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CONTESTATIONS SURROUNDING THE UPGRADING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN EAST LONDON IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Built Environment in Housing.

Johannesburg January 2020

Supervisor: Brian Murahwa

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the degree of Masters of Built Environment in Housing to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

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(Signature of candidate)

……...day of……

ABSTRACT

The demand for adequate and affordable housing continues to grow unabated globally and South Africa is no exception. Currently, the global housing backlog is estimated to be at about 330 million households. The figure is forecasted to increase by more than 30% by 2025. This means that about 440 million households, or 1.6 billion people will not have access to decent housing. In South Africa, the mushrooming of informal settlements reflects on the inability of the state to respond to the complex issues surrounding access to housing. While the government has attempted to address this situation through policies, it was only until recent that it took a positive approach to dealing with informal settlements. Through the Comprehensive Plan on Human Settlements, attention is paid on improving the lives of informal settlement dwellers with an emphasis on in situ upgrading processes. Ironically, despite the allocation of a grant to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan Village under the Urban Settlements Development Grant (USDG) for bulk services to the metropolitan municipality and Human Settlements Development Grant (HSDG) for top structures and social amenities in 2015, no remarkable improvements have been witnessed in this respect. The grant has since been returned to the Treasury while conditions on the ground do not reflect any positive change towards upgrading of informal settlements. This study therefore draws from these developments and investigated the underlying contestations surrounding the failure to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan Village, East London. Information for this study was gathered through qualitative research methodology where both primary and secondary sources of data were employed. Unstructured face to face interviews were conducted with key informants (those with relevant information on the subject under study). Complementary information was gathered through observations and document analysis where documents such as housing policies and relevant literature were reviewed. The research unravelled that while the South African government seek to upgrade informal settlements through policies such as the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP), there is a mismatch between policy intentions and what transpires on the ground. One of the major themes coming out from this study is that officials who are tasked with implementing the upgrading of informal settlements are incompetent. The study further observed that failure to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan Village, East London, can mainly be attributed to power struggles that exist between the national and local government. It is within these power dynamics that there is not enough engagement with local people when it comes to developing and implementing policies such as the ones on informal settlement upgrading. The study therefore recommends the need to align different government departments in order to tap share skills and expertise between relevant officials. There is also need to draw lessons from countries that successfully implemented projects on upgrading of informal settlements.

Key Words: Adequate housing, Informal settlements, upgrading programme, grant funding.

DEDICATION

This research report is dedicated to my beautiful mother Nosiphiwo “Mankwali” Stoto who made a huge sacrifice of being my physically challenged boy’s care giver so that I may fulfil my career dreams, my loving and caring king Seamy and children (Lisa, Soso, Khanya, Buhle and Oyama) who understood and supported me from the beginning to the end of this programme, and above all my Lord and saviour Jesus Christ who gave me strength and wisdom throughout my work.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACSA	Airport Company South Africa
AG	Auditor General
BCMM	Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBD	Central Business District
DHS	Department of Human Settlements
DVRI	Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative
ELIDZ	East London Industrial Development Zone
HDA	Housing Development Agency
HSDG	Human Settlements Development Grant
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
IDZ	Industrial Development Zone
LSDF	Local Spatial Development Framework
UISP	Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NRCS	National Regulator for Compulsory Specifications
NUSP	National Upgrading Support Programme
USDG	Urban Settlements Development Grant
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
SAMPI	South African Multidimensional Poverty Index
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
TRA	Temporary Relocation Area

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The demand for adequate and affordable housing continues to grow unabated globally and South Africa is no exception. Currently, the global housing backlog is estimated to be at about 330 million households (King, et al 2017: 2). The figure is forecasted to increase by more than 30% by 2025. This means than about 440 million households, or 1.6 billion people might not have access to decent housing (ibid: 2). Meanwhile, as rational actors, these people tend to find shelter in informal settlements where barriers are low but continue to live under precarious conditions. Failure to access adequate housing is against the much-popularized debate on the right to housing. The right to adequate housing is "an important basic human right, of central importance for the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights" (Chenwi, 2013: 342 – 343). The recognition of this right in South Africa led to the adoption of the Comprehensive Plan on Human Settlements. The plan speaks in line with the Constitution which emphasizes that "state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right" (Tissington, 2010).

Recently, there has been a widespread acceptance that informal settlements are a solution to housing problems bedeviling many cities. Through the South African Housing Code of 2009, which was developed in line with the Comprehensive Development Plan on Human Settlements, attention is paid on improving the lives of informal settlement dwellers with an emphasis on in situ upgrading processes. Ironically, despite the allocation of a grant in 2011/2012 – 2014/2015 financial years to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan Village under the Urban Settlements Development Grant (USDG) for bulk services and Human Settlements Development Grant (HSDG) for top structures and social amenities, no noticeable improvements have been witnessed in this respect. The grant has since been returned to the Treasury while conditions on the ground do not reflect any positive change towards upgrading of informal settlements. This study therefore draws from these developments and attempted to investigate the underlying contestations surrounding the failure to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan Village.

1.2. Background of the study

The booming of the South African economy over the last decade has witnessed a sharp increase in the arrival of people from other countries to seek employment opportunities. In the similar trend, East London, which has a light industry hub owing to its location near the Indian Ocean is also home to motor industry companies such as Mercedes Benz. These activities have resulted in a growth in economic opportunities which also meant an increase in the number of people migrating to the city both from within South Africa and from elsewhere. According to Statistics South Africa, (2016) the number of households in the Eastern Cape

province has increased drastically from 2005 to 2011. Buffalo City Metropolitan municipality has the largest share of households (368 520) in the province. Coupled with natural population increase, these figures have not grown proportionally with the pace of service delivery, particularly housing. The growing demand for housing has thus resulted in an increase in prices for rental accommodation. Due to affordability problems in the city people resort to housing themselves in low cost areas which are located to the outskirts of the city, mostly in Duncan Village within the jurisdiction of Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM). The Township is a mixed human settlement which consists of formal and informal housing including hostels. It is predominantly informal due to shacks that occupy all open space between formal houses. Despite the effort by the state to improve the living conditions in Duncan Village, the mushrooming of shacks continue to sprawl. In South Africa in general, the number of informal settlements have increased from around 300 to over 2600 and according to Statistics South Africa, these settlements are homes to approximately 1.4 million households (Sibiya, et al 2013: 33). Given this background, is it worth to investigate why there is this disjuncture between policy intentions and the actual practice on upgrading of informal settlements.

1.3. Problem Statement

Following the Breaking New Ground of 2004, a Comprehensive Policy on Human settlement, in policy, South Africa witnessed a shift from an emphasis on negative measures against informal settlements to an emphasis on improving the lives of slum dwellers. While this strategy is in policy, direct and negative measures of dealing with informal settlement such as relocation, eviction and prosecution, continue to characterize Post-Apartheid government's approach to informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2013). In the Eastern Cape's Duncan Village, despite the allocation of grants to upgrade informal settlements under the USDG and HSDG to the local municipality, no significant improvements have been witnessed in this respect. The grant has since been returned to the treasury while conditions on the ground do not reflect any positive change towards upgrading of informal settlements. It is from these developments therefore that this study investigated the underlying politics and contestations surrounding upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan Village.

1.4. Rationale

While there have been many studies on informal settlements (see Huchzermeyer 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) this subject is far from being exhausted as a research area. Informal settlements development show a continued quest by urban dwellers to fight for survival in the city. Imperative to this is a study that seeks to promote people's right to the city through understanding how efforts in theory and practice are applied to realise upgrading of informal settlements. This is echoed by Charlton and Kihato (2006) who went further to argue

that, in order to understand the gap between policy intentions, policy articulation and practice, factors that shape policy should be interrogated. With the Duncan Village case in East London, there is no doubt that the reversal of the grant to the Treasury without upgrading of informal settlement is attributed to a plethora of ambivalences and contestations that calls for a study. A research into this area will also unearth areas of sensitivities that needs to be addressed before grants are disbursed to upgrade informal settlements. Beyond that, the findings of this study might bring to the fore lessons for policy makers, donor organisations and all stakeholders in the housing delivery processes.

1.5. Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to understand the contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements in East London's Duncan Village.

1.6. Research objectives

- To understand contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements in East London's Duncan Village.
- To explore the role of the state in the upgrading of informal settlements and improving the life conditions of Duncan Village residents.
- To evaluate the appropriateness of the state intervention in improving Duncan Village
- To make recommendations on the findings of the study

1.7. Research Questions

1.7.1. Main Question

- What are the underlying contestations surrounding informal settlements upgrading in East London's Duncan Village?

1.7.2. Sub-questions

- What is the role of the state in the upgrading of informal settlements and improving the life conditions in Duncan Village?
- Is the state adequately addressing the living conditions of the Duncan Village communities?
- What can be done to improve the living conditions of the Duncan Village residents?

1.8. Expected findings

The nature of this study was largely explorative. As such, a hypothesis was adopted only as a guideline. The study therefore envisaged that underlying contestations such as power struggles that exist between the national and local government has negatively impacted on the upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan Village. This has led people to continue living under harsh and precarious conditions in informal settlements.

1.9. Research Methods

This study was informed by qualitative research methodology. According to DeFranzo (2011) qualitative research is primarily exploratory research used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations. Saunders, et al (2012: 163), further refers to qualitative research as "naturalist since researchers need to operate within a natural setting, or research context, in order to establish trust, participation, access to meanings and in-depth understanding". Qualitative research seeks to gain a deep or thick understanding of the phenomenon under study in its specific setting or context (ibid). It is thus imperative that the researcher ascertains as clear as possible an understanding of the context and life worlds of his or her participants. In this research a qualitative approach was employed to get a primary data from community that is directly affected by informality and precarious living conditions while understanding the implementation impediments of the upgrading intervention programme from the state officials. Through this method the researcher tried to establish the meaning of a phenomenon from the views of participants.

1.9.1. The interpretive approach

A broad qualitative method rooted in the interpretive paradigm informed this study. This model is generally concerned with the subjective views of the respondents (Murahwa, 2015: 12). It is the approach that recognises social reality that as both a function and a product of our perceptions (ibid: 12). There are many subjective truths that can be studied empirically. That is why the viewpoints or perceptions of those who experience the phenomenon like the community members living in those precarious depressing conditions in informal settlements are vital. However, explanation and interpretations need to be informed by the understanding of the context. Due to the fact that knowledge obtained through interpretive approach cannot be generalised, the researcher following this method needs to be very familiar with the context in which the phenomenon under study occurs.

1.9.2. Sampling

Sampling is generally guided by two factors that is, the cost of the study and the demand for accurate knowledge. Choosing to locate the study in Duncan Village East London was a sensible decision. The researcher is living in Bhisho which is within the Buffalo City Municipality where Duncan Village is located and also working for the Department of Human settlements which its office is located in East London next to Duncan Village. As such, personal relationships and trust will be easy to establish. Moreover, there were no language barriers in the study as the researcher speaks the same language with that of the respondents. The cost of the study and time it takes to complete the study have been carefully calculated and therefore East London Duncan Village offers a good opportunity for exploring the issue at hand. Three officials from province, three officials from municipality and nine Duncan Village residents complete the sample size. The targeted group and the area have been selected on the basis of feasibility, accessibility and manageability.

The study employed two non-probability sampling techniques, which are purposive or judgmental sampling and snowball sampling. In purposive sampling the researcher uses his/her own judgement to choose participants with sufficiently diverse characteristics to provide the maximum variation possible in the data collected (Saunders et.al, 2012: 287). Purposive sampling enables one to collect data to describe and explain the key themes that can be observed. It is often used when working with a very small sample. Through Snowball sampling, the researcher collects data on the few members of the targeted population, then seeks information from those individuals that enables the participant to locate other members of the population (de Vos, et al 2007:330). Despite the population group having been identified, that does not mean there is a readily available list of names of respondents that will participate in the study. Notwithstanding the fact that the researcher did not know whom to interview at the municipality she made use of the referrals for participants in different departments within

the municipality from the municipality leadership. That made it easier to approach the participants who directly involved in project planning, project implementation and finance. Therefore, this method of sampling is both appropriate for recruiting participants in this study. However, by using this method, I was aware that there might be biase because of working relations that existed between the researcher and the researched. To avoid this, the research allowed the informants to dictate the interviews process and a discretion was made in considering who to be involved or who to be left out in the study so as to ensure validity of the data.

1.9.3. Individual, face to face interviews

Interviews may be conducted on a one-to-one basis, between the researcher and a single participant and such interviews are most commonly conducted by meeting participant 'face to face' (Saunders et al, 2012: 375). In the context of this research, these interviews were neutral, in-depth one-on-one conversations with officials working for the BCMM, provincial Department of Human Settlements' regional office and Duncan Village residents in East London. The interviews were designed using a semi-structured type of interview guide which outlined the key open-ended questions. The latter was designed to capture data that answer the main question and attendant sub-questions of the study.

These interviews were conducted in private places, at the times chosen and agreed by both the researcher and the respondents. Research questions were open ended. Those questions that directly sought to examine different housing initiatives that were implemented in Duncan Village to respond to the housing challenge/informal settlements were conducted with both officials from the lower levels of the government such as local municipality and from the Department of Human Settlements. These questions also sought to understand the challenges, success and contestations encountered in implementing different housing strategies in general and upgrading of informal settlements in particular. During these interviews, English was mainly used as a medium of communication while officials could at times use one or two of local languages such as Xhosa and Afrikaans words. The fact that there was a use of other languages other than English, it is likely that some of the data lost its real meaning in the translation process. From four interviews that were conducted with key informants, only one agreed to be recorded and the other three contributions were noted down in a diary book. The recorded interviews were later transcribed and kept in a safe and confidential place (password protected personal computer). All the officials were interviewed at their work places during working hours. The longest interview in this category was with an official from the Human Settlements department. It took about an hour. The shortest was with an official from the municipality and the interview did not last more than 15 minutes. The

interview was interrupted as the interviewee had to attend to an emergency. Efforts to reschedule another interview with this key informant were fruitless as he was always busy.

