgrading in certain areas, seems to have promoted improved access to selected service infrastructure, social amenities, a reduction in the crime rate and improved health conditions, amongst other things. Notwithstanding the strides made, there is however, overwhelming evidence which makes it appropriate for the researcher to argue that like elsewhere in most developing countries (see Chapter Two), the conventional public housing policy and related contractor-driven RDP programme in South Africa seems not only unaffordable and thus, unsustainable, but also has directly and indirectly contributed to a growing number of informal settlements on the peripheries of most towns and cities. Consequently, similar to the conventional public housing model, even the implementation of informal settlement upgrading projects, continue to perpetuate peripheral, low-income housing development that does not assist in transforming apartheid urban spatial planning. Amongst the chief

contributors to this situation, is the widespread lack of state-owned land, coupled with unaffordable, privately owned land in strategic locations, which in turn, make 'relocation into greenfields' as opposed to 'in-situ upgrading' a widely preferred option, adopted by the government in its response to land invasions and housing needs in most informal settlements. There are several concepts enshrined in both the White Paper on Housing 1994 and BNG 2004 and its accompanying UISP that do not only demonstrate government's intention to embrace informal settlement upgrading (at least on paper), but to also conform to the ideas and writings of Turner on the significance of informal settlement upgrading as a feasible policy alternative.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter builds on the brief discussion in Chapter One; however, this chapter's emphasis is on a detailed, supplementary account and description of the study's applied research methodology. The emphasis of the discussion of this chapter will be on the relevant, employed research methodology that is, the research design; sampling techniques; data collection, and analysis methods used in the study. The subsequent discussion will deal comprehensively with all the mentioned methodological parts of the study.

### **4.1 Research design and methodology**

There is no universal definition of research design according to the prescripts of the available literature. Scholars from different backgrounds define research design differently. For instance, scholars, such as Babbie and Mouton (2001), define research design as an organised plan that seeks to conduct the research process in the pursuit to address a research problem. However, Yin (2003), defines research design as a coherent arrangement that can connect the pragmatic data to the research question, as well as the conclusion. Creswell (2007), on the other hand, defines research design as the complete research process from the conceptualisation of the research problem to the report writing, which is the conclusion of the

research study. Driven by the quest to adhere to research principles as described by the abovementioned scholars, the researcher employed the case study design. The researcher opted for the case study design because according to Crowe, Cresswell, Robertson, Huby, Avery and Sheikh (2011), the case study is beneficial where the study seeks to understand the phenomenon or the event in its true and natural setting. Therefore, the study focuses on the settlement of the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, located in the capital City Pretoria, under the City of Tshwane Metropolitan, to investigate the beneficiaries/dwellers' perception of the upgrading process that had taken place in the said community. The research design methods to investigate the phenomenon under investigation in this study are mixed methods. These mixed methods employed, comprise open-ended questions in the form of an in-depth interview and a focus group discussion, as well as a household survey questionnaire comprising closed-ended questions, coupled with very limited open-ended questions. The subsequent analysis furthers the discussion on both other aspects of research method and the importance of the study.

## **4.2. Research strategies**

Usually, the reliability and the success of the research design is directly influenced by the research methods employed in the study. In this study, the researcher chose to employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative research strategies. The reason for combining the two methods was a quest to pursue the gathering of reliable data, as well as gaining a far-reaching understanding of the phenomenon under study. The idea of employing the mixed method approach supported by Ruane (2016), in which she articulates that the utilisation of mixed methods in a study aims to achieve more insight into the phenomenon and can increase the reliability of the data collected. The reliability of the data is highly improved; thus, the application of multiple data collection methods are used in this study (Creswell, 2009; Ruane, 2016). The following discussion concentrates on two research strategies (qualitative and quantitative research techniques), together with their importance to the study.

### **4.2.1 Qualitative research method**

As previously indicated above, in this chapter and in Chapter One, this study employs the mixed method approach that comprises the qualitative and quantitative research strategies. The focus of this section is to give a detailed discussion on the qualitative research technique used to complement the quantitative technique in the form of a mixed method. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), the most distinguishable character of qualitative research is its flexibility to understand people, in terms of their own real-life experiences and the definition of the phenomenon/ event, without prescribing them to a definition. To make this possible, the qualitative technique according to Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Creswell (2007) does not encompass the use of numbers and graphs, but essentially involves the interpretation of words, images, and observations in order to understand and discover some key underlying concepts and patterns of the phenomenon explored. Moreover, it is generally acknowledged and recognised according to the literature that unlike the quantitative technique, the qualitative method generally does not follow a strictly structured question during the data collection process. However, it relatively follows semi-structured questions which are “open-ended” in nature to allow the participants to explore their perceptions regarding upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Its flexibility does not only allow the participants to explore but to also allow further probing by the interviewer during the focus group discussion and the key informant interviews (Ruane, 2016). Again, qualitative research methods ordinarily permit participants to use their own words and the language of their choice, which can later be translated without losing the meaning (Squires, 2009). Based on the above information, it is safe to state that qualitative data collection methods are fundamentally dependent on the social interaction, as the form of sourcing require data about the insight and understanding of the event investigated (Opdenakker, 2006). In addition, the study applied the mixed methods technique, as it used two qualitative methods in the form of in-depth interviews (key informant interview and focus group discussion), with participants from Soshanguve Extension 3 (see more information below). The two will complement the data collected through the quantitative household survey method, which is likely to improve the gathering of reliable data and ultimately produce valid results. By means of the focus group discussion, the researcher was afforded the opportunity to engage with the different genders and ages from similar experiences to discuss their personal experiences and insights regarding the performance of upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan. Different ages and genders were used because the researcher wanted to gain useful information regarding upgrading, from the elderly to the youthful household head of

both genders, mindful of the fact the different genders and ages have different perceptions and face different challenges. The research also engaged with the community leader (Ward Committee Chairperson) to gain their deeper insight and views on their personal experiences and perceptions, concerning the upgrading that took place in Soshanguve Extension 3 area. It is necessary to state that the questions in the data collection instruments, both qualitative and quantitative formulated were enlightened by the literature and the theoretical perspective of the study. During the facilitation of both the in-depth interview and the focus group discussion, the researcher gained a profound understanding of the participants' widely held perceptions on their living experiences regarding the provision of essential services, livelihoods and the actual upgrading of their community, (Soshanguve Extension 3 area).

Despite the qualitative research technique detailed in the discussion above, it would be naïve to believe that the qualitative research strategy has no known weaknesses. Therefore, it is appropriate to give some brief information on the weaknesses associated with the qualitative research method:

- It is time-consuming, both during the interviewing and analysis process. The qualitative data is ordinarily large in quantity; thus, the analysis and interpretation of the data requires much time (Choy, 2014)
- The qualitative research technique is said to be subjective because only a very few participants or a small group's assumptions is made to represent a large group of people. Generally, the results are difficult to generalise to the study group (Almeida, Faria & Queirós. 2017).
- It demands a skilful or competent requirement for the facilitators and interviewers (Choy, 2014).

#### **4.2.2. Quantitative research**

It has already been indicated in the discussion above and in Chapter One that this study employed a mixed method approach. In this section, the discussion attempts to give a detailed account of the importance of a quantitative strategy to the study. Contrary to qualitative research that does not use numeric data to describe and give meaning to the data, the quantitative method utilises numerical data as values of variables to interpret and generate information (Ruane, 2016). Leedy and Ormrod (2015), corroborating Ruane's statement,

describes quantitative research as information that summarily concentrates on a number or information that is by nature numerical in form. It is an additional idea of the wider available literature that the quantitative research strategy tends to involve a larger sample, which is far more than the qualitative one and the sample is selected randomly. As a result, the larger sample makes it possible for the results to likely be generalised to the whole population (Spamann, 2009). Furthermore, another important characteristic of the quantitative strategy, apart from a larger sample, is that data analysis consumes less time as it utilises advanced statistical software, such as the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), Statistics and Data (STATA) and NVio to analyse data (Connolly, 2007).

Nevertheless, the method is thought to be exceptionally unproblematic in replicating and having a high-reliability probability (Bryaman, 2008). Based on the information provided on the quantitative research approach, together with addressing the aim and objectives of the study, the researcher found it necessary to include a quantitative research approach, together with other qualitative methods. Employing the household survey method, the researcher used a closed-ended questionnaire as indicated in the discussion above to examine the selected dwellers of Soshanguve Extension 3 area, in the City of Tshwane. The researcher gathered their views and perceptions on the upgrading in their area, since residents would have different views and perceptions given the different demographics of the study area. Using the mixed methods setting would help to improve the reliability and validity of the study.

Conversely, given the strengths mentioned above, the strategy also received some criticism. It is appropriate to mention a few key weaknesses of the quantitative research strategy. The criticisms are as follows:

- It does not take human perceptions and beliefs into account (Choy, 2014).
- The results generally cannot always represent the actual occurrence, since the respondents are restricted to limited options of responses that are prescribed by the researcher. This action does not encourage critical engagement with the subject matter, thus, dampening creative thinking (Daniel, 2016).

### **4.3. Sampling methods and techniques of the study**

It is owing to inadequate time, money and human resources that the study designed to collect data from a sample of people, unlike gathering data from an entire population, such as in the case of the census, which is exceptional. It is in this context that the study, informed by the mixed method approach, considered utilising both the probability and no-probability sampling methods that will subsequently be discussed in section 4.3.3. The emphasis of the study now switches to a discussion on the sampling techniques the study employed in its pursuit of exploring the beneficiaries' perceptions in the upgraded settlement of Soshanguve Extension 3 area in Tshwane District, Pretoria, in the Gauteng province. Following is the discussion on the sampling aspects employed in the study.

#### **4.3.1. Targeted study population**

Considering what the researcher had mentioned in section 4.3 about the limited time, money and human resources, the mentioned aspects compelled the researcher to draw only a small sample, with no intention of ensuring a representation of the entire community in this chosen neighbourhood of Soshanguve Extension 3 area. However, this involved following certain research processes in order to achieve the set aim and objectives of the study. Since quantitative research involves the use of the larger sample, as discussed above, the researcher sampled and administered 60 household questionnaires to the head of households. In complementing the quantitative research data of the study, the researcher also conducted one in-depth qualitative interview with the community leader (Ward Committee Chairperson), as the key informant residing in Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Yet again, the researcher further conducted one focus group discussion of mixed gender, which comprised 8 participants all residing in Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The number and the setting of the focus group respondents, were informed by Babbie and Mouton (2001). These authors specify that a focus group discussion must be between 8 and 12 respondents. Without differing much from Babbie and Mouton, Ruane (2016) recommends having a focus group of 6-12 respondents; thus, the researcher opted to have eight respondents in order to fit both their definitions. In addition, Babbie and Mouton (2001) further guide the researcher to conduct the focus group discussion by sitting the respondents in a circular form, which the researcher observed.

### **4.3.2 The inclusion criteria**

Inclusion criteria stipulate the guidelines and characteristics that must be shared by all people participating in the study (Vining, Salsbury & Pohlman, 2014). Furthermore, Patino and Ferreira (2018:1) simplify inclusion criteria, also known as eligibility criteria "as the key features of the target population that the investigators will use to answer their research question". It is this background that has guided the researcher to select and identify dwellers from Soshanguve Extension 3 area, who have made a significant contribution to the study. First, with the inclusion criteria for the household survey, the researcher had to make certain of the household heads and proprietors. Second, regarding in-depth qualitative participation, the researcher had to ensure that the participant had been in the community before and after the upgrading had taken place. Again, the participant had to be a leader in the community and was a *bona fide* representative of the community. Lastly, for the focus group discussion, the researcher had to ensure that respondents were members of the community of Soshanguve Extension 3 area and were household heads responsible for finances and expenditure of their households and rightful owners of their dwellings.

### **4.3.3 The sampling procedure**

According to the literature, two broad sampling methods are applied in research studies; these are probability and non-probability sampling (Raune, 2016; Showkat & Parveen, 2017). In other words, sampling is the practice of selecting a sample or the section of the population to represent the entire population which is, according to Showkat and Parveen (2017:1), "...makes research more accurate and economical". However, for this study, the intention was never to produce a representative sample-hence, the researcher chose a random sampling technique to select only 60 (sixty) respondents in the entire population of Soshanguve Extension 3 area which if estimations by one of local community leaders is anything to go by, is around ????? residents. As argued in the literature, one of possible consequences of this situation is that the study is likely to have a significant sampling error (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). However, such sampling error does not impact on key study findings and conclusions since the intent was not to generate a representative sample. The rationale for a study sample of 60 respondents should also be understood against limitations and constraints in terms of

time, financial and human resources a researcher could mobilise. It is against this background that the researcher chose to utilise certain applicable sampling techniques within both the probability and non-probability sampling methods. However, before giving a detailed account of the employed sampling techniques, it is imperative to give brief definitions of probability and non-probability sampling methods. Specifically, in the probability sampling method, all elements of the population have an equal chance of being chosen. In addition, the probability is usually an ideal method for a large and representative sample in research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Inversely, the non-probability sampling method applies non-randomised methods that encompass judgement and purpose in selecting a sample (Vehovar, Toepoel & Steinmetz, 2016). For the selection of 60 (sixty) respondents in the quantitative household survey, the researcher employed a simple random sampling technique which is considered being the purest and most basic sampling technique because it gives all elements an equal and probable chance of representing a sample (Maree & Pietersen, 2007). There are two simple random sampling guiding factors, these being: incorporating every element in the sampling frame and randomly selecting some components from sampling frame to a representative sample (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Marlow, 2005; Raune, 2016). Aligning with this sentiment, the geographical coordinates of the entire study area (Soshanguve Extension 3 area) were processed and mapped using ArcGIS version 10.7.1 software's World Imagery and Google Earth. Thereafter, a well-defined, clear-cut map of the entire study area (Soshanguve Extension 3 area) was generated, and then used to randomly select 60 (sixty) households using the ArcGIS sampling tool. With the selection of 8 (eight) participants for a focus group discussion and 1 (one) Ward Committee Chairperson for in-depth interview, the study employed a purposive sampling technique, also referred to as judgements/expert sample. According to Sargeant (2012), participants are selected on their suitability to inform the research questions and enhance understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, the researcher selected the 8 (eight) participants based on their understanding of the phenomenon. There was one focus group discussion (of mixed gender: males and females) conducted with these 8 (eight) members of the Soshanguve Extension 3 community. Furthermore, the main objective of key informant interviews is to collect information from a comprehensive kind of people, such as community leaders, professionals, and committee members who have explicit knowledge about the community. This was the reason for selecting a Ward Committee Chairperson as a key-informant in the study. With their (key-informants) knowledge and understanding of the community dynamics, they can discuss the

nature of problems, as well as their solutions (Cresswell & Plano, 2011; Kun, Kassim, Howze & MacDonald, 2013; McKenna & Main, 2013).

