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Resident's perception of urban integration: the case of Dukathole informal settlement

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The need for integration of the city has dominated most of the policy documents, legislations and literature in the post-1994 era in South Africa (www.info.gov.za, 2007; Department of Housing, 2006; and Bremner, 2000). Thus it is the intention of this study to assess whether the integration of the urban space is perceived to have occurred or not in post-apartheid South Africa. Specifically, the residents of Dukathole informal settlement will be the main commentators on whether they think that integration of their settlement with Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM) has been actualized or not. Hence the title of the study is called 'Residents' Perception of Urban Integration: the case of Dukathole'. The chapter will briefly present the history of the Dukathole informal settlement, background, aims and rationale for the study. It will further outline briefly the structure of the report.

1.2. Brief History of Dukathole Informal Settlement

In the late 1950's Dukathole was a formal settlement occupied by the Coloured and Indian communities (per.com 1, 2007)[1]. However, over the time the community saw the exodus of Coloureds and Indians to other areas (pers.com 1, 2007). Despite that, at present there are still, a few members of the original communities residing in the formal part of Dukathole (pers.com 1, 2007). It was in the early 1990's when the informal part of Dukathole emerged when the political turmoil in the Kathorus townships (i.e. Katlegong, Thokoza and Voslorus) forced people to relocate to Dukathole informal settlement (pers.com 1, 2007). Thus on their arrival, the new residents invaded the land owned by both the local authority and Spoornet (pers.com 1, 2007). The area is currently comprised of the formal and informal sections. The former section is occupied by registered residents and the latter by the unregistered or informal settlers (pers.com 2, 2007)[2].

[1] Personal communication 1: with the senior resident and original member of Dukathole community, 2007.
[2] Personal communication 2: with Ward 35 and Dukathole Ward Councilor, Mr. Alex Nxakambana, 2007.

1.3. Background of the study

The study was conducted in Ekurhuleni Municipal Metropolitan (EMM), and specifically focused on Dukathole squatter camp which is located in the Southern region of the EMM. Dukathole informal settlement is about 3 km from the city of Germiston. This community is surrounded by heavy industries such as, Macsteel, Melco, Rand Scrap Iron, Sasol and Timber Firm. The area is 'attached' to the railway line that connects the following geographic areas namely; the city of Germiston, Elsburg, Wadeville, Katlehong and the Vaal Triangle. For a detailed map of Dukathole informal settlement please refer to Figure 1 below.

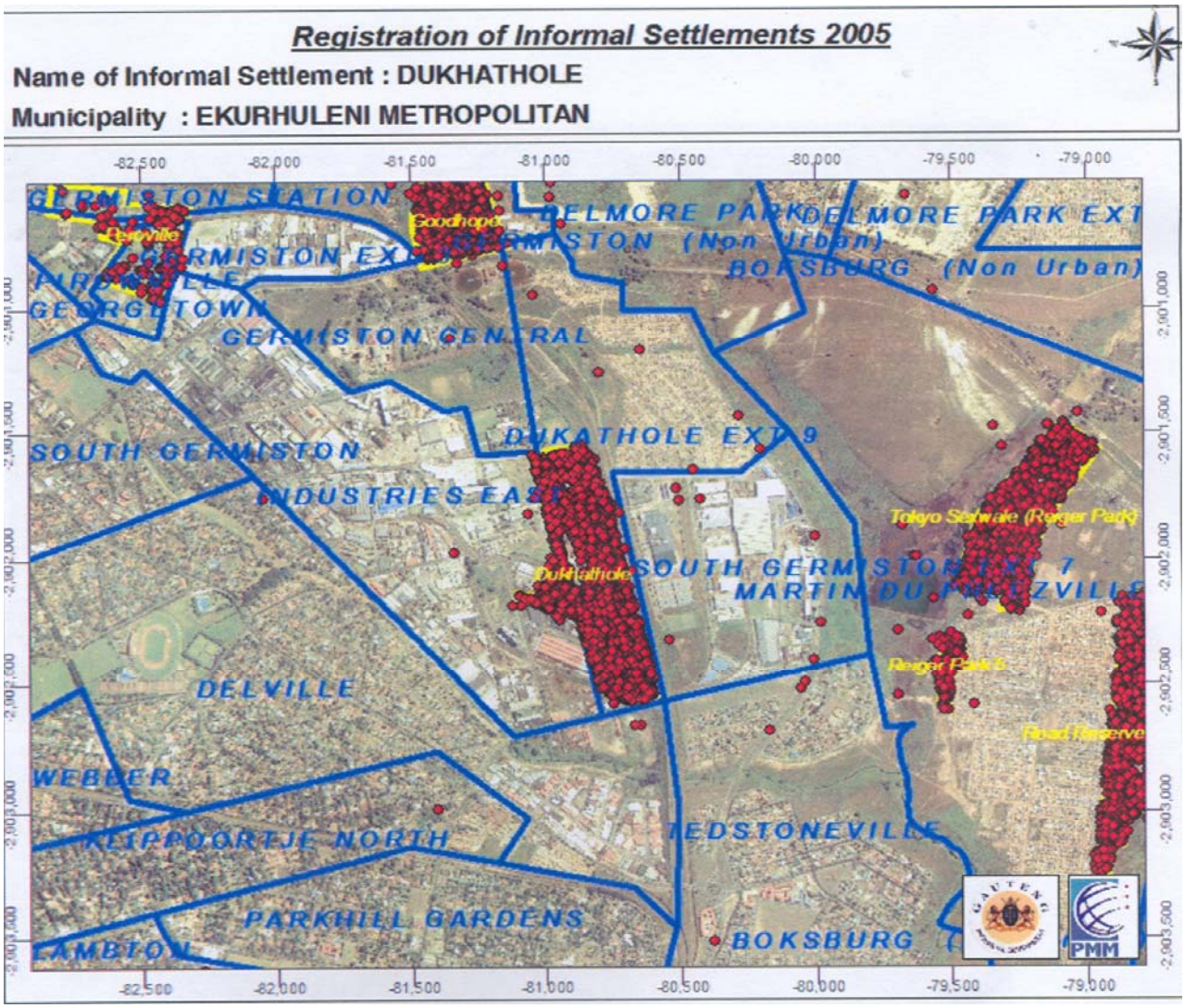


Figure 1. Source: Gauteng Provincial Government, 2005.

Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, research, legislation, and policy have emphasized the need to restructure 'apartheid spatial planning', so as to integrate a bifurcated city (Bremner, 2000; Charlton, 2003; Huchzermeyer, 2003; and Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003; Department of Housing, 2006). In short, the post-1994 period was characterized by progressive or developmental ideas aimed at creating an equitable city which, is integrated, economically, socially, and spatially (ibid). Likewise at the micro level (municipal sphere), various city councils and metropolitans supported these processes of integrating the periphery with the core or city (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003; and Department of Housing, 2006). For instance in the case of EMM, mechanisms for urban integration, including the Growth and Development Strategy were developed (GDS) (EMM, IDP, 2006-2010). The GDS amongst others intend to eliminate all informal settlements in the EMM area by the year 2014 (ibid).

In essence the EMM's GDS is committed to the implementation of the National Housing Policy and the Millennium Development Goals, which seeks to create cities without slums by the deadline of 2014 (Huchzermeyer, 2005). The above-mentioned processes set to integrate EMM are intended to alleviate various hardships often experienced by those who are falling outside the legal and formal processes of the city such as informal settlers. It is known that almost entire communities of informal settlers in various countries are faced with myriad forms of challenges ranging from unhealthy living conditions, overcrowding, uninhabitable environments and flooded areas (UN-Habitat, 2003). In short the processes of integrating informal settlements with the cities could redress the legacies of the 'apartheid spatial planning' in South Africa and create an equitable city (Bremner, 2000; and Huchzermeyer, 2006).

1.4. Aims of the study

The overall aim of the study is to explore the residents' perception of the process of urban integration in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. It is believed that this will provide a 'thick description'[3] of the experiences faced by those living in the informal sphere of housing (Geertz, 1975).This method is necessary as it would assist in gathering the residents' subjective experiences or of perception of urban integration. The importance of these experiences is that they could serve as the basis for future policy

[3] 'Thick description' is an ethnographical method or concept used by anthropologists to study their units of investigation within their context of living (Geertz, 1975). The concept has been borrowed from the above discipline as it has the capacity to capture subjective perceptions and experiences of the research participants.

making in the field of housing in EMM, South Africa and other developing world countries. In the context of this study, urban integration is defined as a multifaceted process that contains the following key elements: economic, environmental, political, physical and social (Alemane, 2006). To explain this further, the economic dimension bestows people with an opportunity to participate in both formal and informal economic activities of the city, while the environmental element refers to the creation and maintenance of healthy environment (ibid). The political aspect of urban integration refers to the right of residents to exercise self-determination in the matters that affect them within the city (Mohamed, 2006). The physical dimension refers to people's access to resources and physical infrastructure, and to be given security from crime and disasters (Alemane, 2006). Finally the social component of urban integration is concerned with the acceptance and inclusion of the informal settlers in the formal processes of the city (ibid).The above definition of urban integration will be used as a 'yard stick' or 'standard' to measure whether urban integration is perceived to have been achieved in Dukathole informal settlement by residents.

Aims of the research can be summarized as:

- To find out if government[4] integration process is 'appropriate' and 'successful' as defined by residents in terms of the economic, environmental, spatial, political and social aspects.
- Find out whether the private or formal sector intervention such as the rental accommodation development serves as responsive mechanisms to integrate Dukathole informal settlement into the city.
- To bring the 'voices' or concerns of people living in the informal settlements onto the policy making processes in EMM and South Africa.

1.5. Rationale for research and problem statement

There are various reasons, which motivated the researcher to choose this topic and focus the study on Dukathole informal settlement. In the year 2005 I conducted my Social Work research on domestic violence in this community. During this period there was an outcry about housing challenges and service delivery in the community by some residents. Furthermore I noticed during this period that there are a large number of people who are moving in and out of this settlement to Delville where they are renting accommodation from

[4] In the context of this study the concept government is broadly referring to the three spheres of government in South Africa, namely; National, Provincial and Local.

'illegal' landlords. In short, Delville is a rundown suburban area located about two kilometer from the city of Germiston (see figure 1). Also the return of people who were relocated to Rondebult (subsidised housing about 12 km from Germiston city, see figure 2 below) to Dukathole informal settlement caught the attention of the researcher. The experiences of residents indeed evoked my interest in this topic and compelled me to ask the question what is the underlying reason that forces these people to engage in this 'social behaviour'?



Figure 2. Source: http://www.brabysmaps.co.za, 2007.

Furthermore, a recent conflict between some of the surrounding industries and community members also motivated the researcher to pursue this study. The industries were accusing the community members of expanding their shacks onto pieces of land, which demarcates their properties. Nonetheless, community members occupied these pieces of land by force, arguing that this is their only alternative because EMM is not willing to provide them with land for housing. After reviewing the literature on urban integration the

researcher was attracted by the fact that much of the existing literature on urban integration is characterized by invaluable insights from the academics, politicians and others groups of elites. A common theme in all of these contributions was the promotion of an equitable city and sustainable human settlements. What is lacking in this process is the view of an ordinary citizen or informal settler who is directly affected by various initiatives set to integrate the urban space. The absence of residents' voices or perspectives in the literature and process motivated the researcher to conduct this study. Importantly the above gap in the literature informed the problem statement in this study. In essence an ignorance of the residents' perspective qualifies a top down approach, which undermines both tangible and in-tangible resources embedded within the communities of the poor (Chambers, 1995). In my view a failure by those who make decisions to capture and understand the insights and experiences of those who live in the informal settlements perpetuates various inequities in the city (Sandercock, 1998). This is a crucial gap, which needs to be addressed by researchers and housing policy-makers. In fact the reason why countries often have tangential and unresponsive policies to poor people's needs is because of the afore-mentioned challenge (Chambers, 1995).

Therefore it is the intention of this research to capture the people's perception of the process of urban integration in EMM area. In short, I believe this is in line with progressive theories of urban planning which emphasize, planning from the 'borderlands'[5] (Sandercock, 1998). Planning from the 'borderland' would capture and bring real and unheard or muted voices of the poor, women, physically impaired people, and others to the planning table, and aid in the development of integrated and equitable city (Healey, 1992; Chambers, 1995; Sandercock, 1998; and Fainstein, 2000).

1.6. Research question and assumed solution

The primary research question of the study is: to what extent are the government processes and interventions, and the private sector initiatives integrating informal settlers into the city? The study acknowledges that the city and government housing policies intending to integrate informal with formal settlements or periphery with core are already in place. It is proposed that the reason why these policies

[5] 'Planning from the borderlands' bring forth the "voices of…those who have been marginalized, displaced, oppressed or dominated. They are the subjective voices of experience, insisting on the relevance of that experience to the task of making theory" (Sandercock, 1998:110).

and processes have been seen as having failed is because they have not captured the voices of those living in the informal settlements. Thus for these initiatives to succeed there is a need to include the voices of those living in the informal settlements. A responsive policy is guided primarily by the real experiences of those it intends to serve (Chambers, 1995). Normative approaches and policies aimed at eradicating informality might not be sustainable in the context of globalization (Huchzermeyer, 2005; and Cross, 2006). Therefore the inclusion of the poor in finding the alternatives and recognizing informality as a defining feature of developing countries is a central need (Chambers, 1995; and Huchzermeyer, 2005).

1.7. Structure of the report

Outline or structure of the report can be summarised as follows:

- Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter illustrates a brief historical background of Dukathole informal settlement and study, the rationale for conducting the study and the problem statement. The chapter also presents a research question and assumed solution to the challenges surrounding urban integration and policy in South Africa and other developing worlds.

- Chapter Two: Literature review

The chapter starts at the macro level by identifying and discussing the common central challenges facing informal settlements across the globe. At the micro level the chapter contextualizes the study or urban integration to South African local authorities including Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. The main theoretical frameworks and variety of relevant academic texts and media reports are also reviewed in this chapter.

- Chapter Three: Research design and methodology

It presents the broader research methods used in the study including units of investigation or sample composition, validity and reliability of the research tool, and the procedures followed during the gathering of data. Moreover ethical issues and the limitations of the study are covered in this chapter.

- Chapter Four: Presentation of findings

This chapter presents the results of the study. The findings are presented in a qualitative form, thus providing real experiences of the residents towards the integration their community into the EMM city. This will answer the main aims of the study.

- Chapter Five: Analysis of findings

Qualitative findings presented in chapter four are analysed in this chapter. Therefore different theories, approaches and experiences from South African and other contexts are integrated with the study findings.

- Chapter Six: Conclusions and recommendations

Based on the analysis from chapter five, this chapter draws conclusions and recommendations for policy in EMM, South Africa and other developing worlds. Moreover the chapter delineates possible areas for future research.

1.8. Summary of the Chapter

The chapter has provided a brief history of Dukathole informal settlement, the background, aims, rational, and problem statement of the study. The chapter has also outlined brief structure of the report. The research question was also asked in relation to the effectiveness of both government and private interventions set to create an integrated city in South Africa. Finally a solution to the above raised question was proposed in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

Much of the literature on the integration of informal settlements or urban integration has brought invaluable insights to the field of housing and indicated various living conditions experienced by the people living in these areas. Thus most common challenges faced by informal settlers include a lack of security of tenure, squalid living conditions, lack of 'well-located land', and inadequate service delivery (Napier, 2001; Durand-Lasserve, 2002; Royston, 2003; Pieterse, 2004; and Moloi, 2007). In short, these challenges impede the integration of the informal settlements into the urban fabric (Alemane, 2006). Consequently, the above conditions obstruct the core elements of urban integration being the political, environmental, social, economic, and physical (ibid). Nonetheless, the most important piece missing in this vast literature on integration is the insider's (i.e. residents) perception of urban integration. The following chapter will analyze some of the relevant literature to this study regarding the integration of informal settlements. Finally the chapter will also draw on the experiences from other contexts outside South Africa.

2.2. The locus of informal settlers in developing countries

2.2.1. Common key challenges across the globe

The following discussion will highlight some of the common key challenges faced by the informal settlements in developing countries. These challenges include the lack of security of tenure, environmental hazards, and lack of access to land (Napier, 2001; and Durand-Lasserve, 2002).

2.2.2. *Lack of Security of tenure and evictions*

The lack of security of tenure is one of the central issues facing people living in the informal settlements as they cannot claim or produce proof of ownership of land (Napier, 2001). This is due to the fact that most informal settlements occupied land illegally or through invasions (Huchzermeyer, 2003). Likewise the above situation is applicable to Dukathole informal settlement as the residents occupied the land which belongs to

the local authority and private industries (pers.com 1. 2007). In essence lack of security of tenure by Dukathole residents has implications for the process of integration, since informal dwellers do not have the right to land ownership (Pieterse, 2004). According to Durand- Lasserve (2002) an improvement of security of tenure for the urban poor could be a fundamental step integrating informal settlements with the city. Thus without security of tenure informal settlements are vulnerable to eviction, lack of access to basic amenities and opportunities (Durand-Lasserve, 2002).

There are two forms of evictions in urban areas which hamper the process of integrating informal settlers with the city, they are; "forced evictions and market driven evictions" (Durand-Lasserve (2006:208-209). The former type of eviction removes informal settlers from the area they occupied because the land does not belong to them, but to the local authority or private party (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). The case of Bredell informal settlement near Kempton Park is a typical example of forced evictions as the residents were removed on the basis that the land belongs to the private party (Huchzermeyer, 2003). In contrast, under the 'market driven evictions', residents of informal settlements are evicted or "displaced" because the land they have occupied has been identified, amongst others, by the local authority or private sector for development projects and profitable initiatives (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). The challenge is that it relocates settlements which were centrally located to remote areas and also breaks established livelihood strategies and social networks (ACHR, 2004).

The 'market-driven evictions' or 'displacements' are more common in developing countries than forced evictions, and operate under the guise of economic development (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). Although the context of developing countries differs, 'market driven evictions' appears to be dominant in such countries. For instance in Botswana, Jwaneng Squatter Camp residents were evicted in order to give way to the mining industry (Chwaane, 2006). Moreover, expensive construction plans and standards, required by the local authorities for urban dwelling serve as a prohibitory factor to poor families for residing in the city (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). The case of Francis Town in Botswana is a typical example, whereby the City Council warned the low-income group people to adhere to the set building standards if they wanted to continue living in the city (Gabathuse, 2006). Therefore market-driven evictions and unaffordable building plans and standards should be seen as other factors which perpetuate the socio-spatial segregation, thus dividing the city into the core and periphery (Durand-Lasserve, 2006).

2.2.3. *Access to land*

South Africa's new housing policy (Breaking New Ground, BNG) emphasizes the need to integrate the low-income group families through the identification of 'well-located land' in the proximity of resources and opportunities (Department of Housing, 2006). The intention of the policy is clear and aims to ensure an equitable city (ibid). However its main short-coming is that it appears to generalize and ignore varying land prices across metropolitans and small municipalities in South Africa (Pieterse, 2004). The fact is that the availability of a 'well-located land' is dependent on its existence and affordability in the municipal area (Royston, 2003; and Moloi, 2007). The higher price of land near the city has the potential of interrupting the integration of the low-income groups with the city (Huchzermeyer, 2003). In reality, unaffordable land in the proximity of the city has exacerbated spatial fragmentation in various South African cities, for instance the low-income groups are located at the edge of the city where land is cheap (Bremner, 2000; and Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003).Since land is cheap at the periphery of the city, the government housing subsidies can afford it for the low-income groups (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003, and Moloi, 2007). According to Chambers (1995) subsidies have the potential to perpetuate poverty amongst the low-income groups, as it (subsidies) determines their location (i.e. periphery) in the city. The periphery of the city is often far from the city's resources and opportunities needed by the low-income groups (Chambers, 1995).

Moreover another factor which contributes to the spatial fragmentation in South Africa is the fact that the country seeks to integrate urban space before addressing land reform in the cities (Pieterse, 2004). The programme of land reform in South Africa is taking place in the rural areas only, thus excluding the urban areas where the challenges of housing are perennial (Huchzermeyer, 2003). The inconsistency between the two government structures namely; Department of Land Affairs and Housing perpetuates spatial fragmentation in the city (ibid). For instance the former government institution is concerned with land restructuring only in the rural context (ibid). In contrast the latter (Department of Housing) is promoting an integrated and equitable city but quite on the issue of land redistribution (ibid). The above-mentioned discrepancy in governmental structures has implications to the housing policy goal namely; the integration of the low-income groups and informal settlements with the city in South Africa.

2.2.4. *Access to formal housing*

The access to formal housing by the inhabitants of the informal settlements is dependent on their registration by the local authority (Moloi, 2007). Often the informal settlements which are registered by the government are included on the government plans for housing (ibid). However their access to formal housing is chiefly depended on whether they qualify for subsidized housing (Smit, 2006; and Moloi, 2007). More importantly the foregoing analysis has implications for the integration of informal settlements, because those who are not entitled are excluded from the formal processes set to integrate the informal settlements with the city (Smit, 2006).

2.2.5. *Environmental Hazards*

The need to reside in the proximity of resources and opportunities often compels the informal settlers to occupy uninhabitable land which is characterized by hazardous features such as flood plains, landfills, dolomitic land, along the mining belts and railway lines (Moloi, 2007). In short, these conditions have serious implications to the health of the residents in informal settlements (UN-Habitat, 2003).The above-mentioned living condition illustrates that such environments are not healthy or conducive for a good quality of life (Alemane, 2006). In short, the informal settlements which are located in these conditions are not environmentally integrated with the city, as they pose serious threats to the well-being of informal settlements citizens or residents (ibid.). What is important in the context of Dukathole informal settlement to is to find out whether residents feel environmentally integrated with the EMM city or not.