Questions that sought to understand the success stories, contestations and recommendations to the programmes that aim at upgrading informal settlements and improving housing provision were posed to both key informants and residents of Duncan village. One of the residents preferred to be interviewed in her own local language, Xhosa while the other one opted for English although she was not fluent throughout the interview. None of these respondents agreed to be recorded and their responses were jotted down in a note book. These interviews with residents took place on separate dates but both were conducted in an open public space. One beneficiary was interviewed at her market stall while the other one preferred to be interviewed under a shade near a tuckshop where most men from this street relax and socialise. These interviews lasted for about 22 minutes and 26 minutes respectively.

Questions that sought to understand if upgrading of informal strategies housing strive to deal with issues regarding the genuine needs and meeting the concerns of vulnerable groups in society were asked both officials and activists. Activists had no problem in being recorded and they preferred English as a medium of communication. One activist agreed to be interviewed in a boardroom at his work place while the other one preferred his personal office. However, the interview that was conducted in the boardroom was constantly interrupted as colleagues of the respondent kept on coming in and going out, but the researcher did not stop the recorder during these interruptions. This interview lasted for about 40 minutes but the actual time that any productive communication was recorded was not over 30 minutes. The other activist's interview lasted for about 25 minutes.

Lastly, general questions that were aimed at understanding the whole housing and informal settlement situation in Duncan village, were posed to all participants. Use of local languages with some respondents enabled them to express themselves freely and clearly. I was also adjusting questions to suit their responses, and this made them to feel at ease. While some respondents did not approve to be recorded, they willingly signed the consent forms. Through all the engagements carried out in this interviewing process, the researcher attempted to understand the contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan village.

It is also important to point out that getting access to information through face to face interviews was difficult than anticipated. Many senior officials the researcher intended to engage were not willing to be interviewed. These summoned their juniors to participate in the interviewing process. One of the reasons why these officials were not forthcoming might be that some of them know they are subordinates to the researcher. This is not withstanding the fact that the

researcher, through considering the ethical conduct of doing a research, had clearly indicated that any information that was going to be gathered was specifically for academic purposes. Literally, it appeared as if these officials misunderstood my intention to engage them as an appraisal exercise and despite my concerted efforts to clarify my position, they could not agree to participate. Unfortunately, I could not force them to participate as this is against the ethics of doing research. I had to rely on the information that was provided by those that agreed to participate freely. While the findings arrived at might have lacked that contributions from senior officials who have been involved in housing processes in Duncan Village for a long time, an analysis can still be made based on those that contributed. Fortunately, data gathered through interviews was later augmented by minutes from different stakeholder meetings on upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan village.

1.9.4. Recording device and note taking

Wherever recording was done, a formal permission for recording was first requested prior to the commencement of the interviews. This was clearly requested in the informed consent forms which were signed by participants. Whenever a prospective respondent felt uncomfortable or unwilling to be recorded, I requested permission to write brief notes during the interview. I ensured that the recording device was properly functioning before commencing interviews. In addition to the recording device and notes taking, non-verbal communication and the surrounding environment was taken into account.

1.10. Ethical Considerations

Prior to starting the fieldwork, I ensured that I have obtained the ethics clearance from the University of Witwatersrand and permission from the Authorities (Department of Human Settlements and Buffalo City Metro) where the study was conducted. During the course of the fieldwork (Data collection), I abided by the ethical standards of the University of Witwatersrand, Duncan Village community, Department of Human Settlements and Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality. This study was not conducted for legal actions but for academic purposes. Ethical standards were observed throughout the research. The purpose of the study was explained to the participants and they were made aware that they were not to be compensated for participating in the study. Participation was voluntary, and they had the opportunity to withdraw at any time when they felt uncomfortable. Furthermore, participants were given assurance that confidential issues were not to divulged and their identities were not to be revealed. That was proven by anonymous or pseudo names for the participants to encourage participants to respond freely to the questions. These details were elaborated in the consent forms that the respondents were asked to sign and each respondent was being given a copy.

All participants were treated with respect and are not to be held responsible for any facts that might be negatively interpreted from their responses in this study. Data collected from

participants was coded and kept in a password protected folder. Upon completion of the study, data will be stored as a research report in the University of Witwatersrand's online data base as well as in research Commons and all potentially identifying features linking the report to the participants will be removed. Only those with access to the University of Witwatersrand Electronic database will have access to the final research report.

1.11. Limitations of the study

Limitations are shortcomings, conditions or influences that arise in a study which are out of the researcher's control. They limit the extent to which the study can go, and sometimes affect the end results and conclusions that can be drawn (Simon and Goes, 2013). Expected limitation of the study was time constraints. Though appointments were made in time with participants, they were not available on the scheduled times due to their competing priorities. One of the major limitations was difficulty to interview residential participants due to their disappointment on service delivery from the state. They were not answering any question other than lamenting about their long waiting for their RDP houses that were promised two decades ago by the state and the municipality does not care about their living conditions. Another limitation was the difficulty in translation of the information collected from the participants who used their own languages when interviewed which may result to the loss of useful information.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This section seeks to place this study within its scholarly context. It does so through unpacking policy on housing, literature on housing situation in developing countries, informal settlements as an alternative housing solution for the poor, state interventions in improving informal settlement living conditions and contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements. The literature review is developed in a way that is responsive to the research questions whose guidelines are for this research. It is important to approach this research in this way because housing in general and informal settlements in particular are a pressing urban challenge in South Africa, the region and beyond. Hence literature will not only focus on developing countries of Africa, it will encompass experiences for other countries such as Brazil. While there are developments and measures put in place to deal with informality globally, these tend to result in political and economic exclusion/marginalization. As such, while this section attempts to identify the causes and contestations of informal settlements as a global, regional and national phenomenon, it does so through interrogating approaches that are vital to dealing with the challenge of housing such as informal settlements. It is from this backdrop that the study will contribute towards policy and practice

2.2. Legislative Frameworks in Housing

The right to adequate housing is relevant to all States and was recognised as part of the right to an adequate standard of living in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN-Habitat, 2014: 1). One of the first references to it is in article 25 (1) of the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. The characteristics of the right to adequate housing are clarified mainly in the Committee's general comments No. 4 (1991) on the right to adequate housing and No. 7 (1997) on forced evictions. The UN-Habitat further highlights that to protect the right to housing effectively, it is necessary to pay attention to specific situation of individuals and groups (women, children, slum-dwellers, homeless persons, persons with disabilities and displaced persons and migrants) in particular those living in vulnerable situations (ibid:16). South Africa's government housing development policy derives from section 26 of the Constitution. South Africa's constitution is the one of the most progressive in the world in terms of guaranteeing the socio-economic rights of individuals in relation to adequate housing (Islington, 2011 cited in Ziblim, 2013: 19). The Constitution states that: 1) Everyone has a right to have access to adequate housing. 2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. 3) No one may be evicted from their home or have their home demolished without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions

(Constitution of South Africa, 1996: 12). Hence there is a mismatch between what is guaranteed in the constitution and what is happening on the ground. Many cases of 'illegal' structural demolitions are an everyday reality such as those experienced in Alexandra over the years.

The first decade post 1994, the new South African government had the challenge of realising the right to adequate housing as well as addressing the extremely poor living conditions related to basic services delivery (such as water, sanitation, electricity) (Mukorombindo, 2014: 1). Some legislations were enacted such as the White Paper on Housing of 1994 and the Housing Act of 1997. The White Paper sought to create viable, integrated settlements where households could access opportunities, infrastructure and services, within which all South African people will have access on a progressive basis to: (a) a permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensure privacy and provide adequate protection against the elements; (b) portable water, sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply. The Housing Act of 1997 in Section 2 clearly states that national, provincial and local spheres of government must give priority to the needs of the poor with respect to housing development; consult meaningfully with individuals and communities affected by housing development. The Act further indicates that all spheres of government must ensure that housing development provides as wide a choice of housing and tenure options as is reasonably possible, economically, fiscally, socially and financially affordable and sustainable, is based on integrated development and is administered in a transparent, accountable and equitable manner, and upholds the practice of good governance. Prior to the introduction of the Breaking New Ground (BNG) Policy (2004), the housing programme focus was on the quantity of houses delivered – a quantity based approach (Department of Human Settlements, 2017: 3). BNG was introduced with a paradigm shift, from a housing delivery, quantity based approach to a more demand defined, quality-based and integrated approach (ibid: 3). There was a new policy focus shift from providing just a shelter to asset creation.

The BNG aligned South African Housing Policy with international thinking and trends. It demonstrated a clear internalisation of the Millennium Development Goals (South Africa is also a signatory), Goal 7, Target 11, which set out to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 (Department of Human Settlements, 2017: 6). The Housing Code was introduced with the sets of policy principles, guidelines, norms and standards which apply to the Government's various Housing Assistance Programmes (known as housing instruments) to assist developers (Provinces and Municipalities) responsible for Human Settlements projects implementation (ibid: 6). The Housing Code provides a dedicated programme "Informal Settlements Upgrading Programme (ISUP)" specifically to deal with the in-situ upgrading without inconveniencing livelihoods of the residents. The key objective of this

programme is to facilitate the structured *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements as opposed to relocation to achieve the following complex and interrelated policy objectives such as Tenure Security to enhance the concept of citizenship, incorporating both rights and obligations, by recognising and formalising the tenure rights of residents within informal settlements; while on the other hand promoting the development of healthy and secure living environments by facilitating the provision of affordable and sustainable basic municipal engineering infrastructure to the residents of informal settlements. This must allow for scaling up in the future; and empowerment to address social and economic exclusion by focusing on community empowerment and the promotion of social and economic integration, building social capital through participative processes and addressing the broader social needs of communities (Department of Human Settlements Part 3 of the National Housing Code, 2009: 13).

2.3. Conceptualising informal Settlements

Although there is a growing consensus among academics that informal settlements are a global challenge, they appear to differ in their definition of the concept. Huchzermeyer (2011: 68) argues that in order to confront informal settlements situation, we need a clear understanding of the term 'informality'. Drawing from Roy (2005: 48) who argues that Urban informality is conceived as a negotiation process through which spatial value is produced, Huchzermeyer (2011: 70-71) goes on to assert that "informality is not a separate sector but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another". The Housing Development Agency (HDA), (2013:6) defines an informal settlement as "an unplanned settlement on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal dwelling". The agency further explains that an informal dwelling is "a makeshift structure not approved by a local authority and not intended as a permanent dwelling" (ibid: 6). Further Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006: 3) look at informal settlements, particularly in the South African context as settlements of urban poor that have developed through unauthorized occupation of land, characterized by tenure insecurity and are in variable ways, dangerous and unhealthy living environment. It is this last definition provided by Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006) that is adopted in this research as it captures the characteristics of informal settlements in Duncan village, East London

In international literature, informal settlements are likened to informal housing practices. Informal settlements are defined as "developments which do not conform to the laws and regulatory frameworks of the city" (Sivam, 2003: 136). Elsewhere, "they exist due to the inability of low income groups to purchase high quality housing produced through the conventional way" (Keivan and Werma, 2001). In Delhi, for example, these practices are in "the form of invasions, quasi-legal settlements and tenements, unauthorised community based

subdivisions and landlord based subdivisions" (ibid: 137). Informal settlements concept is used interchangeably with "slum dwellers" particularly by the international world. Huchzermeyer (2013: 296) argues that the term "slum has come to refer not to deteriorated formal housing stock, but to unplanned and unauthorised settlements in which poor households have found urban foothold for themselves. She further argues that Cities Alliance adopted the term "slum" to describe a range of living conditions from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities (World Bank and UNCH [Habitat], 1991:1 cited in Huchzermeyer, 2013: 296). Since informal housing practices are very prevalent in South African in general and in Duncan Village in particular, one can now move over to unpack the associated risks of residing in informal settlement. This shall be followed by a section that seeks to validate the contribution of informal settlements to reduce the housing challenges.

2.4 Informal settlements as areas characterised by poverty and vulnerability

While there is no single universal definition of poverty, various researchers, including the poor living in informal settlement, attach more meaning to qualitative dimensions of poverty such as independence, security, self-respect, identity, close and non-exploitative social relationships, decision– making freedom, legal and political rights (Wratten, 1995:17). The World Bank (2010) defines poverty as hunger, lack of shelter, being sick and not being able to see a doctor, not having a job, fear for the future, powerlessness, and lack of representation and freedom. UNCHS (1996: 108) defines poverty as "deprivation or human needs that are not met. It is argued that within this broad framework, 'poverty' signifies 'lack of' or 'deficiency in' can be defined in either quantitative or qualitative terms, or a combination of the two". Quantitative definitions of poverty have been derived from conventional economic approaches and qualitative definition from participatory planning. Using quantitative and qualitative approaches, poverty can be defined in two different dimensions: as lack of income and of basic infrastructure and social services (Sheuya, 2004).

Moreover, lack of adequate income or assets or a combination of the two may lead to a situation where poor households may resort to live in overcrowded and poor-quality housing that lack basic infrastructure and services (Sheuya, 2004), a typical characteristic of many informal settlements in South Africa. While basic infrastructure is the most important necessity in human livelihood, informal settlements are characterised by lack of these services. The poor people living in informal settlements often end up having to rely on unhygienic or unsustainable ways to relieve themselves. When poverty is defined in spatial terms, it refers to the lack of infrastructure and social services (Sheuya, 2004). Residents of informal settlements are faced both with their own personal lack of resources and trying to manage harsh living conditions. In addition, they are supporting one another through the social networks they have created

amongst themselves. Most importantly, what matters to them is to have a roof over their heads. According to Tshitereke (2008) lack of access to housing exposes one to the structural violence of poverty, its severity and associated complexities of despair and deprivation – relative or absolute – which constitute a significant threat to human security. Rather than viewing informal settlements as a menace to the aesthetic beauty of cities, they, with regards to functions they serve, provide an alternative way of enabling poor citizens access to the urban life. Here, the argument is that, it is only through such acknowledgement of the importance of informal settlements that efforts to upgrade informal settlements with minimum disruptions to the activities of local dwellers should be prioritised.