#### **4.4. Data collection methods**

Data collection is a fundamental factor of a research study, in order to gather and measure information in a systematic manner, so as to answer the study's aim, objectives and research questions (Kabir, 2016). To gather the required data that answer the questions and fulfil the aim and objectives of the study, the study employed three different data collection methods. Chronologically, the study used the household survey method to collect quantitative data which mainly contained structured closed-ended questions, with a few open-ended questions, complementing some of the closed-ended question. The household survey was used to explore the 60 (sixty) households' perceptions of the phenomenon under study in Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The household survey questionnaire was structured into sub-sections as follows: A, Participants' Biographical and Demographic Profile; followed by section B, that focused on the Participants' Migration Patterns; followed by section C, the Socio-economic Profile of the participants; succeeded by Section D, that dealt with the Participants' Housing Improvements; Section E, concentrated on the Participants' Satisfaction with Dwellings, Services and Amenities; Section F, concentrated on Water and Sanitation; Section G, focused on the participation of participants in the design, construction and maintenance of their dwellings and infrastructure; and finally, Section H, highlighted the improvement in the standard of living in Soshanguve Extension 3 area (see Annexure A). It is essential to mention that the administration of the household survey questionnaires in Soshanguve Extension 3 area, was performed by a trained data collector and the researcher, himself. The data collector went through intensive training, which was done by the researcher, although this fieldworker already had wide fieldwork experience in different research projects at the Human Sciences Research Council. Conforming to research ethics, the researcher ensured that all participants were briefed about the benefits and risks of participating in the study. Consent to participate was obtained through the voluntary signing of the consent form by every participant.

Since the researcher utilised three (3) different data collection methods to improve the reliability and validity of the data, they also employed semi-structured in-depth interviews

(see Annexure B and C). The key informant who, in this case, was the community leader-Ward Committee Chairperson, was chosen from Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The community leader was used to explore the informed perceptions of the upgrading that had taken place in their community, as well as the provision of basic services. Embedded in semi-structured interviews are the open-ended questions (see Annexure B) which are entrenched in the interview guide, particularly in in-depth interviews conducted through a face-to-face meeting by a trained interviewer. One of the most important and advantageous aspects of the in-depth interview is that it allows the capturing of complete information provided by the participant, by recording the whole interview using a voice recorder. The researcher obtained permission to record the whole interview. As the interviewer conducted the interview, the researcher himself took notes; administered the recording of the interview using two voice-recording devices; ensured that all questions were asked; and that accurate and relevant information was gathered. Two voice-recording devices were used in order not to miss any information in the event that one of the two devices happened to have a flat battery or other technical problems. Importantly, the recording of the data also helped during the data transcription, as the researcher had the room to rewind the recording and capture the precise meaning supplied by the participants.

In the same way as the in-depth qualitative key informant interview, the researcher obtained consent to participate by obtaining voluntary signed consent forms from all focus group discussion respondents. Equally, the focus group discussion was recorded using two recording devices for the same reason as provided above. As with the in-depth interview, in the focus group, the researcher concentrated only on recording and taking down notes, as the fieldworker facilitated the discussion. The main reason why the researcher could not personally interview the key informant, just as in the focus group was the language barrier, since the participant could speak only the Sotho languages, in which the researcher is not proficient. To protect the identity of the participants in the focus group, the researcher used numbers in place of the participants' names. The participants were advised not to mention the names of their fellow participants during the discussion. The format was also identical to the key informant's interview where the name was replaced by the title "leader".

It is the view of the researcher supported by the literature that the mixed method (use of multiple methods in one study) in the study helps to address biases that may be caused by the use of a single method in the study. Babbie and Mouton (2001:275) support the use of multiple methods in a study by stating that "by combining methods and investigators in the

same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that emanate from one investigator or method. After collecting the data, the researcher moved to the next stage of the study, which was data analysis.

#### **4.4.1. Data capturing and analysis**

Given that the study had applied the mixed method of capturing quantitative and qualitative data to accomplish the study's aims and objectives, together with adequately answering the research question, the study employed two data capturing and analysis approaches. First, for the quantitative data analysis of 60 (sixty) households' questionnaires, the researcher used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) IBM SPSS, Statistics version 21. First, the data were captured on Microsoft Excel before being transferred to the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences for analysis. Because of the nature of SPSS, that it is designed in a way to handle a large set of variable data arrangements, the researcher found that the SPSS was ideal for the quantitative analysis of the study, as it comprised large data (Greasley, 2007). Furthermore, SPSS was carefully chosen because of the convincing substantiation put forward by academics and scholars, such as Ong and Puteh (2017). These authors regard SPSS as an ideal statistical package for analysing quantitative data because it offers a complete result when compared with other statistical software.

Pertaining to the focus group discussion and the in-depth interview, the data were analysed applying the content analysis method. Content data analysis is a method for identifying and analysing patterns and themes within the data (Braun, Clarke & Terry, 2014). The researcher first transcribed the raw data from audio into written or printed form, after which the data were coded. The data clustered into workable and manageable code categories. Content analysis cleanly organises and describes data in detail and each stage of data analysis involves reducing the data into manageable parts (Guthrie, Yongvanich & Ricceri, 2004). Themes are developed by the grouping of categories and patterns identified, thereby graphically displaying relationships between different themes (Hickey & Kipping, 1996). Most researchers consider content analysis to be a beneficial method for capturing the details of meaning within a data set. It involves the interpretation of meaning and insight into the world of the participants involved in the research (De Vos, 1998).

#### **4.5. Research ethical considerations**

This chapter is an expansion of the discussion in Chapter One and in previous sections. Since research usually involves the interaction between human beings, animals and the environment, ethical issues may arise (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In order to circumvent ethical problems, the research must, at all times enhance trustworthiness and professionalism. There is a conventional consensus amongst researchers of what is appropriate and inappropriate when conducting a research study. The subsequent discussion provides a brief review of the ethical attributes the study considered.

First, it is paramount to state that even before the researcher started to communicate with the study participants, he first had to acquire a research ethical clearance certificate from the University of South Africa (see Annexure D). The certificate issued to the researcher after a successful application was adjudicated by the Department of the Higher Degree Committee under the Department of Development Studies at the University of South Africa. Furthermore, according to Jones and Kottler (2006) the researcher must ensure that all participants have a complete understanding of the purpose and methods to be used in a study, the risks involved, and the demands placed upon them as participants. Therefore, the researcher informed all the participants about aspects of the study; thereafter, they decided whether to participate by voluntarily signing a research consent form (see Annexure E). Again, the researcher did not use any monetary power, force, fraud, deceit, duress, or other forms of constraint or coercion because the principle of voluntarism guided participation. Ruane (2016) shares the same sentiment when he states that any existence of coercion in any study is a direct violation of the informed consent and voluntarism principles. Significantly, participants' freedom to exercise choice is presented throughout the entire research process. The researcher fully informed the participants that they could discontinue participation at any time without any negative consequences, should they feel uncomfortable.

The study equally respected the principles of anonymity and confidentiality of the study participants. Supported by the literature, anonymity implies gathering the research data from participants without directly linking the information shared to a specific participant (Saunders, Kitzinger & Kitzinger, 2015). Customarily, a method of enhancing anonymity in research is the use of fictitious names with the purpose of not linking a participant to the

information they share (Patton, 2000; Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). To enhance the anonymity of the participants, the researcher gave all participants pseudonyms in the form of numbers. Thus, all participants were identified with those numbers during the focus group discussion session. Furthermore, when writing up the report, the researcher used only the information provided by the participants, without mentioning their names or their pseudonyms in the form of numbers.

Moreover, confidentiality entails the protection of private information shared between the researcher and the participants, by not sharing the information with any other people and institution(s), except for the researcher and the institution commissioning the study (Kaiser, 2009; Saunders, Kitzinger & Kitzinger, 2015). To maintain anonymity in the study informed by the literature, the researcher used numbers in place of their names. Interestingly, even the researcher and the research assistant did not know the names of the participants but knew the numbers that represented them. Participants were assured that the shared information between them, the researcher and the research assistant, would not be divulged to any other person without their permission. Indeed, this was adhered to by both the researcher and the research assistant. Again, the researcher stored all the data, both electronic and hard copies in a safe place where he only had access. Lastly, the respondents were also given the freedom to withhold information they felt they could not share with anybody or which might cause any social, emotional and psychological damage to them.

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

This chapter served as an extension of Chapter One, as it expanded and broadened the discussion on the research methodology applied in this study. It is in this chapter where a deliberation ensues on the suitability of the mixed method to explore beneficiaries' perceptions of the informal settlement upgrading project in Soshanguve, a township situated about 30 km north of Pretoria, Gauteng. To achieve the aim and the objectives of the study, the researcher found it suitable to apply the mixed method approach that ordinarily is accompanied by the use of more than one data collection method. The application of different types of data collection improves the study's reliability and validity, which subsequently improves the chances of producing accurate results. In the following chapter, the focus shifts to an analysis of the study findings, a result of the application of the mixed method approach.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY FINDINGS**

### **HOUSEHOLDS' PERCEPTIONS OF AND SATISFACTION WITH PROVISION OF SOCIAL AMENITIES, SERVICES AND HOUSING INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE UPGRADED SHOSHANGUVE EXTENSION 3 AREA**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

The review of the literature in Chapter Two and Chapter Three provided a critical analysis of international (developing context) and local (South African context) experiences in upgrading project areas, respectively. Accordingly, these chapters have shown that despite several challenges highlighted, upgrading projects have the potential to contribute to progressive access to improved housing and basic service infrastructure, particularly in developing countries. Against this background, this chapter intends to critically discuss and analyse the perceptions amongst respondents who are heads of households, on the general performance of the upgrading project in Soshanguve Extension 3 area. A particular focus will be on how this upgrading project has facilitated their progressive access to improved housing conditions, basic services, social amenities and quality of life in general. In order to achieve the intention stated above, the chapter is structured as follows: socio-economic background of residents; residents' perceptions of and satisfaction with the level of housing aspects; residents' perceptions of the level of community participation; residents' satisfaction level with the accessibility and provision of necessary service infrastructure and social amenities; respondents' perceptions of the quality of the social amenities; respondents' perceptions of the improvement in their standard of living in Soshanguve Extension 3, and finally, concluding remarks of the empirical findings are given.

#### **5.1 Socio-Economic Background of Respondents in The Upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 Area**

Before it is possible to provide an analysis of the socio-economic profile of the respondents, it may be appropriate to reflect briefly on the historical development and origin of Soshanguve township. As documented in the literature, Soshanguve is not just the name of a township but an abbreviation that reflects on how the township came about, during the apartheid era. The origin of the name, Soshanguve is twofold. First, the name came up when both the South

African apartheid and Bophuthatswana governments decided to reincorporate the East part of Mabopane into South Africa and renamed it Soshanguve (Ntema & Van Rooyen, 2016). Second, being an abbreviation, Soshanguve reflects the combination of various ethnic groups and as such, could be broken down as follows: So=Sotho, Sha=Shangani, Ngu=Nguni and Ve=Venda (Lemon, 1991). Soshanguve is a township situated about 30 km north of Pretoria, Gauteng. It may thus, be appropriate to state that the name Soshanguve, reflects the extent to which this township was developed to accommodate multi-ethnic groups, despite the norm then being to segregate and group people based on their ethnicity (Mashabela, 1988). The chosen case study area Soshanguve Extension 3 area, is one of the many sections located in Soshanguve township. Soshanguve Extension 3 area was established and upgraded in 1997. Most of the project beneficiaries are former residents in various informal settlements in and around Soshanguve township, including the surrounding areas, such as Winterveldt, Oliven, Pretoria North and Mamelodi. In the next section, the focus will shift to a discussion and an analysis of various aspects comprising the demographic and household information of respondents in the upgraded Shoshanguve Extension 3 area.

### 5.1.1 Biographical and household information

The biographical and household information covers the respondents' gender, nationality, age, marital status, and highest academic qualification obtained (Table 5.1). Consequently, these variables will be the focus of the discussion in this section.