2.2.6. *Safety and security*

In relation to safety and security, the informal settlements are often perceived as the host of various social illnesses, including crime and HIV/AIDS by ‘outsiders’ or out-groups (Sandercock, 2000; Ambert, 2006; Thomas, 2006; and Moloi, 2007). Often these perceived social ‘ills’ serve as an obstacle to the integration of informal settlements with the up-market property communities (Bremner, 2000). Nonetheless, another factor which has been documented to exacerbate insecurity in the informal settlements is the lack of policing which is often experienced by these areas (Ambert, 2006; and Smit, 2006). Informal dwellers are often victims of various forms of crime within their community (Smit, 2006). Therefore the lack of policing

could be seen as a key need for improved safety and social integration of informal settlers with the broader city safety measures (ibid.).

2.2.7. Inadequate service delivery

Some of the defining features of informal settlements are that they lack access to basic services such as water, roads, sewerage disposal, electricity and sanitation (Napier, 2001; and Thomas, 2006). The lack of basic services and appalling living conditions in the informal settlements is often perpetuated by lack of intervention by the local authorities as such settlements fall outside the formal processes of the city (Stren, 1990; and Moloi, 2007). The above stance held by local authorities towards informal settlements serves as the root cause of urban exclusion (Stren, 1990). Nonetheless, in other contexts such as South Africa, some metropolitan areas were reported to have initiated progressive measures set to provide informal dwellers with basic service (DoH, 2004). What is important is to find out whether these progressive measures have been expanded into informal settlements such as Dukathole in the EMM area. An expansion of such services would mean that Dukathole is socially integrated with the EMM, but a lack of it would mean the opposite (Alemane, 2006).

2.3. Urban Planning in Apartheid South Africa

Urban planning under apartheid in South Africa has played a fundamental role in segregating cities along racial lines (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003), which essentially meant and still means whites reside in the city centre and suburbs and blacks in the periphery of the city (ibid). In the context of South Africa, the city edge was and is still characterized by hostels, informal settlements, formal townships and backyard shacks, which accommodate black urban dwellers (Todes, Pillay, and Kronje, 2003). Before 1994 period when the laws were being relaxed and in the post-1994 period, more people including emigrants and migrants from various rural areas across South Africa flocked to different affluent cities (i.e. Johannesburg, and Cape Town) looking for employment (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003). Indeed the rapid influx increased the strain on limited resources such as housing, social services, and employment (ibid).

2.4. Post-1994 Developments: attempts to redress and integrate urban Space

In an attempt to redress spatial inequities in South Africa, the new government with its social development strategy called the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) provided housing subsidies to the poor (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003). The major mechanism used to provide housing for the low-income groups was the National Housing Capital Subsidy Scheme (NHCSS), which was implemented, nationally (ibid). The essence of this subsidized housing was to integrate the poor, who were generally Black and living in the periphery with the wealthy core, therefore creating one equitable city in spatial terms (ibid). Nonetheless what emerged out of this process is that the anticipated spatial integration of the periphery with the city centre never happened (Huchzermeyer, 2003). Thus, instead of restructuring South African cities, the new dispensation consolidated and or maintained the *status quo* (i.e. spatial urban segregation) (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003). The central force behind this consolidation of the apartheid spatial segregation in the new dispensation is the market forces, which instruct policy makers and determines where housing for the poor should be located, for instance in the city edge (Bond, 2000).

In short, this spatial integration project (NHCSS) perpetuated the apartheid spatial segregation (Ibid). The challenge was not new to South Africa, in 2000 the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC) failed to implement and achieve spatial integration in its area of jurisdiction through the Rapid Land Development Programme (RLDP) which GJMC was collaboratively running with the Department of Housing (Bremner, 2000). Succinctly, the main aims of the RLDP were to address the challenge of urbanization and integrate the poor in the periphery of the city with the city centre through the provision of housing in well-located areas (Bremner, 2000). In this case what emerged is that, RLDP was rejected fiercely by affluent private property owners within the GJMC on the perception that integrating low-income development with their properties would depreciate the value of their properties (ibid).

The above-mentioned statement contradicted with the objectives of RLDP, which held that integrating the poor with the affluent areas would allow them to access and share resources, thus achieving a just city (ibid).The perception held by the private property owners is not new to the post-1994 democratic era, as it also was typical in the pre-democratic South Africa, and is a common phenomenon worldwide (Sanai, 1992; Bremner, 2000; and Sandercock, 2000). Nonetheless it is evident that it was the community members or private property owners who stalled the process of integrating informal settlers with the urban

fabric, and perpetuated apartheid spatial planning (Bremner, 2000). Correspondingly the study conducted by Todes, Pillay and Kronje (2003) in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town identified similar constraints to urban restructuring of South African cities. What emerged in all three cities was a common challenge related to "land availability, land costs in well-located areas, and resistance by neighbours" (NIMBYism) to integrate informal settlers with their areas (Todes et al, 2003:265).

Another crucial element which impedes the integration of low-income groups with the city is a lack of access to credit by such people (DoH, 2000). Lending to low-income group is seen as risky by the financial institutions, as these people often earn wages below the lending standard set by banks (DoH, 2006). The foregoing statement raises questions regarding the efficacy of the Financial Sector Charter to ensure that the targeted[6] community (poor and low-income groups) access housing finance from the banks in South Africa (Dlamini, 2006). Nonetheless the low-income groups do not have permanent ownership of property, which according to some theorists impedes their chances of entering into a collateral relationship with the financial institutions (de Soto, 2000; and DoH, 2006). Consequently, it pushes these citizens into the periphery of the city, where there is lack of services, infrastructure and opportunities (DoH, 2006).

2.5. The Scale of informal settlements in South Africa

Eight South African provinces, excluding the Free State, were reported to be characterized by informal settlements, with appalling living conditions (Sapa, 2003). In 2003 it was stated that approximately five million South Africans are residing in 1066 informal settlements country wide (Sapa, 2003). A scoping of informal settlements in eight provinces revealed that the highest concentration was in Gauteng Province whereas the Northern Cape Province was the lowest of all the provinces (ibid.). (See table 1 below).

[6] The Financial Sector Charter is an agreement signed by the government and financial institutions targeting and ensuring that ordinary South African citizens access housing finance (Dlamini, 2006).

Name of Province	No of Informal settlements	No of Family Units
Gauteng	181	448 393
Eastern Cape	179	136 567
Kwa-Zulu Natal	162	147 081
Western Cape	119	142 706
North-West	121	155 501
Mpumalanga	90	92 877
Limpopo	57	56 930
Northern Cape	31	20 438

Table. 1: Distribution of Informal Settlements across South Africa (Source: *Sapa, 2003).*

Nonetheless, the development of informal settlements could be attributed, *inter alia*, to factors such as 'rapid urbanization' as people flock from the rural areas to the cities in search of employment (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003). Persistent unemployment and lack of development in various rural areas of South Africa is a key reason pushing people to urban areas in search of employment opportunities and resources (Smit, 2006). Thus there is a relationship between 'urban migration', poverty in the rural areas and the development of informal settlements in South African cities (Huchzermeyer, 2002; and UN-Habitat, 2003). Existing evidence confirms that, informal settlements for instance in Southern Johannesburg such as , "Dlamini" 'squatter' camp, "Eikenhof", Mshenkoville, Orange Farm, and "Thembelihle", resulted from 'urban influx' (CoJ, 2005:131; and Habitat Planning Field Trip, 2006). The same goes for EMM, as recent studies shows urban influx to be the source of informal settlements in the area (Sacities, 2006).This is a central challenge to planners, urban municipalities, informal dwellers themselves and the society as a whole (Ambert, 2006; Hague, 2006; and Smit, 2006). Given the magnitude of these settlements and chronic urbanization one could ask the question, is it possible to eradicate informal settlements in all South African provinces and cities by the year 2014?

2.6. The Scale of informal settlements in EMM

This study focuses on EMM; therefore some of the background to the metropolitan area will provide the context for the overall study. At the macro level, EMM has a population size estimated at 2.38 million, with an annual population growth of about 17 000 family units (DoH, 2004). The metropolitan has a large number of people in the Southern Region, and this region is the home of old townships such as Katlegong, Voslorus and Thokoza (ibid). However there are concentrations in other parts of the EMM such in the townships of Kwa-Thema, Tsakane and Duduza on the Southwest region. Moreover other low-income

townships such as Daveyton and Etwatwa occupy the eastern periphery of the city, whereas Tembisa occupies the Northern Region of EMM (DoH, 2004). A common feature shared by all the above-mentioned townships is that they are all in the periphery of the city, therefore the legacy of apartheid spatial panning is clearly evident in these cases (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003). (See figure 3 below).

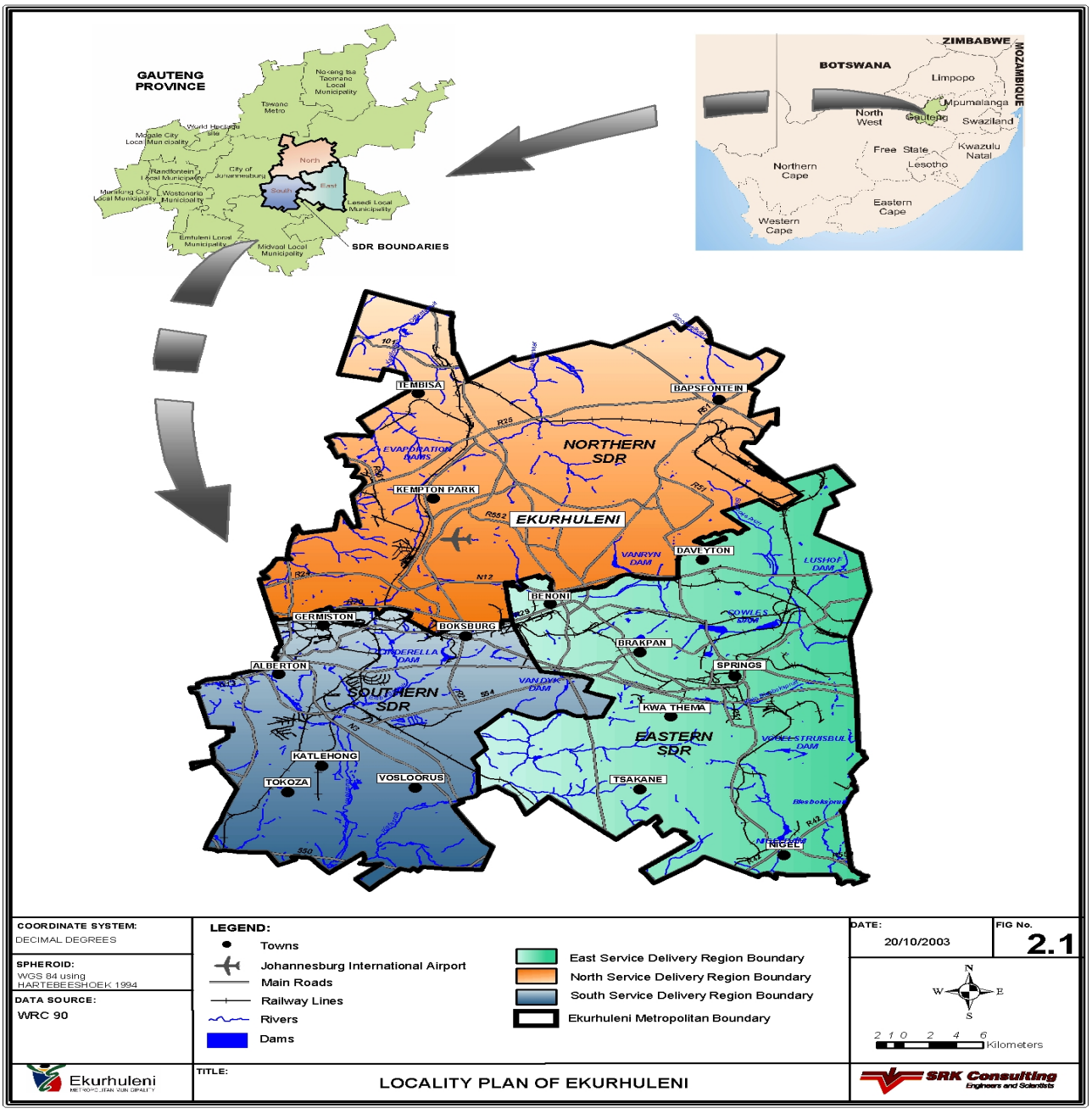


Figure 3. Source: http://www.environment.gov.za

Likewise the informal settlements are located within and around these townships. However at present there are new concentrations of informal settlements, which are relatively 'well-located' in the mining regions, near the corporate hubs such as Germiston (i.e. Dukathole, Good Hope, and Peroville informal settlements), Boksburg and Benoni (i.e. Reiger Park 5, Road Reserve, and Tokyo Sexwale) (DoH, 2004; and Gauteng Provincial Government, 2005).(see figure one). Thus as result of this EMM has seen the exodus of big companies in their geographic areas such as BMW, as the company lamented the plethora of informal settlements in their proximity (DoH, 2004). This indeed epitomizes another form of NIMBYism steered by corporate sectors as opposed to affluent private owners. Therefore it constitutes a further type of a restriction to urban integration. At present the EMM has more than 112 informal settlements, the "largest number in Gauteng" Province (O' Reilly, 2006).

2.7. Response of EMM to informal settlements

The EMM has a comprehensive programme which provides basic services to all informal settlements in their area irrespective of their status (DoH, 2004). The EMM holds that the provision of basic services must precede other mechanisms such as relocation and upgrading (ibid). According to the Director for Policy and Planning in the EMM, Koetzee Alida as cited in (DoH, 2004) all informal settlements in the area have access to water through standpipes, and in others sanitation is still to follow. Moreover in the case where the informal settlements possess the features for upgrading through *in situ*, EMM provides such settlements with permanent water systems (ibid). For those, however, who cannot be upgraded *in situ* the water provision achieved is through tanker services (ibid).

On the other hand, EMM has an emergency housing programme which relocates informal settlements, which are occupying unhabitable land (i.e. high risk dolomite and hazardous land) to Greenfield areas (DoH, 2004). Moreover the EMM also has an Essential Service Programme which intends to upgrade all informal settlements through the provision of service and sites (ibid). To achieve this EMM has planned to buy land from the private owners in the area. According to EMM the costs for this land and basic services will be primarily acquired from the state subsidies. Also People's Housing Process (PHP) is another mechanism used in this area to build houses for the poor. Thus in the year 2004 there was a total of ten PHP's running in EMM (DoH, 2004). Nonetheless, the central challenges to the integration of informal

settlements within the EMM remain such as a lack of land and 'well-located land', higher levels of urbanization, and geotechnical factors (www.ekurhuleni.com, 2006).

Despite that, EMM have made some achievement in relation to housing delivery and upgrading of some informal settlements in the area (EMM, 2006/10). Between 2000 and 2004, 19240 serviced stands were established (ibid.). Moreover between 2004 and 2005, 56923 serviced stands were also developed (ibid.). On the other hand, the supply of drinking water was extended to informal settlements in EMM such as Thintwa, Holomisa, Bluegumview, Nener-Never, Emlotheni, Home Seekers, Umthambeka, Khayelitsha, Vusimuzi, Overflow, Winnie Mandela, Margaret Zuma, Madelakufa, and Tswelopele 8 (EMM, 2006/10:31).

2.8. Land issues and ownership in EMM

The EMM occupies a geographic area of 192 000 hectares in size. The land which is not occupied is reported to be about 30 700 hectares (EMM, 2006). Thus out of this unoccupied land, the government own 6000 hectares of land, whereas the private sector owns 11 000 hectares (EMM, 2006). Nonetheless the central challenge is that of the available land about 13 000 hectares is reported to be uninhabitable due to various environmental factors (ibid.). Moreover another challenge is that about 58 000 hectares of land in EMM fall outside the urban boundary (ibid.). Nevertheless the required land for human settlement in EMM is 4000 hectares (EMM, 2006). In my view the analysis on land issues is crucial to this study as it has implications for the capacity of EMM to integrate informal settlements or keep the *status quo* (fragmentation) (Todes, 2000).

Recently it was reported that the informal settlements in EMM have occupied land which belongs to the following parties, namely; EMM, Gauteng Province, Witwatersrand Gold Mining, Simmer and Jack Investments, Plesberg Investments, Private individuals and other Industries (Van Zyl, 2002). This in essence shows that the shortage of land in the urban areas has affected all sectors in the EMM area, as informal settlements invaded both government and private land in search of shelter. Indeed land invasion in the urban areas signal a need for land and shelter by the poor (Huchzermeyer, 2003). Nonetheless this growth in informal settlement illustrates that the government cannot afford to provide all those in need with formal houses in urban areas (Dewar, 2002). To the informal dwellers, this type of housing represents an

only option of housing in the urban area, and the “cheapest entry point into the housing market” (Dewar, 2002).

2.9. The repositioning of the city as “World Class”

The EMM as part of the Gauteng Province supports the vision of turning the province into a global city region (EMM, 2006). According to Todes (2000) and Fainstein (2006) the concern of the metropolitan with the concept of the ‘World Class City’ has ramifications for the concept of integration of informal settlements as ‘squatters’ and all forms of informality are often driven out of the city. In essence the obsession with the concept of world class city has diffused the project of urban integration as apartheid spatial development continues in contemporary South Africa (Todes, 2000). The research on ‘World Class Cities’ shows the higher level of fragmentation and inequality in such cities (Fainstein, 2006). Therefore South African cities has to be wary of the concept ‘World Class City’ as it might stall various policies geared towards urban integration and urban restructuring, thus creating an inequitable city space (Todes, 2000; and Fainstein, 2006). In short, it is very important that the policy makers understand and tolerates “local work cultures”, that is there are different economic groups (i.e. formal and informal) that constitute the ‘World City’ structure (Sassen, 1994:211; and Fainstein, 2006).

2.10. Debates around relocation of informal settlements

The concept of relocation evokes the recent and hackneyed debate between the authors who are against the removal of centrally located human settlements and those who are supporting their removal to the periphery of the city. Amongst other authors, ACHR (2004), and Huchzermeyer (2006) argues that centrally located settlements should be given *in situ* upgrading as opposed to relocation. Thus relocation should be considered the last option, and when conducted the settlements should be resettled in the proximity of the city (ACHR, 2004). The foregoing analysis is central to the integration of the informal settlements in the developing worlds and South Africa, but it has the limitations because its realization is dependent on the availability of land in the proximity of the city and original settlement (Royston, 2003; Pieterse, 2004; and Moloi, 2007). Moreover some settlements are ‘densified’ or congested in way that in *situ* upgrading is not possible, as in the case of Dukathole informal settlement (CoJ, 2005). Therefore this often forces authorities to resort to relocation (which pushes communities to the edge of the city) as an alternative, thus

raising great challenges to the project of integration (CoJ, 2005).This in essence evokes the concept of 'peripheralisation' of the informal settlements as communities are moved out of the centrally located areas (Bremner, 2000).Tomlinson (1997, in Harrison, 2002) argues that South Africa's preoccupation with the concepts of integration and compaction will not help the country, thus the housing policy should be concerned about improving the conditions of living for the low-income groups within their current context of urban fragmentation. The reality is that most poor people or low-income groups are moving out of the city to the periphery despite the compacted, densified and integrated city ideologies because they cannot afford the high costs associated with living in the city (Tomlinson, 1997, in Harrison, 2002).

In my view the above implies that the existing settlements at the periphery of the city and their proposed relocation to the periphery of the city is not a serious problem, but the real issue is to improve them at the urban fringe rather than bringing them close to the city (Tomlinson, 1997, in Harrison, 2002). Moreover the foregoing statement by Tomlinson (1997, in Harrison, 2002) implies that by virtue of their low-income, poor people are forced to stay in the periphery of the city where they can afford and practice various survival strategies. Correspondingly, Schoonraad (2000) argues relocations to the periphery or staying in the periphery have no serious ramifications to the resettled communities, but instead give such communities advantages necessary for their livelihoods. This is due to the fact that the settlements that are located at the edge of the city are often characterized by large sites that give the families the variety of livelihood strategies, *'inter alia'* "urban agriculture, sub-letting, and that assist households in maintaining extended social networks" (Schoonraad, 2000, in Harrison, 2002:7).

The foregoing analysis has brought important insights to the discourse of urban integration in South Africa and developing countries faced with housing challenges and urbanization, more importantly it has direct implications to this research topic. Nonetheless whether what the forgoing argument is valid to the research community (Dukathole informal settlements residents) that is yet to be seen once the findings are analyzed and presented. Likewise the findings of the study will tell whether relocation and *in situ* approaches as proposed by their proponents are relevant to Dukathole informal settlement.

2.10.1. The relocation lessons

The relocation of centrally located informal settlements could have detrimental impact on the residents, for instance deepens poverty more especially when the process was not done in consultation with the inhabitants (ACHR, 2004). This due to the fact that relocation often removes people with low-income and precarious employment from 'well-located' areas, where they are able to devise various survival strategies to fringe areas (ACHR, 2004). This on its own perpetuates the poverty and susceptibility of such people, as access to the city resources and opportunity is thwarted by relocation (ACHR, 2004).

When choosing the location for resettlement local authority should allow residents to choose the site they deem close to the city, as this will allow communities leave the 'original' lifestyle of communities intact. Nonetheless existing evidence shows that authorities do not give self-determination to communities in this regard, thus relocating communities to remote areas. Consequently this interrupts with the family and settlement networks, thus exacerbating their vulnerability and poverty (ACHR, 2004). In short, relocation can only strengthen community ties when residents have been part of the process of choosing the location, but when people are not consulted that can destroy community networks (ACHR, 2004).

On the other hand relocations to remote areas can be very costly, as the local authority will have to provide a range of infrastructure to such communities (ACHR, 2004). Therefore it is important settlements are relocated in the proximity of the first settlement or close to the city (ACHR, 2004). Nevertheless other commentators argue that relocation should be the avoided or be the last option preceded by alternatives such as *in-situ* upgrading (ACHR, 2004; and Ambert, 2006). However where relocation is inevitable residents should be resettled to 'well-located' sites "so that continuous access to employment, markets, utilities and social services can be ensured" (ACHR, 2004:12). Ideally it would be important to relocate the whole community rather than a portion of the settlement, as would ensure that social ties are not broken (Nabutola, 2004).