According to Turner (1986), the concept of "housing" should be viewed as a verb rather than as a noun. What this entails is that housing is not just a shelter, it is a process and an activity. Consequently, the house should not be viewed according to its mere physical characteristics, but according to its meaning to those who use it. Under certain conditions, a shack may be supportive to its inhabitants, while a 'standard' house may be oppressive (Van der Linden, 1986). In relation to informal settlements, it is imperative to acknowledge that while these are areas of perpetual poverty, incremental in-situ upgrading is more likely to improve living conditions and reduce poverty as communities are able to maintain important social networks and livelihood strategies while improvements are made in their physical living environments" (DAG, 2007:21). There is need therefore, of taking a positive and indirect approach to, the existence of informal settlements through seeing these as a solution to high poverty levels in poor communities.

In terms of vulnerability, which typically refers to susceptibility to hunger – the gap between the ability to access food and the minimum consumption needs of the family, informal settlements areas are also prone to this condition. According to Chambers (1995:175), the first concept of vulnerability is exposure to shocks, stress and risk. The second concept relates to defencelessness or "a lack of means to cope without damaging loss". Informal settlers' lives are at risk through their vulnerability to damage by fire and heavy rains. Knowledge of the various types of risks and shocks makes it possible to formulate different strategies for managing them. Management strategies can be instituted either in response to shocks as these take place or after they have already occurred (Sheuya, 2004). As such, in-situ upgrading can be a solution to some problems of the informal settlers, as upgrading will also deal with shocks, vulnerability and provide adequate houses.

According to Moser (1998:05), there is a strong relationship between vulnerability and asset ownership and management strategies. Moser further defines vulnerability as "insecurity and

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

In South Africa, in 2004, the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) reported that the proportion of people living in poverty has not changed significantly since democracy. These households living in poverty have sunk deeper into poverty and the gap between rich and poor has widened (Schwabe, 2004). Recently, the degree of urban poverty existing in developing countries including South Africa has increased dramatically (Motloung & Mears, 2002: 531, Schwabe 2004:1). Such degree of urban policy is particularly true for Duncan Village in Eastern Cape.

Further, South African housing interventions can learn from the World Bank's recognition that vulnerability is one of the underlying causes of poverty. To understand the World Bank's current conceptualization of vulnerability one also needs to note how the Bank has changed its approaches to housing and poverty reduction since 1990. In the World Development Report (1990:3) published in 1990, "three strategies were proposed to reduce poverty: 1) promote the productive use of labour, which is the poor household's most abundant asset; 2) provide basic social service to the poor, particularly primary health care and education; and 3) provide social safety nets" which will lead to protection of vulnerable groups and the very poor (Sheuya, 2004). It is in line with that Huchzermeyer (2008: 13) sees the "eradication of informal settlement in South Africa as displaying an insensitivity to the vulnerability of poor people's livelihoods". On the contrary, international organisation such as the UN through its different platforms such as the Sustainable Development goals aims at improving the lives of informal settlement dwellers. How to improve the lives of informal settlements is the "burning" question these days, if South Africa is going to reach the target of dealing with informal settlements.

2.5 Housing situation in the developing countries

The world is experiencing a global housing challenge. According to UN Habitat (2012) 1.6 billion people live in substandard housing and 100 million are homeless, while a billion people live in urban slums. Affordable, adequate and decent housing is one of the most basic need

yet the demand surpasses the supply throughout the world. Florida (2017: 1) argues that “in India and China, roughly a quarter of the population live in slums and in Africa more than half of the population is trapped in substandard living conditions”. In India the housing gap was approximately 18.78 million in 2017 compared to 24.7 million in 2007 with a reduction of 25% (Government Report, 2017). However, despite the reduction that was witnessed in India, Mumbai is still faced by 55% of residents living in slum settlements and another 25% in low-quality dilapidated housing (Anand and Rademacher 2011: 1754). Sengupta (2013: 141) highlights that “up to 54% of the population in major cities such as Dehli and Mumbai live in slum conditions”. According to Peppercorn (2016:2), Dakha, Bangladesh is the most densely populated cities in the world with housing that is not safe. Hares (2017:1) states that “56% of the Africa’s urban population live in slums rising as high as 90% in some countries like Ghana”. Kenya is estimated to have 12 million people without houses (Nabutola, 2004: 1). With this in mind, one would therefore be forced to think of urban informality not only as a housing challenge but perhaps as a solution to the housing problems bedevilling many developing countries. It if this perspective that this study adopts.

Urban neighbourhoods in Brazil are plagued by inadequate housing and land titling irregularities: tenements, *favelas*, irregular land divisions, or even residential blocks that, although built by the government, are often in a deteriorated state. The history of Brazilian urbanism around the 1960s has itself been much more about repeated attempts to eradicate tenements than the pursuit of solutions to improve in situ living conditions. The problem of slums was not seen comprehensively through an approach that would examine their economic and social dimensions and their connections with the country’s high-income concentration development model, which exacerbated urban poverty (Ferreira, 2007). As a result of pressure by this excluded population, during the 1970s the first slum upgrading urbanization policies emerged, bringing infrastructure solutions, such as paved streets, electricity, basic sanitation, and solutions to traditional demands (Magalhães and Di Villarosa, 2012: xv).

In South Africa, the housing crisis has been well documented by numerous scholars (such as Tomlinson, 1999, Mackay, 1994, Swilling, 1990). According to Tomlinson (1999: 284), there was an overriding concern of the apartheid government to contain African settlements in the urban areas through the imposition of urban regulations such as influx control and the Group Areas Act. These policies had resulted in a significant housing crisis, which manifested itself as overcrowded houses in the black townships and the emergence of informal housing both in the backyards of existing township houses and in the dense informal settlements located on the peripheries of the cities (Tomlinson (1999: 284). Ehebrecht (2014:94) highlights that “the scarcity of suitable located and affordable vacant land for low-cost housing development, coupled with limited state funding, means that housing remains a huge challenge”. In a

statement, the former president of South Africa Jacob Zuma (2017) indicated that the housing problem in the country has been perpetuated by poverty due to unemployment or employment with low income which led to affordability challenges. The housing backlog in South Africa is estimated to be at about 12 million people who do not have access to adequate housing and access to basic service (People's Environmental Planning 2016). These figures also include an estimated 41,238 (20 000 of the 41 238 relates to Duncan Village) informal dwellings excluding backyard of Buffalo City Metropolitan municipality (BCMM: 2017). In addressing the housing problem, a series of policies were developed and implemented but the problems have persisted resulting in the growth of informal settlements.

2.6 Informal Settlements as an alternative housing option for the poor in South Africa

Informal settlements have been a part of the South African context dating back to colonial times and that they have neither emerged by accident nor as an anomalous form of urban development while they are also part of the urban fabric (Marx, 2003 cited in Brown-Luthango et, al., 2016). The author argues that their history and reason for being has to be viewed in relation to wider urban and structural processes of poverty, inequality and inefficient land markets (ibid). Informal settlement residents strategically locate themselves in particular areas for very specific reasons which include access to services, employment opportunities and other social networks. Moreover, whereas they often perceived as disorderly, chaotic, unsafe and illegal (in most cases), their internal layout and organisation are well-conceived, functional and supportive of a diversity of informal processes, rules and values (Brown-Luthango et, al., 2016). These settlements represent spaces of marginality, inequality and deprivation in the urban landscape (Department of Human Settlements (DHS), 2009). The frequent use of the term illegality in reference to informal settlements is largely derived from policy makers in South Africa who understand the concept from a technical point of view (Huchzermeyer, 2004:334). These policy makers constantly focus their perspective on the type of land use and the building standards. However, there is need to understand the situation of informal settlements from a perspective of those needing to cope with this phenomenon on a daily basis. This means therefore that one should concede to the reality that people resort to living informally out of desperation rather than a choice. Being homeless in South African cities means one has to survive under conditions of considerable tension such as physical exclusions, cost of mobility, constrained local economies, livelihoods and socialization (Huchzermeyer, 2014: 65 -66). While dwelling in informal settlements might be an option for the homeless to cushion themselves from homeless conditions, the state's response to eradicate informal settlements coupled with land invasion control has restrained ordinary people's attempt to defy the exclusionary formal city (ibid: 66). Whilst acknowledging the significant role that informal settlements play in the urban context, it is also important not to

lose sight of the very insecure, unsafe and unhealthy living conditions which many informal settlement residents are exposed to on a daily basis (Brown-Luthango et, al., 2016).

2.7 State Intervention in upgrading informal settlements

International policy shifts on human settlements also influenced South Africa's approach to the challenge of informal settlement. In South Africa, in-situ upgrading is an alternative intervention to other mechanisms that have been employed in the past such as relocation to Greenfields of housing projects for informal settlement residents (Masiteng, 2013: 29). Through SDGs, the UN aims to improve the lives of about 300million slum dwellers by year 2020 while in South Africa, there have been efforts to address the housing crisis through an inclusion of the role players in the provision of housing. Some of the reforms/shifts in the context of South Africa included repealing of some legislation to encourage integration of township developments and formalization and upgrading of informal settlements into the urban cities. For instance, though the BNG, South Africa has witnessed the rolling out integrated housing projects with the purpose of encouraging coexistence and improving social cohesion.

Informal settlement upgrading which entails provision of security of tenure, adequate housing and access to essential services, such as water and sanitation in informal settlement (Department of Human Settlements, 2009), has been the focus of South African housing policies. From an international perspective, UN-Habitat (2003: 165) emphasises physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively and locally among citizens, community groups, businesses and local authorities as measures of upgrading informal settlements. While promoting informal settlement upgrading, Cities Alliance was launched with the slogan "*Cities Without Slums*" and slum upgrading target of 100 million slum dwellers was made and adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2000 (Huchzermeyer, 2013: 297). This target find expression in the Millennium Declaration (later named Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)) became MDG7, Target 11, in 2001 and re-number as Target 7.D in 2005 (ibid). This emphasis prioritises in situ, processes of upgrading with minimal disruption to people's lives rather than relocation. Relocation can only be a last resort after all the other options have been exhausted. Given this pretext, it therefore makes more sense to understand the contestations in relations to tensions that are causing delays in upgrading of informal settlements, especially in contexts where resources may have been availed as the case of Duncan Village

2.8. In-situ informal settlements upgrading

International consensus favours in situ upgrading over relocating residents unless there are environmental or safety concerns in the area of the informal settlement (King et, al. 2017: 13). As highlighted earlier, in-situ informal settlements upgrading programme is against relocation as it argues that it is the last resort to be undertaken and should be based only in exceptional circumstances on a voluntary and co-operative basis (Masiteng, 2013: 29).

At a much broader level, the strategy can also be called Alliance-Building approach to housing and part of it speaks to the role of community-based organisations, other groups and civil society in the provision of urban services. While slums pose a challenge to many economies in the developing world, upgrading programmes are emphasised by different organisations (UNCHS, 2003). Slum upgrading can happen through different strategies, but the main focus is to provide services to the dwellers of these settlements. Through providing low-cost infrastructure services such as water, sanitation, and transport, ensure tenure security, and building actual houses (Cities Alliance, 1999), chances are that this approach will lead to improved living conditions for the inhabitants of squatter settlements. For example, the upgrading of the Favelas in Brazil transformed slums into formal residential areas, in the process mitigating Rio de Janeiro's housing challenge (Handzic, 2010). Slum upgrading programmes should also ensure that there is change in urban governance in a bid to maintain community capital over the long run (Minnery et al, 2013: 162).

According to Patel (2013: 211) ''in situ upgrading implemented through community participation is widely considered as a global best practice in efforts to significantly improve the lives of at least 100 million shack dwellers.'' This is further echoed by Choguill (1996) who posits that community participation is an important pillar in in-situ upgrading of informal settlements because it meets basic human needs such as infrastructure of housing and allows the inclusion of communities that tend to be isolated in influencing decisions pertaining to housing development. Though promoting in-situ upgrading, chances of relocation and destruction to communities are likely to be avoided. While the social and economic fabric of an informal settlement, that maintains their livelihoods are likely to be respected (Huchzermeyer, 2009), it would then be important to understand the challenges, contestations and issues that might be hindering the promotion of in situ upgrading of informal settlements.

2.9. Lessons learnt from the successful upgrading of informal settlements

In Favela-Bairro Brazil, the proposal was to urbanize selected *favelas*, integrating them into the city by means of road and infrastructure improvements, combined with the introduction of social facilities and the development of community social programs. This integrated scope was certainly one of the keys for its wide acceptance and fame. However, the fact that it was not designed to build or improve dwellings partially limited its ability to promote a complete upgrade, as stated by some of the technical staff interviewed (Magalhães and Di Villarosa, 2012: 10). The City of Cape Town in South Africa has some success stories in the informal settlement upgrading. For example, the Mshini Wam Re-blocking programme in Cape Town (Sithagu: 2018) community members in partnership with NGOs and City of Cape Town Municipality came up with an initiative to decongest their settlement and due to the fact that everyone's views were incorporated, the projects became a success. In this re-blocking process, there are benefits witnessed with respect of well-established roads, reduce greywater hazards, fire safety, job creation as well as inspiring a strong sense of pride within the community. This speaks directly to Cornwall's argument that involvement of all citizens (including women) in community development initiatives, through consultation offers everyone a stake for their voices and choice to be heard.

2.10. Challenges of upgrading of informal settlements

Since its inception, Target 7.D has been linked directly to the slogan '*Cities Without Slums*'. Target 7 is one of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were to be achieved by 2015. They focused on addressing poverty, hunger, maternal and child mortality, communicable disease, education, gender inequality, environmental damage and the global partnership (Lomazzi, Borisch and Laaser, 2014). Up to 2018, several targets have been at least partially achieved: hunger reduction is on track, poverty has been reduced by half and living conditions of 200 million deprived people enhanced. Nevertheless, some of these goals were not met by 2015, particularly in the poorest regions, due to different challenges (e.g. the lack of synergies among the goals, the economic crisis, etc.). The post-2015 agenda is now discussing new targets that reflect today's political situation, health and environmental challenges, and an all-inclusive, intersectoral and accountable approach should be adopted.