**Table 5.1: Demographic profile of respondents in Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

Variable	Category	Percentage (n=60)
Gender	Female	74.58%
	Male	25.42%
	Married	42.37%
	Widow/Widower	11.86%
	Divorced/Separated	15.25%

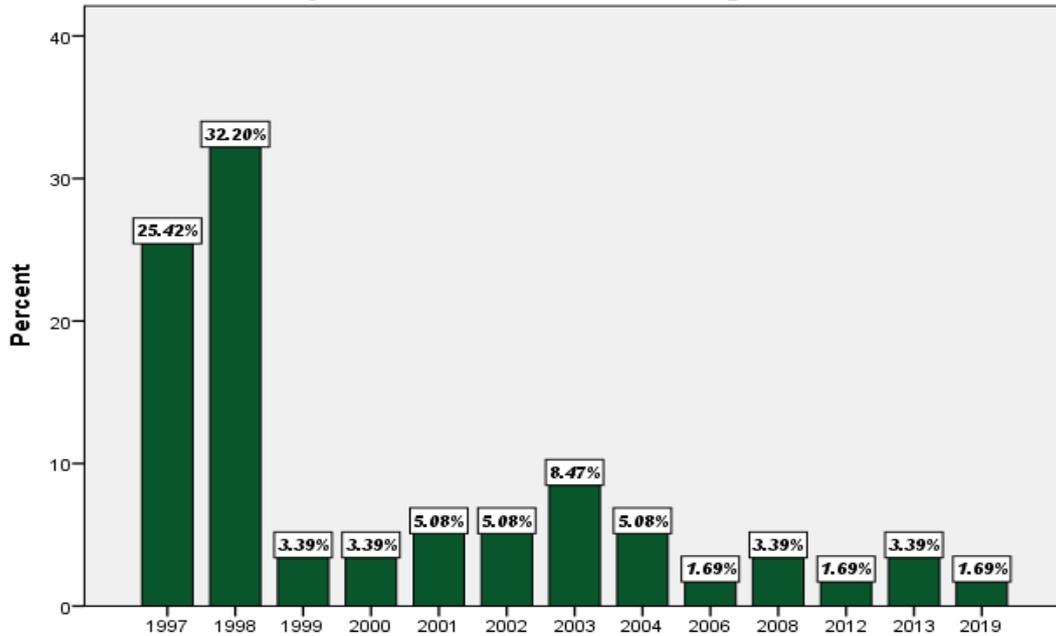
Marital Status	Never Married	27.12%
	Living with a partner	3.39%
Education	Primary	22.00%
	Secondary	62.70%
	Tertiary	15.30%

According to information in Table 5.1, it is possible to make the following remarks: The majority (74.58%) of the respondents in this upgraded area are female. One possible implication of female respondents being in majority in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area, may be that it is women who would usually attend public, community meetings and eventually complete and submit application forms for housing subsidies on behalf of their households. The current figure of 74.58% for female respondents who are heads of households could also be ascribed to a number of other factors. First, is that the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area being a microcosm of South African society and to some extent, international trends in developing contexts where females, particularly in black communities, are the ones usually hit hardest by the high rate of unemployment (Statistics South Africa, 2020; Word Bank, 2018) and thus, more likely to be the ones always available in the households at any given time. Second, is the fact that the fieldwork was conducted during the day, when most of the males who are employed or actively seeking job opportunities are out in different areas other than their homes. Furthermore, noteworthy in Table 5.1 is the high number of heads of households who are one way or another not in a marriage and thus, operate as single parents to their children. Evidence shows that there is a combined figure of 54.24% of respondents who are either divorced, widowed, or have never married and are currently heads of households. With female respondents in the majority (74.58%), and thus, most likely to be affected by this situation, it can be argued that Soshanguve Extension 3 area is to some extent, experiencing “absent fathers” with most children being raised by their single mothers. This is in line with the national trends, where evidence shows that on average, about 4 in 10 marriages in South Africa usually end in divorce before couples get to their 10-year anniversary (Statistics South Africa, 2020).

Another variable worth noting in Table 5.1 is the level of formal education amongst respondents. A significant number (62.7%) and (15.3%) of respondents seems to have acquired both secondary education and tertiary qualification, respectively. This trend (particularly those with secondary school education) could in the main, be ascribed to the easy access to public schools in this upgraded area. Confirming the availability and access to public schools is the significant number (88.13%) of respondents who expressed satisfaction with the accessibility of public schools in their upgraded area. The next sub-section provides the demographic profile based on migration patterns.

### **5.1.2 Households and Migration Patterns**

The focus now shifts to the discussion and analysis of the level of mobility amongst respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Amongst key migration-related questions that the researcher asked the respondents is the year of migration to Soshanguve Extension 3 area; place of origin before migration; the reasons for migration; and whether they were intending to leave the upgraded settlement in the future. Below is Figure 5.1 that shows different years in which different individuals/households migrated to Soshanguve extension 3 area.



**Figure 5.1: Respondents and year of occupation in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

According to the information in Figure 5.1, Soshanguve Extension 3 area experienced a high influx of people between 1997 and 1998, with about 32.20% and 25.4% of respondents taking occupancy of their upgraded sites in the area, respectively. Noteworthy is the fact that a combined figure of more than 80% of the respondents had been residing in this upgraded area for almost two decades, since the date of the project inception. The significant number of original home owners still residing in the area could, amongst other things, be attributed to a great sense of belonging or of place attachment amongst respondents. This was confirmed by 88.14 % of the respondents who indicated that they did not have any intention to leave this upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. This figure (88.1%) could be attributed to several factors. First, it could be ascribed to the proximity of this upgraded area to some local economic opportunities, especially the Rosslyn industrial hub which is less than 5km distant. In confirming this view, one respondent mentioned: *"Soshanguve is close to work opportunities...we used to live far from town and industries"*. Second, it could be due to the opportunity for homeownership brought about by the upgrading project. This is confirmed by remarks, such as *"We were renting in Hammanskraal, so we needed our own homes which we now have"*. Thus, it should not come as a surprise to have 63.7% of respondents who confirmed to be in possession of title deeds and thus, tenure of security in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The high level of home ownership, due to the

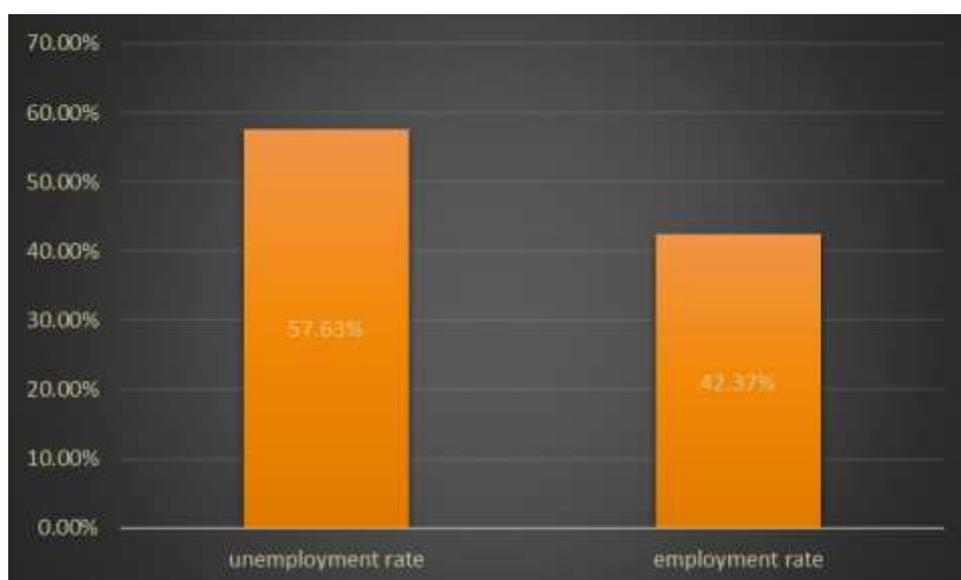
upgrading of Soshanguve Extension 3 area, could further be confirmed by 65.5% and 29.3% of respondents currently residing in complete state-built RDP housing units and a brick house, other than RDP units, respectively. This finding confirms a twofold argument made in the South African literature. First, that in South Africa, the upgrading of informal settlements since the early 1990s and the subsequent housing policy in a post-apartheid dispensation, were mostly (but not exclusively) dominated by emphasis on home ownership, land tenure or titling (Marais, Ntema, Cloete & Venter, 2014). Second, that owning a house in an upgraded settlement brings about an emotional attachment by beneficiaries toward their housing, and neighbourhood in general (Huchzermeyer, 2009; Payne, Durand-Lasserve & Rakodi, 2009; Magalhães & Villarosa, 2012). The third possible reason why such a significant number (81.14%) of respondents expressed no intention of leaving this upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, could be the role played by some level of social cohesion amongst respondents. This is confirmed by remarks, such as *“Ah... the way we are living is good, like what my mother was saying ‘when we have a problem we assist one another’. Just imagine staying in the suburbs, who you would call for assistance? At least here, when I do not have sugar my neighbour will assist”*. Finally, the possible role played by improved access to some basic services and social amenities cannot be over-emphasised. This is evident in the high number (88.13%) of respondents who expressed satisfaction about accessibility and the availability of public schools in their upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. To a certain extent, this finding confirms the evidence that exists already in the literature, which shows how access to improved roads and the public transport system, including the accessibility of public facilities, such as schools and clinics, seem to have led to a sudden return of most former residents of the Winterveld area (Pretoria), who initially left the area due to a lack of these basics, prior to the amalgamation of this area into City of Tshwane in 2001 (Ntema & van Rooyen, 2016). Notwithstanding the significance of other personal needs, it would seem appropriate to argue that the historical shortage of adequate housing and the desire to own property amongst black Africans, particularly those who resided in surrounding areas, such as Temba (Hammanskraal) and Winterveld with their association with former Bantustans, could probably be the main contributing factor for the migration of most respondents to the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, since its inception in 1997. Based on the above findings, it may be appropriate to argue that while other priorities may have driven respondents into this area, such as proximity to job opportunities and the possibility of owning serviced stands, owning a house seems to have

been the main priority and thus, a key driver.

### 5.1.3 The economic status of respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area

One of the criticisms levelled against state funded housing development, including informal settlement upgrading in most developing countries including South Africa, is the lack of access to sustainable economic opportunities. For instance, Majale (2008) opines that there are instances where some of the upgraded areas in most developing countries are found to be synonymous with low, to a complete lack of household income, which emanates from the high unemployment rate. Similarly to this, evidence presented in Figure 5.2 below, shows that Soshanguve Extension 3 area has unemployment rate of 57.63%- this despite its proximity (approximately 5km) to Rosslyn industrial hub. Below is a discussion and an analysis of the situation in this upgraded area.

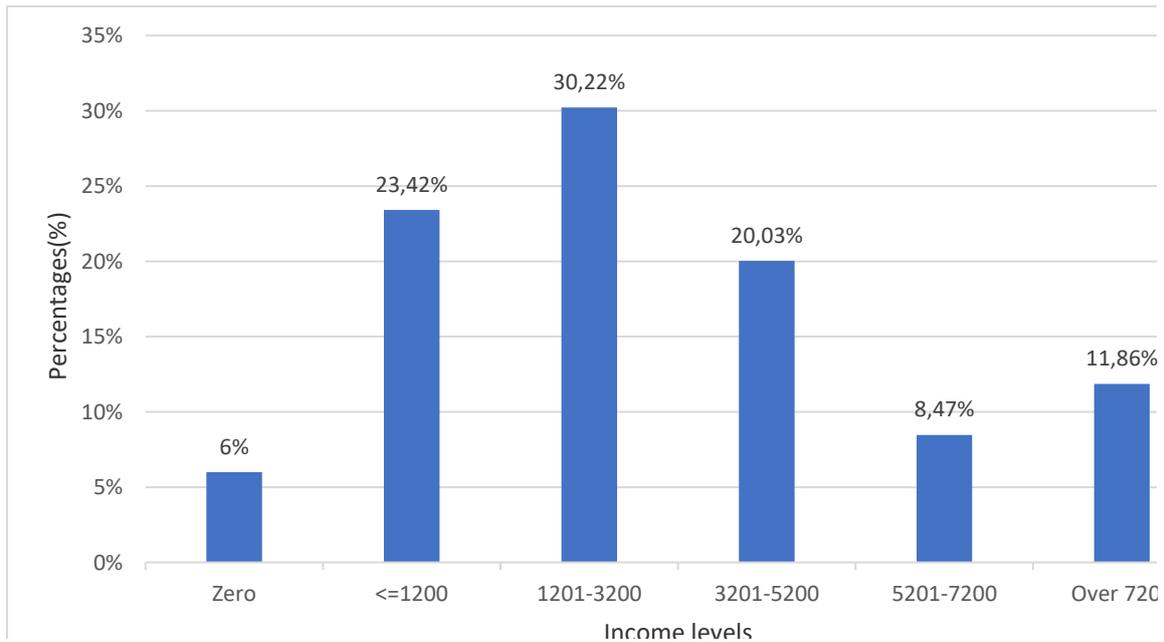
**Employment status of respondents**



**Figure 5.2: The rate of employment in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

Based on Figure 5.2 above, it is possible to make the following remarks: the current unemployment rate amongst respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area is 57.6%. By any measure, this is an unacceptably high rate of unemployment which could potentially compromise the sustainability of the maintenance of service infrastructure, including housing development and consolidation. The upgraded area was hit by this high unemployment rate despite its proximity to some local economic opportunities, especially

the Rosslyn industrial hub, which is within a 5km radius. One of the possible implications of the high rate of unemployment could be, for example, the unaffordability of some of the key basic needs amongst respondents. Thus, to a certain extent, there was a high rate of dissatisfaction (see Table 5.2) with the number and size of rooms, probably due to the unaffordable costs associated with housing extensions or consolidations. The high rate of unemployment could also help to explain the significant number of respondents currently relying on the child support grant (50.7%) and an old age pension (27.1%) as their source of household income in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Noteworthy is the fact that the current unemployment rate (57.6%) in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area is even higher than the current national average unemployment rate of around 30% (in terms of narrow definition) in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2020). The gender breakdown indicated that 62.8% of the unemployed respondents are females; this, to a large extent, confirms both the national and international trends that show women as the ones most affected by poverty and unemployment, particularly in the developing context (McFerson, 2010; Rhodes, 2016; Cheteni, Khamfula & Mah, 2019). The high level of unemployment in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area should be understood within a historical context, where former black townships in South Africa were meant to be areas of high population density and labour reserves, without any economic density which was found exclusively in less populated, former white urban areas. Thus, about 23.7% of the respondents employed reported as working in and around Pretoria, which is just over 30km from Soshanguve. Consequently, it can be stated that while the upgrading in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area seems to have promoted reasonable access to some basic human needs, such as housing, water, electricity, schools and public transport amongst other things, the upgrading may, on the other hand, be criticised for its minimal, if not lack of impact on transforming the inherent apartheid economy that was never designed to create any meaningful and sustainable job opportunities in and around black township areas.