2.11. Main theoretical frameworks of the study

The study is guided primarily by the following theoretical frameworks, namely; 'Planning from the borderlands', the Just City Approach, Collaborative or Communicative Planning, Theories of Power, New Public Management, and Globalization theories. These theories and approaches have been chosen specifically because they are championing the notion of a just city in their own unique way. Therefore have important relevance to this study on urban integration. A detailed analysis of these frameworks will be conducted under the following sub-headings.

2.12. Conceptualizing the Just City: A theoretical review

2.12.1. The Just City Approach

According to the Just City Approach a Just City is one which promotes increased wealth and equitable sharing of that wealth by all citizens irrespective of social distinctions (Fainstein, 2000). It is apparent that the approach is materialistic, as it views equal sharing of wealth as the source of a Just City (ibid.). Understanding the Just City Approach is relevant to the research topic as it would guide the analysis, for instance on the economic integration of Dukathole informal settlement into the EMM. Many pieces of contemporary South African legislations and policy are talking about the importance of participatory governance (Constitution of South Africa, 1996; White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management of 2001; and MSA, 2000). At the local sphere, the MSA (2000) made it an obligation that the municipalities in South Africa ensure that all citizens within the city take part in the matters affecting the city. The introduction of community forums serves as a key vehicle ensuring the participation of all local people (MSA, 2000; Dlamini and Moodley, 2002; and Mohamed, 2006). In essence contemporary participatory processes at the city level are trying to actualize local democracy by transforming power relations to bring the previously excluded into decision-making process (Fainstein, 2000). Furthermore the Just City Approach holds that it is not just about participation, because participation can lead to unjust city, for instance through various vested interests by the powerful social groups who might influence the city plan at the expense of the poor (ibid.). It very important as a planner to ask who benefits in these participatory processes and whose voice is heard in these participatory processes? (ibid.).

2.12.2. *Planning from the borderlands*

'Planning from the borderlands' is a progressive theory emphasizing the importance of listening to the voices of the poor within the city (Sandercock, 1998). It is proposed by this theory that an understanding of the concerns of the marginalized and vulnerable groups within the city will create a just city, which view all who resides within it as citizens with rights (ibid.). Normative theories and approaches to planning undermines planning from the borderlands as they emphasizes top-down or master planning, thus excluding important citizens (i.e. poor people, vulnerable, and women) from the 'borderland' (i.e. edge of the city) (Sandercock, 1998; and Watson, 2002). A Just City will only be achieved once the voice of the poor have penetrated the planning or policy making table and influence the day to day governing of the city (Chambers, 1995; and Sandercock, 1998). In the context of this study, planning from the borderlands will play a pivotal role of bringing to the front the concerns of Dukathole residents onto the planning table within the EMM, thus marking the beginning of a Just City shared by all (Sandercock, 1998). In simple terms, planning from the borderlands promotes a bottom-up approach to city governance, thus defying and superseding the modernist tradition with the post-modern one (Harrison, 1995; and Sandercock, 1998). It gives the subaltern (i.e. marginalised and excluded) groups an opportunity to influence the formal decision-making processes with the city (Harrison, 2006).

2.12.3. Collaborative or Communicative Planning

A further approach that comes under the broader understanding of the Just City is communicative rationality or planning, which is driven by the desire to achieve consensus amongst different groups within the city (Healey, 1992). Consensus could be achieved through public discussions within and between communities (ibid.). Planning is not only concerned with initiations of programmes of action, but the construction of forums within which public deliberations can take place (ibid.). In essence Communicative rationality illustrates that public deliberations precedes and informs planning (ibid.). Therefore planning could be said to be a collaborative process reflecting the mutual understanding derived within the public forums (Fainstein, 2000). The role of the planner is to facilitate and ensure that power and sectional interests are eliminated in the process so that mutual consensus could be achieved (Stein and Harper, 2003). Trustworthiness and loyalty to social justice are the key features possessed by planners under the rubric of communicative planning (ibid.). It is clear that communicative rationality view public forums,

trustworthiness and loyalty to social justice on the side of the planner as pivotal keys to a just city (Healey, 1992; and Stein and Harper, 2003). The approach is relevant to South African context as it realizes the importance of engaging various stakeholders in the city governance (MSA, 2000). It therefore expected that all those who resides in the city including informal settlers will be equitably include in the formal participatory process as required by the MSA and Communicative or Collaborative planning (Healey, 1992; and MSA, 2000). Communicative rationality has the capacity to foster the integration of the marginalized groups and informal dwellers as it ensures that there are inclusive public arenas for discussion (Healey, 1992). Nonetheless whether the principles of Communicative Planning are extended to Dukathole informal settlement within the EMM, this is still to be tested in subsequent chapters.

2.12.4. Theories of Power

An examination of justice and the just city would not be complete without a brief explanation of the function of "power" within the city. According to the 'Foucauldians'[7] tradition, planning is shaped by its political and economic context (Sager, 2005). The political and economic interests define what rationality is, meaning what planning should do and not (ibid.). Planners should be aware of the existence of power or sectional interests within communicative processes (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002). When analyzing any planning practice it is important that becomes suspicious of power (ibid.). Planners who fail to acknowledge the existence of power within participatory processes they are obscuring social justice, thus colluding in the production of unjust city space (Sager, 2005). In the context of globalization where inequality and social fragmentation is high, planners will surely find themselves passive and implementing the interests of the elite groups at the expense of the urban poor (Fainstein, 2000; and Sager, 2005). Although the Foucauldians have the potential of paralyzing planning as they equate planning to instrument of state and neo-liberalism, the theory has relevance to creation of a Just City as it warn planners to be aware of power within the city (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002; and Stein and Harper, 2003). It is very important for planners in EMM and South Africa to influence the key decision-making processes in the interest of the marginalized groups within the city (Stein and Harper, 2003). In other ways the planners have to advocate for social justice, the source of a Just City (Fainstein, 2000; and Stein and Harper, 2003). The argument by theories of power is important to the notion of urban integration, as it would highlight who benefits and

[7] 'Foucauldians' holds that by ignoring the concept of power, communicative or collaborative planners will find themselves promoting the interests of the powerful group in the city at the expense of the poor.

influence decisions within the broader city citizenry and institutions within the EMM (Fainstein, 2000; and Sager, 2005).

2.12.5. New Public Management

The advent of New Public Management (NPM) in South African municipalities have marked a watershed in the local governance, for instance the need to achieve efficiency is emphasized (Harrison, 2002). The performance of the city is increasingly assessed in terms of costs or 'sound' budgetary management (ibid.). It is my view that NPM has strong and weak points, but the latter seem to surpass the former. Indeed NPM might contribute to the creation of a sustainable and equitable city, for instance by ensuring that physical developments are compacted (Lynch, 1981; Jenks, Burton and Williams, 1996; Day, 2003; Parker; 2004 and Smartgrowth, 2007). Compacted or mixed developments will ensure that urban sprawl is curbed and people access various uses within a distance walk (Burton, 2000). Consequently the environmental protection would also be ensured, and the city would have saved the financial costs associated with the provision of infrastructure to scattered developments (ibid.). If NPM, municipalities and government policies and legislations were consistent in their approach to creating a 'well' integrated city through compaction, centrally located informal settlements including Dukathole were not going to be threatened with relocations to distant areas (Huchzermeyer, 2003).

Nonetheless an efficient or compacted city will not cater for the urban poor and low income groups, for instance these people tend to move out of compact development into the informal settlements due unaffordable rates (Tomlinson, 1997, in Harrison, 2002; Day, 2003; and Harrison, 2006). The point I am trying to drive is that an equitable or just city cannot be defined only in terms efficiency (i.e. budgets or cost), but also in relation to social justice (Mintzberg, 1996; Hemson, 1998; Burton, 2000; Bealle, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; Harrison, 2002; MacDonald and Smith, 2002; McDonald and Pape, 2002; Smith and Vawda, 2003; and Mohamed, 2006).

NPM is expert or top-down driven intending to meet the local development targets within a specific time-frame (Mohamed, 2006). Moreover NPM is not process friendly (i.e. participatory forums), as process is often associated with financial and time costs (Abbot, 1994; Harrison, 2002; and Mohamed, 2006). In essence NPM contradicts social justice as it places much value on efficiency (Harrison, 2002; and

Mohamed, 2006). The challenge of NPM or municipalities is to strike a balance between efficiency and social justice, the task that is difficult to achieve because often the former got the upper hand (ibid.). Consequently the legislative frameworks, policies and programmes set to promote community participation at the city level become meaningless (Dlamini and Moodley, 2002; and Mohamed, 2006). The question of citizenship and local democracy is raised, as efficiency dictates which issues are open for public (open for all citizens) and private debates (reserved for city council officials) (Hemson, 1998). Local residents including informal dwellers are slowly becoming clients and customers of the municipalities as the NPM gain much sway on city governance (Mintzberg, 1996; Hemson, 1998; Bealle, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; MacDonald and Smith, 2002; McDonald and Pape, 2002; and Smith and Vawda, 2003). Therefore the just city is a fallacy under the arm of the NPM, as it revives the old orthodoxy by excluding the previously marginalized groups in the participatory process (Harrison, 2002; and Goss and van Huysteen, 2005).

In other contexts such as City of Johannesburg it has been documented that informal dwellers are not part of the City's formal participatory processes, as often the views of formal residents are taken to reflect that of informal settlers (Mohamed, 2006). Only public meetings are used to connect the informal dwellers with the city (ibid.). Public meetings will never serve as appropriate means to provide political integration to informal dwellers, for instance they do not allow a 'just' engagement with real issues affecting residents (ibid.). Nonetheless subsequent chapters will assess whether there are formal participatory processes and programmes within Dukathole informal settlement, keys to political integration and just city (Alemane, 2006). Moreover whether NPM have influence on the efficacy and nature of participation and participatory processes within the settlement (Moser, 1989).

2.12.6. Globalization and the Just City

The proponents of globalization hold that, the phenomenon has the potential of creating a just and integrated city space (Booher and Innes, 2002). With the existence of the plethora of civil society power is now plural (ibid.). Network power and globalization of ideas have influenced local thinking and city governance, thus giving way to participatory democracy (Booher and Innes, 2002; and Harrison, 2002). In short, the essence of the foregoing analysis is that globalization has the potential of creating inclusive city (Booher and Innes, 2002). Nonetheless the existence of civil society appears to be the main vehicle to an inclusive city according to Booher and Innes (2002). Not every society and informal settlement has civil

movements to advocate an inclusive city on behalf of the marginalized and poor (Watson, 2002). Given the fragmented nature of civil society in South Africa, the stance held by the proponents of globalization might fall short (ibid.). In essence globalization is a 'meta-narrative' or an all-encompassing phenomenon and has the potential for urban fragmentation (Harrison, 2003). It specifically propels the spatial, social and institutional fragmentation of the urban fabric (ibid.). Although globalization is concerned with the compaction of time and space, this is not related to the local or domestic level as there is an increased fragmentation (Sassen, 1994; and Harrison, 2003). In contrast there is an intensified connectivity at the global level (ibid.). At the city or local level social fragmentation is manifested, amongst others, in the increasing movement of people across the globe such as immigrants, urban-rural migrants and tourists (Watson, 1996; Harrison, 2003). The 'new spatial vocabulary' such as the 'dual city', 'world city', 'post metropolis' and 'new production space' marked the impact of globalization on the geographic local space (Sassen, 1994; and Harrison, 2003). In short, spatial fragmentation is reflected in the 'rise of a New Geography' whereby the global elite are concentrated in protected suburbs and malls, and gated communities (ibid.). Conversely the global underclass lives in tenements, decaying inner city, neighbourhoods and, in informal settlements (ibid.).

Institutional fragmentation is also manifested in the diffusion of power from the traditional centres of authority into multiple points of influence such as corporate power (Harrison, 2003). Also the reduction in traditional role of the state in favour of neo-liberalism and privatization epitomized the global restructuring of power and influence (ibid.). Fragmentation has serious implications to the project of urban integration, for instance it does not promotes integration from within (i.e. the city) but fosters integration between cities (Sassen, 1991; and Harrison, 2003). Globalization does not ensure that power to influence is diffused to all citizens within the city including informal dwellers, however it ensure that to corporate sector (Sassen, 1991). The decline in full-time employment as a result of globalization has also created a large pool of urban unemployed and new precarious forms of employment such as part-time, subcontracting (Standing, 1997; and Theron, 2004). In essence fragmentation is equal to detachment, the source of unjust city, because those who are retrenched or unemployed cannot access, for instance housing offered by the formal market (Dewar, 2002).

Despite that Harrison (2003) argues that fragmentation could also be interpreted as diversity contributing to the richness and complexity of life. It is not clear as to how the mentioned forms of fragmentation (i.e.

spatial, institutional and social) have enriched the life of informal dwellers, because what resulted is that globalization has created myriad socio-economic hardships on the urban poor (Standing, 1997; Theron, 2004; and Sager, 2005). Furthermore informal dwellers are struggling for recognition and inclusion within the city space (Huchzermeyer, 2006). The richness and diversity of fragmentation could only be acknowledged once the policy documents have accepted that informality is exacerbated by globalization and is here to stay (Chen, 2005; and Huchzermeyer, 2005).

2.13. *Voices from the borderlands*

The city belongs to all the people who are residing in it, according to the Just City approach (Fainstein, 2000). Therefore it is very important that all the citizens are collaboratively involved in the formal process which governs the city (Healey, 1992). When trying to actualize the co-governing of the city, the South African government put in place legislative measures including the Municipal Systems Act of No 32 of 2000 (MSA, 2000). Section 16 (a) stipulates the importance of community participation or participatory governance in matters of the local government (ibid.). Furthermore Section 17 (1)–(3) delineates the mechanisms, processes and procedures for community participation (ibid.). The legislative process clearly illustrates the intention of creating an equitable city by ensuring that people at the grass-roots level are able to voice their concerns and influence important processes governing the city (MSA, 2000; and Mohamed, 2006). But the central challenge is, to what extent are the informal dwellers part of the legislative participatory processes at the local level?

Recent research shows that the formal participatory processes are not extended to the informal dwellers in some municipalities in South Africa (Dlamini and Moodley, 2002; and Mohamed, 2006). This connotes that informal dwellers are not politically integrated with the city (Alemane, 2006). Nonetheless it is still to be discovered in this study if the EMM is actualizing the participatory governance in Dukathole and other informal settlement in the area as a legal requirement (MSA, 2000). It is the argument of this study that municipalities serve as a central path connecting ordinary citizens with the provincial and national governments (Hemson, 1998; and Smith and Vawda, 2003). If municipalities do not provide that crucial link, the needs of residents will not be known and heard by other spheres of the government, therefore resulting into an unjust city (Hemson, 1998). It is very important that the local sphere includes all residents in the city including the marginalised, vulnerable and informal dwellers in these participatory processes as citizens of

the city (Sandercock, 1998). This will ensure that the previously muted voices are heard and infiltrate into the city planning and decision-making processes (ibid.). Preserving the task of planning and decision-making solely to the elite group will not understand the realities of the informal dwellers, as this is often based on the top-down or expert-client approach (Chambers, 1995). The disjuncture in policy confirms this, for instance government tend to relocate informal settlers from 'well-located' areas into the periphery of the city, and view formal rental accommodation as the key to 'eradication' of informal settlements (Bremner, 2000; and HSA, 2006). These imposed or expert driven initiatives seem to work against the interest of the urban poor (Chambers, 1995; and Sandercock, 1998). Simply this confirms the policy disjuncture, I have mentioned above, the result of lack of consultation with those who are living in the informal settlements (ibid.). Nonetheless, the study will establish whether the foregoing statement is true or not in the case of Dukathole informal settlement.

To avoid the above-mentioned fate, this study has deviated from the normal route based on normative theories and engaged on a fact finding mission to capture and bring to the fore the perceptions of residents regarding urban integration in the EMM. It is believed that future policy making processes will follow this approach so that a just city guided by genuine principles of collaborative planning and network power could be achieved (Healey, 1992; Sandercock, 1998; Fainstein, 2000; and Booher and Innes, 2002).

2.14. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has analyzed and illustrated various challenges faced by the people living in the informal settlements. More importantly it has revealed that many of these challenges are due to the fact that informal settlements fall out-side the formal processes of the city, which have implications for the residents sense of belonging or citizenship. More interestingly, this chapter has revealed the conflict of ideas between the commentators who favour *in situ* upgrading of the centrally located settlements and those who support the improvement of informal settlements within their context of urban sprawl or at the periphery of the city. Again what is missing is the comment of the informal settlement residents whom can provide his/her perception regarding the afore-mention conflict of ideas. Perhaps research which is driven by a desire to bring the perception of the residents regarding urban integration will bring to the surface important experiences and desires of those living in the borderlands (Sandercock, 1998). Therefore these perceptions could serve a crucial role of guiding a responsive housing policy geared towards the creation of

an equitable city. In short the mentioned challenges and obstacles to urban integration reaffirms that the central components of integration being the political, environmental, social, physical, and economic are far from being satisfied or met, thus creating an unjust city to those living in the informal settlements.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The following chapter will present the research design and methodology employed in this study. The study employed the qualitative research approach; this approach played a central role in generating qualitative data as opposed to the quantitative data. On the other hand the sampling procedures, ethical considerations, data collection and analysis process, and the limitations of the study will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

3.2. Research Methodology

The researcher acquired sanction[8] from the Ward Councilor, Mr. Alex Nxakambana of the Dukathole informal settlement and Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality to conduct this study (Appendix A). After gaining approval, the researcher started with the interviews in the area of study (Dukathole informal settlement).The researcher has personally administered the research questionnaires (open-ended and semi-structured) to the residents of Dukathole informal settlement through home visits. (Please see Appendix B, for a research questionnaire).This has assisted in the provision of a 'thick description' of selected residents' perception, therefore answering the research aims. On other hand, at the macro (National and Provincial) level a review of the housing and planning policies and their intention to urban integration was conducted. Likewise at the micro (Municipality) level a review of what Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality has said in its Integrated Development Plan and Spatial Development Framework in relation to urban integration was considered. Finally, other materials such as media articles were used as part of methodology to validate and expand the study.

[8] Arrangements regarding the sanction to conduct the study in Dukathole informal settlements were made with the Ward Councilor of this area. A formal approval to conduct the study was granted at EMM Civic Centre on the 15 June 2007, please Appendix A for the sanction letter.

3.3. Research Design

The study used a qualitative research approach, as it was appropriate to this study because it ensured that residents' perceptions of urban integration were captured. For this reason the study qualified to be categorized as an exploratory or interpretive research seeking subjective perceptions of the insiders/residents (Neuman, 2000). In the process of the study in-depth interviews on a one-to-one basis were used as an instrument to collect the interviewees' perceptions of urban integration. Furthermore open-ended and semi-structured questions were asked, which allowed an open discussion between the researcher and the research participant. The interviews were recorded through note-taking with the full consent of the participants and assurance of confidentiality. The venues for the interviews were negotiated beforehand with emphasis on the interviewees' convenience (Greenstein, Roberts and Sitas, 2003). Each interview session took between 45 minutes to 1hour.

3.4. Sampling Procedures

The sample size or units of investigation was comprised of twelve participants. The sample was balanced in terms of gender that is six men and six women over the age of twenty one. The study employed systemic sampling to access and select research participants from the broader community. Systemic sampling implies the "selection of every kilo tenth member from the population or sampling frame" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:203). In the case of this study and Dukathole informal settlement every tenth shack was included in the sample. In short, this sampling procedure allowed each, member of the community a fair chance of being part of the study as the selection was randomly administered. Nonetheless, as the study was looking only for twelve research participants it was impossible to include every member of the community into the study. Therefore by this virtue this constituted the limitation of the study in this regard the findings will not be generalized to this community and others beyond it. But the findings of the study will play a central role in providing the base for future research in this area or field of study (i.e. urban integration).

3.5. Data Collection Process

The researcher administered the research instruments personally to the residents of Dukathole community. Personally administered research instrument ensured that interviewees answer the questions individually. Thus the presence of the researcher can enhance the reliability and validity of the findings, as the researcher would have ensured that the respondents answer the questions without others' assistance (Greenstein, Roberts and Sitas, 2003). Moreover, the importance of a self-administered research tool played a pivotal role in the field, for instance when the researcher was dealing respondents with low levels of literacy. It was easy to clarify ambiguous issues, and probe the responses (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:203).The whole data gathering process took eight days to accomplish. In short, interviews were conducted over the weekends when ideally 'everybody' (i.e. including those who are working) are at home. The rationale behind this was to reduce the bias, because by conducting the study during the week might exclude other people. Nonetheless in a real world is not possible to reach every person at home.

3.6. Data Analysis

Thematic coding was used when analyzing data. This means the raw data was categorized into themes. The use of themes has played a central role in this process as it has allowed for the incorporation or integration of the relevant theories, approaches and experiences from other contexts in relation to this research topic. The importance of the above was evidenced in the analysis of the findings more specifically in chapter four titled presentation of the findings. Moreover the conclusions and recommendations were drawn from the analyzed data.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

The following ethical considerations were upheld in the process of the study;

- There was no harm of any form to the research participants.
- Research participants were not forced to participate. Therefore informed consent was sought before an interview could commence.

- Research participants were not deceived, for instance that the study was going to change their current living conditions. Moreover the researcher offered no payment or reward to the research participants.
- The researcher ensured confidentiality and anonymity of data, and this was explained to the potential research participants. The above was also guaranteed by making sure that information acquired during the interviews is not disclosed to the third person excluding my supervisor.
- It was explained to the potential research participants that their right to withdraw from the study anytime during the interview is guaranteed.
- Immediately after the analysis and report writing stages the research questionnaires were destroyed.

(Please see a copy of the information leaflet and consent form in Appendix C).