Huchzermeyer argues that goal 7 of the SDGs actually contradicts the wording of the target as it addressed only to a small percentage of the estimated global slum population. She further highlights that even if the living environment of 10 percent of the slum population were transformed beyond recognition, cities would still have slums. The target aims to improve the lives of those living in slums, which, though improved, will continue to remain a feature of the cities. In South Africa, the tone of government's campaign against informal land development and house construction by the poor suggests that it is dealing with a sinister, undesirable,

pathological and criminal process (Huchzermeyer, 2006). In contrast, Brazil embraced the informal land occupation as a process that yields desirable results in terms of land utilization and land distribution. As was raised earlier, solutions to informal settlements should thus be sustainable in the long run and reduce displacement (Huchzermeyer and Karam, (2006: 54). The failure of slum upgrading initiatives in SA to a large extent has been a result of inadequate allocation of resources, accompanied by ineffective cost-recovery strategies, coordinating the multi sources of funding required and low levels of co-operative governance (Sibiya et.al, 2013: 34). Further, corruption makes the process of informal settlement upgrading counterproductive since competence and performance are seriously compromised and many contracts are consequently poorly performed (ibid: 35).

Relocating the informal settlement population to another, typically more distant, area has many disadvantages. First, relocation to areas in the peripheries breaks social networks, increases transportation costs, and reduces access to jobs and services provided by the city. Second, the cost of networked infrastructure that must cover longer distances and greater areas is much higher for the city. Finally, tearing down informal settlements without replacing them with well-located affordable housing actually decreases the supply of affordable and adequate housing. Nevertheless, we recognize that low- or medium-rise in situ redevelopment will not always be appropriate, given cultural practices, topography, economic geography, or finances. Government officials must be aware of what communities want in order to co-create sustainable solutions (King et al., 2017: 13). Due to technical and political reasons, such as, lack of suitability of the existing land for upgrading or due to political quest to gentrify the inner cities, relocation of slum dwellers to greenfield sites, normally at the periphery of the cities, is reportedly the common approach in South Africa. This has therefore created the need to look elsewhere, for suitable lands for total redevelopment. Owing to this, access to well-located lands has become one of the complicated challenges of the slum-upgrading programme. Studies have shown that apartheid in South Africa left in its wake a highly skewed distribution of land in favour of the rich; thus, leaving a significant proportion of the poor without access to land (Bolnick and Rensburg, 2005, in Ziblim, 2013: 40). Moreover, post-apartheid South Africa has done little to address the historic inequities in the distribution of land. For example, unlike Brazil, where uncontested occupation of land by slum dwellers for at least five years, entitles them to ownership (Huchzermeyer, 2011, in Ziblim, 2013: 40), the situation in South Africa is entirely different. In several instances, slum dwellers have been moved from lands they have occupied for decades against their will under the pretext of total redevelopment of slums.

2.11. Community Participation in Housing

There has been a growing recognition of the importance of citizens' participation in community development. Similarly, theories of citizens' participation have received substantial academic attention particularly since the 1960s (Justin, 2009). These are attributed mainly to the influential theoretical work of Arnstein (1969). The precise importance of Arnstein's work comes from the obvious recognition that there are different levels of participation, from manipulation or therapy of citizens; through to consultation, and to what we might now view as genuine participation, that is the levels of partnership and citizen control (ibid). In housing processes, "participation" has come to mean the involvement of local citizens at every stage of decision-making process. However, without redistribution of power, this form of involvement is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless (Justin, 2009). It allows the power holders to claim that all sides were considered but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit and to maintain the status quo (ibid). Nevertheless, it is vital to understand the meaning of community participation in relation to housing as the concept is has been misused and abused in many projects claiming to have community participation.

According to the World Bank (1994) community participation in housing is a system through which the community influences and share control over housing initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect their housing trajectories. In its broader and general sense, community participation entails involving individuals, families and communities in any part of developmental and planning processes of a project, and in this case housing. Community participation in housing entails that communities and beneficiaries should be actively involved in interventions to promote development and the reduction of poverty within them through empowerment. The motivation for community participation is not only for people to influence the activities affecting them in relation to housing, but also to meaningfully participate as this will help the communities to build capacity and empower the communities through skill transfer (Ogunfiditimi, 2007; Thwala, 2009). In community participation, people are the central point of development process as emphasis is placed on the development of capacities, skills to enable them to negotiate and source materials they require in order to improve their lives (UNDP, 2000).

In addition to the meaning of participation in housing process, it is equally important to recognize some of the problems involved in participatory approaches to housing. In relation to the topic under study, an understanding of the barriers can help community and others who lead organization more effectively impact the housing development policy-making process. Overcoming the barriers to housing development will serve to facilitate the policy making process and thus the overall citizen's meaningful participation in the housing development process. When participation is used as an end to development process, it becomes a time-

consuming process and since time is directly proportional to money in development projects, it will be quite difficult to justify such an approach (Moatasim, 2005) as the process will escalate the overall project cost.

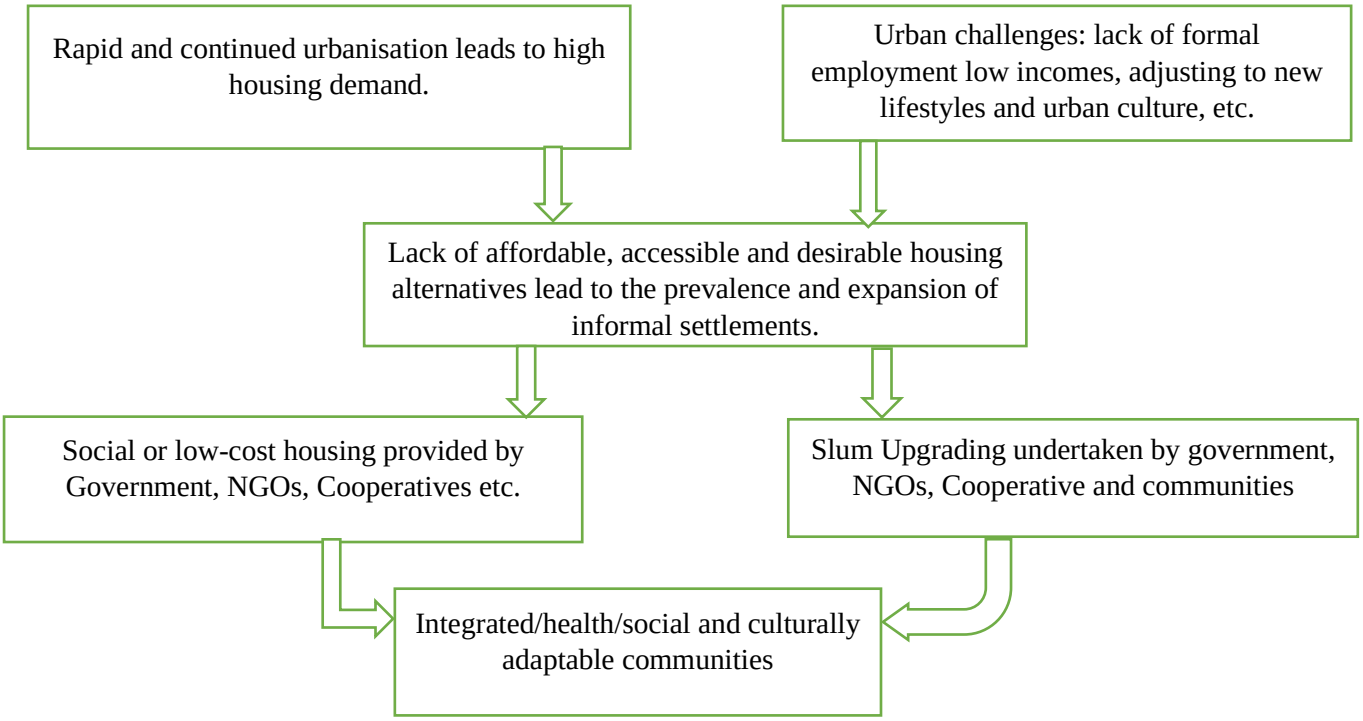
Moreover, there is fear amongst governments of uncontrolled empowerment of people and lack of trust in their ability to make informed decisions, which prevent governments to change their paternalistic approach in decision-making according to Moatasim (2005). The only way to overcome this is to look at participation from a wider perspective and by measuring its benefits against the limitations. Though, it takes more time for a fully participatory development project to achieve its goals, but the end result in the form of community empowerment goes a long way. Other proceedings barriers that can be faced include: stakeholders forgoing genuine participation, due to political and social pressures to show that the development process is advancing; lack of support by the community for the development project because of limited involvement of the community, particularly the affected community, in planning and design; failing to understand the complexity of community involvement and believing that the community is a united, organised body; disregarding how the community is already structured when introducing participatory activities and underestimation of the time and cost of genuine participatory processes amongst others.

However, one other paramount barrier to participation is the lack of feedback to the concerned community. For community participants, taking part is a time and energy-consuming process. But all too often, communities never find out what difference their efforts have made in the development process (Davy, 2006). Where people hear nothing about the impact of their work, they are unlikely to feel that they have been treated as partners in the project, or with the respect they are worthy of. This is because “People are not stupid. They know that they will not always get everything they want. But they do expect to know what difference their participation has made, and if they are not informed of the difference their participation has made, they assume it has not made any effect” (ibid). Once decisions are made and implementation begins, stakeholders and others involved move on to other work. Most times, no-one is left with the responsibility for providing feedback to communities.

Also, an unfair distribution of work amongst members of the community can be a great barrier to effective community participation. Likewise, some members in the community may feel that they are asked to take on extra work tasks that provide them little financial/social or other incentives; a highly individualistic, movement-oriented society (ibid). Individuals may not feel a sense of community and thereby question the purpose of their involvement in a housing development project; the feeling that the government should provide the facilities for them, will thus makes the community feel that the development project is simply another way of

exploiting people. It will be imperative therefore to benchmark experiences and contestations surrounding upgrading of informal settlements flowing this discussion on participatory approaches in housing development processes.

2.12. Conceptual Framework



Source: Author: (2018)

The conceptual framework above speaks to the factors that are inducing demand on housing as presented earlier. These include rapid processes of urbanisation, urban challenges such as low income unemployment and failure to adapt to urban lifestyles. Combined, these factors among others are pushing people to find shelter in informal settlement. Sadly, informal settlements lack basic amenities such as water, sanitation, electricity among other things. On one hand, the government and other organisations such as NGOs have responded to this situation through provision of social housing while on the other hand there have been calls to integrate informal settlements into formal settlements through promoting in situ upgrading processes. It is this latter that informs this research and the ultimate goal is to create health communities that are adaptable to cultural, social and health conditions.

2.13. Conclusion

The conclusion can then be drawn from this chapter is that upgrading of informal settlements should be prioritised as this can positively contribute to the reduction of housing challenges in African cities. This kind of thinking debunks the orthodox agenda particularly in South Africa of viewing informal settlements with a negative perception. It is here that the research argues for the need to promote positive and indirect measures of dealing with informal settlements rather than relocations, prosecution and evictions. Be that as it may, one should concede to the reality that the question of informality is a global challenge. This therefore means that to tackle the challenges causing delays and tensions in the upgrading of informal settlements, there is need for stakeholder participation, political will and more research on informal settlements.

CHAPTER THREE: EAST LONDON IN CONTEXT

3.1. Introduction

This section attempts to lay down the context of East London and its development from a historical perspective. This is done through profiling the study area and locating it on a geographical map. Some statistical information in terms of demography and population sizes presented in this section. While this is done to clarify on the case study areas, it is also done in response to the purpose of this study. As such, statistical information and the location of East London is crucial in identifying the challenges and success stories of housing development processes in this area.

3.2. East London History, Geography and environment



Figure 2. *A location map of Duncan Village. Source: Google Map (2019).*

East London is a city located on the Indian Ocean coast between the Buffalo River and the Nahoon River and hosts the South Africa's only river port. In 1914, the town of East London on the West Bank was elevated to city status.

In 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa, and began to implement the policy of apartheid. Apartheid as a doctrine envisaged the total segregation of races in South Africa, and East London was not any different. In 1950, the Group Areas Act was placed upon the statute books making absolute segregation in all urban areas mandatory. In 1951, the Land Tenure Advisory Board, the body created to enforce the act, conducted initial investigations into the reallocation of space along racial lines in East London. Residential segregation had long been practiced in East London prior to the advent of apartheid. In 1941, the East London

Municipality moved residents from East Bank townships to the newly built township of Duncan Village (Nel, 1990), and this is how the settlements was formed.

In 1951, all inter-racial property exchanges were prohibited in East London. In 1955, the Amalinda area was zoned as a White Group Area by Government Gazette Proclamation number 21. This meant that the municipality's plans to extend the area in order to accommodate the black African population were abandoned (Nel, 1990). In 1953, residents in the East Bank were forcibly moved to the new township of Mdantsane (Nel,1990). In 1966, the apartheid government defined Mdantsane as a separate homeland township. When Henrick Verwoerd was the president of South Africa in 1956, he forbade East London municipality from extending the existing Duncan Village township and sanctioned the building of Mdantsane (ibid).

In 1961, these plans provided for the allocation of a distinct wedge of the city for Asian and Coloured residence, which "incorporated the areas of North End and the recently proclaimed Buffalo Flats location''. This plan occasioned tremendous resentment in the city prompting petitions and letters of complaint from numerous organisations including the Black Sash, trade unions and various black community groups. In 1967, the East London Municipality proclaimed the majority of the city an area for white occupancy, with the exception of a broad sector of land encompassing the Parkside, Parkridge and Buffalo Flats areas which was zoned for coloured residents. Certain parts of Duncan Village were disestablished and its African residents removed, new coloured and Asian locations were built and proclaimed upon land in 1973. In the same year, the newly-constructed location of Braelynn was proclaimed an Indian area while Buffalo Flats Extension and Pefferville were proclaimed as coloured areas. The construction/ extension of coloured areas and the Duncan Village were suspended in 1983 (Nel, 1990).