**Figure 5.3: The different categories of income levels amongst respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

From Figure 5.3 above, it is possible to make the following observations: Most respondents in Soshanguve Extension 3 area, live on less than R3500 a month, which is regarded as an official minimum household income by South African standards. However, according to empirical evidence in 2019, the total minimum amount the poorest household would need to cover their monthly household expenses on basic needs in a South African context, was found to be at least R7 624 (Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice & Dignity Group, 2019). This means most residents live below the poverty line. It is not surprising though, given the high level of unemployment (see Figure 5.2) in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Further exacerbating their situation, is a dysfunctional informal township economy in this neighbourhood. This is confirmed by remarks such as *"We are not involved in small businesses; it is only the people from outside who do business here; we are not involved at all...our only benefit is that we can at least buy some of our small day-to-day groceries with ease, but nothing in terms of a business income"*. While a key informant also complained that *"We do not have businesses here; it is only for people who are from outside our community"*. Another respondent further said: *"We lose job opportunities and in turn, Indians and those who run spaza shops in our area continue to employ mainly*

*their foreign counterparts*". Of significance, is the fact that these findings to a certain extent, confirm the argument made in the literature review (Chapter Two and Chapter Three) that a high unemployment rate and low business activities were some of the challenges facing project beneficiaries in some of upgraded settlements. What is interesting about this finding is that even the proximity of the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area to one of the old industrial hub at Rosslyn area (5km radius), does not automatically translate into job opportunities for these project beneficiaries.

## **5.2 Respondents' Perceptions of and Satisfaction Level with Various Housing Aspects**

One of the arguments made in the literature is that the attributes used in assessing conditions, the quality of housing, and the subsequent satisfaction level seem to vary from one study to another depending on the aspect(s) of housing examined and the context of the study (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013). To ensure that this study measures perceptions of and satisfaction with housing units in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, the main question in this section is whether the upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area has made residents satisfied with the general conditions, standard and quality of their housing units. In the sections below, the discussion and analysis will shift to measuring perceptions and satisfaction levels amongst respondents, in terms of dwelling types, structure, design, housing improvement and incremental access to housing amongst other things.

### **5.2.1 Dwelling types and satisfaction levels in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area**

Housing type, particularly from a design point of view, is found to be one of the key aspects which could influence the satisfaction levels amongst project beneficiaries, including those in upgraded areas (Zubairu, 2002). The fact that residents receive a serviced site or a complete house on a serviced site remains one of the most important positive changes in the post-apartheid housing landscape. The researcher traced levels of satisfaction with selected housing aspects in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area (see Table 5.2 below).

**Table 5.2: Levels of satisfaction with dwelling type and design in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

<b>Housing aspect</b>	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied</b>	<b>Dissatisfied</b>
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Position of the house	59.32	5.08	35.6
Design or layout of the house	45.76	5.08	49.16
Size of the yard	55.84	5.08	39.08
Number of rooms	37.98	6.78	55.24
Size of room	34.09	6.78	59.13

Based on Table 5.2 above, it is possible to make the following remarks: there are only two housing aspects which seem to have recorded reasonable satisfaction levels amongst respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The first housing aspect is the position of the house, with 59.3% of respondents expressing their satisfaction in this respect. The second housing aspect is the size of the yard with 55.8% of respondents expressing their satisfaction in this aspect. What is significant about these two findings is the fact that they seem to confirm the trend documented in the existing literature and research that show consistently high satisfaction levels of these two aspects in various upgrading projects (Tonkin, 2008; Martin & Mathema, 2010; Department of Human Settlement, 2011; Patel, 2013a; 2013b). The possible reason for a high satisfaction level about the size of the yard, is the small size of these housing units built mainly by state-appointed contractors, which do not occupy much of the actual available space in the yard. Thus, it should not come as a surprise to have high dissatisfaction being expressed by respondents regarding the number and size of the rooms.

Other than the satisfaction expressed by the respondents, there were a further three housing aspects on which more respondents expressed dissatisfaction. The first housing aspect was

the design or layout of the house, for which 49.2% of respondents expressed their dissatisfaction compared to 45.8% who are satisfied. This was followed by 55.2% and 59.1% of respondents expressing their dissatisfaction regarding the number of rooms and the size of the rooms, respectively. The main, common reason for dissatisfaction regarding the three housing aspects above, was the marginalisation of the project beneficiaries in the key decision-making process in both the project planning and implementation by the state-appointed contractors. The lack of participation by respondents in key decision-making processes is further confirmed by the findings in Table 5.3 and the higher number (65.52%) of respondents currently residing in RDP housing units, which is a housing model traditionally known for being unilaterally designed and built by state-appointed contractors. The possible marginalisation of respondents by the state-appointed contractors could be confirmed by remarks such as ***“The government must consult us before they build these houses so that we agree on the design and layout and the material to use.....we are not being consulted at all.”*** Contrary to the dominance of RDP housing stock (65.5%) in the area, there were only 29.3% of respondents currently residing in brick and mortar housing units, other than RDP housing units. To a large extent, findings in this section underline the significance of what Turner (1976) refers to as ‘housing by people’ coupled with principle of ‘dweller control’ that should always be ultimate goal for governments in their quest to replace ‘mass housing’ for possible attainment of satisfaction and sense of belonging amongst project beneficiaries. In his book, ‘Housing as a Verb’ Turner (1972:158) argues that the “best results and subsequent sense of belonging and high satisfaction level is obtainable amongst dwellers or end-users who are in full control (dweller control) of the design, construction, and management of the entire development process of their own homes.” To a certain extent, this finding shows how the upgrading project in Soshanguve Extension 3 area seems to have failed to conform both with the theoretical principle on ‘housing by people’ as advocated by Turner in his writings on informal settlement upgrading and the South African policy stance on ‘community-driven housing development’. Even the literature findings in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, show that, where project beneficiaries are not afforded the opportunity to actively participate in the decision-making processes regarding design, building material, size and position of the housing units, there will always be a sense of dissatisfaction. The other reason possibly responsible for the dissatisfaction expressed by respondents on the three housing aspects in Table 5.2 above, is the high rate of unemployment (57.63%) amongst these respondents. One possible hindrance likely to be

caused by unemployment is the inability amongst respondents to afford any costs for extensions or consolidation of their core or initial state funded RDP housing units. Thus, most of the respondents (94.92%) indicated that they had never approached any financial institution for possible funding to improve their current dwellings. If the dominance of contractor-driven RDP housing units and dissatisfaction particularly about the number and size of the rooms is anything to go by, it may be appropriate to state that the upgrading project in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area seems to have promoted access to home ownership and security of tenure at the expense of 'adequate shelter' including principles of 'housing by people'; 'freedom to build' 'dweller control' (as advocated by Turner) and 'freedom of choice' and 'community-driven development' (as enshrined in Housing White Paper 1994).

### **5.3 Respondents' Perceptions of The Level of Community Participation in the Upgrading of the Soshanguve Extension 3 Area**

The significance of community participation in a housing development (settlement upgrading included), cannot be overemphasised. As argued in Chapter Two, it is the view of both Abrams (1966) and Turner (1977) that successful community development, amongst other things, through the settlement upgrading programme, is largely dependent on the active involvement of the relevant local stakeholders, particularly the end-users in the key decision-making processes. The significance of active participation by end-users in the decision-making process related to housing aspects, such as planning, designing, construction and maintenance of their dwellings and the neighbourhood infrastructure, is well documented in both the literature and in empirical research. For instance, Chamala (1995), identifies efficiency benefits from active participation, stating that involving stakeholders and embracing community participation enhances an upgrading project's effectiveness. This explains why the BNG 2004 policy and its accompanying UISP, underscores the importance of community participation in all the stages of upgrading projects (Department of Housing, 2004). To establish the level of community participation in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, the study asked respondents whether the community had, had a say on the upgrading process. Below are the empirical findings and this information is depicted in Table 5.3 for further discussion and analysis.

**Table 5.3: Level of community participation in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

<b>Household participation in...</b>	<b>Yes (%)</b>	<b>No (%)</b>
Designing a dwelling	11.86%	88.14%
Construction of a housing unit	15.25%	84.75%
Construction of infrastructure	3.39 %	96.61 %
Location of the house in the yard	11.86%	88.14 %
Creation of employment and income-generating activities	17.24 %	81.03 %

Based on Table 5.3, it is possible to make the following remarks: It would seem that responses and perceptions expressed by respondents in Table 5.3 are consistent with those expressed in Table 5.2. The overall sentiment expressed by respondents in Table 5.3 confirms the marginalisation of project beneficiaries by state appointed contractors in the decision-making processes related to some of the key project aspects during the upgrading. This finding should be understood within the context of a significant number (65.5%) of respondents, who claim to currently reside in RDP housing units that are known for being unilaterally designed and built by the state-appointed contractor (see both literature review in Chapter Three and discussion in 5.2.1), and the high level of dissatisfaction expressed in Table 5.4. Demonstrating the deviation from what is known as ‘dweller control’ and ‘housing by people’ in the conceptual framework and the literature or the community-driven development in South African housing policy during project planning and implementation phases in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area, are the many respondents who indicated their non-participation during the housing design, actual construction, and choice of the actual

location of a housing unit in the yard. For instance, 88.1% of respondents expressed their non- participation during the housing design process. A further 84.8% did not participate during the housing construction, and 84.1% expressed their non-participation when the decision was made about choosing the actual location of the dwelling in their yards. The 81% of respondents who claim to have been excluded from participating in employment and income-generating activities during the upgrading are in the main, not only confirming a lack of dweller control or active community participation, but it is also consistent with the high unemployment rate of 57.6% in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. To a large extent, this reality seems to go against the BNG policy and its advocacy for upgrading as a possible mechanism for poverty alleviation amongst project beneficiaries (Department of Housing, 2004). In summary, these results correspond well with existing evidence in both South African and the international literature (see also Berner, 2001; Bassett, Gulyani, Farvarque-Vitkovik & Debomy, 2002; Lizarralde & Massyn, 2008; Ntema, 2011; Bailey, 2017), which found that a lack of dweller control through participation in respect of designing, planning, and during the construction contributed to the high rates of dissatisfaction expressed by most project beneficiaries in various upgrading projects in developing countries. It is, therefore, the view of the researcher that a lack of participation by project beneficiaries in decisions related to various housing aspects and job-creating infrastructural development aspects shown in Table 5.3 above, are indicative of an upgrading project driven mainly by a top-down approach and thus, imposed on project beneficiaries. These findings are, to some extent, consistent with the argument made in the literature that a lack of community participation in any housing development (settlement upgrading included), usually leads to a lack of personal development and skills transfer, as well as the creation of employment opportunities for the intended beneficiaries (Boyars & Turner, 1976).

#### **5.4 Respondents' Satisfaction Levels with Accessibility and Provision of Basic Service Infrastructure and Social Amenities**

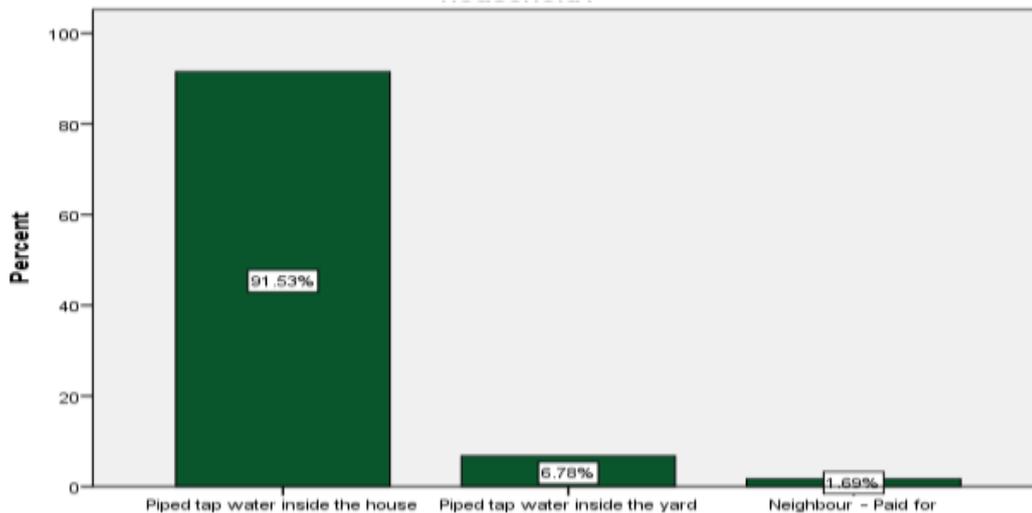
The evidence from both the international and South African literature shows that the success in upgrading projects is not only measured in terms of the quality and standard of housing units built (Kigochie, 2001; Rishud, 2003; Handzic, 2004; Bassett, 2005; Egondi et al., 2012) but, in terms of the level of access to improved quality service infrastructure, social amenities and functional neighbourhoods as well (Kessides, 1997). To ensure the attainment

of similar success in the implementation of South African settlement upgrading projects, such as Soshanguve Extension 3 area, the 2004 Breaking New Grounds policy and Housing White Paper 1994, emphasise the adherence amongst other things, to the principle of progressive provision of basic services and social amenities (Department of Housing, 1994; 2004). What remains is the main question in this section: Whether the upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area has promoted access to basic services and social amenities, to these former informal settlers who were deprived of such? To provide answers to this question, this section considers the satisfaction levels amongst respondents, in terms of the following: accessibility and the quality of the drinking water; sanitation; electricity; refuse removal; and accessibility and quality of the services in public schools; clinics; police stations; and the public transport system.

#### **5.4.1 The levels of access and types of sources of drinking water**

The first basic service to focus on is drinking water and how it is made available to project beneficiaries. The South African literature, in particular, shows that households in most upgraded areas expressed frustration with the lack of infrastructure, including drinking water (Huchzermeyer, 2004; Narsai, Taylor, Jinabhai & Stevens, 2013; Zunguzane, Smallwood & Emuze, 2012). Moreover, where water is installed, it is done through communal taps (Zunguzane et al., 2012). Against this background, Figure 5.4 shows the level of access to drinking water in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area.