3.8. Limitations

The following are the limitations of the study;

- The research sample is indicative, thus the findings of the study cannot be generalized to other contexts and the researched community itself. However, the findings might serve as a base for future research in the broad area of housing.
- The research findings might somewhat reflect the values and beliefs of the researcher's background. Thus the 'myth' of the researcher detachment might be questioned, although care was taken to avoid such an issue.
- Language and literacy problems might impact on the quality of the study findings, as some respondents might not comprehend some technical concepts used in the field of housing which might not have equal meaning with that of their indigenous language.
- Equally, the translation of concepts from English to the participant's language might distort the research findings; once again care was taken to clarify concepts so that distortions were as limited as possible.
- Due to time constraints the researcher, does not claim to have to covered all the literature written on urban integration, but does feel that there is a fair reflection of the field.

3.9. Summary of the Chapter

The chapter has presented the methodological process and procedures employed in this study. The study employed a qualitative research approach using semi-structured interviews, as this was relevant and necessary to capture subjective perceptions of residents regarding urban integration in their settlement and EMM. The data collection process was administered by the researcher personally, and amongst others this has enhanced the reliability of data. Furthermore relevant ethical considerations to this study were upheld through out the research process. Finally the limitations of the study were acknowledged in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

The findings of the study will be presented in detail in this chapter. The presentation will begin by highlighting the demographic profile of the research participants. The participants' demographic information is central to the study as they will be linked to the residents' perception of integration in EMM, for instance differences between men and women in relation to integration. More importantly, the quotations in this chapter were representative of the twelve respondents. The most recurring or common responses were noted and collated in form of themes.

4.2. Participants' Demographic Information

4.2.1. Age and Race

Under these themes (age and race) all the research participants reported that they are the Black Africans. The finding in this regard shows that Dukathole informal settlement is comprised mostly of African people. In terms of age, six of the research respondents fell between the ages of 26 and 30, and followed by those between 21 and 25 (i.e. 4). Only few (i.e. 2) people reported to fall between the ages 31 to 40 and 41 and above. In short, the main findings (i.e. 26 and 30 years of age) show that Dukathole informal settlement is mostly occupied by young people. Correspondingly, the recent survey conducted by EMM shows that the informal settlements in the area are occupied by young peoples (EMM, 2006). The above findings could be attributed to a variety of factors, for instance, Stevens and Rule (1998) argue that the need for employment and opportunities in the city and independence from the family pushes out the younger generation.

4.2.2. Marital Status

Regarding the marital status most (i.e.8) of the respondents reported that they are not married. The residents' marital status is very crucial to this study, because it is one of the key criterions used to determine whether people are eligible to subsidised housing in South Africa or not (DoH, 2000). There are six main criteria[9] used to determine the person's eligibility for the housing subsidy (ibid.). Nonetheless residents who are not married but co-habiting might have access to subsidised housing (DoH, 2000; and Smit, 2006). Based on the above analysis and findings it could be concluded that the inhabitants of Dukathole squatter camp who do not meet this criterion might not qualify for subsidised housing (Smit, 2006). Consequently this serves as a pivotal stumbling block for their formal integration with EMM (ibid.). Nonetheless, it is questionable whether the dissolution of the existing criteria will be a sustainable alternative amid rapid urbanization. Allowing everyone who has a shack to access subsidised housing will put a huge strain on 'meager' government resources (i.e. land, and finance) in my view.

4.2.3. Household Composition

The above heading will deal simultaneously with the questions, number of dependants and people in the household respectively. Thus under this category most (i.e.7) of the respondents mentioned that they have three dependants comprised of those who share a shack with them and not. Regarding the total number of people in the shelter, most (i.e.8) respondents mentioned that their households are comprised of three people including the owner or breadwinner of the household. Some (i.e. 3) respondents mentioned that they have extended their shacks to accommodate other members of their family. Nonetheless, there is a potential for overcrowding for the respondents who mentioned that they share a shack with other dependants or family members. In fact overcrowding in the shacks has been reported as the main factor compromising the well-being of the residents (UN-Habitat, 2003; Ambert, 2006; Smit, 2006; and Thomas, 2006). People have a need for a healthy living environment (Alemane, 2006).

[9] "Married or Financial Dependents: he or she is married (in terms of the Civil Law or in terms of a Customary Union) or habitually cohabits with any other person, or he or she has proven financial dependents. (For the purposes of this Code, the word "spouse" includes any partner with whom a prospective beneficiary under the Scheme habitually cohabits)".

4.2.4. Employment Status and Income level

In relation to employment status, three female respondents mentioned that they are not employed in the formal sector of the economic, but they are involved in survival strategies offered by the informal economy such as owning a tuck-shop, and selling vegetables and fruits. They are able to generate between R501 and R599 per month from these activities. Nonetheless they mentioned that they regard themselves as unemployed, since their form of 'employment' does not give them various benefits as in the case of formal employment. Three (i.e. two women and one male) interviewees mentioned that they are not employed at all. On the other hand, three respondents (i.e. one female and two males) mentioned that they are employed as part-time, sub-contract and domestic workers in the surrounding industries and factories in the EMM. The above workers mentioned that their income level per month falls between R1100 and R1501. Only one male respondent mentioned that he is employed on a full-time basis. On the other hand, two male respondents mentioned that they are not working but studying. In short, the above main findings reveal that most respondents in Dukathole are not formally employed or full-time workers.

The findings regarding the lower levels of income and high unemployment in the informal settlement confirms the recent findings about the conditions of informal settlements in South African cities (Stevens and Rule, 1998; Gauteng Provincial Government, 2005; and Smit, 2006). Nonetheless, more interesting about the findings is that they reflect the general condition that most women are unemployed or involved in informal survival strategies. Thus raising a question regarding gender and city space, the question I will return to latter (Ardener, 1981). In short, these findings have direct implications for the formal processes of integrating this informal settlement with EMM, the subject which I will also discuss in great detail in the subsequent sub-headings of the report.

4.2.5. Highest educational level achieved

In this theme, most of the respondents reported that they have secondary level education. However none of the respondents was in possession of a post-Matric qualification. The lower educational level has a negative impact on the 'employability' of respondents. Nevertheless, perhaps there is a correlation between low educational level and high unemployment level in this community. In short, when using the systemic perspective, the lower levels of education might generate the sense of powerlessness amongst residents

which might have a negative impact on the other facets of the concept integration such as community participation (Capra, 1983; and Mohamed, 2006).

4.2.6. Type of residence

It emerged under this sub-heading that the majority of the respondents (i.e.10) are residing in their own shacks. However few (i.e.2) respondents reported that they are renting shacks. The foregoing analysis has relevance and implications to this study, as renting out shacks and the huge number of people who are residing in shacks demonstrate that adequate housing is a fundamental need in this settlement.

4.2.7. Home Province and duration of residence in Gauteng Province

Most participants reported that they are coming from the following four provinces of South Africa, namely, Eastern Cape (i.e.2); Freestate (i.e.3); Kwa-Zulu Natal (i.e,3); and Limpopo (i.e.4). What is interesting is the fact that most of the respondents still have a contact with their original provinces, meaning that they go home for instance at the end of the month or during the holidays. In essence the above reveals a link between rural and urban migrants who are often attracted by economic factors in the cities (Stevens and Rule, 1998; and Smith, 2006). These findings demonstrate that the settlement might be comprised mainly of people from the above-mentioned provinces. More importantly these findings have implications for integration, thus raising the question of whether integration of informal settlements is sustainable or able to match the level of migration and urbanization emanating from other provinces to EMM area or Gauteng Province (Cross, 2006). EMM has the largest in-migration of about 140 252, the highest of all municipalities and metropolitans in South Africa, according to (Statistics South Africa, 2006, in Sacities, 2006).

According to the EMM authorities the higher in-migration could be attributed to the existence of large steel industries and factories in the area which attract potential employees (EMM, 2006). Regarding the respondents' duration of residence in the Gauteng Province, most of the research participants (i.e.8) reported that they have been in this province for a period between ten and twelve years. The above category was followed by three respondents who resided in the Gauteng Province between four and six years. In contrast only one respondent reported to have stayed in Gauteng province for more than thirty years. These different trends of duration of residence by the respondents might also be attributed, amongst

others, to the level of urbanization[10] to EMM and Gauteng Province, which is motivated by economic factors (EMM, 2006). Thus rapid urbanization might have implications to the process of integrating the city space, as each year people are relocating from rural to urban areas (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003; and Cross, 2006).

4.2.8. Duration of residence in the informal settlement

Most of the residents interviewed (i.e. 8) lived in Dukathole informal settlement for a period of between ten and twelve years. In contrast four respondents mentioned that they have relocated from other areas to Dukathole informal settlement for instance hostel and other informal settlements in Gauteng Province. The above findings support that of (Stevens and Rule, 1998) when they pointed to the fact that often informal settlers are mobile and not first time occupants of informal settlements. Nonetheless in the case of Dukathole the findings differ with that of the above-mentioned authors, as the majority of the interviewees (i.e, eight) reported that Dukathole informal settlement is their first informal settlement. The above contrasting findings are interesting and show that the trends in the informal settlement are not static, but 'complex' and change over time (Smith, 2006). For instance the demographic information illustrated that Dukathole is occupied by young people, which is supported by EMM survey (EMM, 2006).

In short, the findings show that the older generation might have relayed the settlement or shacks to the new generation (i.e. siblings, relatives and family members) who just enter the city in need of employment and other opportunities. The findings make sense in light of the fact that Dukathole informal settlement is about seventeen years old, as the settlement was established in the early 1990s' political interregnum (per.com 1. 2007). Before the political interregnum informal settlements were rarely allowed by the South African government in the cities (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003; and Abbot, 2007).

[10] In the context of this study urbanization refers to the movement of people from rural to urban areas in need of resources and opportunities for living (Chambers, 1995).

4.3. Motivation for choosing the settlements

The most recurring reasons mentioned by the respondents under this theme are that they came to this area to look for a job, to access post-Matric educational institutions, and others mentioned that they did not have any option. For instance in relation to work opportunities one of the respondents mentioned that;

"I had to come to this settlement from my home in the rural areas to look for a job. Thus I stayed with my father who was working in this area and owned a shack in this informal settlement. So that is how I came to stay in this settlement" (Female respondent [1], aged 26 to 30).

Likewise other respondents mentioned that the main reason for choosing this settlement was due to the fact that the settlement is located in the proximity of large factories and industries in the EMM. This was summed up by one of the respondents who mentioned that;

"The main reason which motivated me to choose this settlement is that it is next to many factories and industries. Therefore I believed the chances of getting a job in this area are high as compared to other cities" (Female respondent [2], aged 26 to 30).

Furthermore other respondents mentioned that the reason they chose Dukathole informal settlement is that they wanted to access the post-Matric educational facilities in the EMM city. Thus one of the respondents asserted that;

"I chose this settlement because it is next to the college, Ekurhuleni Technical College. So by staying in Dukathole makes it easy for me to access this institution. It is better to study here than at home which is rural, with far or inaccessible post-Matric institutions" (Male respondent [1], aged 21 to 25).

In contrast other respondents mentioned that they did not choose to stay in this settlement but they simply did not have any other option or alternative 'route' of accessing the city. Therefore by virtue of having family members who already owned shacks in the city they were forced to relocate from rural areas to Dukathole informal settlement. Correspondingly one of the interviewees mentioned that;

"I did not have any option, except to come to this area, because I did not have any family members or friend who has a house in this province. So the only option was to come to my brother who was and still owning a shack in this squatter camp. But today I have my own shack too in this settlement, and this means I am now independent" (Male respondent [1], aged 26 to 30).

Nonetheless, one respondent mentioned that he was staying in one of the hostels in old Germiston area until the early 1990s political violence which pushed him and other people out to Dukathole informal settlement. The interviewee said;

"I was staying in Denver hostel up until the early 1990's when the political violence erupted in the hostel between different followers of political organizations. Therefore because of fear of death I relocated to Dukathole informal settlement until today" (41 and above age, Male respondent [1]). Other respondents said that "there are also people who are residing in Dukathole informal settlement after their return from rental accommodations such as Delville. Thus once such people are unable to pay a rent of about R800 per month in Delville they come back into Dukathole" said the Female respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30 years).

4.4. Service level definitions

The availability and quality of the following services in Dukathole informal settlement was defined by residents. Therefore the conclusions regarding the level of service provision in the community were drawn from the participants' views. The availability of basic services in the informal settlements is an important indicator of the quality of life (CoJ, 2005; EMM, 2006; and UN-Habitat, 2003). Correspondingly it is the contention of this study that the availability of basic services in the informal settlements is a key factor illustrating their integration with the city (Alemane, 2006). Hence the quality depends to the possibility that all fundamental human needs are appropriately satisfied (Max-Neef, 1991). However failure to meet the following basic needs in the informal settlement will indicate the lack of integration of such settlements with the city (Alemane, 2006).

4.4.1. Electricity

All of the respondents reported that they do not have access to electricity. The lack of electricity by Dukathole informal settlement was identified by most respondents as the source of air pollution in this community. It was mentioned that people use a lot of coal, more especially in winter to warm their shacks and cook, which creates a great deal of smog in the settlement. Some of the residents mentioned that they would like to have electricity in their shacks, but the problem is the physical arrangement (i.e. density) of their settlement, which prohibits the installation of electricity (Napier and Rubin, 2002). Providing services such electricity as densely arranged settlement can be a risk to residents' well-being, more especially when fire breaks (ibid.).

According to most of the respondents, the supply of electricity in the community could only be possible after the settlement was de-densified. Nonetheless, some of the respondents mentioned that the need for electricity and development in Dukathole is evident in the illegal connections from formal houses in the proximity into the shacks. Moreover one respondent mentioned that;

"People are hungry for development in this community, as recently some community members were illegally taking electricity from this railway line. But this was stopped by the community and police intervention after the high voltage electricity razed many shacks in this community" (Male respondent [2], aged between 26 and 30 years).

While not condoning the above-mentioned illegal activities by some members of the community, these activities might to some extent highlight the frustration and need of constitutional rights such as basic services by residents of the informal settlements. More importantly and relevant to this study the foregoing statement might be interpreted to mean the need for inclusion into the city fabric. Perhaps a typical example confirming the fore-mentioned statement in the context of South Africa is the recent spate of uprisings in the informal settlements to access basic services in the city (Khupiso, 2007).

4.4.2. Telephones

Most of the respondents rated their access to telephones in Dukathole community to be 'good'. Some members of the community were reported to be the main provider of the above-mentioned service in Dukathole informal settlement. In supporting the statement regarding the access to telephones by community members one of the interviewees mentioned that;

"We have a very good access to telephones in this community. And this was made possible by some members of the community, who installed informal telephone kiosks in different parts of the settlement. The service is affordable as they charge us [users] less than one rand per unit and, these informal activities in turn helps the providers to generate income for themselves" (Female respondent [1], aged between 31 and 40).

The above explanation shows that the residents are satisfied with the level of access to telephones within the community. Moreover the availability of telephones in Dukathole informal settlement through the individual initiatives could be seen as a major strength of the area complementing the strained government resources (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000). Perhaps the above informal initiatives by some community members could be seen as the beginning of entrepreneurship, the source of employment creation and economic independence (Castells and Portes, 1989; and Chen, 2005). In the light of the above analysis and specifically access to telephones, Dukathole informal settlement could be seen to be integrated with the EMM.

4.4.3. Water

According to the respondents water is provided through various standpipes, which are located in the community. However the worrying factor according to some of the residence is that some of the standpipes are far from the shacks so people have to walk long distance to collect water. Nonetheless most of the respondents mentioned that they are satisfied with their access to water in Dukathole informal settlement. Likewise the above residents' satisfaction was evident when most of the interviewees rated the provision of water as good on the Lickert scale, in the research questionnaire. The findings in relation access to water by Dukathole informal settlement proves that the EMMs' essential service programme was appropriately

implemented and expanded enough to include the informal settlement in the area (DoH, 2004; and EMM IDP, 2006-2010). In short, the EMMs' essential service programme intends to provide the basic services to all informal settlements in the area (ibid.). The above achievement in relation to water provision by EMM to Dukathole informal settlement needs to be recognized and applauded as a sign of 'good practice', a key to integrating informal settlements with the city (UN-Habitat, 2003; UN-Habitat, 2004; and Alemane, 2006). Based on the foregoing analysis and residents' perspective, Dukathole informal settlement could be said to access water 'adequately', thus integrated in this regard.

4.4.4. Refuse removal

Another factor which most of the respondents mentioned they are content with is the collection of refuse by EMM in their community. Thus one of the respondents said, *"I am satisfied with the service of the municipality in relation to the collection of refuse, for instance every Friday their trucks come to collect communal rubbish bin which are located at various points in the settlement" (Male respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30).*

Moreover according to the other interviewee; *"it is our responsibility to take the rubbish bins in our shacks and throw them in the main rubbish bins provided by the EMM to the community" (Female respondent [1], aged between 21 and 25 years).*

The foregoing analysis demonstrates that EMM is providing a range of services to Dukathole informal settlement appropriately. The findings in this regard demonstrate the willingness by the local authority to improve the living conditions of those who are in the informal settlement in the EMM area. Nonetheless the above findings differ with that of other contexts in relation to refuse collection in the informal settlement (Stren, 1990). For instance, in these contexts refuse heaps were reported to mount in the informal settlements or slums of Nairobi (i.e. Mathare, Kibera and Kangemi) as the city officials were reluctant to extend services in such area with the aim of achieving efficiency (ibid.).Often an obsession with efficiency[11] by local authorities compromises equity in the municipal area, the central components of integration (Stren,

[11] Efficiency is one of the core principles championed by the New Public Management approaches. It is based amongst others, on the ideas of privatization, thus encouraging the curtailment of costs or public expenditure by the cities (Harrison, 2002).

1990; Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell, 2002; and Harrison, 2002). Nonetheless, EMM should be applauded in regard to the provision of refuse collection services to Dukathole informal settlement.

4.4.5. Toilets

Most of the respondents reported their access to toilets in the community as good. These facilities are provided by the EMM and one of the local firms called Rand Scrap Iron, said the respondents. Despite the availability of these facilities, some of the interviewees mentioned that the toilets are not accessible at night, because they are located far from shacks. For instance one interviewee said,

"It is difficult and not safe to go to these community toilets at night, but during the day it is fine. You need somebody to accompany you and if you cannot find one you will have to find another alternative, for instance use the nearby open land behind the railway line" (Female respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30).

Nonetheless the majority of the respondents rated their access to the toilets in Dukathole community as good. Mention has to be made of the main providers of these facilities (i.e. EMM and Rand Scrap Iron), as this symbolized the importance of Private Public Partnership in the delivery of services (Hemson, 1998; and Sivam, Evans, and Young, 2001). Suffice as to say, the involvement of Rand Scrap Iron in the development of Dukathole informal settlement reflected the actualization of the concept corporate social responsibility, a model which other firms and industries should follow to alleviate the deteriorating living conditions in the informal settlements.

4.4.6. Sanitation

Despite the achievements attained in some areas of service delivery in Dukathole informal settlement, all the respondents mentioned that hygiene or sanitation is the most important factor lacking in the community. For instance some residents mentioned that due to a lack of civil infrastructure such as drainage system in the settlement, used and bad smelling water is always flooding in the community. Therefore the problem was seen as a key factor compromising the community's health. Thus one respondent said,

"It is normal that you will find smelling water in the proximity of stand water pipes and toilets, but because you do not have a choice you have to use these facilities. Another problem is that the communal toilets are often dirty as no one is responsible for cleaning them. Sometimes you find people volunteering from the community to clean the toilets and charge each shack or household which uses the toilet ten rand a month. But other people do not like to pay this ten rand; therefore they use the open area behind the rail way line" (Male respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30).

4.5. Provision of resources to the settlement

The above theme will present the residents' description of the provision of the resources such as housing, education, health care facilities, social services and employment opportunities. Also the main provider of these resources to Dukathole community will be identified. Nonetheless in relation to housing Spoornet and EMM were identified by the residents as the parties who have provided housing to Dukathole informal settlement. However the challenges were raised by the residents in relation to the allocation of the subsidised houses, the case I will discuss under the theme housing.

4.5.1. Housing

In relation to the provision of housing to Dukathole residents most of the respondents mentioned that the provision is poor. The above-mentioned statement was attributed to the fact that the settlement has been in this area (EMM) for quite a long time without formal or adequate housing. Thus in the words of one respondent;

"The settlement has been here for a very long time, that is about 17 years, and nothing has changed. We are still staying in the shacks and dilapidated living conditions despite the promise of a better life we voted for" (Male respondent [1], aged between 41 and above).

Furthermore in support of the above-mentioned statement another interviewee said; *"the provision of housing to Dukathole is very poor because most of the people in this community have been on a waiting list for a long time. For instance, some revealed in our previous meeting with the Ward Councilor that they*

have been on the waiting list since 1996. Personally I have been on the waiting list since 2003, and the living conditions are not good in the area" (Male respondent [1], aged between 26 and 30).

When asked if people knew community members from Dukathole who had received subsidised housing, most of the respondents mentioned that they know such people. For instance some members from this community received subsidized housing in areas such as Rondebult[12] and Dukathole Extension 9 or Germiston South Extension 9, (Refer to figure 1 for the latter area and figure 2 for the former).

For instance the other respondent mentioned that, *"the reason why the housing provision is poor to this community is that most people did not receive their houses in Rondebult and* Dukathole Extension 9*. This is because the committee which was allocating the houses sold some of the houses to ineligible people, friends and family members with R200" (Female respondent [2], aged between 26 and 30).*

The above analysis has reflected the following sub-themes, unfair allocation of housing and long housing waiting list as some of the factors contributing to the poor supply of housing to Dukathole informal settlement. These prohibitory factors or sub-themes to urban integration will be discussed in the following paragraphs. Nonetheless, from the onset it has to be mentioned that the housing falls out side the legislative competence of the local authority, as Schedule 4 Part A of the Constitution of South Africa of 1996 states that it is the concurrent responsibility of both the national and provincial governments. Therefore this should also be seen as another factor impeding on the pace of providing housing within the municipalities in South Africa.