According to Bank and Qebeyi (2017:18), “from the beginning, East London was divided along racial lines. Municipal regulations and by-laws excluded black people and simply assumed that they would be outsiders or merely temporary residents of the town”. These authors further argued that the black lives and their presence mattered little to the council and was tolerated to the extent that they could assist with the development of an English settler town as the council made little attempts to improve their standards of living conditions. It forms part of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, along with King William's Town, and Bhisho, in the Eastern Cape Province. The Buffalo City Metro (BCM) covers approximately 2 536 square km and is bounded to the southeast by the Indian Ocean and is completely surrounded by the Amathole District. In May 2011, the metro was separated from the Amathole District and converted into a metropolitan municipality.

Due to natural increase and migration especially from rural areas of Transkei and Ciskei in East London gave birth to new neighbourhoods such as Cambridge and West Bank locations. On the other side, Duncan Village was formed out of the land donated to the area's residents by the former Governor- General of the Union of South Africa, Sir Patrick Duncan at the heart of the East Bank location. The settlement was first developed for leased-tenure housing scheme which was a response to the overcrowding and appalling conditions exacerbated by rural migration to the city in the 1950s and 1960s (Thompson in Cirolia et al, 2016). Duncan, according to Thompson, (2016), had ideals for the Union of South Africa. Thompson (2016:11), implored that it was 'monstrous that employers should be able to use native labour in towns at a wage at which the worker cannot live in civilized conditions and leave to the community the burden of providing adequate housing or putting up with slum conditions". Unfortunately, these ideals were contrasted with the 'realpolitik' that still plagues Duncan Village today (Zwane, 2017). Rather than adhering to moral and ideological consideration, Duncan village is trapped into a system of politicking that has hindered the provision of adequate housing and upgrading of informal settlements.

The settlement also plays a historical role in the fight for freedom in South Africa. Dissatisfaction peaked with the Duncan Village massacre of 1985, which was seen as a countrywide struggle for freedom and rights, intertwined in the fabric of the settlement – a freedom that former SA president Thabo Mbeki declared 'not free' (BCMM, 2008). In the attempt to de-densify the overcrowded Duncan Village, people were forced to move to Mdantsane township which is 30 kilometres away from East London.

Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) which is ranked 7th according to population size in South Africa by Statistics SA has a population of 755 200 people (Census, 2011). The Community Survey (2016) indicates an increase in the BCMM population to 834 997, with about 85,40% of these being black Africans, 6,90% Whites, 6,70% Coloured and 0,90% Indians/Asians (BCMM: 2017/18). This means that pressure on low cost housing was induced due to an increase in the number of black Africans who in turn end up residing in informal settlements under precarious conditions.

3.3. East London Economy

East London is the second largest industrial centre in the province, with the motor industry being the dominant employer. Its population size exerts undaunted pressure on social amenities and housing. According to the Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism review report, 2017, the Daimler group announced in February 2016 that South Africa would be their regional base of operations for their new global truck and bus strategy. This was expected to bring significant new investment to the East

London Mercedes-Benz plant. The creation of a new regional centre to look at markets in Southern Africa, meant that the East London plant has the opportunity to supply into SA, Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi (DTI, 2016). As the first Industrial Development Zone in South Africa, the East London IDZ (ELIDZ) has shown its effectiveness within the IDZ programme and is re-establishing itself within the recently adopted Special Economic Zone (SEZ) programme. In the September 2016, Government Gazette, the ELIDZ, was announced as having been granted SEZ status under the Act. Thus, being the first SEZ to be proclaimed in the country (RSA, 2016). Some key investments which are close to implementation for the ELIDZ include: A 12 million petroleum storage and distribution depot, a R240 million waste plant which recycles oil to diesel fuel, a R54 million aquaculture plant to farm cob. In addition, another aquaculture investment, valued at R68 million (The Daily Dispatch, 2017a).

East London may have one of the smallest airports in the country, but due to its excellence in passenger service, has been ranked 2nd in a poll of regional airports in Africa. The East London and Port Elizabeth International Airports run by Airports Company South Africa (ACSA), were voted in 2nd and 3rd place, in the Skytrax World Airport Awards in the category: Best African Regional Airport. There are also other industries in East London including clothing, textiles, pharmaceuticals and food processing. Tourism has grown greatly over the years with East London being a gateway to the Sunshine Coast to its south and the Wild Coast to its north. The area boasts a temperate climate, golden sandy beaches and warm oceans, as well as numerous heritage sites. East London has more recently been discovered by out of town investors as a prime holiday destination, with buyers streaming in from all over the country to take advantage of the relatively undeveloped areas that are now mushrooming with residential and commercial developments (The Daily Dispatch, 2017a).

East London remains a popular place to live in, invest in and do business in. It offers a good quality of life and some excellent schools. The Buffalo City Metro had the second largest economy in the Eastern Cape after the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro, accounting for 19.6% of the total provincial GVA-R in 2015 (Stats SA, 2017).

Nevertheless, the Eastern Cape remains one of the poorest regions of South Africa. However, with the intervention by the government and private partners, the growth of the tourist industry by leaps and bounds, the situation is improving. The unemployment rate in the Buffalo City Metro was 22.4%5, the lowest in the Eastern Cape and 7.1% below the provincial average (Stats SA, 2017). This was equivalent to 82 838 unemployed persons using the official definition of unemployment (ibid). The Metro had the third lowest poverty headcount in the province during 2016 at 7.3% (SAMPI, 2017). This measure is based on the South African

Multidimensional Poverty Index (SAMPI). The SAMPI is an index that is constructed using eleven indicators across four dimensions; namely health, education, living standards and economic activity. The poverty headcount shows the proportion of households that are considered to be “multidimensional poor” in the district. The poverty intensity, which refers to the average proportion of indicators in which multidimensional poor households are deprived, however, was the third lowest in the province in 2016 at 42.8% (ibid). This economic growth coupled with investments in different sectors has resulted in an increase in population growth as a result of opportunities. However, the demand for services has not always matched supply and one of the resulting challenges has been the housing problem.

3.4. East London, Duncan Village: A brief background and housing situation

East London, like any other province in the country and beyond continues to grapple with the challenge of housing. Duncan Village emerged as part of the East Bank Location in the 1890, through the consolidation of African Locations in East London. Duncan Village is located on the East Bank of the Buffalo River in East London and 5km from the Central Business District. During the Great Depression of the 1930s the location was ‘invaded by outsiders’ who flooded into the city to avoid starvation in the countryside. About 10,000 new inhabitants arrived in East Bank between 1930 and 1936. By 1937, the worsening living conditions and deteriorating standards of health provoked the City Council into appointing a commission to investigate conditions in the location. The population of the East Bank location trebled between 1930 and 1960, but ‘the city did not build any new houses or other services [there] between 1927 and the mid-1940s and by 1950 had only built 629 new houses.

In the 1950’s, Duncan Village experienced a huge increase in population due to migrants coming to the town of East London. As a result, Duncan Village became overcrowded and deteriorated shack area. In the backdrop of the introduction of the Group Areas Act, 1960’s Duncan Village was divided into residential space for coloureds and Indian communities. The African population was to be relocated to the area of Mdantsane, which is 25 kilometres outside of East London. During the period from 1964 to 1979, 15 000 families were forcibly removed from Duncan Village to the Ciskei Township of Mdantsane. However, in the 1980’s new African arrivals to Duncan Village were allowed to build shacks in all public spaces and in backyards of municipal houses. Thousands of rural migrants flocked to Duncan Village from Ciskei and Transkei homelands to put up shacks in the area.

In 1990, the population of Duncan Village had grown to an estimated 80, 000. According to a survey conducted by AFESIS-CORPLAN a non-governmental Organisation in East London, in mid 1990s, Duncan Village transformed back into a sprawling urban slum in which formal housing areas were engulfed in a sea of backyard and free-standing shacks. The breakdown

of the distribution of residential units in 1994 are as follows: Formal municipal dwellings (3564), backyard shacks (5083) and free-standing shacks (7854) (afesis.org.za). Whilst the study conducted by Ikhwezi Lokusa Wellness Centre (2009), generalizes it to 14000 shacks, it further revealed that C Section is most overpopulated with about 5000 shacks. By 1994, these new residential areas contained between 35 000 and 45 000 people. Duncan Village has the densest informal settlements area in the Buffalo City Local Municipality. The official Census 2001 estimates the population of Duncan Village at 61 000, which translated into 20 000 households. In 2011, Duncan Village had an estimated 15,000 informal structures (Stats SA, 2012).

3.5. State Intervention

Starting from 2003, Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) embarked on an ambitious, but very important programme called the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI). The DVRI targets the provision of 20 000 new houses for families presently living in densely crowded and poor living conditions. The project was initialised with the development of the Duncan Village Precinct Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF). The LSDF was intended to provide a spatial framework for the upgrade of Duncan Village, with particular emphasis on the informal settlements. In recognition of the enormous challenges posed by the task of transforming the precinct of Duncan Village into a healthy living environment that caters for the varying needs of its residents.

The focus of this initiative now extends beyond the borders of Duncan Village itself and a LSDF was established for Duncan Village. The development area now extended into areas located to north and north-west of Duncan Village itself, up to and including the new townships of Reeston. The LSDF was finalized in 2008. The project was identified as a National Priority project and is also one of the three pilot projects in the Eastern Cape as identified by the National Department of Human Settlement. The DVRI had a ring fenced budget allocation of R110m for the 2013/2014 financial year which was not spent. While appointments and contracts were signed with the service providers to commit the whole allocation for Duncan Village projects no value was created on the ground and certified for payment. The provincial department of Human Settlements was allowed a roll-over of funds by Treasury for two consecutive years but all in vain. All strategies and interventions presented by province and the municipality in partnership with implementing agents (including HDA and ASLA) to unlock the bottlenecks holding Duncan Village development had not made any significant change.

3.6. Development layout plan

The development layout presents the availability of space that can be developed within the Duncan Village. Further, highlights that while the area has shown the potential of units that can be constructed, they will of no significant impact since they will only yield 2239 units compared to the number of households living in Duncan Village.

The following land parcels were identified in the LSDF as being areas suited for redevelopment or Greenfields development within Duncan Village precinct itself:

Table 1: Land parcels within the Core Study Area

ID Code	Description	Developable Area (ha)	Proposed Density (units/ha)	Estimated no of units
1	Mekeni Road	0.512	113	58
2	DV Housing Competition Phase II	0.529	87	46
3	DV Housing Competition Phase I	0.962	88	85
4	Duncan Village Proper	8.783	85	746
5	LU Housing Nompumelelo School (Ford Msimango)	2.556	91	232
6	LU Housing II (Ford Msimango)	1.312	80	105
7	C-Section	21.858	32	690
8	LU Housing Pilot Site “C-Section Triangle”	0.612	65	40
9	D-Hostel	4.394	38	166
10	Gompo (Potential Affordable Housing)	0.884	80	71
Total Number of units in Duncan Village (Core Study Area)				**2239**

Source: Department of Human Settlements BCM Region DVRI Report: June 2013

In addition to the above land parcels within Duncan Village, an extended land identification process undertaken within the ambit of the extended Urban Renewal Zone led to the identification of the potential land development areas. These land parcels are greenfields far away from the city centre and will constitute permanent relocation of residents. Though they will not be attractive because of proximity to town they will yield 17267 units

Construction progress during the 2012 financial year was limited to the Pilot Project (323 units) and Reeston Phase 3 Stage 2 & 3 infrastructure construction. Some top structure construction was possible for Reeston Phase 3 Stage 2. Most of the other sites that should have township establishment as of July 2013, were dependent on beneficiary relocation and were not able to be developed further until units were complete in Reeston Phase 3 Stage 2 and temporary relocation areas. It is only Braelynn Ext10 North that was greenfield, and design and construction of services were to commence after township establishment. However, this land has been now used to build for re-allocation of Duncan Village beneficiaries who are recently affected by disaster from floods that hit the homes. It is important to focus on the elimination

of the large constraints (Reeston Phase 3 Stage 2, sewage bulk infrastructure upgrades) at this stage and also the capacity constraints in order to facilitate an increased rate of development.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter set out the context of East London which is the city where Duncan Village, a case study area for this research, is located. Together with some other descriptions, the economic situation, history and demography of East London was important in mapping the housing situation in this location. Just like any other South Africa location, East London in general and Duncan Village in particular is faced with the challenge of housing. In this case, informality in housing becomes a solution rather than a menace to the ever-ballooning backlog. It would make sense then to discuss the challenges surrounding the regulations and upgrading of informal settlements since informal settlements can be regarded as a solution to the housing situation. The following chapters delve into this analysis based on data that was gathered during this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research study in relation to the research questions which were presented in the introduction chapter, chapter one. The findings stem from the interviews (in-depth and semi structured) which were conducted during fieldwork in the informal settlements in Duncan Village, East London. These were conducted with sample selected from Duncan Village residents, activists and officials from the provincial office of Human Settlements and Buffalo City Metropolitan municipality in East London. As such, findings in this chapter will be presented and discussed with the purpose of unpacking the underlying contestations surrounding the informal settlements upgrading in East London's Duncan Village. These resulted in different trends and patterns of responses, which also responded directly to the research questions. Due to ethical reasons and for protecting the identity of participants who were involved in this research, actual names are not used. Rather, pseudo names or other terms such as respondents, participants, informants and interviewee are used interchangeably. Five officials have been interviewed three from the department and two from the municipality. I was only able to interview seven of the nine participants because the other two were not available. Four of the residents were interviewed using their own language "Xhosa" which I have translated to English.

4.2 Causes of informal dwellings and Living conditions in Duncan Village, East London.

It is key to understand the geographical and economic background of the province first as this will help one to understand the causes of informal dwellings in Duncan village. As was presented in the previous chapter, Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) were Duncan Village is located, is ranked 7th according to population size in South Africa and has a population of 755 200 people (Census, 2011). Community Survey of 2016 indicates an increase in this population to 834 997, with about 85,40% of these being black Africans, 6,90% Whites, 6,70% Coloured and 0,90% Indians/Asians (BCMM IDP: 2017/18). On the contrary, this rapid increase in population size is not supported by an increase in the provision of housing units. According to the UN (2013), one of the major factors leading to a growth in housing demand in many countries is the rapid process of urbanisation. It also means therefore that, all the other factors that cause an undaunted pressure on social services such as migration and natural population increases are playing a role in the housing situation in Duncan village.