#### **Water supply**

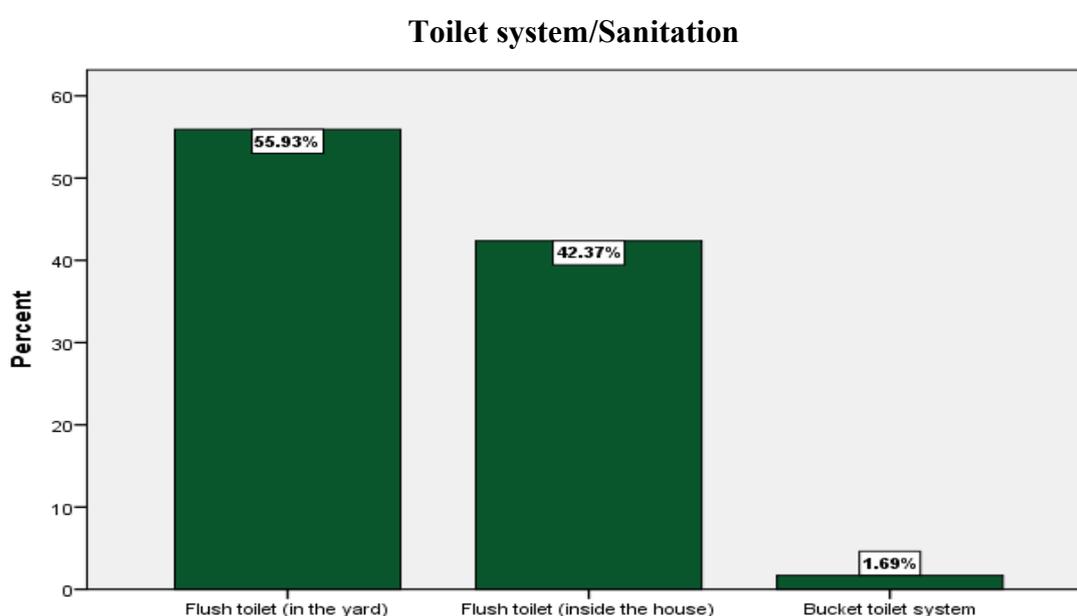


**Figure 5.4: Level of access and sources of drinking water in Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

According to Figure 5.4, it would seem that water is not only available but accessible to a significant number of respondents. This is confirmed by 91.5% of respondents who have water supplied inside their housing. This shows the extent to which upgrading in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area could be commended, not only for water supply but one which promotes access to reliable and quality drinking water. The reliability and quality of the drinking water could, to a large extent, be confirmed by a significant number (91.6%) of respondents, who expressed their satisfaction with water provision. Acknowledging the sufficient water supply, one interviewee remarked, "*At my house, the water is available every day as I am paying and when it gives me problems I go to the office.*" This commendable provision of drinking water makes it appropriate for the study to argue that the Soshanguve Extension 3 upgrading project is one of the very few upgrading projects in South Africa in which the provision of water as a basic human right is being done at an acceptable level. Therefore, this empirical finding makes it possible for the study to argue that contrary to some upgrading projects where water provision is still being done through communal taps (see Chapter Three), the majority of respondents (91.5%) in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area have access to a water supply inside their houses, while 6.76% have a water supply inside their yard.

### 5.4.2 The level of access and types of sources of sanitation

Households in most upgraded areas expressed frustration at the lack of sanitation, including flushing toilets (Emuze & Smallwood, 2012). Furthermore, Zunguzane et al. (2012), highlight that the provision of sanitation is one of the basic, social needs which has a huge backlog, compounded further by the inability of local authorities to afford the development of new sanitation infrastructure. The South African literature shows that households in most upgraded settlements expressed a lack of proper sanitation, including drinking water (Smallwood & Emuze, 2012; Narsai, Taylor, Jinabhai & Stevens, 2013). Therefore, in this section, the focus will shift to the perceptions of respondents residing in the upgraded Shoshanguve Extension 3 area on the accessibility of sanitation as supplied by the City of Tshwane. Figure 5.5 shows the responses and perceptions of respondents concerning the level of access to various types of sanitation and toilet facilities in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area.



**Figure 5.5: Primary Source of Sanitation in Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

Based on the evidence presented in Figure 5.5, it is possible to make the following remarks: the upgrading in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area seems to have contributed positively to the national programme on the eradication of the bucket toilet system by the Department of

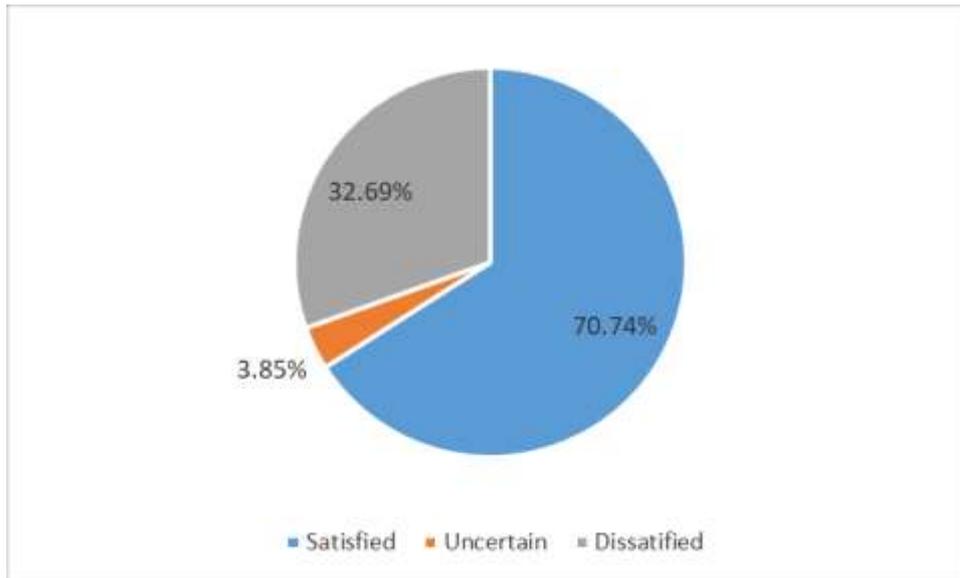
Human Settlements, working in partnership with local municipalities. There is currently a mere 1.7% of respondents still using the bucket toilet system in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, compared to a significant number of 55.9% and 42.4% of respondents currently with access to a flushing toilet in the yard and flushing toilet inside the house, respectively. Contrary to most upgrading projects in South Africa, Soshanguve Extension 3 upgrading could be commended for a significant number (42.4%) of respondents who (despite the high unemployment rate in the area), seem to have managed to consolidate the initial on-site provision of sanitation, by further redirecting it inside their houses. The significance of having a toilet inside the house should be understood within the context of the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area as a neighbourhood not only with more respondents (74.58%) as females, but one where the majority (81.3) of respondents feel that they live in an unsafe environment. Thus, with the rising cases of gender-based violence, including the rape of women, having a toilet inside the house goes a long way to mitigate this social ill, particularly during the night. Although this is supported by one of the Focus Group Discussion participants, they indicated that they have poor lighting during the night, which exposes residents to criminal activities: *“Our tower lights are off most of the time; that's when these nyaope boys rob us, and some are robbed early in the morning as they go to get taxis, because of dysfunctional street lights in our neighbourhood”*. Regarding the sharing of toilet facilities, 96.61 % of respondents reported that they do not share their toilet with anyone in their community, other than with their tenants, where part of the house is used for rental purposes. Given the level of access to sanitation facilities in this upgraded area, it can be argued that the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 presents itself as a possible model for the successful provision of, at least water and sanitation supply systems.

However, despite the high level of access to sanitation facilities, there were a few problems raised by the respondents. While they acknowledge the high level of access to sanitation, a significant number (67.8%) of respondents cited concerns with the poor maintenance of the existing sewerage system and lack of a timeous response to complaints by the local municipality. Most (57.63) of the respondents said that it takes two weeks to get sewerage-related problems fixed by the municipality, while about 22.03% and 16.95% said it usually takes the municipality a week and a month respectively, to respond to a sewerage-related complaint. This is supported by the following remarks made by respondents: *“The sewage here, it is always spilling, even now if we can go to that corner you will find it spilling”*.

Another one said: *“When we report this, it can take eight to nine days to come and fix it. We can call them today, they will come next of next week and those sewage spills in the yards of the people...their service is poor.”* Based on the evidence above, that while accessibility to sanitation infrastructure seems to be of an acceptable level in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, the maintenance of this infrastructure, including the poor response rate to complaints to the City of Tshwane, leaves much to be desired.

#### **5.4.3 The perceptions and levels of satisfaction with refuse removal**

With evidence from previous discussions showing an acceptable level of drinking water and sanitation provision in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, the focus now shifts to an analysis of respondents’ perceptions regarding the removal and collection of refuse or dustbins by the City of Tshwane. According to study findings, most of the respondents (98.32%), indicated that they use onsite dustbins as a primary source for the removal of refuse in their households, while an insignificant number (1.69%) still use communal containers. Dustbin removal efficiency is testified to by a respondent who said: *“The dust bins are being collected by the municipality regularly”* and this is a sentiment that was shared by almost all the focus group discussion participants. This shows that in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, the municipality is collecting refuse from residents as expected. This may, to some extent, imply that littering or illegal dumping is possibly not one of the major environmental challenges facing the community in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Thus, the satisfaction levels expressed by respondents regarding refuse removal in Figure 5.6 below demonstrates that the majority were satisfied with the service.

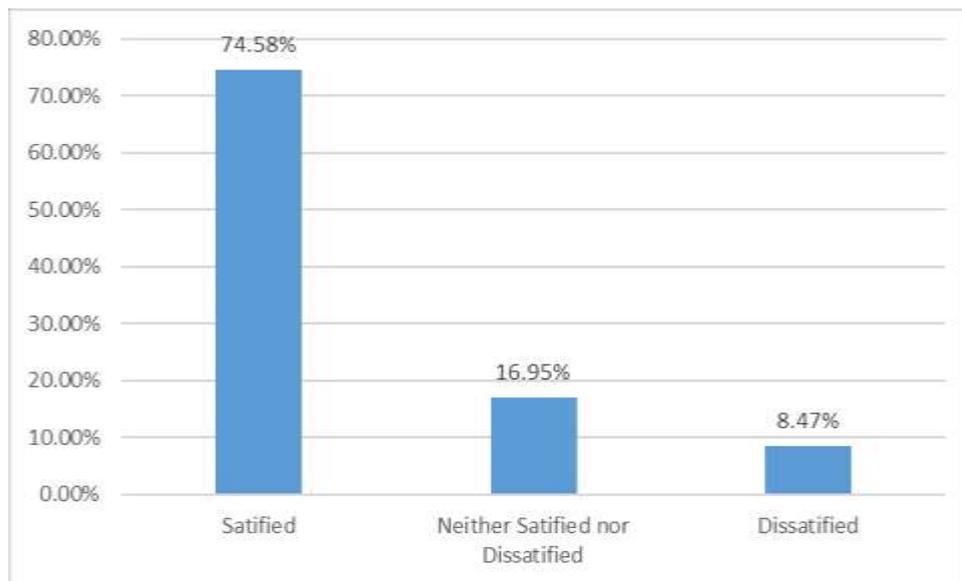


**Figure 5.6: Perceptions of households on the provision of refuse removal in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

In terms of the satisfaction level amongst respondents, evidence in Figure 5.6 shows that 70.7% of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the refuse removal services provided by the local authority. Some of the reasons advanced for being satisfied with their provision of refuse removal is the fact that the current, regular, weekly refuse removal or collection is an improvement of the system that was initially inconsistent and unreliable. Interviews with key informants, equally confirmed that the local council currently does provide refuse removal services to individual households. This was evident in expressions, such as: *“We are satisfied with the waste removal (dust bins).”* Another one said: *“Yes, concerning removing dustbins, I am satisfied because every Tuesday they are collected, unless government employees are on industrial strike”*. Both the residents and the community leader interviewed confirmed that the municipality was doing its best to ensure regular refuse removal. With regular refuse collection in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area, it may therefore be argued that the upgrading of this area seems to have upheld a policy principle enshrined in the Housing White Paper (1994:19) which advocates a right to “a safe and healthy environment and viable communities”.

#### **5.4.4 Perceptions of respondents on the levels of access and satisfaction with electricity supply**

In the following discussion and analysis, the emphasis will be on the beneficiaries' perception of the provision of electricity by the City of Tshwane to Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Figure 5.7 below shows the respondents' level of satisfaction with the supply of electricity.



**Figure 5.7: Satisfaction with electricity supply in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

According to Figure 5.7, it may be possible to make the following remarks: It would seem appropriate to argue that respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area have access to the electricity supply. Furthermore, other than the provision of electricity, a significant number of respondents in this area seem to be satisfied with the standard and quality of the electricity infrastructure in their area. Evidence shows that 74.5 % of respondents have expressed satisfaction with the current supply of electricity in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area. There are various reasons cited by respondents for their high level of satisfaction. Amongst other things, respondents commended the reliable electricity infrastructure. Furthermore, respondents expressed satisfaction about the electricity utility company, which, in their view, was quite responsive in terms of addressing complaints that were reported by consumers. Confirming this, one respondent remarked: *“We always have electricity and if there is any problem, we call them from the office, and they quickly attend to our problem”*. Another respondent remarked: *“Electricity is always available;*

*only during load shedding, that's when we have these interruptions*". Noteworthy about the high satisfaction level with the supply of electricity in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area were two things. First, it shows the extent to which an upgrading project can successfully perform to the expectations of the targeted beneficiaries, in terms of the provision of basic services, particularly electricity supply. Second, it confirms the significance and value that could potentially be added by outsourcing certain functions and services to either the private sector or state-owned agencies such as Eskom. For instance, with Eskom as a service provider in Soshanguve Extension 3 area, this finding on the high satisfaction level, further confirms the argument made in the literature that privatisation or outsourcing of certain basic municipal services has, to a certain extent, boosted the provision and thus, quality and standard of these basic services (see also Davidson & Mwakasonda, 2004; Robbins, 2008; Ndandiko, 2010). Thus, the establishment of national commercial utilities, such as Eskom has led to widespread improvement in the access and provision of electricity in small towns, major towns and cities across South Africa (Government of Republic of South Africa, 2013). It is thus the view of the researcher, that the success of state agencies, such as Eskom could be used as a model to be replicated in other government-led sectors, such as the maintenance of the sewerage system, where despite the high level of access, consumers complain about poor maintenance and a lack of response by the City of Tshwane. By drawing lessons from state agencies, such as Eskom, municipalities, such as the City of Tshwane, would embrace the New Public Governance Theory, particularly its key principle of *resource exchange* which advocates a culture of the sharing of information, technology and skills between performing and non-performing state-owned agencies (Runya, Qigui & Wei, 2015).