[12] Rondebult is a subsidised housing development located about 12 Kilometer from the city of Germiston city. It is a joint initiative between Spoornet and EMM accommodating people from the informal settlement which are adjacent to the railway line (i.e. Dukathole and Good hope), said respondents. (refer to appendix B figure 1 for the areas).

4.5.2. Alternatives to housing challenges: Interviewees' view.

When asked what do they think is the suitable alternative to the housing challenges in Dukathole informal settlement? Some of them mentioned that; the government must expropriate vacant privately owned land in the EMM for low-income housing purpose or else land invasion is pending.

Others mentioned that, the government must annul the current subsidy qualification criteria with the one that allocates housing to all shack owners irrespective of age, marital and income status. Once this is done the government should survey how many shacks are in each settlement and thereafter build houses which are equivalent to the counted shacks. This makes sense as there are occupants of shacks who does not meet the subsidy criteria, reconsidering the criteria will ensure that 'ineligible' residents access government housing too (Smit, 2006).

Moreover the other interviewees concurred with the above-mentioned statement when saying that, *"if you want to see that the present criteria of providing government houses has failed go and explore any RDP housing development. You will see what previously used to be an RDP house being replaced by a big house, and owners with big cars. This raises the question of whether these houses were allocated to the people who are indeed needy" (Male respondent aged [3], between 26 and 30).*

Others respondents mentioned that the city of EMM should release the patches of land in the proximity of the city for the de-densification of this settlement. They also mentioned that there is a huge open space in Wadeville, which in their view is appropriate for housing and close to the factories and industries.

4.5.2. Education

Seven of the respondents rated the provision of education to Dukathole informal settlement as good. The above respondents mentioned that there are both private and public schools in their area. Also that the community is able to access a public library provided by the EMM in the city of Germiston. The main challenge which was commonly pointed by the above respondents was the lack of public secondary schools in the proximity of Dukathole informal settlement. The respondents mentioned that after completion of their primary school which is located nearby, children have to go to Natalspruit to start their secondary

level schooling. Despite the fact that these community members mentioned that the children in Dukathole are able to access the above schools through the use of trains. This mode of transportation could be said to play a pivotal role in integrating Dukathole informal settlement with the schools in Natalspruit (Uytenbogaardt and Dewar, 1992).

In affirming the above one of the respondents said that, *"despite the community's lack of public secondary school, the children are able to continue with their studies after finishing primary school which is in the community. This is made possible by trains which are running between the city of Germiston and Natal Spruit. The trains are more affordable than taxis as pupils are able to buy monthly tickets",* said the Female respondents [1], aged between 26 and 30. Based on the above narration and analysis, the residents of Dukathole informal settlement are able to access various educational facilities in the EMM area. Thus they are integrated in this regard, and flexible transportation has made this possible (Uytenbogaardt and Dewar, 1992).

4.5.3. Health Care Facilities

Most of the respondents (nine) rated the provision of health care facilities to their community as good. Only three interviewees rated the provision of health facilities to their settlement as fair. Those who rated it good mentioned that the community members are able to access the clinic provided by EMM in the community. Moreover they mentioned that the residents of Dukathole informal settlement are able to access various public and private health care facilities in the city. For instance one of the nine respondents said, *"people in this settlement are able to access a municipal clinic in this community and public hospitals in the EMM such as Natalspruit Hospital and Willem Cruyvagen in the city of Germiston. And we are also able to access private health facilities in the city",* said the Male respondent [1], aged between 41 and above.

4.5.4. Social Services

In contrast to the above-mentioned sub-heading, all of the twelve interviewees mentioned that they do not have social services in their community. In their view the availability of the social services within the settlement could play a pivotal role of alleviating various social ills or key negative things in their community such as domestic violence, HIV/AIDS, orphan and child headed households, teenage pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse, and crime. The lack of social services within the community could be summed up with the words of one Female respondent [2], aged between 26 and 30, who said, *"one of the central factors exacerbating the key negative things Dukathole informal settlement such as HIV/AIDS, domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse and the likes is that we do not have public institutions or non governmental organizations within our community to teach and give various life skills to the residents. The presence of social workers in our community and satellite police station could help to alleviate some of these key negative challenges".*

4.6. Key points of integration

The main focus of the study was on the different elements (i.e. economic, spatial, political, environmental and social) of integration in EMM. Therefore each element of integration was tested with the research participants or residents of Dukathole informal settlement. The following were the main or key findings.

4.7. Economic integration: Residents' Perspective

The economic dimension is one of the major dimensions of urban integration (Alemane, 2006). Therefore using this yardstick to measure the existence of urban integration in Dukathole informal settlement the residents' perspective was sought. In the previous sub-themes most of the respondents mentioned pull factors as some of the forces which motivated them to choose Dukathole informal settlement as their secondary home in the EMM. It was therefore deemed relevant to investigate whether the residents have acquired one of the key pull factors, specifically work in this sub-theme, by residing in this informal settlement. What emerged in relation to the acquisition of work is that most respondents did not find employment in the formal economic sector. Instead most of them are informally employed in the formal sector (i.e. sub-contacting, and part-time), and involved in the survival strategies in the informal sector (i.e.

as street vendors, and owning tuck-shops). Therefore in relation to the economic integration the most of the residents mentioned that they feel like excluded in the formal economic processes in the EMM. For instance one of the residences mentioned that;

"When I first came into this settlement my expectations were high that I am going to get a full-time job, but instead I got a sub-contact job. This is not a secure job because anytime after the contract expires it might be terminated" (Male respondent [3], aged 26 to 30).

Moreover, the other respondent mentioned that; *"most people in this community are unemployed, therefore resorting to informal trading such as owning tuck-shops, selling liquor, and collecting and selling scrap materials. If you observe clearly you will see a lot of informal activities in this settlement, with a lot of tuck-shops in the proximity of one another. This simply means people are heavily struck by unemployment in this community. Despite that people are resilient, and try to make living out of these informal activities" (Female respondent [1], aged 31 to 40).*

In short, the above narration by the respondents is reflected in the earlier sections on employment status. This has indicated in detail the various forms of employment in this community, whereby the informal sector and part-time work emerged as the main sources of income in this area. Thus according to most of the residents although they are excluded from the formal employment sector they emphasize that people can eke out a living from informal economic activities.

4.7.1. Is EMM supporting the survival strategies?

In this regard all the respondents mentioned that EMM is not supporting any survival or informal economic activities carried out by the community members in this settlement. This was also supported by one of the respondents who mentioned that;

"I do not recall any intervention from the EMM in support of the informal traders in this community since I resided in this informal settlement. In fact all those who are involved in these activities are on their own". In my view some kind of training from EMM to community members and informal traders could be highly

appreciated as this will provide us skills and information on how to start or own business" (Female respondent [1], aged 31 to 40).

Moreover other respondents felt that EMM should devise means to assist those who are unemployed and involved in the informal economy in the community, as this will assist in reducing poverty and unemployment. Thus in the view of one respondent who said, *"as the woman I would appreciate such an intervention by EMM, as it is mostly women in this community are unemployed"* (Female respondent [2], aged between 21 and 25). Likewise another female respondent said that, *"the surrounding firms do not employ us [women] but prefers men. Often the employer will refuse to give you a job in these firms saying that you will not be able to work with steel as a woman. This is not good because it denies us job", (Female respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30).*

4.8. Spatial integration: Residents' Perspective

This section examines whether the residents feel they are spatially integrated with EMM or not. Thus the questions regarding the importance of their location in EMM, and whether the geographic location of the settlement provides residents with opportunities and to resources will be answered.

4.8.1. Does the geographic location matter?

Regarding the geographic location of Dukathole informal settlement, all the interviewees mentioned that the location of the area is very important to residents. The fore-mentioned statement was reflected in the interviews conducted with the respondents. For instance one of the residents mentioned that;

"Dukathole is situated next to the resources and work opportunities, for example people from Dukathole are able to access various employment opportunities easily in the area as the settlement is surrounded by firms, and is near the city of Germiston", (Female Interviewee [1], aged 26 to 30).

Similarly, another interviewee mentioned that; *"by staying in Dukathole squatter camp, I am able to walk to the College which is in the city of Germiston. Therefore the location of Dukathole helps the community members, more especially those who are not working to access various resources in the city" (Male interviewee [1], aged 21 to 25).* Likewise a Female respondent [2], aged between 21 and 25 said that,

"people from Dukathole are able to walk to Germiston Stadium, Germiston Lake and public swimming pool in Elsburg".

In support of the above-mentioned respondents, one interviewee mentioned that, *"what affirms the importance of the location of Dukathole informal settlement is the movement of people from remote subsidised housing such as Rondebult and the expensive surrounding rental accommodations back into this settlement. This is because these people are working in some of the industries surrounding Dukathole informal settlement", (Male respondent [1], aged 40 and above).*

In essence you will realize the importance of this settlement when people are tired with their landlords, unable to pay rents, and retrenched from work, as these people come back into Dukathole settlement to restart their broken livelihoods" (Male respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30). In addition to the fore-mentioned statements, another respondent mentioned that, *"some people have two house for instance in this settlement and Rondebult. Thus during the week people reside in Dukathole so that they can access their places of employment in the surrounding industries. But change their residence over the weekend as they relocate to Rondebult*", (Female respondent [1], aged between aged between 21 and 25).

Moreover another respondent mentioned that, *"you see the location of Dukathole is important for community members' survival because it allows people, for instance those who own tuck-shops to buy their stocks such as fruits, vegetable and the likes easily in the city of Germiston", (Female interviewee [2], aged 26 to 30).*

In essence the recurring theme captured from the respondents' comments was that they value the location of Dukathole informal settlement as it provides them with access and different opportunities in EMM. The above-responses by community members clearly highlight the importance of their centrally located settlement to them, (see figure 1). Furthermore, the importance of the location of Dukathole informal settlement to the residents re-emerged when all the respondents reported that they do not like the proposed relocation of the settlement to Heidelberg. In rejection of the above proposal by EMM one of the respondents said that;

"What I know is that no one in the community supports the idea of relocating to remote places such as Heidelberg, because this will automatically deny us an opportunity to access resources in the city. In fact acceding to relocation will be like a 'suicide' because that will make us residents of Mpumalanga Province, because Heidelberg is next to the mentioned province", (Male respondent [1], aged 41 and above).

Moreover, other respondents mentioned that; *"the community members rejected the recent announcement by EMM that we are going to be relocated to Tsakane in Springs, which is the same distance as Heidelberg. There is no way we are going to agree to relocate to areas which are far from Dukathole informal settlement and without resources," (Male respondent [2], aged 26 to 30).*

Similarly, another respondent mentioned that; *"we have established our livelihoods in Dukathole, therefore relocation will require of us more resources to start anew in the proposed areas. Personally if EMM's proposals pass I will not go to such areas but I will relocate to the nearby informal settlements, because I am looking for a job in this area," (Male respondent [1], aged 26 to 30).*

"Taking people to Heidelberg or Tsakane is like chasing people out of Gauteng Province to the rural areas where they are coming from and tried to escape poverty. I am totally against relocation to areas far from the city of Germiston, because if I were to stay in Heidelberg or Tsakane I will be forced to start using more money, which I do not have for taxis. There are no trains in these areas and you cannot walk to the city as in the case of Dukathole informal settlement", (Female respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30). "The key advantage of staying in Dukathole is that you access various modes of transport such as trains and Taxis or you can walk to the city, for instance if you do not want to walk to the city of Germiston you can always pay R3 rand for a taxi or train", (Female respondent [2], aged between 21 and 25).

4.9. Political integration: Residents' view

Eight respondents mentioned that the Ward Councilor is conducting general or public meetings once a month with Dukathole residents. In these meetings members of the community raise issues that concern them and also get feed-back from the EMM. In contrast to the above eight people, four respondents mentioned that they do not know how many times the Ward Councilor called meetings because they are not interested in such meetings. Nonetheless of the twelve people interviewed five people mentioned that

they attend the above-mentioned public meetings. Conversely, seven respondents mentioned that they do not attend such meetings, for instance, one of the respondents mentioned that, *"it is a waste of time to attend these public meetings because the Ward Councilor and EMM do not talk about important issues that affect us as a community, the important issues such as improving our bad living conditions and housing*", (Male respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30).

Likewise the other respondent said that, "*I used to attend public meetings but I do not attend because since I stayed in this settlement we have been attending these meetings and told that we will get land and houses but that has never happened till today. The past two Ward Councilors since the municipal elections have promised us good living but failed, so how is the present Ward Councilor going to change the situation. In fact he will not change anything so that is a waste of time to attend these public meetings",* (Male respondent [1], aged between 41 and above).

Another respondent labeled the public meetings as false participatory processes, because these meetings lack power to influence the council decisions. For instance, *"every time we ask him why is he unable to tell the EMM council that we want land and decent hosing in the vicinity of Dukathole informal settlement and the city of Germiston, he will say there is nothing I can do on that one because it is a council's decision. So if he cannot influence the council on our behalf on these important issues then there is no value in such meetings*", a Female respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30.

"In fact the Ward Councilor is calling meetings frequently but people are not attending such meetings because they (meetings) always tell them what the council thinks is good for the community, therefore residents are passive recipients of the councils' decisions", (Female respondent [1], aged between 21 and 25).

"I guess one of the main reasons why people are not attending meetings is because the Ward Councilor serves as a 'transmission belt' passing onto the community what the council has told him. Therefore this undermines our effort and discourages people to attend public meetings, because our issues are not taken serious", (Female respondent [1], age between 31 and 40).

The other respondent mentioned that, *"it would be important that this EMM council or officials come to our informal settlement and listen to our serious needs. They must not visit our place only when they want our votes but also to listen and address our housing challenges which deprive us a healthy living condition",* (Female respondent [1], aged between 26 and 30).

Moreover, nine respondents mentioned that there are community forums in Dukathole informal settlement. Like in the case of public meetings, people do not attend them actively as they perceive them as ineffective to influence local government decisions. For instance one of the Male interviewees [2], aged between 26 and 30 said that, *"people have been raising vital issues such as poor living conditions, unemployment, and lack of housing and land in such forums but nothing has happened. This discourages people from attending community forum.*"

Similarly, another respondent said that *"community forums leaders have the tendency of trying to deal with social issues such as crime and domestic violence alone, or without involving the government officials with such skills, as a result this perpetuate vigilantism in the community as often the alleged perpetrators are assaulted",* (Male respondent [1], aged between 26 and 30).

4.10. Environmental integration: Residents' Perspective

All the respondents complained about a lack of sanitation as a key factor contaminating their living environment or community. The above was attributed by the respondents as a threat to their health. The Female respondent [2], aged between 26 and 30 said that, *"lack of sanitation makes our life difficult more especially for children who are sensitive to unhealthy environment. The city council must do something to ensure that the environment is clean, for instance expand their cleaning programmes into the settlement, because collecting rubbish bins alone is not enough".*

Moreover the other interviewee mentioned that, *"there is no way we can have a clean environment if the shacks are congested. The root cause of unhealthy environment is due to the fact that shacks are dense or congested; therefore this denies the installation of services. EMM must first de-densify the settlement, and there after provide it with sanitation and cleaning service",* (Male respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30).

Furthermore the other respondents complained about the level of pollution which is induced by residents in the community, more especially during winter. According to one respondent, *"because of a lack of electricity in the community people use coal braziers to cook and warm their shacks. So during winter you will find a huge cloud of coal smoke in the settlement. Surely this is not good for our health as residents",* (Female resident [2], aged between 21 and 25).

In short, the respondents complained about lack of sanitation and air pollution when answering the question on the key environmental challenges in Dukathole informal settlement. Despite that, generally the respondents mentioned that they believe the above challenges can be adequately resolved once Dukathole informal settlement is de-densified, upgraded and provided with services by EMM. Outside the above sanitary and air pollution challenges, twelve of the respondents mentioned that the key environmental or human-induced disaster facing the settlement is fire. Nonetheless, out of the above twelve respondents, three mentioned floods as another pivotal environmental disaster affecting residents more especially during rainy seasons. For example one of the above interviewees mentioned that, *"when it is raining water will come flooding into my shack. This is due to the fact that my shack is on the flood plain. One day water is going to kill my family",* (Female respondent [1], aged between 31 and 40).

Nevertheless, most respondents pointed to fire as a common threat in Dukathole informal settlement. The above, according to the respondents is aggravated by the physical arrangement of the shacks (i.e. shacks congested). Thus when recounting the above risk, the Male respondent [1], aged between 41 and above said, "*it is normal that shacks must burn in this community. For instance one person will leave a candle light or paraffin stove unattended, as a result this burn her/his shack and that of other people. The problem is that the shacks are dense or close to one another, so when one shack burns it affects others shacks jointed to it*".

In relation to interventions by EMM during disasters, all the respondents mentioned that EMM is actively responding to fires which often burn their shacks. For example one Female interviewee [3], aged between 26 and 30 mentioned that, *"the city council is doing well in assisting victims of fires in Dukathole community. These people are provided by the EMM with temporary accommodation and new materials to build new shacks".*

Likewise the other male respondent [2], aged between 26 and 30 said that, *"the surrounding firms and industries also play an important role during fire disasters as they assist victims with food and new blankets. This support is very important for the community of Dukathole".*

4.11. Social integration: Residents' Perspective

Most of the respondents mentioned that they feel they are accepted by the surrounding communities, for example one of the above respondents mentioned that;

"I think Dukathole informal settlement is accepted by the neighbouring communities because often during disasters such as the burning of shacks the local firms provide the victims with blankets and food parcels", (Female respondent [1], aged between 31 and 40). Furthermore another respondent said, "*we used not to be accepted by some of the local firms, especially after we invaded pieces of land in between these firms. But this is no longer a case as these firms agreed and accepted that we occupy this land. In my view this shows that local firms have accepted the fact that we are citizens of Dukathole community and EMM",* (Male respondent [1], aged between 26 and 30).

Similarly, the Male respondent [3], aged between 26 and 30 said, "*despite the fact that unemployment is high in Dukathole, some of the people from this community are employed by the surrounding firms and families as domestic workers. This shows that our neighbours have accepted us as a community*".

Moreover the respondent said that, *"I think we are accepted by the neighbouring formal communities, for instance we share various societal resources located within EMM area with Whites, Coloureds, Indians and other African race and ethnic communities. These resources includes amongst others, Elsburg Swimming pool, Germiston stadium, and Germiston Lake".*

"We are accepted by our neighbouring communities because the children from Dukathole informal settlement attend schools and have friends from such communities outside this settlement", said the Male interviewee [1], aged between 41 and above.

In contrast, one male respondent [2], aged between 26 and 30 mentioned that, he feel not accepted by the neighbouring communities because often Dukathole community is seen as a perpetrator of crime in the area.

Nonetheless it is evident from the above narration that the majority of the respondents feel integrated with the EMM city. Nevertheless a detailed analysis of the above narration will be presented in detail under chapter five. The analysis of the above will integrate theory and experiences from other contexts in relation to social integration.

4.12. Summary of the Chapter

Chapter four has illustrated the respondents' demographic profile and the factors which motivated them to choose Dukathole informal settlement as their 'home' in the EMM area. More importantly the above chapter has presented the key points of integration, namely; economic, spatial, political, environmental, and social, as perceived by residents or respondents. Thus under each key component of integration the respondents' perception was presented and this formed the basis for analysis in subsequent chapter (chapter five).

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

Chapter five will present an analysis of the research findings highlighted in chapter four. Various theories and approaches will be integrated with the narration presented by the research respondents. Importantly, theoretical and conceptual approaches stemming from normative planning theories, including notions of the just city, voices from below, theories of power, new public management approaches as well as gender-based approaches and seeing the role of globalization as it is played out at the local will be utilized in the analysis. The decision to use such a wide variety of approaches was considered appropriate given the wide range of responses and their links to social, racial, and political forces that currently operate within Dukathole. Such an approach will give insights into the respondents' narration or perceptions of urban integration discussed in the previous chapter. The structure of the presentation will include the main headings presented under chapter four followed by an analysis and general commentary. Finally, after the completion of the analysis, a summary of the chapter will be highlighted.

5.2. Provision of services in the community

The presentation of the respondents' view regarding services in Dukathole informal settlement revealed that the residents have access to some of the basic services such as water, toilets, refuse collection, and telephones. The supply of such services shows that the community is integrated with the EMM at least in this regard. Moreover the providers (i.e. individual residents, Rand Scrap Iron and EMM) of these services have to be commended as their contribution aids in the development and integration of Dukathole informal settlement with the EMM city. More importantly the partnership between EMM and Rand Scrap Iron is a good example of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) or Corporate Social Investment (CSI) and the actualization of Public Private Partnership in the provision of services (Hemson, 1998; and Sivam, Evans, King and Young, 2001).

Recent research recommends that developing counties should explore ways of actively involving the private sector through CSR initiatives to the fight against poverty and underdevelopment (IIED, 2005). CSR could play a pivotal role by supplementing strained government resources (ibid.). Indian experience

provides a good example of CSR and Public Private Partnership in the delivery of low-income housing (Sivam, Evans, King and Young, 2001). The private sector agreed to build houses for the poor in exchange for tax reliefs for a specific period of time (ibid.). The approach could be followed in South Africa and EMM, as that would assist in the alleviation of urban poverty and housing challenges faced by the informal dwellers (ibid.). In reality this would serve as a positive step leading to the integration of informal settlements with the city, therefore creating a just city (Fainstein, 2000).