Geo-economically, the Eastern Cape Province is mostly rural in nature with very limited economic opportunities for job seekers. East London is the second largest urban centres in the Province, which has led to people migrating from the rural areas in order to be in close proximity to social and economic facilities in the City. This reason is akin to the argument

posited by Marx (2003) cited in Brown-Luthango et al (2016), that informal settlements cannot be isolated and analysed outside the context of urban and structural processes of inequality, poverty and insufficient land in a country.

The mushrooming of informal dwellings in Duncan Village increased more than in other areas of East London due to its proximity to the Central Business District (CBD). Most people are not incurring any transport cost even those who do incur transport costs find it affordable compared to living in other areas far away from the CBD. For instance, locations such as Ocean Bay and Morning Side are far away from the city centre. Thus, informal dwellers view their actions as justified, as they will be settling in areas, which are close to where they can access services, employment opportunities and other social networks, which would make their lives better. This idea is explored at greater depth by Huchzermeyer (2011: 70-71) who goes on further to asserts that "informality is not a separate sector but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another".

This finding stands to be the same reason, which scored about 57% during a survey study, which was conducted in 2010 by HSRC, where the residents from the C-section of Duncan village indicated that they moved to the place due to the opportunities, which were likely to come up as they were close to the CBD. Informal settling becomes a possible alternative of housing for those poor as they seek to live better lives in a society that has high levels of inequality and skewed access to services and employment opportunities. Perhaps, Turner's (1986), concept of "housing" as a verb is applicable in this regard. What this means therefore is that for informal dwellers, housing is not just a shelter or brick and mortar. It is a process and an activity which should be viewed from what it can offer for its dwellers. In the case of Duncan village, it is clear that informal settlements/shacks offer occupants an opportunity to reside near economic opportunities. Consequently, it means therefore that a house should not be viewed according to its mere physical characteristics, but according to its meaning to those who use it. Under certain conditions, a shack may be supportive to its inhabitants, while a 'standard' house may be oppressive in that it is not designed according to the specifications of the dweller (Van der Linden, 1986).

Results from the field also indicate that informal settlements in the village of Duncan are a result of poverty and high levels of unemployment. The high levels of unemployment and poverty in the Province contributes to the rapid growth of informal settlements in East London. There is a huge shortage of housing in EL with very high rentals and inflated purchase prices. Economic growth has not kept in pace with the rapid urbanization leading to poorer people not being able to afford the rising costs of accommodation. Not all participants were sure that all these informal settlements are recorded because there are those that are found in hidden

places such as bushes and flood lines of the river. However, one respondent indicated that 154 informal settlements were recorded for the whole Buffalo City Metro through the study conducted in 2012. All the 154 informal settlements were categorized based on their locations.

From this observation, an assertion by DAG, (2007:21), that informal settlements, are areas of perpetual poverty and this the case in Duncan village. However, incremental in-situ upgrading is more likely to improve living conditions and reduce poverty as communities are able to maintain important social networks and livelihood strategies while improvements are made in their physical living environments" (ibid:21). According to Tshitereke (2008) lack of access to housing exposes one to the structural violence of poverty, its severity and associated complexities of despair and deprivation – relative or absolute – which constitute a significant threat to human security. Through this introspection, rather than viewing informal settlements as a menace to the aesthetic beauty of cities, they, with regards to functions they serve, provide an alternative way of enabling poor citizens access to the urban life.

According to Amis (1995) there is a close relationship between urban poverty and unemployment. It is no secret that informal settlements in South Africa exhibit high levels of unemployment. This is evident in the materials used to construct shacks and with reference to Duncan village, many structures in informal settlements are constructed through the use of cheap and free materials such a plastic, dead wood, used zinc sheets, cupboard boxes among others. However, this point should be treated with caution as there are cases where dwellers of informal settlements use cheap materials to build their shacks in anticipation that they might be removed by authorities any time. In this regard, residents would not risk using expensive and durable materials when their structures stand a high chance of being demolished.



A picture of the township of Duncan Village, Eastern Cape. Significant to this image are the materials used to construct shacks with in most case are zinc sheets. In case of fire outbreaks, it is highly likely that these shacks won't be burnt. This is still the state of this settlement. Source (Official Buffalo City Website, 2009).

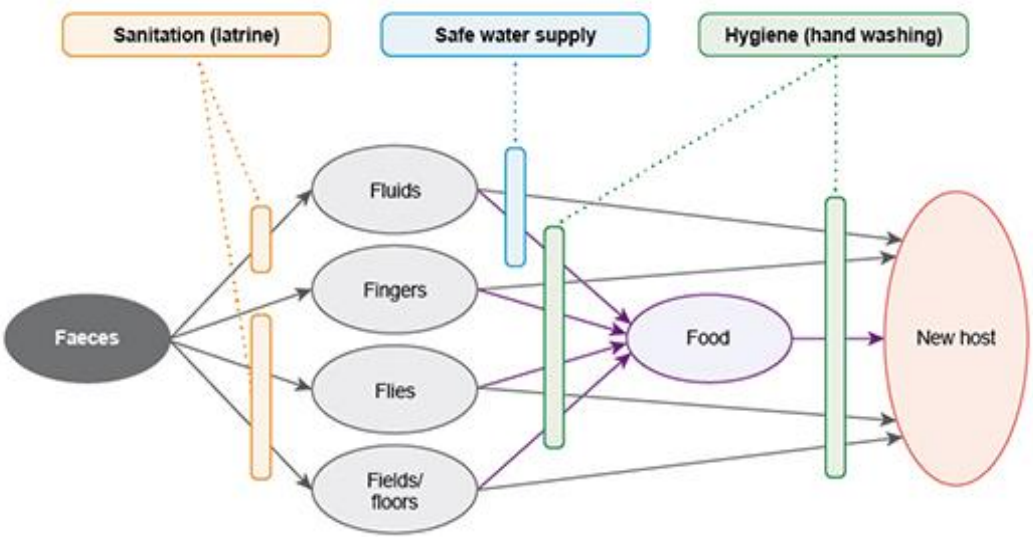
4.2.1 Living conditions around the Duncan Village

The living conditions in informal settlements are always associated with poor sanitation, lack of proper social amenities and social vices in some cases. Due to the continued increase in population of the people who are living in Duncan village, the built infrastructure around Duncan Village has been overwhelmed in terms of it's carrying capacity. This has become a huge burden to the infrastructure and led to deplorable living conditions. The study has found out that all the known informal settlements do have access to standpipes and communal toilets. Duncan Village especially highly dense and Section C is still using shared communal standalone toilets which are located at the edge of each informal settlement. Another resident informant from one of these informal settlements in section C indicated that toilets in their areas have not been serviced since 2014 and they resorted to the use of the bucket system (Interview with an official, 2018). Only two toilets out of ten installed and one tap for domestic water to use, are said to be working and the area carries a population of about two hundred residents. While some toilets are still flushing, in some instances, the whole toilet system is not working, and residents are forced to use the bush nearby.

In respect of the findings about, poor sanitation is a typical characteristic of many informal settlements in South Africa. Sheuva (2004) argues precisely that lack of adequate income or

assets or a combination of the two may lead to a situation where poor households may decide to live in overcrowded and poor-quality housing that lack basic infrastructure and services. While basic infrastructure is the most important necessity in human livelihood, informal settlements are characterised by lack of these services (ibid). The poor people living in informal settlements often end up having to rely on unhygienic or unsustainable ways to relieve themselves. When poverty is defined in spatial terms, it refers to the lack of infrastructure and social services (Sheuva, 2004).

The effects of lack of toilets or sanitation in informal settlements range from both health and environmental related. In terms of health risks associated with failure to access basic sanitation by informal settlement dwellers, human excrement contains numerous germs that can cause sickness and can survive for a long period of time, "especially in liquids," (Häussinger, 2017:01). The situation is even worse when sewage is discharged into water that is also used to clean containers and rinse plates (ibid). The "fecal-oral route," or hand-to-mouth, is the most common transmission path for infectious diseases caused by a lack of toilets (ibid). Once a germ enters a person's body, the body begins to fight back. "Every germ produces a particular toxin," Häussinger said. "The toxin causes the intestine to secrete and produce fluids to flush the germs"(ibid:02), and this leads to diarrhoea.



The diagram above shows how diseases can pass from faeces to a new host (typical of bush toilets). Sanitation, safe water supply and good hygiene are solution to disease transmission. Source (the Open University, 2016).

What came out clearly from the respondents is that Duncan Village residents are still living in the old rental housing stock owned by the municipality. Living conditions are very bad in almost all parts of the area. However, Hostel B with blocked structures was upgraded in 2016 with

clear and tared roads (see the map below). Each block has four families sharing facilities. The municipality is hardly assisting them with maintenance. In hostel C and D, the situation is hazardous, a highly dense area. Some of the areas are exposed to fire disasters and floods. Though there are stand-alone communal toilets, they are far from most of the shacks that led to people to make use of bucket system especially at night. Drains are overflowing they cannot carry the capacity of these informal settlements and result in stinky smell that attract flies and mosquitos which lead to outbreak of diseases.

Maps of Duncan village showing B-Hostel, C-Section and D-Hostel



Source: Duncan Village Local Spatial Development Framework (2009).



Location Map of Hostel B in Duncan Village. Source: Google Maps (2019).



Location Map of Hostel D in East London: Source: Google Maps (2019).

According to Peter, a resident from Duncan village, the living conditions in the area are worse and one only has to stay there due to the fact that, the area is the only alternative area to reside in. He narrates:

"Living is shacks provides any person an affordable accommodation though at times it is dangerous for someone's health. Living here is life threatening especially in the areas (Shacks along the riverbanks and forests) where the municipality has not even recognised the place as a habitable place for people. No basic services can be provided. These people make use of stolen electricity "izinyoka" (illegal connections). During disaster such as floods or fire people are left with nothing."

The study also interviewed one of the local community leaders from Section C, who revealed that he has tried to talk with the municipality authorities to service the toilets, unfortunately the municipality said that they had no contractors to do the job. He cites that he has tried to get the authorities to look into the matter, but to no avail. At time, as he narrates during the interview, he had to use his personal funds to service local water taps, but such efforts are rendered useless because the community members tend to vandalize the property. This suggest that there is no shared goals between communities, leaders and officials.



An aerial projection of informal settlements in Duncan Village. Source (Google Maps, 2019).

The fact that huge numbers of residents in the community are exposed to health hazards due to these challenges such as poor toilets, sanitisation, fires and uncollected rubbish dumps in the informal dwellings in Duncan Village, call for the authorities and provincial leadership to take action to improve service delivery in the area. Due to the limited number of the toilets coupled with their distance from dwellings, people make use of their buckets and empty them to the drains, which makes those drains too stink.

Responding to the question on how the community members communicate with the local authorities, responses from the field indicate that local people from the informal dwellings in Duncan Village have set up committees which coordinate meetings where urgent issues are discussed and taken up to the authorities. Some of the interviewees bemoaned on the ineffectiveness of these committees as some of the members and leaders are not full residents in Section C. Peter highlighted that the community leaders are, "normally not visible unless there are canvasing for elections or their event, that is the only time that you will see them being active." (Interview with Peter: 2018). Respondents further highlighted that some of these community leaders and members are state employees in local and provincial government hence they believe that their living conditions are not taken seriously. The community pointed out that they have resorted to protesting, burning tires, closing access roads to town and airport so that their grievances can be heard.

According to Bohler-Muller et al (2017:82), "South Africa has experienced a remarkable rise in local protest activities since 2004, a development that has occurred on such a scale and with such intensity that it has been referred to as insurrection or insurgency". Different protest tactics are employed in attempts by either students, workers and a range of other actors in their attempts at achieving social, political and economic change. So here, the case of Duncan

village protesting about service delivery is not unique. However, sociological research into protests has suggested that they represent distinct phenomena and that local protests have assumed plural forms that defy straightforward classification (Alexander, 2010). Plural form in that they can either be violent and peaceful. As such, there remains appreciable contestation regarding the nature, prevalence and determinants of these contemporary forms of protest and it would be crucial to think of them in these terms in relation to this research.

4.2.2 Unemployment and Crime

Unemployment is high leading to crime and high level of poverty. While some of the interviewees noted that crime is minimal in the area, others were of the different view highlighting that the area, especially section C is highly prone to criminal activities. The respondents who indicated that crime was minimal in the area highlighted that the main reason was that criminals go out into town to carry out their criminal activities since most of the money is found in the CBD. Vusi argued,

"Due to high levels of unemployment, people commit crime outside their residential area since there is no business here in the area. They would rather go into town and the suburbs for their criminal acts because that is where the rich people reside and hang around" (Interview with Vusi: 2018).

However, some of the research respondents lamented serious crimes being committed in the area, making the area becoming dangerous to live in. One of the respondents indicated that the major criminal activities experienced in the area include illegal substance abuse, robbery and thuggery activities. This trait appears to have not changed since the survey by HSRC in 2010, where findings indicated that Duncan village, section C is one of the most unsafe informal places among other informal settlements in South Africa. The study revealed that Section C of Duncan village was 65% unsafe in terms of the responses that came back from the survey participants. This high figure is likely caused by the fact that the location is close to bushes, dumping site and a little bit isolated from other settlements. Another respondents indicated that, most criminals hide their proceeds of crime in the bushes and they use the river nearby to hide and pounce on their victims. They even use these bushes, rivers and dumping sites to escape from Police when they get chased.