### **5.5 Respondents' Perceptions of Accessibility and the Quality of Services in Social Amenities in Soshanguve Extension 3**

In the previous sections, the focus was on the perceptions of respondents on the level of access and availability of basic service infrastructure such as water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. In this section, the focus now shifts to a discussion and an analysis of the respondents' perceptions of the accessibility and standard of social amenities, such as public schools, clinics, police stations, and the public transport system and how satisfied these respondents were in the upgraded

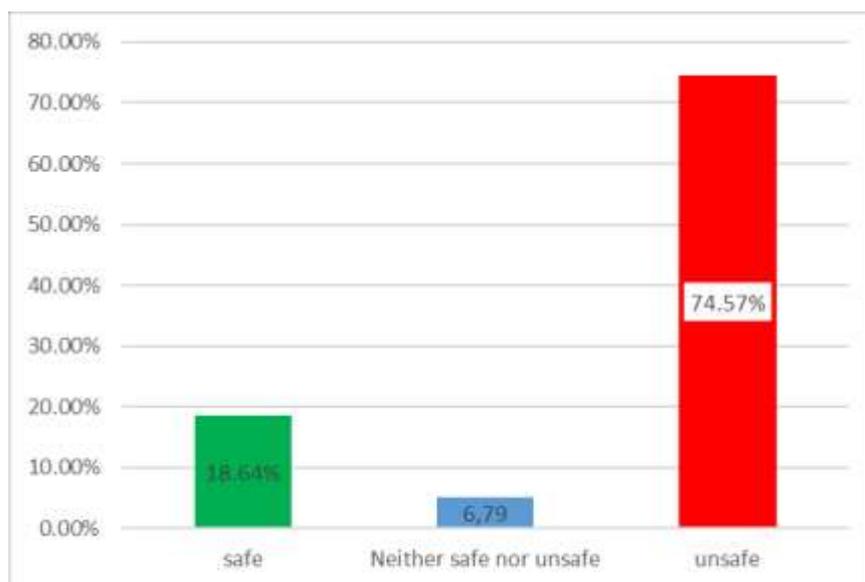
Soshanguve Extension 3 area. It is argued in the literature that there is a strong correlation between the quality of basic services such as schools, police, transport and the general standard of living of ordinary citizens (Way, 2015). To test this view, empirical findings in Table 5.4 below, will form the basis for the discussion and analysis.

**Table 5.4: Level of satisfaction with the quality of services in various social amenities**

<b>Services</b>	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied</b>	<b>Dissatisfied</b>
	%	%	%
Quality of service at the clinic	30.5	10.17	59.33
Quality of service at school	88.13	6.78	5.09
Quality of service for public transport	84.75	6.78	8.47
Quality of service at police station	27.11	11.86	61.03

Based on Table 5.4, it is possible to make the following remarks: Both the personal observations of the researcher and the remarks made by respondents during the in-depth interviews confirm the availability of the various social amenities listed in Table 5.4 above. However, the dissatisfaction expressed by respondents about certain social amenities, demonstrates how the quality of service than just the mere availability of these social amenities, could influence both the perceptions and satisfaction levels amongst respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. In terms of the quality of service in various social amenities, empirical evidence in Table 5.4 shows that the public schools and the public transport system were not only available but also provide service of a generally acceptable quality, while public clinics and the police station were perceived to be only available, with little or nothing to offer in terms of quality services to most respondents in

the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. On one hand, evidence in Table 5.4 shows that 88.1% of respondents were satisfied with the quality of services in public schools, while 84.7% of respondents expressed satisfaction with the quality of the public transport system in their area. Expressing their satisfaction with the public transport system, some of the respondents made the following remarks: *"There is a train here, just close to us and it is very cheap; the train is always operating at least every 30 minutes"* while another respondent commended taxis in the following words: *"Here transport is not a problem; we always have Taxis, and some can take a train depending on your own choice"*. This was also corroborated by the community leader who stated: *"We have all modes of transport here, except for air transport and they are all operating well"*. On the other hand, a significant number (61%) and (59.3 %) of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction about the quality of services in the police station and the public clinic, respectively. Expressing their dissatisfaction regarding the quality of service in the police station, one respondent complained that *"Crime is not so much but police fail us because there are many cases which are being reported and remain unresolved.....again, they take time to respond or decide not to attend to the crime"* while another respondent said, *"The police are taking time before they respond to the crime scenes"*. To a large extent, this finding seems to confirm the argument made in the literature that in most communities, police officers are perceived as being unable to execute their duty wholeheartedly and of being corrupt in their conduct (Davidson & Mwakasonda, 2004). The high rate of dissatisfaction with the quality of services in the police station is further confirmed by the number of respondents who currently felt unsafe in their housing and neighbourhood in general (see also Figure 5.8 below).

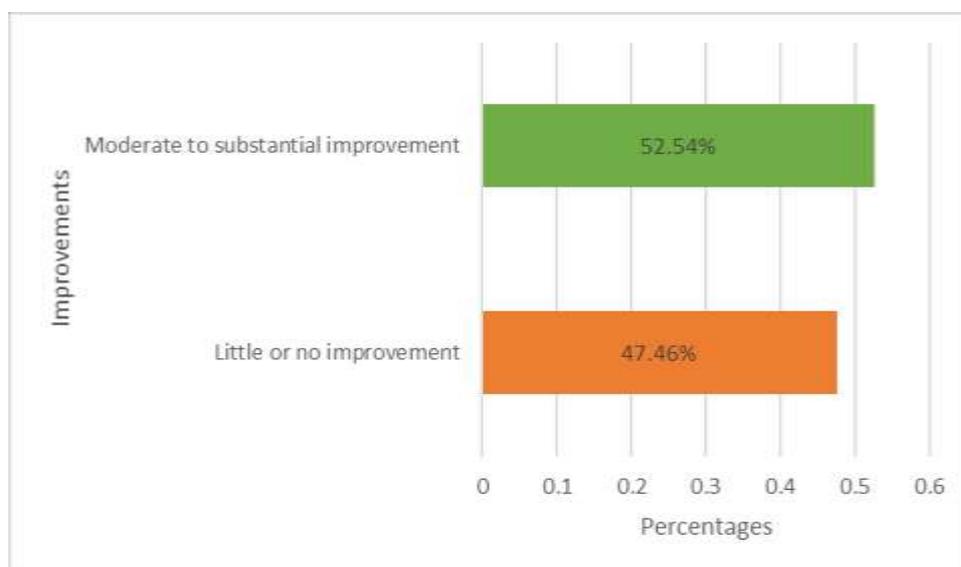


**Figure 5.8: Perceptions on the level of personal safety in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, 2020**

As seen in Table 5.8 and in the discussion above, the quality of service offered in the local police station in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area was criticised by respondents. Related to this criticism was a significant number (74.6%) of respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area who claim to be unsafe both in their homes and neighbourhood, in general. The following are some of the remarks made by respondents in expressing their frustrations with the lack of safety: *“... in terms of crime, the types of crime we experience here in our community are theft and housebreaking.”* Another respondent said, *“There is also smoking of nyaope...our tower lights are off most of the time; that's when these nyaope boys rob us”*. One of the respondents confirmed this by making the following remarks *“Crime rate is very high, and we also do not have streetlights; the few lights are very far from us. I will leave this place because of that”*. Some respondents, in expressing their displeasure with the way police operate, made the following remarks: *“The police are taking time to respond to the crime scenes and sometimes cannot come to attend to our complaints”*. Expressing similar remarks, the key informant also stated that: *“Crime is not so much but police fail us; there are many cases which are reported, and they take time to respond or decide not to attend to the crime. Like we reported the case of fighting siblings and police did not come.”* The above findings are, to a certain extent, in line with the argument made in the literature and in some research studies (Amnesty International, 2010; Corburn & Hildebrand, 2015; Gonsalves, Kaplan and Paltiel, 2015), that the lack of safety is usually blamed on the lack of timely intervention and response from the police service.

## 5.6 Beneficiaries' Perceptions of the General Standard Of Living In The Upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 Area

In this section, the focus now shifts to the perceptions of the respondents on how the upgrading in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area has improved the standard and quality of their life in general. The evidence in Figure 5.9 below raises some interesting issues in this regard.



**Figure 5.9: Perceptions on the level of improvement in the standard of living in Soshanguve Extension 3 area. 2020**

Based on the evidence in Figure 5.9 above, it is possible to make the following remarks: A significant number (52.54%) of the respondents believed that the upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area had in general, contributed to the improvement of the standard and quality of their life in general. While there were several challenges, including complaints raised by the respondents in previous sections, the positive perception about the upgrading could amongst other things be attributed to the possible role played by home ownership, including security of tenure that most respondents had acquired since the upgrading. It might also be due to the perceived role played by home ownership, tenure security, and access to basic services, such as drinking water, sanitation and electricity, in restoring their human dignity.

## 5.7 Conclusion

This chapter primarily focused on an analysis of the perceptions of the respondents who were both heads of households and project beneficiaries in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The empirical findings in this chapter showed mixed results on the performance of the upgrading project in Soshanguve Extension 3 area, since its inception in 1997. First, empirical evidence showed that despite a few areas that still required improvement, there was a generally acceptable level of access to basic services, such as drinking water, sanitation, electricity, and refuse removal, including public schools in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Furthermore, the high number (88.14%) of respondents who expressed '*no intention*' to leave this upgraded project area could, amongst other things, be attributed to the possible role that might have been played by home ownership, tenure security, social cohesion, place attachment and the proximity to economic opportunities in Pretoria, particularly the Rosslyn industrial hub which is within a 5km radius from the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. However, what seemed to be some of the key project-related weaknesses in this upgrading area was the high rate of unemployment, especially amongst female respondents, and housing and infrastructure development which is contrary what Turner in his writings on informal settlement upgrading refers to as 'housing by people', coupled with 'dweller control' and the principle of 'community-driven development' enshrined in the South African housing policy. In addition, there was a lack of maintenance of service infrastructure, particularly the sewerage system; poor services at the local clinic and police station; and finally, the poor response rate by both the City of Tshwane to service-related complaints and the police to crime-related complaints in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area.

## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

### STUDY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0. Introduction

Fundamental to this research study is the exploration of selected key principles or theoretical concepts (conceptual framework) used by Turner through his self-help housing theory. He advocates the recognition of informal settlement upgrading as one of the possible policy alternatives to the conventional state-driven, public housing model. Such exploration included the researcher's attempt to test the extent to which these selected theoretical concepts, '*dweller control*'; '*housing by people*'; and '*freedom to build*' are applicable in a South African, informal settlement upgrading context. Their applicability is first tested by looking at the extent to which a post-apartheid, South African housing policy discourse has embraced and used either exact or similar terminology/concepts to those used by Turner in advocating informal settlement upgrading. Second, by assessing the extent to which project planning and implementation, in terms of housing construction and related infrastructure development in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, has conformed both to these selected theoretical concepts by Turner and those enshrined in South African policy on settlement upgrading. For the latter, the lived experiences of project beneficiaries in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area was key. Further contributing to this exploration, Chapter Two presents a literature review which sought to provide a critical analysis and discussion of experiences and a general performance in various informal settlement upgrading projects across developing countries, including a summation and contextualisation of chosen conceptual framework. These selected principles or concepts which inform Turner's advocacy for informal settlement upgrading in selected countries are: '*dweller control*'; '*housing by people*'; and '*freedom to build*'. This is followed by Chapter Three, which presents a South African literature review and a brief policy overview and analysis related to the implementation and general performance of post-1994 informal settlement upgrading projects. Included, is a summation of policy principles enshrined in various post-1994 housing policies and their possible link with the selected principles or concepts of Turner, related to informal settlement upgrading. While guided by a similar key research aim, Chapter Five unlike Chapter Two and Three which both drew their analyses and subsequent conclusions from the literature, it (Chapter Five) presents an analysis and discussion of the

empirical findings based on the perceptions of selected project beneficiaries, gathered through a household survey, a focus group discussion and in-depth interviews in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area (City of Tshwane). Next, is a summation of several key research findings made by this study, following a successful combination of the three chapters outlined above. The summation is then followed by a set of policy-related study recommendations, as well as possible future research emanating from this study.

## **6.1 An overview of the main findings**

The evidence presented in this study shows that similar to other developing countries, the implementation of informal settlement upgrading projects in South Africa has both strengths and weaknesses. It is thus appropriate for the researcher to argue that the evidence presented in this study shows mixed results. The overall study findings should, in the main, be understood within the context of the following key specific findings that emanate from different study chapters.

### **6.1.1 The failure by conventional low-income public housing policy to address housing shortage is, to a certain extent, responsible for both the proliferation of informal settlements and the subsequent recognition of informal settlement upgrading as a policy alternative in developing countries, including South Africa**

There is evidence from both Chapter Two and Three in this study that shows that despite efforts by most developing countries (South Africa included), to tackle housing shortage amongst low-income urban dwellers through the public housing model, there has been a historic mismatch between housing demand and supply. One of the unintended consequences of such a mismatch is the widespread development of informal settlements on the peripheries of most urban centres in developing countries, including South Africa. Governments in these developing countries respond to the proliferation of informal settlements using the antagonistic approaches of suppression and demolition. Evidence from both Chapter Two and Three, shows that the failure of public housing in developing countries including South Africa, and the subsequent emergence of informal settlement upgrading, advocates and scholars, such as Turner prompted the sudden recognition of informal settlement upgrading as a policy alternative to the conventional public housing model.