Nonetheless the narration of the respondents also illustrated that there are shortages in other service areas such as the provision of electricity and sanitation. The main barrier to the provision of the above challenge is the physical arrangement of the settlement (i.e. densified) which does not allow the installation of such infrastructure, according the respondents. Likewise dense settlements have been identified as a key factor prohibiting the installation of basic civil infrastructure and perpetuating, amongst others, disasters such as fires in informal settlement (Napier and Rubin, 2002).Thus an appropriate delivery of sanitation and electricity to this community can only be achieved once the settlement is de-densified or upgraded (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

5.3. Resource provision to Dukathole Community

5.3.1. Housing

An unfair allocation of housing could be seen as one of the factors hampering the integration. The issue emerged when most of the respondents complained that the process of allocating subsidised housing developments (i.e. Rondebult and Dukathole Extension 9) was not conducted fairly by the allocating committee. According to the respondents some ineligible people occupied the houses they did not register for. The unfair allocation is not unique to EMM, but common to a number of other settlements in South Africa (Makoba, 2006; and Masango, Samayende, Ndou, and Khumalo, 2006). For instance, inhabitants of SST Section informal settlement in Cape Town blamed the local South African National Civics Organization (SANCO) for allotting plots on the new land to friends, relatives and young people who did not qualify (Makoba, 2006; and Masango, Samayende, Ndou, and Khumalo, 2006). Likewise the same incidents (of unfair allocation of houses) were reported in Mpumalanga (i.e. Barberton and Delmas) (Masango, Samayende, Ndou, and Khumalo, 2006). Recently, more than 50 000 government officials were reported to have received subsidised housing meant for poor people, according to the Special Investigating Unit (SIU)

(Lubisi, 2007). Another contributory factor to poor provision of housing to Dukathole informal settlement is the long housing waiting list, which, currently stands at about 147 000 applicants (EMM, 2005). In fact the long housing waiting list is a key challenge that is affecting most informal settlements in South Africa (DoH, 2006; and Mooki, 2007). It stalls the integration of informal settlements with the city (Mooki, 2007). The challenge of long housing waiting list has sparked protests in other informal settlements of South Africa such as Kliptown, where some residents mentioned that they have been promised and waiting for houses for more than ten years (Mooki, 2007; and Khupiso, 2007).

The respondents identified three alternatives to housing challenges in the EMM, namely; expropriation of privately owned land by the government, cancellation of the current subsidy qualification criteria, and de-densification of the settlement to the pieces of land available near the city of Germiston. What is important is the fact that, all the mentioned alternatives differs to the long-term solutions to the housing backlog and informal settlements put forward by the EMM. The EMM believe that the building of high-density apartments and relocation (to Heidelberg and Tsakane) of informal settlements will alleviate the problem (EMM, 2005). Both high density and relocation to distant areas will not alleviate the socio-economic hardships experienced by Dukathole community, but instead will exacerbate them (ACHR, 2004).

The former mechanism (high density), due to its inflexible physical nature will not accommodate the source of income in the community or survival strategies such as Tuck-Shops (Chen, 1993). It is impossible to change the rigid physical structure of a flat to accommodate complex needs of the informal dwellers, but this can happen with a shack (Chen, 1993). Moreover the local authority is likely to attach regulations to these developments in relation to informal economy, since most South Africa municipalities are anti-informality in their areas (Stren, 1990; Harrison, 1995; and Huchzermeyer, 2003). Local governments through the ‘red-ants’ and metro police are known to be on a mission to ‘eradicate’ informality in the city (Harrison, 1995; and Huchzermeyer, 2003).

Relocation of Dukathole residents to distant areas will spatially, economically and socially disintegrate it from the EMM, which may potentially result in a form of social justice (Alemane, 2006). Indeed this contradicts the Just City Approach, which is driven by the desire to achieve an equitable city, but instead support the principle of efficiency supported by ‘World Class City’ and NPM approaches (Sassen, 1994; Fainstein, 2000; Todes, 2000; Harrison, 2002; and Fainstein, 2006). Furthermore the respondents’ view

differed with contemporary debates that social housing is an alternative solution to informal settlements and low-income groups in South Africa (Oostra, 2006). None of the respondents mentioned saving as an alternative to housing challenges in Dukathole informal settlement, this was mainly due to the fact that most people are not formally employed in the community.

There is clearly a difference between the way that the government sees the needs of the poor and the reality of the poor's' needs. An example of this is recent statement made by the Minister of Housing Lindiwe Sisulu. After her return from a trip to India, where she saw the informal settlers' initiative to save money to improve their housing conditions, she said, *"entrepreneurial people taught me the value of saving and the spirit that drives them to ensure that they do provide a house for their families. A people determined that they will do their bit to restore their dignity. I yearn for that spirit here"* (HSA, 2006:1). Perhaps the reason why the respondents did not chose the route of saving as an alternative to their housing challenges in Dukathole is due to the higher level of unemployment in the area (Mooki, 2007). Most residents in Dukathole are unemployed and others dependent on survival strategies, therefore their chances of saving money for housing might be difficult.

Nonetheless starting with the first alternative identified by respondents (i.e. expropriation of private land by the government), it becomes clear that this alternative might not work in the context of South Africa. Sections 5(1), and 12(1) a (i-ii) and b, of the Expropriation Act No. 63 of 1975, which is still in place, stipulates that any expropriation of land has to be done in accordance with the provision of this Act, for instance the government would have to "compensate the owner of land", and respect the principle of "willing seller to a willing buyer". In simple terms this means only the owner of property or land can chose to sell it or not, and the government cannot force her/him to do so. The contract is entered into voluntarily by the two parties. Similarly the Constitution of South Africa, more especially Section 25 protects the rights of existing property owners (Constitution of South Africa, 1996; and Huchzermeyer, 2003). Section 25(2) a-b, and (3) a-d, holds that "property may be expropriated only in terms law of general application", which is for public purpose and subject to compensation (Constitution of South Africa, 1996; and *Ex Parte former Highland Residents; Ash and others v Department of Land Affairs, 2000*).

Alternatively perhaps a collaborative approach to land reform might be 'acceptable' in the urban areas of South Africa, because land in EMM belongs to various parties including the private sector and government.

Collaborative approach could be used to engage all those who own land in the EMM to find a mutual way of releasing land in the proximity of the city for low-income groups (ibid.). Once land is obtained *in situ* upgrading of Dukathole informal settlement could commence, as the settlement would have been de-densified (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

The annulment of the current subsidy qualification criteria, thus providing everyone in the shack with a house also has the potential of reducing informal settlement in EMM, according to the respondents. This might not be a long term solution as new informal settlements will emerge on the ruins of the old shacks (Cross, 2006).There is a relationship between the development of informal settlements in the city and unemployment in the rural areas, which is key push factor (Cross, 2006; and Smit, 2006). In short, amid rapid urbanization, it is unconceivable that restructuring the current subsidy criteria will be a sustainable solution to the challenge of informal settlements in South Africa (Cross, 2006). Perhaps this re-emphasizes the fact that, in the context of globalization, informality is here to stay and should be accepted by those who make policies (Sassen, 1994; and Chen, 2005).

5.3.2. Education

Based on the responses provided, the residents of Dukathole informal settlement are able to access both private and public educational facilities in the EMM area. The respondents identified the train or rail transport system as a key infrastructure linking Dukathole community with public secondary schools which are not available in the community (i.e. Natalspruit). Thus they mentioned that they feel that Dukathole is integrated with EMM in relation to the provision of education. In short, the above analysis shows that the transportation system could serve as a key instrument of urban integration, thus linking communities with resources (Uytenbogaardt and Dewar, 1992).

5.3.3. Health Care Facilities

The presentation of the respondents' view in relation to health care facilities demonstrated that Dukathole informal settlement is able to access both private and public health care facilities within the EMM city. The spatial location of the settlement has ensured better access to health care facilities by the community members, for instance the residents have various alternatives: Natalspruit Hospital, Cruyvagen Hospital,

private surgeons in the city or one of the local clinics. Based on the above analysis, Dukathole informal settlement could be said to be integrated with EMM city, in terms of its overall use and access to this basic and essential facilities and amenities. Nevertheless Dukathole differs to other informal settlements in the country which are often located in the remote areas (Smit, 2006; and Thomas, 2006). In short, the geographic location of Dukathole informal settlement could be said to be 'well-located' and ensured that community members have various alternatives in relation to health care facilities in the EMM city. This is certainly not typical of informal settlements, which according to the literature are situated on the edge of the city (Bremner, 2000; Smit, 2006 and Thomas, 2006). The above-mentioned statement compels one to say that, staying in the proximity of the city ensures, to some degree, access to various societal and private resources (Bremner, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2004; and DoH, 2006).

5.3.4. Social Services

The absence of social services in the informal settlements has been identified as a major challenge facing informal settlers in South Africa (Smit, 2006; and Thomas, 2006), which illustrates that there is a need for local authorities including EMM to adopt a developmental approach, ensures that informal settlements receive social services in their areas (ibid.). According to the respondents the availability of social workers and police in the community could reduce various social challenges related to crime, alcohol abuse and domestic violence. Moreover the above also calls for various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to provide social services or expand their services into the informal settlements in South Africa (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000). A move by NGOs would be appropriate since one of their key roles is to complement strained government resources and reach out to those who are needy, therefore contributing to the establishment of social equity within the EMM (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000). Nonetheless, mention has to be made that the provision of social services is not a functional area of legislative competence for the local authority (Constitution of South Africa, 1996). The above is stipulated in Schedule 4 Part A of the Constitution of 1996, as it is a concurrent national and provincial responsibility. In my view this serves as a central barrier to urban integration or integration of informal settlements with cities in South Africa, more especially in relation to resource provision. Despite that the local authority, including EMM has a political responsibility to ensure that its citizens are provided with social services, since communities voted them in power.

5.4. Settlement Choice: Motivating Factors

The pull and push factors were mentioned as the reasons, which motivated people to move to Dukathole informal settlement. In short, pull factors are the reasons that attract people to the settlement such as access to opportunities and resources (Smit, 2006).Conversely push factors are reasons which force people to relocate from their original or previous areas to the new settlement, these factors amongst others include, overcrowding, and unaffordable accommodation (ibid.).In the case of Dukathole informal settlement the pull factors are reflected in the respondents who mentioned that they have chosen this settlement for the sake of accessing resources and opportunities (i.e. educational institutions and work). Moreover the push factors in the context of this study might be reflected in the respondents who mentioned that they have been forced by the political violence and inability to pay rent to relocate to Dukathole informal settlement.

Correspondingly, underdevelopment and poverty in the rural areas is one of the main reasons, which push people out of the rural areas to this informal settlement. In reality the pull and push factors appear to be the key factors perpetuating the spread of informal settlements in South Africa (Stevens and Rule, 1998; and Smit, 2006). The pull and push factors are the dominant forces which trigger the movement of people from one settlement to the other in Dukathole and South African cities (Stevens and Rule, 1998; Sacities, 2006; and Smit, 2006). Similarly, the pull and push factors were typical in one of the informal settlements called Imizamo Yethu in the Cape Town (Smit, 2006).

Pull and push factors can be seen as the central aspects for understanding the experiences of informal settlements (Stevens and Rule, 1998). Perhaps the insights from pull and push factors should form the fundamental base for a just housing policy in South Africa, as it reveals the relationship between factors such as unemployment in the rural areas and the spread or formation of informal settlements in the urban areas (Cross, 2006; and Smit, 2006). Also the lessons illustrates, amongst others, unaffordable housing for the low income groups as a factor which pushes them into the informal settlements in need of shelter in the urban areas (Dewar, 2002). This raises questions regarding the accessibility and affordability of rental housing development to the low-income groups in the EMM such as Germiston Social Housing and other formal private rental mechanism in the area. In short, this analysis has the connotations that, the informal settlements serve as a ‘cushion’ or ‘sanctuary’ and ‘first- stop’ to those who cannot access housing in the

formal market and 'new-entrants' into the city from the rural areas (Dewar, 2002; and Huchzermeyer, 2003).

The above was epitomized when some of the respondents mentioned that those who cannot afford the private rental accommodations, and are retrenched from work or unemployed find 'refuge' in Dukathole informal settlement. Indeed Dukathole informal settlement could be seen as a 'platform' offering the low-income groups, the poor, unemployed and those excluded by the formal housing market to 'regroup' (Dewar, 2002). The above-mentioned statement contradicts national housing policy, EMM's Growth and Development Strategy, the popular and recent international statements such as '*creating cities without slums and eradication of all informal settlements by the year 2014'* (UN-Habitat, 2004; Huchzermeyer, 2005; and EMM, 2006). The reality is that Dukathole residents view their informal settlement as a 'sanctuary', home, and a 'buffer zone' or place to hide when the formal processes cannot accommodate them. Nonetheless, it is the above disjuncture between policy makers and informal dwellers which prompted the need to conduct the study and hear the 'voices from the borderlands' (Sandercock, 1998).

In essence if the above policy statements were to be realized, then those who use the informal settlements as a 'cushion' (for those excluded from the formal rental housing market) and 'first-stop' (for those from the rural areas), gross injustice such as homelessness will result (Dewar, 2002; Huchzermeyer, 2005; and Cross, 2006). This has the potential to entrench injustice in the city and reviving apartheid legislation that was devised to prohibit the movement and entrance of certain racial groups into the city. Laws and policies which enact anti-informal approaches will maintain racial segregation due to the correlation between poverty and race in South Africa. In short, the analysis shows that a failure by the housing policy to adopt a systemic approach obscure the reality that the challenge of informal settlements including Dukathole and other settlements in South Africa is inextricably linked to underdevelopment in the rural areas and inaccessible or unaffordable formal housing market to the low-income groups (Watson, 1996; Dewar, 2002; Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003; and Nabutola, 2004). A lack of this approach has negative implications to the integration of informal settlements and is the source of inequality in the cities (Smit, 2006). In short, an acceptance of informal settlements and understanding of the interplay between pull and push factors should be the first step to integrating informal dwellers with the city by those who make development and housing policies in South Africa (ibid). These are interrelated challenges seeking a systemic or integrated response, the key to a just city (Capra, 1983; and Smit, 2006).

5.5. Economic Integration

Residents' perspective of economic integration reveals that formal economic integration is one of the missing pieces to complete the puzzle of urban integrating, thus linking Dukathole informal settlement with the EMM. The lack of full-time employment for residents of Dukathole informal settlement is a key factor restricting the residents' access into the formal economy. The residents view their community as excluded from the formal economic sector of the EMM city. The exclusion of residents from formal employment could be attributed process of globalisation, which has led to the erosion of full-time employment, and introduction of precarious forms of employment such as part-time and sub-contracting across the globe (Standing, 1997; and Theron, 2004). The least skilled are the one who are mainly bearing the brunt of globalisation, as that makes it difficult for them to access other employment opportunities in the city (Standing, 1997). This makes sense and applicable to Dukathole informal settlement, as the demographic profile of the respondents indicated the majority does not have post-Matric qualification.

Despite the higher unemployment in the community, the informal economy which is practiced within the community play a pivotal role as the source of income. In the era of globalization, informality complements the formal sector of the economy as it absorbs those who are unemployed (Castells, and Portes, 1989; and Chen, 2005). Therefore there is a need to tolerate and support this type of work by governments, as it serves the crucial role by providing for those who are excluded from the formal economic processes within the country or city (Castells, and Portes, 1989; and Chen, 2005). It is very likely that informality will stay with South Africa and other parts of the world for a long time, as the process of globalisation continues to restructure the workplace, thus pushing citizens into informality (i.e. informal economy and settlements) (Castells, and Portes, 1989; Huchzermeyer, 2005; and Chen, 2005). Informality provides the urban poor with the way to, or 'refuge' in, the city, in the context of globalization, which has fragmented the society and traditional institutions of power (Castells, and Portes, 1989; Dewar, 2002; Harrison, 2003: Huchzermeyer, 2005; and Chen, 2005).

In essence a dual economy diffuses the responsibility of providing jobs from the government to the citizens (Castells and Portes, 1989). In the context of Dukathole informal settlement, informal employment plays a key role of linking community with the EMM city, as residents can survive on it within the area. It is surprising that EMM is not extending its Local Economic Development programme (LED) in relation to

informal economy to Dukathole informal settlement. In its Local Economic Development programme, EMM emphasizes the need to support informal economy, thus moving it from survival activities to a sustainable one (EMM, IDP, 2006-2010:52). Furthermore the local authority mentioned that there is a need to work with informal sheebeens, formalize street traders into co-operatives and impart skills to local people in conjunction with the Department of Labour in the area (ibid.). An implementation of the LED in the informal settlements could alleviate poverty and related hardships faced by the informal settlements in the EMM area (Castells, and Portes, 1989; Chen, 2005; Ambert, 2006; and Smit, 2006). According to the Just City approach, city authorities should create measures and opportunities to ensure that all those who reside in the city are equally integrated on the economic space (Fainstein, 2000). Indeed by integrating this community with the city EMM would have contributed to the discourse of creating an equitable city, whereby all citizens shares the wealth of the city (Fainstein, 2000). In short, the analysis reveals that the residents of Dukathole are in need of formal economic integration within the EMM, as at present is not happening.

5.5.1. Gender and city space

An analysis of respondents' perspective regarding their access to employment in the EMM area raised the issue of gender. From the findings it appeared that all of the women respondents were employed in the informal sector of the economy. Some of the female respondents mentioned that the industries and firms in the surrounding in EMM are reluctant to employ them on the grounds that they are women and will not cope with the nature of work (i.e. Steel and Chemical work) in such institutions. This has implications for urban integration and just city (Fainstein; and Alemane, 2006).

One of the key defining features of space is the boundaries which are socially constructed (Ardener, 1981; and De Beauvoir, 2000). These boundaries serve as the social maps defining different spatial positions for both men and women within the society (Ardener, 1981; Rendell, 2000; and McFadden, 2001). These concepts highlight the concept of 'gendered space', which shapes the values and beliefs of the broader society about what is 'truth' of social reality (Rendell, 2000). Thus 'gendered space' is played out in various social institutions such as factories and industries (men and women assigned different roles in line with their gender) and religious organizations (people are arranged in accordance to their gender, for instance monks and nuns) (Ardener, 1981). The fore-going analysis have important relevance to this study, for

instance some of the research interviewees mentioned that the local industries and factories often refuse to employ women on the basis of the nature of their work (i.e. steel work and heavy duties) is not suitable for women but for men. Moreover the respondents' demographic information reveals that all the women interviewed are employed in the informal sector of the economy. In short, the above symbolises the 'partitioned' or gendered urban space, the source of gender inequality (Ardener, 1981; and Rendell, 2000). In essence the fore-going analysis shows that the distribution of job opportunities is skewed in favour of men (Wilson, 2000; and Deutsche, 2000).

The existence of gender inequality in the workplace and city is surprising given the post-apartheid developments such as legislations and policies championing gender equity in the workplace and broader South Africa (DoL, 1998; and CGE, 2000). The above developments have changed the surface or physical appearance of the city structure but left the underlying values intact, because women still occupy inferior positions in the society, the legacy of patriarchal socialization (Moser, 1993; and Perera, 2002). The dominant discourse (i.e. patriarchal values) continues to define space for both men and women in EMM industries and South Africa (Rendell, 2000). South Africa cannot achieve a complete urban integration when the city space is still partitioned along gender lines (Ardener, 1981; and Rendell, 2000). According to the Just City Approach, an equitable city is driven by the need to distribute wealth equally amongst its citizens irrespective of gender or any social mark (Fainstein, 2000). It is important that substantive equity[13] which is currently taking place at the macro level (i.e. government or parliament level) to trickle down into the micro level (i.e. families and workplaces) where gross gender inequality germinate and seen as a norm (Moser, 1993; and Pollock, 2000).

5.6. Spatial Integration

The narration of the residents' perspectives in relation to the importance of the location of Dukathole informal settlement revealed some of the key factors triggering the movement of people from other areas to this community. These factors include remote subsidised developments (i.e. Rondebult) and retrenchments from work and, unaffordable rental accommodations in EMM. Starting with the first factor, the interviewees mentioned that there are people who are recipients of subsidised houses (i.e. Rondebult) in Dukathole

[13] Champion for strategic gender needs as opposed to practical gender needs which are often promoted by formal equity (Moser, 1993). The main aim of substantive equity is to give women strategic positions within the society, while formal equity incorporate the women into the existing initiatives developed by men, thus maintaining status quo (Moser, 1993).

community. These people returned back into Dukathole on the grounds that they are working in the surrounding factories and industries, according to the respondents. In short, the above-mentioned statement raises questions regarding the efficacy of the *BNG Policy* to achieve the project of integrating low-income groups with the city. Collaborative or Communicative Planning Approaches taught us that, a consensus could be reached through participatory processes in the city, and this could lead to the development of mutual and just policies in the city (Healey, 1992). Collaborative Planning processes seem not have been actualized in the context of Rondebult housing developments, this is reflected in the movement of people from the mentioned community to Dukathole. It is a reflection of policy disjuncture between the government perceptions of what is 'just' for informal dwellers and the actual realities of the citizens in the informal settlements (Sandercock, 1998). The extension of communicative planning processes into the informal settlements including Dukathole by the government would assist in the understanding of the housing realities faced by residents (Healey, 1992; and Sandercock, 1998). Consequently, this will lead to a just city informed by the voices from below (ibid.). In reality the experiences of people who returned from the remote Rondebult development to Dukathole informal settlement affirms the fact that South African cities are still experiencing spatial fragmentation as in the pre-apartheid era (Bremner, 2000; and Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003).

Secondly, the respondents mentioned that, people after losing their jobs in the factories they often relocate from rental accommodations in Delville and Germiston (i.e. Germiston Social Housing) into Dukathole informal settlement (Stevens and Rule, 1998; and Smit, 2006). In fact the above statement resembles the push factors analysed elsewhere in this report (Smit, 2006). The foregoing statement implies that formal rental accommodation mechanisms might not cater for the urban poor who are dependent upon precarious employment in this era of globalisation (Standing, 1997; and Theron, 2004). It is very important that while developing housing policies, the politicians and elite groups are able to put those policies in the context of globalisation (Huchzermeyer, 2005).