According to Muhali (2012) crime and violence are fundamental threats to human security. Safety from Crime and violence including the resulting fear of insecurity are increasingly being acknowledged internationally as a public good, as well as a basic human right (UN Habitat 2007). Over the past five years, 60% of all urban residents in developing countries have been victims of crime. In this sense, Duncan village in general and Section C in particular is not an exception. However, it would be naïve to think of that causes of crime in section C as only its

isolation from other settlements including the CBD, and the rivers, bushes and dump site nearby. As Muhali (2012) puts it, the causes of crime are complex in nature. At a global scale, NCSR, (2001) makes an insightful observation that the major causes of crime in the cities are poverty, drugs, greed, weapons in the wrong hands, and lack of street lights, laziness and youth unemployment. Crimes are major impediments to development. They erode the social capital of the poor, insecurity affects the poor more intensively, breaks down the socio-cultural bonds and prevents social mobility thus contributing to the development of urban ghettos and stigmatised neighbourhoods (UNHABITAT, 1996). It is paramount therefore to think if the effects of crime in Duncan village in relation to these effects.

4.3 Initiatives put in place to eradicate informal settlements and Contestations

The area understudy was pronounced as a Presidential Project called Duncan Village Development Initiative. Land was identified in Reeston where houses were built for the relocation of Duncan Village residents in order to de-densify the area. The project was successful. However, those houses were invaded and beneficiaries that were approved are still residing in the informal settlement. Residents also highlighted that there are NGOs that are assisting to help the community especially the childcare programmes.

Duncan Village Development Initiative programme has partly been done but stalled by number of pre-planning issues at the implementation stage. Where in-situ upgrading has been successfully implemented such as Hostel B Area, living conditions have changed. However, the economic situation did not improve since the unemployment rate is still high. The programme managed to resolve the shelter part and essential services but did not deal with the economic situation. Hence, beneficiaries that were relocated from Duncan Village to Reeston Phase 1 and two, have rented out or sold their houses and reverted to the shacks. This suggest that in as much as low income families are in need of shelter, this should be complemented by other options such as employment so that they can be able to meet their livelihoods.

The majority of the respondents noted that the programmes are sound, relevant and promising on paper, but the implementation is the problem.

As mentioned earlier, some of the beneficiaries did received RDP houses but rent them out and returned to the shacks because of the additional costs they incur compared when they were living in shacks (This area is closer to the CBD residents are walking to their places of employment). While the programme had been put in place to address the terrible living conditions, it appears that it has created more problems and burdens to the beneficiaries as it has moved them to the peripheries of the city. In summation, the main point raised here is that of a very close relationship between the provision of housing and other economic activities.

Strategies that aim to address the housing challenges in isolation with other socio-economic challenges are doomed to fail.

Another interesting example can be drawn from Brazil. Informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro were located on hillsides, river banks, and other dangerous areas in the city neighborhoods and this was a problem in terms of providing required services. The housing conditions in which people lived in are below minimum standards and resulted in urban degradation. However, it was not possible to relocate residents in these areas the many of these settlements were located in areas of best advantages such as nearby labour markets and easy access to the city centre. Densities within these settlements tend to be high (Van Niekerk (2000). "As of 2000, the housing policy in Rio de Janeiro was based on the principal concept of broadening access to a decent urban lifestyle for all residents through the more equal distribution of water and sanitation infrastructure and social infrastructure. The municipal administration is now responsible for reversing the degradation of the land and implements all projects within these policy parameters" (Van Niekerk, 2000: 7).

In most Brazilian cities, problems of overcrowding and high densities appear to be more severe, than the South African context. Van Niekerk (2000) adds that "the principal of integrating informal settlements into existing surrounding neighborhoods without community disruption is done through in-situ action - infrastructure upgrades or verticalisation" (Van Niekerk, 2000: 7). Perhaps, to resolve the problems and contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements in South Africa in general and in Duncan village in particular, lessons can be learnt from the Brazilian experience through emphasis the need to broaden urban life of residents by improving equal delivery of urban services such as water and sanitation.

4.4 Challenges/Contestations encountered by the local authorities towards upgrading the informal dwellings.

The study further found out that in BCMM there is a severe shortage of well located, developable land close to the CBD and economic opportunities (interview with a municipal official, 2018). Most of the land is already developed and the remaining land is located far away from the CBD making it less attractive for relocation as access to social and economic opportunities is limited. The majority of the respondents cited some of the key challenges that the local authorities are facing while they are trying to eradicate the challenges of informal dwelling in the province of Eastern Cape.

Some of the challenges which hinder upgrading of informal settlements from the Buffalo municipality area include: administrative issues such as municipal maladministration and corruption. For instance, while respondents engaged in this research couldn’t not shade more

light on the issue of corruption, a story that was run on the Jbay news website 2014 headline **R 800 MILLION MISSING FROM EAST LONDON MUNICIPALITY.** The story alleged that the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) cannot produce adequate documents to account for at least R 781 million spent during the 2012/2013 financial year, according to the Auditor General (AG).

Another challenge is the unaffordability/inability to access social housing. Most respondents lamented the idea that access to old stock which is now rented out by the municipality is difficult. While some of the social housing units are located conveniently to centres of attraction and economic opportunities, it has become difficult for many residents to afford them due to high prices charged mainly by third parties. For instance, one respondent who is still residing in a shack despite his desire to move to a more descent place narrated that:

"You see my sister, here the struggle to have access to affordable housing is very real. I tried for five consecutive times to move from here to those flats owned by city council without any success. The demand is high and many people who hold leases to those houses tend to rent these out to other people as well".

The above sentiments echoes Ross' (2010) assertion of the experiences of temporariness in accessing housing. He argues that, in South Africa, residents only participate in the housing process through registering their names on the housing data base. Beyond this, they will have to wait for housing opportunities to be presented to them by the state. However, Ross (2010) overlooked the reality that during this waiting period, residents might find other ways of seeking shelter in near by places. It is in this waiting period that residents resort to residing in informal settlements. Interestingly, in countries such as Brazil, the waiting period for a state to delivery housing might be accompanied by some episodes of insurgencies where residents attempt to press the state and authorities to deliver on their promises (Kellet and Moore, 1999). These insurgences in the form of violent protest have also characterized South Africa service delivery campaigns. Ironically, the waiting period and all the strategies employed by residences can turn into a what can be called 'permanent temporariness' (ibid).

Due to the fact that many poor families in Duncan village don't have access to housing, they also face challenges in trying to access to housing finance. This proves to be a huge obstacle to the possibility of many poor families to acquire housing in their life time. One respondent who resides in informal settlements in Duncan Village bemoaned her tragedy and went on to say:

"I have given up on thinking that one day I will have a house in my own name. My hope was that maybe one day I will get a house from the state but as things stand, I don't think there is still that possibility. I can't even think of getting a loan from a bank because I am not formally

employed. I am told that banks need proof of employment and some three months banks statement. Where will I get all that seeing that I only survive on doing informal jobs around here".

This is happening despite Section 26(1) of the South Africa Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996), having pledged that everyone has the right to adequate housing. This is explained further by sub-section 2 which states that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.

According to Melzer, (2010 unpublished), South Africa has a well-developed housing finance sector that provides long term finance to borrowers. However, the country's capacity to meet the growing backlog is seriously challenged, especially given reduced GDP growth rates and rising unemployment. Current estimates suggest that while the government has been delivering houses for the poor through housing subsidy scheme,
the housing backlog remains on the increase as shown below.

Year	Housing backlog
1996	1,5 million
2001	1,8 million
2011	2,1 million

Source: Department of Housing, 1994 and Department of Human Settlements, 2011

Another challenge that hinder the upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan village is that most of the informal settlements are located on unsuitable land or land not owned by the Metro. Under the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Support Programme (UISP), priority is given to the upgrading of informal settlements in situ rather than reallocations (NUSP, 2015). However, relocation is only considered as a last resort and when an area where the settlement is located is at risk for natural disaster hazards such as floods or dolomite geological structures. While this case can be argued for the Duncan Village informal settlements cases with most of them located closer to rivers which poses a high risk of flooding, there is also a challenge of shortage of vacant land to use as greenfield It would therefore make sense in this respect to think beyond the idea of relocating residents from informal settlements and try to map a way of bringing economic activities to these new settlements. Over the years, failure to concede to this reality has witnessed the unwillingness of the community to relocate, land invasions of serviced sites by non-qualifying beneficiaries and lastly unplanned, dense settlements in the CBD hindering the accessibility of repairing and installing services.

Ironically, in all the efforts to relocate informal dwellers in Duncan Village, the settlement has more people than the number of sites that can be available when the informal settlement is

upgraded. The Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) started a number of projects in Reeston so that it can relocate people from Duncan Village. Land was only identified in Reeston because there is no availability land in Duncan Village or closer. The unavailability of land is the major challenge affecting the upgrading of this informal Settlement.

In the Duncan village. The DVRI was planned and projects were approved and funds were committed for implementation by the provincial department of Human Settlement although the funds for upgrading were released by the National Treasury. However, due to all the problems raised above, which I chose to refer to as also contestations in this research, projects to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan Village were put on hold. In the case of in-situ upgrading, one of the major challenges was unavailability land to setup a Transit Relocation Area (TRA) that can accommodate 500 units. Since the relocation and the removal of the shacks could not be done, the appointed service provider for surveying of the area could not start. Hence, the services were not installed, and top structures were not constructed. Funds which were released by the National Treasury to the provincial Department of Human Settlements for informal settlement upgrading in Duncan Village were then returned back in the financial years between 2010 to 2014 since there was no value created, and expenditure could not be realised.

With reference to one project were an attempt to upgrade was carried out, an official from the DHS said:

In this project, non-qualifying beneficiaries started invading houses just after finishing roof stage. These houses were not yet approved as complete by Housing Regulator and this forced the project to be blocked.

Other challenges raised by participants in the study include the following, which appeared to be the same as they cut across the municipalities. The major one is that there has been some political in fights among the community members [fighting about who came first and places of origin]. The housing projects work on a first come first save basis. As one respondent puts it:

Here we have had *"Oomafikizolo abangezondzalelwane zalapha", These are people who jumped the quue and the Municipality allocated them houses despite them being newly approved beneficiaries. We have staged protests against this practice and other malpractices which have seen the municipality awarding tenders to outside SMMEs.* All these actions have resulted in court interdictions of projects.

In other cases, one of the local community members (Mandla not his real name) narrates:

"There has been cases where invasion of completed houses by illegal occupants. Some of these invaders do not even qualify to received RDP houses prior to the allocation to rightful

beneficiaries has taken place. On the other hand, we also have residents who are unwilling to relocate to areas where the local authorities would have designated houses. Their reason for not relocating is based on proximity from the CBD, for instance, having to cover 20 km away from town of which residents are working in town and their children are schooling in town. No provision or commitment from government for the transportation of these households that will be in transit area meanwhile their housed are under construction." (Interview with Mandla: 2018).

4.5 Community participation in the planning and decision-making processes.

The study found out that community members have had the opportunity to participate in the planning of the upgrading programme. Their input has been seen in the planning process where the municipality authorities consult with the community members at this stage. Community representatives are involved in these processes. However, most of the community residents are often unhappy with process especially where there is an issue of relocation. However, some community members have seen this form of participation as a cosmetic or façade process where the inputs of the members are not fully placed into consideration. According to Themba, one of the respondents to this study:

"There is no actual involvement of community members, the authorities only come and tell us what they have planned and propose that we agree to their plan. Although we have structures that represents us residents, they are rendered useless by these committee members who also happen to be workers of the government local authorities and provincial officials. So, in this case, I don't see them as people who try to represent the poor community members in sincerity but to serve their interests rather."

While the precise importance of Arnstein's (1969) work comes from the obvious recognition that there are different levels of participation, the sentiments presented by the respondents above prove that residents are not represented in any way in Duncan village. The type of participation might encompass manipulation or therapy of citizens as noted by Arnstein (1969) but in this regard, manipulation can only be legitimized if there is some level of consultation. Ironically, this is not coming out from the Duncan Village processes of participation. Perhaps, the idea of passive participation by Ross (2010) is relevant in this regard. Ross (2010) sees many poor families in South Africa as passive participants who only play a role in the housing process by registering their names on the waiting list. This contradicts Justin (2009) assertion that in the housing processes, "participation" has come to mean the involvement of local citizens at every stage of decision-making process. What this means therefore is that, without redistribution of power, any form of involvement is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless (Justin, 2009). It allows the power holders to claim that all sides were considered

but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit and to maintain the status quo (ibid).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings of this research which aimed to understand the contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan Village. The findings were subsequently discussed and the majority of them running through out this section is that there is a close relationship between challenges and contestations encountered in upgrading informal settlements in Duncan village. Most of the respondents engaged in this research lamented that idea of failing access adequate to housing in well located areas. This was later confirmed by municipality officials who, despite their efforts to implement the UISP through different stages like relocation as a last resort in areas that cannot be upgraded, have since returned the upgrading grant of about R120 million to the National Treasury through the Provincial Department of Human Settlements. Some of the contestations have also emanated from allegation of corruption within the municipality, invasion of completed RDP houses by non-qualifiers and lack of community participation in the upgrading programmes.

It was fundamental to draw from Brazil with regard to these challenges, to see how the country managed to legalise its informal settlements despite them having been located in dangerous areas like mountain cliffs. One of the most fundamental approach that Brazil undertook was to concede to the reality that informal dwellers set out their settlements in areas closer to economic opportunities. In doing so, Brazil managed to develop a policy framework that supported the co-existence of informal settlements and centres of economic opportunities. It was through these lens that the contestations surrounding upgrading was evaded as support mechanism were put in place to make sure that even though settlements that were in risk and dangerous places were made safe. South Africa can borrow a lot from this Brazilian experience and the following chapter shall add this as a recommendation. As such the upgrading of informal settlements in general and the provision of housing in particular should never be done independently of other socio-economic and political developments.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This research report explored the the underlying challenges surrounding informal settlements upgrading in East London's Duncan Village, East London. This interrogation was necessitated by the realisation that there is a mismatch between policy intentions and practice in relation to dealing with informal settlements in South Africa. Quite strikingly, the research identified that ironically, despite the allocation of a grant in 2011/2012 – 2014/2015 financial years to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan Village under the Urban Settlements Development Grant (USDG) for bulk services and Human Settlements Development Grant (HSDG) for top structures and social amenities, no significant improvements have been witnessed in this respect. The grant has since been returned to the Treasury. As such, this research embarked on an empirical and theoretical inquiry in order to understand the causes of such contradictions. The research adopted qualitative research methodology and made use of a case study design. Data was mainly gathered through face to face interviews and secondary sources such as newspaper articles, publication and government policies. The research journey was guided by different research questions as presented in the first chapter and in this section, the paper seeks to give a summation of this whole research report and make recommendations based on the findings that were obtained.