### **6.1.2 In both the White Paper on Housing 1994 and BNG 2004 and its accompanying UISP, certain policy principles seem to carry intent and meaning similar to that carried by the theoretical concepts used by JFC Turner in his advocacy for the recognition of informal settlement upgrading**

Although context dependent (contextual), evidence from the international literature on Turner's writings on informal settlement upgrading (Chapter Two) and the South African policy perspective (Chapter Three), shows some similarities in certain key concepts. The following are some of the similarities a researcher could draw between selected key concepts underpinning both Turner's writings on informal settlement upgrading and the stance by the South African policy on informal settlement upgrading. First, similar to Turner's concept of 'informal settlement upgrading' (Turner, 1967), the South African policy (BNG 2004) advocates 'phased in-situ upgrading' coupled with the 'incremental provision of services, social amenities and tenure' (Department of Housing, 2004), while the 1994 Housing White Paper advocates the promotion of 'continuous housing improvements through consolidation and upgrading' and the 'right to housing shall be realised progressively (Department of Housing, 1994). Second, similar to Turner's concept of 'freedom to build' (Turner, 1967), the South African policy (Housing White Paper, 1994) advocates for the 'right to freedom of choice' (Department of Housing, 1994). Third, similar to Turner's concepts of 'dweller control' and 'housing by people' (Turner, 1967), the South African policy (Housing White Paper, 1994) advocates 'people-centred development' (Department of Housing, 1994).

### **6.1.3 The actual implementation of informal settlement upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area does not (to a certain extent), conform to some key concepts underpinning the South African housing policy and Turner's theoretical writings on informal settlement upgrading**

Evidence presented in Chapter Five shows that while the upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area could be commended for an improved and acceptable level of the accessibility of most of the basic services and social amenities (see 6.1.4 below), the concerns and thus, some degree of dissatisfaction amongst respondents is being expressed, mainly regarding the marginalisation and exclusion of project beneficiaries in key decision-making processes across almost all aspects of the upgrading project. For instance, contrary to Turner's concepts

of 'housing by people'; 'freedom to build'; and 'dweller control' and the policy stance on 'people-centred development', the respondents generally complained about being excluded by state-appointed contractors during the project planning and implementation phases when their state-funded RDP houses were being built. The high levels of dissatisfaction expressed by respondents regarding housing aspects, such as quality/type of building materials, number and size of rooms in their houses, housing designs and the actual location of their housing in their yards, further confirm this view.

**6.1.4 The upgrading in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area, could, amongst other things, be commended for the generally acceptable levels of access to almost all basic services and social amenities; proximity to certain industries; homeownership; tenure security; a great sense of place attachment, and social cohesion**

The empirical evidence from the Soshanguve Extension 3 area that is presented in Chapter Five shows a reasonably and generally acceptable level of access to several basic services and amenities by project beneficiaries. In general, most project beneficiaries confirmed connectivity and access to basic services, such as on-site drinking water; sanitation; electricity; refuse removal; and including access to public schools, clinics, the police station and public transport system, in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The evidence further shows that a significant number of respondents (63.7%) in this upgraded area are in possession of title deeds; this augurs well for government's effort of attaining homeownership and security of tenure through state-funded housing projects, including informal settlement upgrading. While the proximity of the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area to Rosslyn industrial area seems to have not translated into any tangible employment opportunities amongst selected project beneficiaries, such proximity is however, one of possible drivers and reasons behind the initial migration of most selected project beneficiaries into this upgraded area. Furthermore, the high number (88.14%) of respondents who expressed '*no intention*' to leave this upgraded project area could, amongst other things, be attributed to a possible role that may have been played by homeownership; tenure security; social cohesion; place attachment, and proximity to economic opportunities in Pretoria. This particularly concerns the Rosslyn industrial hub which is within a 5 km radius from the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area.

**6.1.5 The challenges in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area remain a high rate of unemployment most probably amongst women; poor maintenance of certain service infrastructure; poor services in certain public institutions; poor response or a lack thereof to service-related complaints laid by residents.**

Despite the generally acceptable levels of accessibility to most basic services and amenities (see Section 6.1.4), the quality and standard of services particularly in the local clinic, police station and municipal offices remain an area of concern to a significant number of respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. The empirical evidence in Chapter Five shows that, amongst the problems that continue to face project beneficiaries in this area, include the following. First, the high unemployment rate (57.6%) amongst respondents in the study where 74.6% were females. If both international and national trends (see Chapter Two and Three, respectively) on the female employment rate in developing countries is anything to go by, it does not come as surprise to have such a high unemployment rate in this study, where the majority of the respondents were females. Second, the generally poor maintenance of service infrastructure, such as sewerage and leaking water, most respondents cited as one of the problems they continue to experience in this upgraded area. Third, is the poor response rate by both the local police station and the municipal offices that most respondents blamed for the high crime rate and the prolonged spillage of sewerage, respectively. Fourth, is the poor quality and standard of health-related services in the local clinic that most respondents complained about during the household survey and focus group discussion.

## **6.2 Key recommendations**

This section seeks to provide some recommendations, informed largely by the various key study findings already discussed in the above discussion (see Section 6.1). It is, however, important to note that these recommendations are not ultimate policy suggestions, but a mere set of recommendations that could always assist both policy makers and project implementers to improve conformance to the policy during the actual implementation of informal settlement upgrading projects. Below are a number of recommendations proposed in this study.

### **6.2.1 There is need for the South African government to embrace a paradigm shift from solely state-driven, informal settlement upgrading to one driven by the principles of dweller control and people-centred decision making, amongst other things.**

It is the view of this researcher that any government, including that of South Africa, should desist from imposing its preferred housing and related service infrastructure on target project beneficiaries. Instead of this tendency, the government should play a more facilitative role, while affording project beneficiaries the opportunity to make their own choices. In the context of the dwellers' participation in the upgrading projects in South Africa and in the Soshanguve Extension 3 area in particular, the government should do the housing construction and infrastructural development, with the active involvement of the project beneficiaries. With the Soshanguve Extension 3, respondents complained that they were informed only when it was the time to occupy the finished housing units; thus, the high dissatisfaction rate with several of the housing aspects and the lack of their participation in decision-making, related to job creation through infrastructural development. Instead of providing housing for project beneficiaries, such as those in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, the government should prioritise empowerment through amongst other things, consumer education and the establishment of people-centred housing cooperatives (see also Turner, 1977). It is in this context that Turner, through the notion of dweller control believes that dwellers should be involved and allowed to control all phases of project implementation, including decision-making processes related to the actual housing construction amongst other things.

### **6.2.2 There is need to improve households' livelihoods through public-private partnership in an upgraded informal settlement area**

Empirical evidence presented in Chapter Five shows an urgent need for the creation of job opportunities in upgraded informal settlements, such as Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Given the high unemployment rate (57.6%) amongst respondents in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area, there are a significant number of respondents currently surviving on social grants, such as old age and child support grants, which are some of the most common sources of income. The current situation where 50.7% and 27.1% of respondents are dependent on a child support grant and an old age grant is not sustainable. It is also the view of the researcher

that the creation of sustainable jobs and economic opportunities in any low-income public housing development, including informal settlement upgrading, cannot be the sole responsibility of government, but one which requires public-private partnership initiatives.

### **6.2.3 There is a need to improve the oversight and response rate in the local clinic, police station and municipal directorate which is responsible for maintenance of water and sanitation in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area**

One of the major results in Chapter Five is a considerable number of respondents in the study showed great dissatisfaction (74.57%) with their safety in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. Startlingly, by having a house, one would think that they would be safe in their houses, but the respondents reported feeling unsafe in both their homes and in the neighbourhood. Most respondents attributed the high crime rate to poor police visibility and the poor police response to complaints made in the neighbourhood. Close working relations between the local police station and the community in this upgraded area, may greatly improve both the safety level and trust deficit that may arise due to the poor response rate by the police. Therefore, the researcher recommends the establishment of community-based structures, such as a Police Forum in the neighbourhood. It may also assist greatly if the community could consider the establishment of a street committee in each street, including proper and regular maintenance of mass street lights by the municipality. Similarly, regarding the poor maintenance of the sewerage system and the lack of a speedy response by the local municipality (City of Tshwane) to complaints about the spillage of sewerage, the responsible directorate should consider adopting and replicating Eskom's strategy currently followed for their maintenance and response to electricity-related complaints in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area. To overcome complaints made by respondents regarding the poor service at the local clinic, there may be a need for project beneficiaries to work closely with local health workers attached to their local clinic. This may require the establishment of a ward-based health committee, comprising members of the community and nurses working in the local clinic. It may also require a significant improvement on government's investment in increasing the number of employed nurses and the quantity of medication dispensed by the local clinic daily. It may also be appropriate to relieve the current local clinic of daily

overcrowding, by considering the introduction of temporary measures, such as the deployment of mobile clinics in this upgraded area.

### **6.3 Future research topics**

As stated in Chapter One, the study aimed to provide a critical analysis of the potential role of informal settlement upgrading projects in promoting access to adequate housing and other related basic service infrastructure and social amenities in the South African context. Below, are some possible future research topics researchers may consider for further exploration.

- There is a need to conduct a comprehensive study with the primary focus on the effectiveness of housing waiting lists compiled by local municipalities and the lived experiences of applicants, before completing applications, during the application process, and during the time when they await feedback on their applications. This is informed largely by complaints usually made about prospective state-funded housing subsidies in poor communities, including upgraded project areas, such as Soshanguve Extension 3 area.
- A future, longitudinal study in the upgraded Soshanguve Extension 3 area may be helpful in creating a long-term profile of how the upgrading undertaken in this area has performed in changing both the standard of basic services and the quality of life, including the livelihoods amongst project beneficiaries, over time.
- The possible influence of the high unemployment rate on the general maintenance of the service infrastructure, and the crime rate in an upgraded area, such as Soshanguve Extension 3 area, may be a feasible research topic to consider.

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**ANNEXURE A: HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

**HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE BENEFICIARIES PERCEPTIONS ON THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING PROJECT IN SOSHANGUVE EXTENSION 3, IN CITY OF TSHWANE, GAUTENG PROVINCE**

<b>GEOGRAPHIC PARTICULARS</b>	
<b>QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER:</b>	
<b>SETTLEMENT NAME:</b>	<b>Soshanguve Extension 3</b>
<b>House Number</b>	
<b>Cell number</b>	
<b>FINAL RESPONSE CODE</b>	
<b>1: Interview completed</b> <b>2: Interview partly completed</b> <b>3: Refusal by household head</b>	
<b>Interviewer Name:</b>	

**SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

**1.1 Sex?**

Male	1
Female	2

**1.2 Age**

How old are you	
-----------------	--

**1.3 Marital status?**

Married	1
Widow/Widower	2
Divorced/Separated	3
Never Married	4
Living with partner	5
Others (specify)	6

**1.4** The number of the people living in this house who contribute to the household income every month including the respondent

**1.5 Nationality: (specify country) .....**

**1.6 What is the HIGHEST level of education that you have successfully completed?**

No Schooling	1
Grade R/0	2
Grade 1/ Sub A	3
Grade 2 / Sub B	4
Grade 3/Standard 1	5
Grade 4/ Standard 2	6
Grade 5/ Standard 3	7
Grade 6/Standard 4	8
Grade 7/Standard 5	9
Grade 8/Standard 6/Form 1	10
Grade 9/Standard 7/Form 2	11
Grade 10/ Standard 8/ Form 3	12
Grade 12/Standard 10	13

Tertiary education (diploma, etc.)degree	19
Other (specify)	20

**SECTION B: MIGRATION**

**2.1 When did you first come to live in Soshanguve Extension 3? Please write a year**

**2.2 Where did you live before you came to Soshanguve Extension**

**3?.....**

**2.3 What type of dwelling did you live in before coming to Soshanguve Extension 3?**

Informal dwelling on separate stand (shack)	1
Informal dwelling in backyard	2
Brick house on separate stand (not RDP)	3
Mud house	4
Traditional house	5
RDP house	6
Other: (specify)	7

**2.4 What did you do with this house when you moved to Soshanguve Extension 3? (which option describes it the best)**

I sold it	1
Left it behind with family	2
Left it behind with a friend	3
I am renting it out to someone	4
It did not belong to me (I just moved out)	5
I just left it unattended	6
I demolished and brought materials along	7
Other:	8

--	--

**2.5** What were your **Three Main** reasons for moving to Soshanguve Extension 3?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

**2.6** What type of dwelling are you currently living in?

A brick house (not RDP)	1
An RDP house	2
Traditional dwelling	3
A mud house	4
A Shack (plastic/semi-permanent material/corrugated iron/cardboard)	5
Other (specify)	8

**2.7** Are you or your spouse/partner the owner of this house/stand?

<b>Yes</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>2</b>

**2.8** Did the government issue a title deed for this property?

<b>Yes</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>2</b>

**2.8 (a).** If Yes, how did or does that benefit you?

.....

.....

.....

**(b)** If No, how did or does that affect or disadvantage you?

.....

.....

.....

**2.9 What type of housing structure did you reside in first time you came to live in Soshanguve Extension 3 (indicate the one which mostly resembles this house)**

A shack	1
A brick house (not RDP)	2
A mud house	3
A traditional house	4
Other: Explain	5

**2.10 Do you any intension to leave Soshanguve Extension 3?**

<b>Yes</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>2</b>

**a. Please give a reason for your answer in 2.10 above?**

.....

.....

.....

**b. If Yes, indicate the place you intend moving to?**

.....

**SECTION C. SOCIO- ECONOMIC PROFILE**

**3.1 Where do you work most of the time?**

At home (Soshanguve Extension 3)	1
Away from home (in other parts of Soshanguve township)	2
Away from home (in other townships around Pretoria)	3
Away from home (in Pretoria)	4
Away from home (outside Pretoria and surrounding townships)	5
Do not work at all	6

Other (explain)	7
-----------------	---

**3.2 How many in your household receive the following:**

		Number
1.1 Old age pension	1	
1.2 Unemployment grant	2	
1.3 Child Support/ child maintenance grant	3	
1.4 Foster care grant	4	
1.5 Disability grant	5	
1.6 Care dependence grant/ grant in aid	6	
1.9 War veterans grant	7	

**3.3 How many People sleep in this house every day? (yourself included)**

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

**3.4 How many of the following ages sleep in this house every night?**

0-17	
18-59	
60+	

**3.5 How many of the people living in this house contribute to the household income every month? (Yourself included)**

Number:

**3.6 What is the total sum of money this entire household receives every month? (all persons included – after tax deductions- including grants)**

R.....