5.6.1. Physical integration: Implication of Insiders' Perspective

What is interesting from the above-mentioned analysis is that the residents of Dukathole informal settlement like the current location of their settlement. Therefore they think and feel spatially integrated with EMM. In the case of Dukathole informal settlement the location is very important to the residents. The residents also oppose the relocation of Dukathole informal settlement to Heidelberg and Tsakane on the basis that it will deny them access to various resources and opportunities offered by EMM. Amongst other resources offered by the EMM, the respondents mentioned that they have a better access to transportation. For instance they mentioned the different and affordable modes (i.e. R3 per trip) of transportation to Dukathole residents such rail system or trains and taxis. In their view relocation of their settlement to the edge of the city will deny them access to the above mentioned transport services thus excluding them from the EMM city (ACHR, 2004).The lessons on relocation of informal settlements to the edge of the city established that the removals have negative impact on residents' livelihoods and curtail their access to various resources (ACHR, 2004). Of course this would create social inequity, since it disintegrates them with key resources for a better living (Burton, 2000; and Alemane, 2006).

Nevertheless, these findings in the case of Dukathole informal settlement contradict the assertion from other commentators who argue that locating informal settlers in the edge of the city is appropriate because that allows them to access large sites, a key factor to sustainable livelihoods (i.e. agriculture and informal economic activities) (Schoonraad, 2000; Tomlinson, 1997, in Harrison, 2002). Likewise the findings in the case of Dukathole informal settlement differ with the that of Biermann (2004), when arguing that the location (i.e. centrally located settlements) does not matter to informal settlers because most of residents are not employed in the formal sector of the economy but involved in survival strategies offered by the informal economy. Therefore the informal settlers can still continue with their livelihood or survival strategies in the periphery of the city, asserted Biermann (2004).

The forgoing affirmation by Biermann (2004) appears to be irrelevant to the experiences of Dukathole residents, as some of them mentioned that they are involved in the flexible or precarious form (i.e. sub-contract and casual) of employment in the nearby industries and factories. Likewise those who are involved in the informal economic activities in the settlement (i.e. owning tuck-shops and selling fruits and

vegetables) mentioned that the location of their settlement makes it easy for them to access goods or stocks in the city.

Moreover those who are unemployed mentioned that the location of their settlement gives them hope that they might get employed in future in this area. Perhaps the findings by (Schoonraad, 2000; Tomlinson, 1997, in Harrison, 2002; Biermann, 2004) cannot be generalized to other informal settlements including Dukathole, since settlements face unique and complex challenges (Smit, 2006). Nonetheless, the proposed relocation of Dukathole informal settlement by EMM conflict with the new South African Housing Policy (BNG), related spatial policies and legislations[14] promoting a spatially integrated city (DoH, 2006; SDF, 2006; buffalocity.gov.za, 2007; www.idp.org.za,2007; www.odi.org.uk, 2007; and www.gov.info. 2007). The BNG and related legislations pushes for an idea of integrated city by identifying a 'well-located land' in the proximity of the cities resource (ibid.). The rationale being to restructure the fragmented city space, the legacy of apartheid spatial planning (ibid.). It is in relation to the above-statement that the proposed relocation of Dukathole informal settlement by EMM appears to contradict with the national objectives of creating an integrated South African city. In short, EMM and other South African cities should stop prioritizing the interest of private property owners at the expense of low-income housing in relation to land allocating in the city (Bond, 2000). The former group is often allocated land in the proximity of the city, whereas the latter at the periphery of the city (ibid.). The allocation of land is solely based on monetary terms that, is the private property owners will pay more revenues to the city as opposed the low-income groups (ibid.). The foregoing analysis indicates that the private property owners wields more power and defines city plans (Sager, 2005). Based on the foregoing analysis, it could be concluded that there is power imbalance in favour of the elite group as opposed to the poor group. Poor people, including Dukathole residents lack power to influence decisions at the city level (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970). In short, lack of power by the poor to influence is the source of social injustice at the local sphere of the government (Bond, 2000; Fainstein, 2000; and Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002).

[14] Some of the examples of spatial policies and legislations are the National Spatial Development Perspective; Spatial Development Framework; White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management, 2001; Draft Land Use Management Bill of 200; and Municipal Systems Act No 32 0f 2000 (see Section 26 (e).

5.6.2. Inconsistency in the national policy and legislative framework

There is a need to address inconsistency in the South African national housing policy and legislative framework set to integrate the city (Huchzermeyer, 2003). Not so long ago the South African media reports were filled with protests from residents of Khutsong (Carlton Ville) opposing the proposed transfer into North West Province by the City of Joburg (Tau, 2007). The city justified the above proposal on the grounds that Khutsong is at the periphery of the city boundary, thus makes it difficult to provide it with infrastructure (Tau, 2007). In essence the above statement refute urban sprawl, thus calling for compaction, which supposedly will ensure that resident receives infrastructure and services in the city (Uytenbogaardt, 1992; Jenks, Behrens and Watson, 1996; Burton, 2000; and Day, 2003).

Despite that, in the Lehae (near Lenasia) development, as another example, the same city justified the location of subsidised housing development in the periphery of the city on the grounds that there is no land in the proximity of the city (CoJ, 2005). Likewise the EMM proposed to relocate Dukathole informal settlement to the edge of Gauteng Province, according to respondents. The above epitomizes inconsistency in the national housing policy and related legislative framework towards the project of integrating low income people with the South African cities. Likewise it contradicts the very EMMs' IDP (2006-2010) which seeks to integrate the city spatially by identifying land in the proximity of the city. The main question to be asked is that, if Dukathole informal settlement is to be relocated to Heidelberg or Tsakane, are we not going to experience the situation of Khutsong (transfer of Dukathole into Mpumalanga Province) over time as the South African political landscape changes? In short, consistency in line with the core objectives of the national housing policy and legislative framework is an urgent need for a just and integrated city in South Africa (Fainstein, 2000). Consistency with the national objective and framework will ensure that power does not rationalize unjust plans at the city level (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002).

5.7. Political Integration

5.7.1. Unilateral decision-making: Power at 'loose'?

In the light of the above residents' narration, it was easy to delineate whether Dukathole informal settlement was politically integrated with EMM or not. Furthermore the definition of political integration, which I have already discussed elsewhere in this report, was used to 'measure' whether the existing government processes (i.e. participatory forums) give the residents of Dukathole informal settlement their right to self-determination or not (Alemane, 2006).There is a sense of unilateral decision-making in the above analysis, whereby the council dictates the terms of participation in Dukathole informal settlement. The above was evident when most of the respondents mentioned that important issues such as location of housing and land are not addressed. Mainly because they fall under the jurisdiction of the EMM council as opposed to community level participatory processes. The above in essence is a typical example of 'pseudo' participatory forums, which are reluctant to address power inequality in the city, perpetuating inequality (Maller, 1991; Dlamini and Moodley, 2002; and Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002).The above discussed unilateral decision-making and poor living conditions in the context of Dukathole informal settlement serves as pivotal barrier to achieving political integration in EMM (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002).

In essence inability of participatory forums and the sense of apathy amongst residents justifies the long standing argument from the 'Foucauldians' tradition that such forums are mere 'talk-shops' promoting the interests of the elites or powerful groups in the city at the expense of the poor (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002; and Sager, 2005). The above have the potential of paralyzing the notion of collaborative planning at the city level if participatory processes are dominated by power and restrict citizens their constitutional right to participate (Bachrack and Baratz, 1970; and Dlamini and Moodley, 2002). According to the Just City approach it is not just about participation because participation can lead to injustice such as interests and power which shape the city plan (Fainstein, 2000). Participatory governance should be about restructuring power relations in the city so that the marginalized and excluded citizens could be included into the decision-making processes (Sandercock, 1998; and Fainstein, 2000).The lack of political integration in the context of informal settlement is a key constitutional right missing in Dukathole despite the existing legal

instrument[15] set to give every citizen in the municipality the right to participate (Dlamini and Moodley, 2002; and Mohamed, 2006).

Moreover another factor which exacerbates the above situation is that often informal settlements do not have civil societies which can be used to mobilize them in order to realize their political right to influence the city plan (Mohamed, 2006). Likewise the availability of civil society or organizations in Dukathole informal settlement might revitalize people's participation in the public and community forums, since they are vehicles for collective action and political integration in the city (Giddens, 1993; Friedman, 1998; Giddens and Duneir, 2000; Booher and Innes, 2002; Watson, 2002; and Mohamed, 2006). Civil society should make themselves visible in the informal settlements, thus serving as watchdogs for social justice in the city (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000).The above is crucial and a necessary role of civil society as an opponent of injustice) since the existing legislation does not seem able to guarantee participation of the informal settlers at the city level (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000; and Dlamini and Moodley, 2002).

5.7.2. Participatory Governance vs. New Public Management

One of the other central factors prohibiting, amongst others, political integration or participatory democracy at the local level in South Africa seem to be the need to implement the principles of New Public Management (NPM) (i.e. efficiency and performance management) by the municipalities (Harrison, 2002). The need to achieve efficiency by the city compromises social justice and community participation, as the decisions are still made at the top in the name of cost management (Harrison, 2002; and Mohamed, 2006). Thus NPM undermines the core aim of community participation, which is to allow the citizens to influence the city governance (ibid.).In essence the New Public Management has negated local democracy, thus denying ordinary citizens a route to communicate their needs with the central government (Hemson, 1998).There is a need to strike a balance between efficiency and social justice in South African local authorities (ibid.).In short, the introduction of NPM to South Africa has also restructured the identity of local people as citizens to customers or clients receiving the service of the city council (Mintzberg, 1996; Hemson, 1998; Bealle, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; MacDonald and Smith, 2002; McDonald and Pape,

[15] Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000, specifically chapter 4 set out the processes and procedures for community participation at the city level. Also see chapter 5 of the above act in relation to Integrated Development Planning at the local sphere.

2002; and Smith and Vawda, 2003). The situation is applicable to EMM and Dukathole informal settlement as residents are not exercising their right to self-determination on the matters that affect them directly in the city (Aleman, 2006).

The above is very strange because at the local level EMM has participatory programmes or mechanisms such as Mayoral shows, Ward Committee Systems, Developers Forums, Integrated Development Plan representative Forums, Economic Sector Forums and Community Sector Forums (EMM, IDP, 2006-2010). Nonetheless the efficacy of these mechanisms to include or politically integrate the informal settlements in the area is questionable, as the respondents mentioned that the only way to talk to the EMM is through public meetings arranged by the Ward Councilor. EMMs' participatory mechanisms must be broad based to include citizens in the informal settlements, not only the residents in the formal suburbs and townships (Mohamed, 2006). Since this will allow their voice to be heard and responded to by the city officials, thus actualizing 'planning from the borderland' (Sandercock, 1998). In short, participatory governance is critical for building the sense of identity or citizenship within informal settlements and EMM area (Smith and Vawda, 2003). Nonetheless a thorough research is needed to establish the impact of NPM on the formal participatory processes across cities and municipalities in South Africa.

5.8. Environmental Integration

The residents have pointed out a lack of sanitation as a key factor leading to unhealthy environment in their community. Moreover the respondents have identified the lack of energy in the community (i.e. electricity) as another pivotal factor causing air pollution in the community, more especially during the winter period. According to the respondents, community members are forced to resort to the use of fossil-fuels for cooking and warming purposes. In fact coal has been identified as one of the major fossil-fuels used by informal settlers (Graham and Dutkiewicz, 1999). Nonetheless, smoke which results from coal-burning have serious environmental and health ramifications (ibid.). The foregoing analysis shows that Dukathole community is not environmentally integrated with the EMM, as the residents are exposed to unhealthy living conditions (Alemane, 2006; and Smit, 2006). Communities which are environmentally integrated with the city, have access to basic services (i.e. electricity, sewage and sanitation), and are continually maintained by the municipality (Alemane, 2006). In my view the provision of basic services to the urban poor and informal settlement will contribute to the alleviation of air pollution in the municipal area, as people would have

reduced the use of coals. Furthermore, regarding sanitation, as I have already discussed it in the previous sub-headings, the provision of sanitation to Dukathole informal settlement by EMM could enhance the residents' quality of life (UN-Habitat, 2001). Firstly, de-densification and upgrading approaches to the settlement should be adopted by EMM, so that the mentioned basic services could be properly installed.

Outside these challenges the respondents mentioned that there are two key disasters often experienced by Dukathole informal settlement, namely; floods and fires. The latter disaster was identified as common within the community. Nonetheless, floods and fires are not unique to Dukathole informal settlement, for instance in their research Napier and Rubin (2002) have also pointed the above disasters to be dominant within informal settlements. Although respondents did not identify other environmental factors common to informal settlements, such as dolomite land, landfills, and external factors that might be polluting the environment in EMM that does not say there are no such factors (Moloi, 2007). Thus there is a need to research the extent and impact of pollution and other environmental challenges in the informal settlements in EMM, including Dukathole. This work will contribute to the development of proactive initiatives aiming to curb pending environmental disasters (Napier and Rubin, 2002).

Nonetheless, in the light of what the respondents said (i.e. that EMM is assisting the community during environmental disasters) it could be concluded that the Dukathole informal settlement is supported during disasters, but not necessarily integrated with the EMM, as residents are living in unhealthy conditions (Alemane, 2006). Material support during environmental disasters is a reactive measure by the EMM, in my view. There is still a need for proactive or preventive mechanisms to environmental disasters in the EMM in relation to Dukathole informal settlement, so that environmental justice could be achieved (Napier and Rubin, 2002; and Alemane, 2006). Such mechanisms would include de-densification and upgrading of the settlement, as this could alleviate fires which are ravaging congested shacks (Napier and Rubin, 2002; Huchzermeyer, 2006; and Smit, 2006). Also the above measures could solve the problem faced by families which are experiencing flooding during rainy seasons (Napier and Rubin, 2002; Huchzermeyer, 2006; and Smit, 2006).

5.8.1. Corporate social responsibility: way to integration

The concept of corporate social responsibility kept recurring in this study as the respondents mentioned that the surrounding firms and industries assist them during environmental disasters. The above has to be commended and is a positive and short-term move in the direction of integrating Dukathole informal settlement with EMM city (Hemson, 1998; Sivam, Evans, King and Young, 2001; and IIED, 2005). CSR symbolises the willingness of the private sector to lend their hand in the fight against socio-economic inequities experienced by residents in Dukathole informal settlement (ibid.). It is important that EMM explore and promotes the spirit of CSR in its area, the trend which other municipalities should emulate to address poverty in their areas (ibid.). Incentives such as tax reliefs proved to work in other contexts such as India (Sivam, Evans, King and Young, 2001). Therefore municipalities could, for instance, use this approach to lure the private sector into the course of creating an equitable city for all (Fainstein, 2000). In short, material support provided to Dukathole residents by the local firms and EMM should not be equated to integration of the settlement into the EMM, but a positive step towards that direction (Alemane, 2006). These measures are reactive and responding to the aftermath of environmental disasters experienced by community members.

5.9. Social Integration

Despite the fact the Dukathole informal settlement does not have social services within the community it can access such resources in the neighbouring residential areas. This was evidenced when the respondents mentioned that Dukathole community is accepted by the surrounding communities as they are able to share various societal and cultural resources offered by the EMM city. In essence this dispels the previous perception that informal settlers are the ‘custodians’ of various social ills (Bremner, 2000). The above perception by the outsiders or out-groups was a barrier to urban integration thus impeding the whole idea of social and urban integration (Bremner, 2000; and Sandercock, 2000).

More importantly the existence of the above social integration in Dukathole informal settlement confirms the findings in Cape Town’s Westlake village, whereby different income and race groups were reported to integrate (Lemanski, 2005). The above has facilitated the inclusion of those who were previously excluded in the city space, thus creating an equitable urban space (ibid.). The above is a positive move in the context

of EMM, as in other parts of the world it has been mentioned that the informal settlers are not accepted by their neighbouring communities (Alemane, 2006).Therefore this perpetuates urban poverty and powerlessness in the informal settlements (ibid.). In short, in the light of the above analysis of the residents' perception it is concluded that Dukathole informal settlement is socially integrated with the EMM city. The above is due to the fact that the community can access or share, amongst others, important societal and cultural resources located in the neighbouring communities. The above has set a model for other urban areas struggling to integrate on the basis of social markers such as income status (Bremner, 2000). Nonetheless, the above analysis implies that any relocation of Dukathole informal settlement to a distant area will take away the above vital resources and opportunities identified by respondents. In reality the above will lead to spatial fragmentation, the source of social exclusion and unjust city (Alemane, 2006).

5.10. Summary of the Chapter

The chapter has presented an analysis of the findings. Thus in the analysis the key factors which motivated the respondents to choose Dukathole informal settlement as their area of habitat were discussed. Moreover the residents' or respondents' perception of the integration of Dukathole informal settlement into EMM city in terms of the economic, spatial, political, environmental and social aspects was analysed. The provision of services and resources to the community as seen by residents were also analysed. Finally, some of the obstacles to integration in EMM area were delineated and analysed in the above chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will present the main conclusions and recommendations of the study. The conclusions and recommendations will primarily be based on the key components of perceived urban integration, namely; economic, spatial, political, environmental and social, for instance whether integration of Dukathole informal settlement with the EMM is happening or not as seen by residents. More importantly, this will also answer the main aims of the study. Moreover the recommendation part of this chapter will suggest various policy measures to the government, including EMM in relation to integration of informal dwellers with the city.

6.2. Conclusions

The main findings of the study in relation to economic integration revealed that the majority of the respondents are not employed in the formal economic sector within the EMM. Consequently, most respondents felt excluded from the formal or mainstream economic sector within the EMM. In the light of the above analysis it is concluded that Dukathole informal settlement is not integrated with the mainstream economic sector within the EMM. The global restructuring of the economy could be seen as a key factor that has contributed to the decline in employment and formation of precarious new types of employment in the EMM and whole world (Standing, 1997; and Theron, 2004). It therefore concluded that, global trends impede the integration of Dukathole community with the formal sector of the economy, but not necessarily excluding the settlement from the EMM city. The informal economic or survival strategies play a pivotal role of integrating Dukathole community with the EMM city. Informality in the context globalization and Dukathole is complementing the formal sector of the economy as it absorbed those who are unemployed within the EMM city. Despite that survival strategies are not receiving any formal support from the EMM Council, according to residents. Support of informal economic activities within Dukathole informal settlement by EMM would enhance the livelihood of the community within the city, thus contributing to creation of a just city.

There is an existence of gender inequality within the EMM factories and industries, as gender defines who gets employed between men and women. In this case the former category is preferred as opposed to the

latter. This contributes to the creation of injustice within the EMM city, as the phenomenon specifically obstruct women from accessing the formal employment sectors, thus forcing them to resort to the informal one or survival strategies. Despite that, most of the respondents of feel economically integrated with the EMM and this is owed to their self-induced survival strategies.

The central geographic location of Dukathole informal settlement has great significance for the community, for instance it gives residents a better access to the EMM city (i.e. Germiston), surrounding factories and industries. Furthermore the importance of Dukathole area was reflected in the attraction and return of people from distant areas such as the subsidised Rondebult housing development and formal rental accommodations in the city centre into this community. Dukathole informal settlement is providing 'refuge' or a 'cushion' to those who cannot afford housing in the formal market, new entrants from rural areas into the city, and the retrenched and unemployed.

Moreover it offers shelter, access to resources and opportunities to those who are located at the edge of the city, as it is used as a secondary home by those who own subsidised housing in the periphery of the EMM city yet working in the firms surrounding Dukathole informal settlement. In the light of the above discussion it is concluded that both government and formal or private rental accommodation processes are not succeeding in integrating Dukathole community into the EMM city. The latter form of housing might not cater for Dukathole informal dwellers who are unemployed and lack means to pay rent. In short, spatially, Dukathole is integrated with the EMM city, and any initiative to relocate the area to proposed distant areas such as Heidelberg and Tsakane will exclude the community from the city. Consequently denying community members the existing economic integration offered by the informal sector already discussed. Based on foregoing analysis it is concluded that any government processes to relocate Dukathole informal settlement to distant areas will be contradicting the central tenets of the *Breaking New Ground* housing policy, related policies and legislations set to promote spatially integrated cities across South Africa. In essence this will be a replication and maintenance of the *status quo* or the 'apartheid spatial planning'.

In contrast to the above two mentioned components of urban integration, the residents did not feel politically integrated with the EMM. Public meetings are frequently called by the Ward Councilor, but people do not attend such meetings. The sense of apathy amongst the residents is mainly attributed to the unilateral decision-making on the side of EMM or City Council, according to residents. The issue of

importance to the community such as the location of housing and land are the preserve of the Council and not negotiated with the residents, said respondents. Public meetings are the only mode of communication with the City officials and are not effective, according to residents. In essence public meetings do not allow community members to engagement effectively within a large and unmanageable group. This compels one to conclude that such meetings are typically 'pseudo participatory process' and will not allow residents to take part in the governance and influence of the crucial decision-making processes within the EMM city. More importantly this undermines the political rights bestowed by various legislative frameworks to all citizens within the city including informal dwellers. The lack of civil society in Dukathole informal settlement also thwart residents' political right or integration, as they are a pivotal 'mouth' or 'watch-dog' for the marginalized and vulnerable groups.

Another key factor hampering the political integration of informal dwellers in South Africa is the concern by municipalities to implement the doctrines championed by the New Public Management, such as the need to achieve efficiency. Councils are concerned with budgets (i.e. saving costs associated public participatory deliberations) at the expense of social justice or equity. In short, existing EMM's formal participatory processes such Mayoral shows, Ward Committee Systems, Developers Forums, Integrated Development Plan representative Forums, Economic Sector Forums and Community Sector Forums are not known or expanded into Dukathole informal settlement at the moment. This obstruct the 'voices from the borderland' or Dukathole informal settlement to infiltrate into the local policy making processes and ultimately provincial and national spheres. The local sphere is the centre for exercising local democracy and must remain like that as required by the law. In the case of Dukathole informal settlement and EMM this is not happening, as unilateral or top-down decision-making approach reigns.