5.2 Summary of Key findings

The demand for adequate and affordable housing continues to grow unabated in South Africa. Meanwhile, as rational actors, poor urban dwellers tend to find shelter in informal settlements where barriers are low but continue to live under precarious conditions. This is against the much-popularized debate on the right to housing. The right to adequate housing is "an important basic human right, of central importance for the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights" (Chenwi, 2013: 342 – 343). The recognition of this right in South African led to the adoption of the Comprehensive Plan on Human settlement. The plan speaks in line with the Constitution which emphasizes that "state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right" (Constitution of South Africa, 1996: 12). Recently, there has been a widespread acceptance that informal settlements are a solution to housing problems bedeviling many cities. Through the Housing Code of 2009, which was developed in line with the Comprehensive Development Plan on Human Settlements, attention is paid on improving the lives of informal settlement dwellers with an emphasis on in situ upgrading process.

From an international perspective, in situ upgrading of informal settlements is promoted over relocating residents unless there are environmental or safety concerns in the area of the informal settlement (King et, al. 2017: 13). In-situ informal settlements upgrading programme

is against relocation as it argues that it is the last resort to be undertaken and should be based only in exceptional circumstances on a voluntary and co-operative basis (Masiteng, 2013: 29). Slum upgrading can happen through different strategies, but the main focus is to provide services to the dwellers of these settlements. Through providing low-cost infrastructure services such as water, sanitation, and transport, tenure security, and building actual houses (Cities Alliance, 1999), chances are that this approach will lead to improved living conditions for the inhabitants of squatter settlements.

From an international experience of informal settlement upgrading, lack of feedback can be an obstacle to this process. Where people hear nothing about the impact of their work, they are unlikely to feel that they have been treated as partners in the project, or with the respect they are worthy of. This is because “People are not stupid. They know that they will not always get everything they want. But they do expect to know what difference their participation has made, and if they are not informed of the difference their participation has made, they assume it has not made any effect” (Davy, 2006:112).

In Duncan village, the Community Survey of 2016 indicates an increase in its population to 834 997, with about 85,40% of these being black Africans, 6,90% Whites, 6,70% Coloured and 0,90% Indians/Asians (BCMM: 2017/18). This rapid increase in population size is not supported by an increase in the provision of housing units. According to the UN (2013), one of the major factors leading to a growth in housing demand in many countries is the rapid process of urbanisation. The mushrooming of informal dwellings in Duncan Village increased more than in other areas due to its proximity to the CBD. Most people are not incurring any transport costs even those who do incur transport costs find it affordable compared to living in other areas far away from the CBD. The results from the field also indicate that informal settlements in the village of Duncan are a result of poverty and high levels of unemployment.

The area under study was pronounced as a Presidential Project called Duncan Village Development Initiative in order to reduce the number of sprawling informal settlements in the area. Land was identified in Reeston where houses were built for the relocation of Duncan Village residents in order to de-densify the area. However, those houses were invaded and beneficiaries that were approved are still residing in the informal settlement. While residents also highlighted that there are NGOs that are assisting to help the community especially the childcare programmes, these were some of the causes of contestation that I sought to illuminate in this research.

Duncan Village Development Initiative programme has partly been done but stalled by number of pre-planning issues at the implementation stage. Where in-situ upgrading has been successfully implemented such as Hostel B Area, living conditions have changed. However,

the economic situation did not improve since the unemployment rate is still high. The programme managed to resolve the shelter part and essential services but did not deal with the economic situation. Hence, beneficiaries that were relocated from Duncan Village to Reeston Phase 1 and two, have rented out or sold their houses and reverted to the shacks.

In relation to challenges affecting the upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan Village, the study found out that in BCMM there is shortage of well-located land close to the CBD and centres of economic opportunities. Most of the land is already developed and the remaining land is located far away from the CBD making it less attractive for relocation as access to social and economic opportunities is limited. Under the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Support Programme (USIP), priority is given to the upgrading of informal settlements in situ rather than reallocations. However, relocation is only considered as a last resort and when an area where the settlement is located is at risk for natural disaster hazards such as floods or dolomite geological structures. While this case can be argued for the Duncan Village informal settlements cases with most of them located closer to rivers which poses a high risk of flooding, there is also a challenge of shortage of vacant land to use as greenfield. Some of the challenges which hinder upgrading of informal settlements from the Buffalo municipality area include issues such as municipal maladministration and corruption.

In attempting to upgrade informal settlements in Duncan village, the DVRI was planned and projects were approved. Funds were committed for implementation by the provincial department of Human Settlement although the funds for upgrading were released by the National Treasury. However, due to all the problems and contestations raised above, the projects were put on hold and the funds were returned to the National Treasury.

5.3 Recommendations

While the challenges faced in upgrading informal settlements in Duncan village cannot be understated, it is important to begin by considering the small attempts that were made during upgrading projects that were later halted. Here the argument is that, we can learn from those little things that were done right and strive to improve from them. Since there were some considerable efforts to give feedback in different upgrading projects in Duncan Village, it would important to recommend that there should be meaningful engagements by involvement of communities in upgrading programme of their residential areas from planning to the end of the programme. These can resolve issues of resistance where relocations are needed and avoid the invasion of completed units by disgruntled residents, as part of decision making.

Considering that the programme of upgrading informal settlements is prioritised from the national to the local level in South Africa, it would be important to look through the contestations experienced in Duncan village and position these to the national goals. Here,

the idea is that, at a national level, plans and projects can be devised to get lessons from successful upgrading process in other countries internationally and impact this knowledge to local municipalities. Some of the challenges experienced during the implementation of USIP projects in informal settlements in Duncan village which were experienced through invasions and delays are proof enough that the municipality and the province do not have a dedicated central point to manage and coordinate the UISP programme. Perhaps, provision of hands on support and draw on skills and expertise from other departments or provinces that are doing well in this respect might be a solution.

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APPENDIX 1

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Contestations of upgrading the informal settlements in East London South Africa

Greetings

My name is **Nomampondo Thembekile Martha Tindleni** and I am currently a part time student studying towards a MBE Housing in the School of Architecture and Planning (SOAP) at the University of Witwatersrand. I am currently doing a study on the challenges of informal settlement in East London. The full title of my topic is, **the contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements in East London South Africa.**

I am inviting you to be part of the study through an interview process. The interview will take **no longer than 45 minutes** of your time**, at a place and time of your convenient.** During the course of the interview you will be asked questions regarding **the progress and challenges of the state intervention to upgrade the informal settlements.**

To avoid misquoting your responses, I will ask, with your permission to record and audio-tape the interviews. In addition, I will also use written notes if you are ok with that.

You have been selected to participate in this study due to your involvement in the implementation of the programme/ member of the community where the programme is taking place. Your participation is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time without having to explain why. There are no monetary benefits for your participation in this study or any other material benefits. However, the study may be important for contributing towards improved housing policy in the country, something that may benefit the community at large.

Your participation will be completely anonymous **(not your real names will be used to protect your identity**) and you will not be personally identified in the final report. You will be referred to as an official or community member. However, your organisation may be identified as an institution or state

The results of the interview and your personal views will not be linked to you in the final report. *In the event that I use direct quotations from this interview, please note that **your identity will not be revealed**. Any comments that you make that you deem "off the record" or similar, will not be quoted. Further, any information that you share will be kept confidential and can only be accessed by me on a password protected computer. There are also no foreseeable risks associated with your participation.*

The research undertaken is solely for academic purposes and once completed will be available electronically and can be accessed by those have access to Witwatersrand University Database.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at Thembekile.tindleni@gmail.com or my supervisor at mrahwa@gmail.com.

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NOMAMPONDO THEMBEKILE MARTHA TINDLENI

MASTERS IN BUILT ENVIRONMENT: HOUSING

APPENDIX 2

FORMAL CONSENT FORM: GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the student researcher of the purpose, procedures, and my rights as a participant. I have received, read and understand the written participant information sheet. I have also been informed of:

- ☐ the nature of my participation in the form of an interview
- ☐ the place and duration of the study
- ☐ the reasons for why I was selected to participate in the study
- ☐ the voluntary nature, refusal to answer, and withdrawing from the study
- ☐ no payment or incentives
- ☐ no loss of benefits or risks
- ☐ anonymity
- ☐ confidentiality
- ☐ how the research findings will be disseminated?

I therefore **AGREE / NOT AGREE** to participate in this study by responding to the questions of the interview.

Participant:

_____ _____

Name of Participant **Date**

I hereby also confirm that a permission to record the interview and notes taking has been asked by the researcher.

I **AGREE / NOT AGREE** to audio-recording during interviews.

Participant:

_____ _____

Name of Participant Date

APPENDIX 3

FORMAL CONSENT FORM: RESIDENTS

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the student researcher of the purpose, procedures, and my rights as a participant. I have received, read and understand the written participant information sheet. I have also been informed of:

- ☐ the nature of my participation in the form of an interview
- ☐ the place and duration of the study
- ☐ the reasons for why I was selected to participate in the study
- ☐ the voluntary nature, refusal to answer, and withdrawing from the study
- ☐ no payment or incentives
- ☐ no loss of benefits or risks
- ☐ anonymity
- ☐ confidentiality
- ☐ how the research findings will be disseminated?

I therefore **AGREE / NOT AGREE** to participate in this study by responding to the questions of the interview.

Participant:

_____ _____

Name of Participant Date

I hereby also confirm that a permission to record the interview and notes taking has been asked by the researcher.

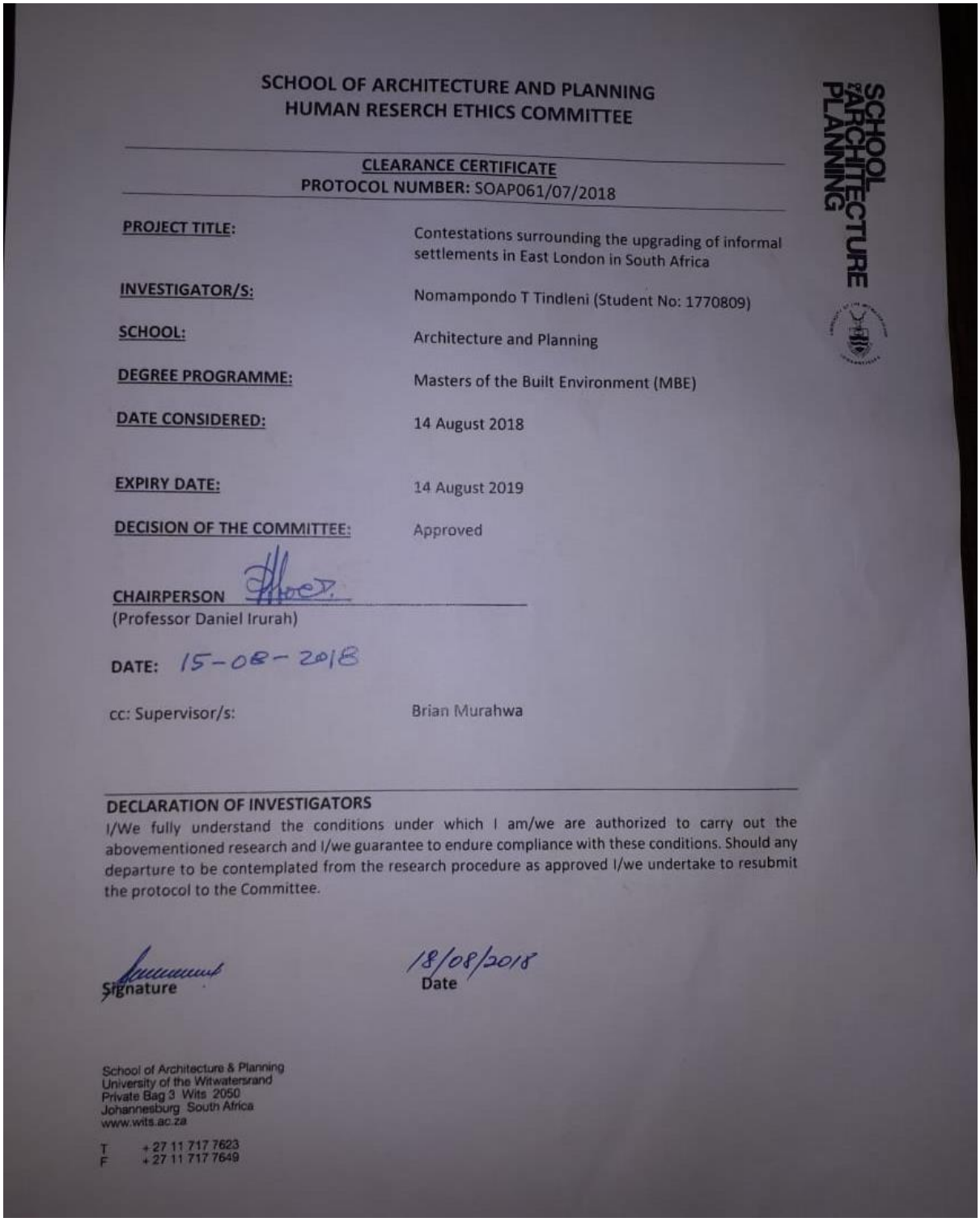
I **AGREE / NOT AGREE** to audio-recording during interviews.

Participant:

_____ _____

Name of Participant Date

APPENDIX 4 ETHICS CERTIFICATE



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP061/07/2018

PROJECT TITLE:	Contestations surrounding the upgrading of informal settlements in East London in South Africa
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Nomampondo T Tindleni (Student No: 1770809)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Masters of the Built Environment (MBE)
DATE CONSIDERED:	14 August 2018
EXPIRY DATE:	14 August 2019
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	Approved

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 15-08-2018

cc: Supervisor/s: Brian Murahwa

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date** 18/08/2018

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