**SECTION D: HOUSING IMPROVEMENT**

**4.1 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following conditions of your dwelling unit or house?**

Item	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	I Don't Know
Design or layout of the unit	1	2	3	4	5	8
Quality of the roof	1	2	3	4	5	8
Quality of the floor	1	2	3	4	5	8
Quality of the walls	1	2	3	4	5	8
Position of the unit	1	2	3	4	5	8
Size of the yard	1	2	3	4	5	8
Number of rooms	1	2	3	4	5	8
Size of the rooms	1	2	3	4	5	8

**4.2 Who exactly built the house you are currently staying in?**

State appointed contractor	<b>1</b>
Self-appointed local contractor/builder	<b>2</b>
Myself	<b>3</b>
Family members/relatives	<b>4</b>
Others (specify)	<b>5</b>
I don't know	<b>6</b>

**4.3 How many completed rooms do your house currently have?**

Number: \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

**4.4 How many completed rooms did your house have when you first moved in?**

Number: -----

**4.5 Do you intend to add more rooms to your house in future?**

Yes	1
No	2

**c. If yes, who would be responsible for actual building of extensions?**

Myself	1
My husband/wife	2
Other family members	3
Builder from within my community (self-appointed)	4
Contractor company (state appointed)	5
Friends/neighbours	6
Other (specify)	7

**4.6 Which of the following would likely be a source of funding for future extensions?**

Monthly income	1
Households saving	2

Loan from savings group	3
Personal loan from bank	4
Loan from family or friend	5
Loan from money lender (Amashonisa)	6
Subsidy from government	7
Other (please specify source)	8

**4.7 Do you have extra rooms or space? If no, please go to 4.8.**

Yes	1
No	2

**a. If yes, what is the extra place rooms being used for?**

Additional living space	<b>1</b>
Rental/lodging (2)	<b>2</b>
Storage	<b>3</b>
Home-based income generating activity (please specify activity) .....	<b>4</b>
Other (5) Please specify	<b>5</b>

**4.8 If no, do you a plan of adding more rooms to your house in the future?**

Yes	1
No	2

**a. what will the extra place rooms be used for?**

Additional living space	<b>1</b>
-------------------------	----------

Rental/lodging (2)	2
Storage	3
Home-based income generating activity (please specify activity) .....	4
Other (5) Please specify	5

**4.9 Who was responsible for building these extensions?**

Myself	1
My husband/wife	2
Other family members	3
Builder from within my community (self-appointed)	4
Contractor company (state appointed)	5
Friends/neighbours	6
Other (specify)	7

**4.10 Where did the money you used for housing improvement come from?**

Monthly income	1
Households saving	2
Loan given to savings group	3
personal loan form bank	4
Loan from family or friend	5
Loan from moneylender (Amashonisa)	6
Subsidy from government	7
Other (please specify source)	8

**4.11 Have you ever approached a financial institution with the aim of getting a loan and turned down?**

Yes	1
No	2

**4.12 What were their reason for not granting you a loan?**

lack of tittle deed	1
Collateral security	2
Unemployed	3
Blacklisted	4
Others please specify.....	5

**SECTION E: SATISFACTION WITH DWELLINGS, SERVICES AND AMENITIES**

**5.1 Where did you get the building materials used for your housing improvement activities?**

Formal supplier outside area	1
Local formal supplier	2
Second-hand materials obtained from formal supplier	3
Second-hand materials obtained informally	4
Locally produced/self-produced materials	5
Other source Please specify	6

**5.2. Do you think suppliers of building materials are easy to access in your neighbourhood?**

Yes	1
No	2

**5.3 As project beneficiaries, how much freedom were you given by the government in choosing building materials and house plans for your housing?**

Wide choice	1
Restricted choice	2
No choice at all	3

**5.4 In your view, is the following services within a walking distance from your house?**

	yes	No
Primary school	1	2
Secondary school	1	2
Clinic	1	2
Police station	1	2
Playing grounds and parks for children	1	2
Shops/ supermarkets for monthly groceries	1	2

**5.5. In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the quality of service you usually receive in the following public sectors?**

Aspect	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1 Clinics	1	2	3	4	5
2 Public schools	1	2	3	4	5
3 Public transport	1	2	3	4	5
Police station	1	2	3	4	5

**5.6 If you are not satisfied with certain services, what would you say are the main reason for your dissatisfaction?**

Aspect	Reasons for dissatisfaction
--------	-----------------------------

1 Clinics	
2 Public schools	
3 Public transport	
4 Police station	

**5.7 Do you have a child who is of school going age and currently not attending school?**

<b>Yes</b>	1
<b>No</b>	2

**b. If Yes, explain the reason why?**

.....  
 .....

**5.8 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following in your community or vicinity?**

Item	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	I Don't Know
Support of community	1	2	3	4	5	8
Access to communication networks like MTM, Cell C	1	2	3	4	5	8
Street lights	1	2	3	4	5	8
Roads	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sewage system	1	2	3	4	5	8
Employment opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	8

accessible						
Safety within the area	1	2	3	4	5	8

**5.9 In your own opinion, how would you rate the standard of living in general since the upgrading of Soshanguve Extension 3:**

Improved	1
Slightly improved	2
Deteriorated	3
Not changed	4
I Don't Know	8

**5.10 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the maintenance following infrastructure in your community or vicinity?**

Item	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	I Don't Know
Roads	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sewage system	1	2	3	4	5	8
Streetlights	1	2	3	4	5	8
Water	1	2	3	4	5	8
Electricity	1	2	3	4	5	8

**5.11 What is the best thing about living here in Soshanguve Extension 3? (Name two only)**

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**5.12 What is the worst thing about living here in Soshanguve Extension 3? (Name two only)**

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**SECTION F: WATER AND SANITATION**

**6.1 Which one of the following is the primary source of water in your household?**

Piped tap water inside the house	01
Piped tap water inside the yard	02
Public/communal tap	04
Neighbour – Free	05
Neighbour – Paid for	06
Borehole on site	07
Communal Borehole	08
Rainwater tank on site	09
Flowing river/stream	10
Dam/pool	11
Well	12
Other, specify	213

**6.2 Do you pay your monthly bill in full for your municipal rates and services (water, sanitation, refuse removal, property rates, etc)?**

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

**6.3 In your opinion, do think municipal services and rates are affordable?**

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

**6.4 Which of the following is the primary source of sanitation in your household?**

Flush toilet (in the yard)	1
Flush toilet (inside the house)	2
Chemical toilet	3
Pit latrine with ventilation (VIP)	4
Pit latrine without ventilation	5
Bucket toilet system	6
Open veld	7
Others (specify)	8

**6.5 What is the main problem you normally experience with your toilet facility?**

.....  
.....  
.....

**6.6 Other than your family members, who else do you share the toilet facility with?**

None	1
Tenants	2
Relatives	3
Friends	4
Neighbours	5
Other community members	6
Others (specify)	7

**6.7 Do you normally have sewage spillage in this community?**

<b>Very often</b>	1
<b>Sometimes</b>	2
<b>Very rare</b>	3

**6.8 If it happens how long does it takes before being fixed?**

<b>Less than a week</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Two weeks</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>A month</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Nobody fixes it (indefinite)</b>	<b>4</b>

**6.9 Which of the following is currently a primary refuse removal source for your household?**

On-site dustbin	1
Communal container	2
Illegal dumping site	3

## **SECTION G: PARTICIPATION**

**7.1 Did you as a community participate in the following process?**

Designing of the dwellings	1	2
Construction of housing units	1	2
Designing of neighbourhood	1	2
Construction of dwellings and infrastructure	1	2
Maintenance of the neighbourhood and infrastructure	1	2
Location of your house	1	2

**7.2 If yes, how did you participate?**

Participate as individuals	1
Through the councillor	2
As a community (Mass meeting)	3
Through NGOs	4
Through the village headman or village chief	5
Others (specify)	6
No participation	7

**7.3 Do you personally think the community views were considered during the upgrading process?**

In all phases of the upgrading project	1
In certain phases of the upgrading project	2
Not at all	3

**7.4 Personally, how do you rate the community participation in Soshanguve Extension 3 in the following categories?**

Very good	1
Good	2
Average	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5

Designing of the dwellings (house plans)	1	2	3	4	5
Construction of housing units	1	2	3	4	5
Designing of neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5
Construction of dwellings and infrastructure	1	2	3	4	5
Maintenance of the neighbourhood and infrastructure	1	2	3	4	5
Location of your house	1	2	3	4	5

**SECTION H: STANDARD OF LIVING**

**8.1 Has being in this community helped in your employment and income generating situation?**

Yes	1
No	2

**8.2 If yes, how did it helped you?**

Provided space for renting out	1
By locating me close to my employment area	2
Saving in transport cost	3
By providing me with space to let out for rent	4
providing me with space for an income generating activity within the house and/or site	5
By providing work from building materials production	6
By acquiring skills provided in the project	7
By providing me with buyers for my product or service from within the area	8
Others (please specify)	9

**8.3 If no, please state the reasons why?**

Too costly to travel to and from work	1
Area located too far from employment areas	2
Home-based income generation activities are not permitted	3
Informal activities not allowed	4
There is stiff competition here	5
Others (please explain)	8

**8.4 After upgrading in this community, has your family's standard of living improved or remained the same? (Circle one)**

No improvement	1
very little improvement	2
Moderate improvement	3
Substantial improvement	4

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION**

## **ANNEXURE B: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH KEY INFORMANT**

In-depth interview questions with the community leader: Ward committee chairperson

1. In your opinion, what would you say are some of key successes of the upgrading project in Extension 3? List at least four
2. In your opinion, what would you say are some of key shortcomings or failures of the upgrading project in Extension 3? List at least four
3. Given that most residents received RDP housing (subsidy), others progressively upgraded their houses and received most basic services (water, electricity etc...), how has the general standard of life of ordinary people improve in Extension 3? Explain
4. What role did the government allow beneficiaries to play during designing and construction of their housing?
5. Where do you think the residents were supposed to play a role as beneficiaries or community during project implementation but were denied the opportunity by the government?
6. Can you explain to us your role in trying to facilitate the participation of the residents/ community in the designing, construction and maintenance of the houses and the neighbourhood?
7. What is the level of social cohesion in your ward? Give practical examples of some of community initiatives and activities.
8. What are some of basic needs you as a community, you still await government to come and fulfil? Name them all and then explain why is this still the case?
9. Does the location of the Extension 3 facilitate the access to both employment and business opportunities? Explain
10. What do you suggest that the government should do to further improve the standard and quality of life in general in Extension 3?
11. What do you suggest that the community do themselves to further improve the standard and quality of life in general in Extension 3?

12. As community leader, what is it that the government is failing/has failed regarding upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 area and you think would have been done differently? Explain why.

### **ANNEXURE C: QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)**

1. In your opinion, what is generally good about your neighbourhood- Extension 3? List at least three main things.
2. Since you received your RDP housing (subsidy) and basic services (water, electricity etc...), how has your life improved? Explain
3. In your opinion, would you say the whole upgrading project of Extension 3 is a success or failure? Explain
4. What role did the government allow you as beneficiaries to play during construction of your housing?
5. Where do you think were supposed to play a role as beneficiaries or community during project implementation but were denied the opportunity by the government?
6. How do you usually assist and protect each other as community and neighbours? Explain how and why
7. Do you intend to leave Extension 3 in future? Explain why?
8. Why did you choose to live in Extension 3 upgraded area and not any other area in Soshanguve?
9. What are some of basic needs you as a community, you still await government to come and fulfil? Name them all and then explain why is this still the case?
10. In your opinion, what is generally bad about your neighbourhood- Extension 3? List at least three things
11. What do you suggest that the government do to further improve the standard and quality of life in general in Extension 3?
12. What do you suggest that the community do themselves to further improve the standard and quality of life in general in Extension 3?

## ANNEXURE D: A COPY OF ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



**DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES  
RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE  
APPLICATION FOR ETHICS REVIEW AND CLEARANCE**

Date: 25 January 2018

Dear Mr/Ms E MATHEBULA

Ref  
#:2017\_DEVSTUD\_Student\_16  
Name of applicant: E  
MATHEBULA  
Student #: 61935379

**Decision: Ethical Clearance**

**Name: E MATHEBULA**

Student in the Department of Development Studies

Supervisor: Dr LJ Ntema

Co-Supervisor: N/A

**Proposal: Informal Settlement Upgrading Project and Perceptions of Beneficiaries:  
The Case Study of City of Tshwane, Gauteng Province**

**E-mail:** 61935379@mylife.unisa.ac.za

**Qualification:** MA in Development Studies

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Your application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee on 25 January 2018.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

- 1) The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
- 2) Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.



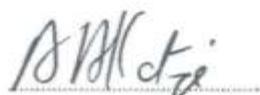
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www.unisa.ac.za

- 3) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.

**Note:**

The reference number, 2017\_DEVSTUD\_Student\_16, should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee.

Kind regards,



Prof DA Kotzé  
Chairperson: ERC  
Department of Development Studies  
TvW Building, Room 4-40  
Tel 012 429 6592  
E-mail: [kotzeda@unisa.ac.za](mailto:kotzeda@unisa.ac.za)



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## ANNEXURE E: CONSENT FORM

Hello, I am..... (research assistant/ a master's student) at University of South Africa (UNISA).

We are conducting a research survey on the beneficiaries' perception on the informal settlement upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3 in the City of Tshwane, Gauteng Province. The proposed study aims to collect data on beneficiaries' perception on upgrading of informal settlements in Soshanguve Extension 3.

Please understand that your participation is voluntary, you are not being forced or coerced to participate in this study. It is your choice of whether to participate or not, and your choice will be respected as such. If you elect not to participate in this study, there will not be any consequence. Again, it is important to note that if you agree to partake in this study, you may stop participating if you feel not comfortable to continue.

All personal and private information shared between the researcher, data collector and participants information will be kept confidential and only accessed by the mention parties. Presently, there are no risks of harms associated with your participation in this study. lastly, there are no immediate benefits to you from participating in this study apart from promoting the understanding of dwellers' expectations, progress and gaps regarding upgrading in Soshanguve Extension 3.

### CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research on the Informal settlement upgrading project and beneficiaries' perceptions in the City of Tshwane, Gauteng Province. I understand that I am participating voluntary without being coerced and compelled to partake in the study. I also consent to voice recording.

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**Signature of participant**

**Date**.....

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**Signature of researcher**

**Date**.....