The major environmental challenges experienced by Dukathole residents include lack of sanitation and air pollution. The former environmental challenge is mainly due to lack of basic civil infrastructure services such as sewage in the community, whereas the latter result from human-induced activities such as the burning of coals. Furthermore there are two major environmental disasters experienced by Dukathole residents, for instance floods and fires. Floods are primarily experienced by the residents who have occupied land which is situated on the flooded plain. Nevertheless human-induced fires are the main environmental disaster often ravaging shacks in Dukathole community. Based on the foregoing findings, it is concluded that Dukathole is not environmentally integrated with the EMM, as the environment is not

conducive for a healthy for life. Both EMM and adjacent firms are assisting the victims of disasters, for instance with temporary shelter, food and blankets. The spirit of partnership and corporate social responsibility is in place in the EMM area towards Dukathole informal settlement residents, and this is a positive ground for linking this community with the city. Nonetheless these measures are not integrating the community with the EMM city, since they are reactive rather than proactive to environmental challenges in the community.

In relation to social integration, the community does not have community based social services, but it can access such services in the neighbouring communities and city of Germiston. Amongst others, Dukathole residents are able to access and share different societal and cultural resources such as swimming pools, Germiston Lake and Stadium, and Schools with other race and ethnic groups outside the informal settlement. In the light of the above Dukathole residents felt socially accepted or integrated with the EMM city.

In short, the foregoing conclusions illustrated that the residents of Dukathole informal settlement are economically, spatially, and socially integrated with the EMM city. However they are not environmentally and politically integrated with city. The achievement of the three mentioned components of urban integration could be used as a spring board to actualizing the missing puzzles, namely environmental and political integration in the EMM city. Nonetheless the achievement of the three key components of urban integration implies that the current location of the Dukathole is ‘good’ as defined by residents. Therefore relocating it to distant areas will interfere with the existing positive features of urban integration enjoyed by the community. In simple terms when answering the aims of the study, the findings and conclusions implies that the proposed and popular government intervention processes, specifically relocation to distant areas such as Heidelberg and Tsakane are not appropriate measures to integrate Dukathole with the EMM city, but pivotal mechanisms to disintegrate the community with the city, thus ensuring inequitable city.

Similarly, the private or formal sector intervention such as the rental accommodation development will not serve as responsive mechanisms to integrate Dukathole with the EMM city as most people in the community cannot afford to pay rent. Mention has to be made that it was easy to collect the residents’ perception of urban integration; something which I believe should be easy for the government officials and policy makers to do too. The approach has provided rigorous realities of informal dwellers as urban

citizens, and this should serve as the basis for any policy driven by the desire to improve their lives. Indeed the study has brought forward the 'voices of the people from the borderland'; therefore it important that policy makers in EMM and South Africa actualize them.

6.3. Policy recommendations

- Accept informality

In the context of globalization where people are losing jobs and employed through precarious forms of employment, South Africa and other developing countries should accept informality (i.e. informal settlements and economy) as an 'insulators' or 'refuge' for those who cannot afford housing in the formal market, including social and rental accommodation. The notion of eradicating informal settlements by 2014 or creating cities without slums might not work and is not sustainable in the context of globalization. Also the push and pull factors I have discussed elsewhere in this report, illustrates that informality is here to stay, as it is maintained by perennial movement of people from poverty stricken rural areas into the cities affluent cities of South Africa, including EMM. Accepting informality and supporting it would shed light to the policy makers that there is an inter-link between urban emigration, migration, unemployment and housing challenges (i.e. persistent informal settlements) in South Africa and other developing worlds. In short, the policy maker should consistently remind themselves of the following question when dealing with informal settlements, namely; whether government interventions will deliver accessible housing in the right place (i.e. well-located land'), if shacks are eradicated will the new urban entrant meet the higher costs required by the formal housing market, and will the delivery of housing developments meet the rapid level of urbanization (Cross, 2006)?

- Need to de-densify and upgrade informal settlements

There is a need to de-densify and upgrade Dukathole informal settlement rather than relocating it to distant areas. Thus *in situ* upgrading would be necessary for Dukathole informal settlement. The EMM should actively engage all owners of land in its area with the intention of acquiring patches of land in the proximity of Dukathole informal settlement and the city of Germiston. This could be used to resettle people from Dukathole community and other informal settlements in the periphery of the city. In essence this will be promoting urban compaction, thus curbing the various social, environmental and financial costs associated

with urban sprawl. Moreover de-densification will allow for the installation of basic services such as electricity in the community.

- Economic integration

There is a need for the EMM to extend its Local Economic Development programme into Dukathole community, as this could empower residents who are involved in the informal economic activities for instance by working with informal sheebeens, formalize street traders into co-operatives and impart skills to local people. Consequently this would mitigate poverty and other related socio-economic hardships faced by community members.

- Political Integration

EMM must extend its participatory mechanisms such as Mayoral shows, Ward Committee Systems, Developers Forums, Integrated Development Plan representative Forums, Economic Sector Forums and Community Sector Forums into Dukathole informal settlement and other informal settlements in the area. This is required by the law and it is its intention to promote participatory governance in the local sphere, the key to access the provincial and national spheres by an ordinary citizen.

Moreover at the broader level there is a need to address structural barriers in South Africa, as this thwart political integration or democracy and service delivery at the local sphere (Mintzberg, 1996; Hemson, 1998; Bealle, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; MacDonald and Smith, 2002; McDonald and Pape, 2002; and Smith and Vawda, 2003). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, hold the principle of co-operative government, and defines the three spheres of government (i.e. National, Provincial and Local) as “distinct, independent and interrelated”, see Chapter 3 Section 40 (1) of the Constitution.

In essence the above concept of co-operative government decentralizes power, more importantly, to the local sphere (Constitution of South Africa, 1996). The move is appropriate and key for integrated development since the local authority is close to local communities, thus able to identify and respond to the needs and challenges experienced by these citizens in the area. In contrast, the concept of co-operative government as enshrined in the South African Constitution of 1996 appears to exist in principle. This is due

to the fact that both the Provincial and National spheres of government hold more power in relation to development issues as opposed to local government. This is reflected in Schedule 4 Part A of the Constitution of 1996, which holds that development issues such as housing, health and education are concurrent national and provincial responsibilities as opposed to local sphere. Automatically this removes power from the local authority to decide on important developmental challenges affecting urban citizens, including informal settlers.

Most of the South African literature shows that informal settlements are affected by challenges, amongst others, ranging from housing, health and education (Huchzermeyer, 2003; Ambert, 2006; Smit, 2006; and Thomas, 2006). Then if the local authority cannot address these issues because they fall outside its area of legislative competence, how are they going to serve the core needs of urban poor such as housing, health and education? These issues are relevant to Dukathole informal settlement; because respondents mentioned that they are not attending community or Ward meetings because the EMM is not responding to their important issue which is housing in this regard. The above in essence has bred the sense of apathy to attend public meetings within the Dukathole community, as most of the respondents mentioned that there is no use of attending such meetings because they are not able to change their current housing challenges.

In the light of the above information it recommended that South Africa should address the structural barriers which hampers the integration of informal settlements in the country (Ambert, 2006; and Thomas, 2006).The above will give more power and financial assistance to local councils to address challenges around housing, health and education. Thus far the local authority is just a facilitator of development, for instance by identifying land for housing in its area (Smith and Vawda, 2003).

By leaving the above structural barriers intact, it will compel one to conclude once more; that the concept of co-operative government exists in principle, as more power is still wielded at the national level. In short, the concept of co-operative government epitomizes the de-concentration[16] of power from the central or national to local government as opposed to the devolution[17] of power to the local sphere (Eaton, 2001).

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[16] De-concentration of power "refers to changes within central government ministries that relocate bureaucrats to sub-national branches of those ministries" (Eaton, 2001:103). In essence this ensures that power still rests with the central government (Eaton, 2001).

[17] Devolution "transfers authority to sub-national political actors…" (Eaton, 2001:103).

Moreover Civil Societies should locate within the informal settlements including Dukathole, as this would ensure that political integration on behalf of the residents is achieved. It is their key roles to oppose injustice, and complement strained government resources.

- Promotes just allocation of housing

The processes of transferring subsidised housing should not be completely driven by the local council including EMM, but also by community members (Crofton, 2006). Local council should adopt the role of a facilitator in the process, and create the environment for community participation in the allocation process (ibid). Furthermore transparent monitoring and evaluation measures should be established to assess and track whether the transfer or allocation process was just or not (ibid.). At present this is not in place and hampers the integration of informal settlements with cities in South Africa (ibid.). Nonetheless, the just allocation of housing is dependent upon political integration (i.e. community participation), the key missing in Dukathole informal settlement.

- Deconstructing gendered urban space

The there is a need to deconstruct 'gendered space' in our cities and country, because this is the source of an unjust city (Massey, 2000; McFadden, 2001; and Perera, 2002).It is important that governments, including EMM promote progressive ideas, programmes and approaches to development such as Gender and Development (GAD) (Rathgeber, 1990; and Serote, Mager, and Budlender, 2001). The GAD approach can deconstruct gendered space, because it promotes strategic gender needs as opposed to practical gender needs (Rathgeber, 1990; Moser, 1993; CGE, 2000; and Bradshaw, 2000).The former approach, challenges the subordinate position in the broader societal institutions held by women (Moser, 1993). In contrast the latter approach, promotes the survival needs of the broader society including that of men (i.e. provision of water), thus leaving the gendered space intact (ibid.).

The development planners in EMM should also contribute to the above process of deconstructing gendered city space by adopting one of the key roles of planning called advocacy (Kruger, 1992). Moreover the EMM should initiate and expand gender sensitive projects and programmes into the industries and factories located in its area (Kruger, 1992; and AFC, 2003). Implementing such an approach will ensure that women

are able to access various economic opportunities in the city (Perera, 2002).Thus the above would have contributed to the deconstruction of gendered city space in EMM (Ardener, 1981). The obstruction of women to access the formal economic sphere has the potential of creating the condition whereby women are financially dependent upon men. According to some theorists it is this dependence that is the main perpetrator of domestic violence in our societies and cities (De Beauvoir, 2000; and Vetten, Van der Merwe, and Jewkes, 2004). In short, the removal of gendered social maps could lead to an integrated and just city enjoyed by all its citizens (Ardener, 1981; Kruger, 1992; Moser, 1993; Hayden, 2000; Rendell, 2000; Fainstein, 2000; and Perera, 2002).

6.4. Recommendations for future research

- Future research should look at the extent and efficacy of political integration (i.e. participatory governance) within the informal settlements in EMM, South Africa and other developing countries, more especially amid New Public Management approaches at the city level.
- There is a need to research the extent and impact of pollution and other environmental challenges in the informal settlements in EMM. The above will contribute in the development of proactive initiatives aiming to curb pending environmental disasters.

6.5. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented the main conclusions and recommendations of the study. In relation to the former, the study found out that Dukathole community perceives itself as spatially, economically, spatially and socially integrated with the EMM city. However there study also found that there are gaps which still needs to be addressed so that Dukathole community is 'well' integrated with the city. Amongst others, the main missing components of urban integration in Dukathole community are environmental and political integration. In addressing these missing components of integration the chapter recommended, amongst others, that there is a need to accept informality in South Africa and other developing countries, de-densification and *in situ* upgrading of Dukathole informal settlement, structural restructuring, and deconstructing gendered city space. The recommendations for future research were also made in this chapter. Finally, the conclusions and

recommendations in this chapter were based on the perceptions of residents, and answered the main aims of the study.

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Personal communications

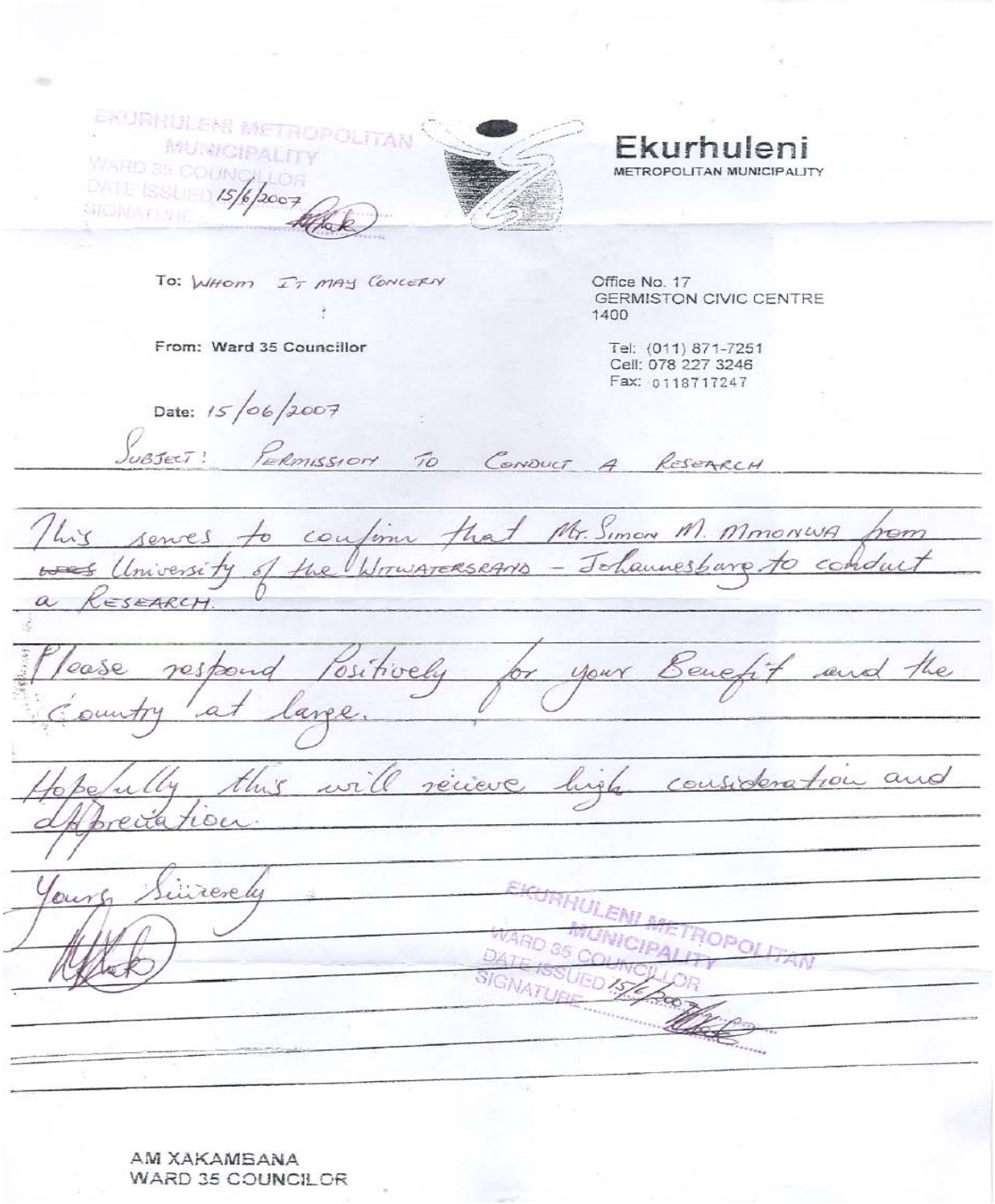
Personal communication 1. (2007). Senior resident and original member of Dukathole community.

Personal communication 2. (2007). Mr. Alex Nxakambana, Ward Councilor, Ward number 35, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality.

----------END----------

8. APPENDIXES

APPENDIX – A: SANCTION LETTER



EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY
WARD 35 COUNCILLOR
DATE ISSUED 15/6/2007
SIGNATURE

Ekurhuleni
METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

To: WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

From: Ward 35 Councillor

Date: 15/06/2007

Office No. 17
GERMISTON CIVIC CENTRE
1400

Tel: (011) 871-7251
Cell: 078 227 3246
Fax: 0118717247

SUBJECT: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH

This serves to confirm that Mr. SIMON M. MMONWA from ~~UCS~~ University of the WITWATERSRAND - Johannesburg to conduct a RESEARCH.

Please respond Positively for your Benefit and the Country at large.

Hopefully this will recieve high consideration and Appreciation.

Yours Sincerely

EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY
WARD 35 COUNCILLOR
DATE ISSUED 15/6/2007
SIGNATURE

AM XAKAMBANA
WARD 35 COUNCILOR

APPENDIX – B: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH TOOL

Demographic Information (Please tick appropriate box)

1. Gender

Male	Female

2. Age

21-25	26-30	31-40	41 and above

3. Race

African	Coloured	Indian	White	Other (Please specify)

4. Marital Status

Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Other (Please specify)

5. Number of Dependents

None	One	Two	Three	Four and above

6.a. Employment Status

Employed	Unemployed	Self-Employed	Studying	Other (Please specify)

6.b. Income Level Per Month (If Employed)

R501-R599	R600-R1000	R1100-R1501	R1599 and above

7. Highest Educational Level Passed

None	Primary	Secondary	Post-Matric/ Tertiary

8. Type of Residence

Self-Owned Shack	Rented Shack	Backyard Shack	Formal House	Other (Please specify)

9. Household Composition

One	Two	Three	Four and above

10. Home Province

Eastern Cape	Freestate	Gauteng	Kwazulu-Natal	Limpopo
Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	Northwest	Western Cape	

11. How long have you been in Gauteng Province? Please tick appropriate box below.

1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	Other (Please specify)

12. What motivated you to choose Dukathole Squatter Camp as your residential area?

……
……
……
……
……

13. Did you get what you expected when you came to this area?

……
……
……
……

14. How long have you been in Dukathole? Please tick appropriate box below.

1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	Other (Please specify)

15. Are you intending to stay in this settlement? Why

……
……
……
……

16. Is Dukathole the first informal settlement you have stayed in? ……

17. If your answer is No in which informal settlement have you been staying?.....

18. What made you to move from that settlement to Dukathole?

……
……
……

19. As a resident of Dukathole, how would you, in few words, describe your area?

……
……
……
……
……

20. (a). Do you have access to the following services within your settlement? Please answer Yes or No.

Services	Yes or No	Private	Public
Electricity			
Telephones			
Water			
Sanitation			
Refuse removal facilities			
Toilets			

20. (b). If you answer is Yes above, how would you rate your access to any of these services within Dukathole?

Electricity

Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

Telephones

Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

Water

Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

Sanitation

Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

Refuse removal facilities

Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

Toilets

Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

Comments about Service level

……
……
……

21. (a).How would you describe the provision of the following resources to your settlement?

Please tick appropriate box.

21. (b). Who is the main provider? Please tick appropriate box below.

Housing

21. (a)	Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

21. (b).	National Gvt	Provincial Gvt	Local Gvt	Private Sector

Education

21. (a)	Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

21. (b).	National Gvt	Provincial Gvt	Local Gvt	Private Sector

Health Care Facilities

21. (a)	Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

21. (b).	National Gvt	Provincial Gvt	Local Gvt	Private Sector

Social Services

21. (a)	Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor

21. (b).	National Gvt	Provincial Gvt	Local Gvt	Private Sector

Comments

……
……
…….
……
……

22. (a). Do you know of people who are moving back and forth between your settlement and other types of rental settlements in EMM? .....

22. (b). If your answer is Yes above, what do you think might be an explanation for that?

……
……
……
……
……

23. What do you think should be done about housing issues in this settlement?

……
……
……
……
……
……

24. In your view is there an alternative land, which is 'well-located' or in the proximity of you area for housing informal settlers within your Municipal area? (Please explain).

……
……
……
……
……
……

25. (a). Have you applied for government housing? If you answer is yes, when did you apply……

25. (b). If your answer for the above question is No, please state the reason (s) for not applying.

……
……
……
……

26. What are some of the key issues that you are most satisfied with [positive experience] in your area?

……
……
……
……

27. What are some of the key issues that you are least satisfied with [negative experience] in your area?

……
……
……
……
……
……

28. (a). Do you feel like you are part of EMM? Please explain.

……
……
……
……

28. (b). If your answer is No above, what would make you feel like you are part of EMM?

……
……
……
……

29. (a). Do you know of any community members who received subsidised housing?.....

29. (b). Was the allocation of these houses fair?

……
……
……
……
……

30. What is the primary source of income for your household?

……
……
……
……

31. What are some of the most prevalent forms of the informal economic activities in your settlement?

……
……
……
……
……

32. Is the EMM supporting economic activities in your area? Please explain.

……
……
……
……

33. In your own view is the location of the settlement important, for instance near the city or further away from the city? Please explain.

……
……
……
……

34. How does the geographic location of your settlement impact on your access to resources and opportunities?

……
……
……
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……
……

35. In your view how would the proposed relocation of your informal settlement to Heidelberg affect you?

……
……
……
……
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……
……
……

36.(a). How often does your community have meetings with the Ward Councilor?……..

36. (b). If your answer is never or not often above, please explain what might be the reason for this.

……
……
……
……

37. (a). How often does your community have meetings with the EMM Officials?

……
……
……
……

37. (b). If your answer is never or not often above, please explain what might be the reason for this.

……
……
……

38. (a). Do you have community forums in your settlement?.....

38. (b). If such forums exist in your community how would you describe residents' participation in them?

……
……
……
……
……

38. (c). Do you find these forums to be effective or not? Please explain your answer. (i.e. do they have any impact, for instance can you see things taken to the forums actually happening?).

……
……
……
……
……

38. (d). If there are no such forums what might be the cause of that?

……
……
……
……
……

39. Are you able to access transport that connects your settlement and the city?….....

40. What are the prevalent modes of transportation used by community members to access the city of EMM? 3.

……
……
……
……

41. What is the cost of the transport that you use?.....

42. In you view do you think your informal settlement is accepted by the neighbouring communities? Please elaborate.

……
……
……
……
……

43. Does EMM provide security to residents? Please explain.

……
……
……
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……
……

44. Does EMM provide assistance in the case of disasters to the community? Please explain how?

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……

45. Is your settlement able to access others societal resources located in the neighbouring communities? Please motivate your answer and give examples of such shared resources.

……
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……
……
……

APPENDIX – C: INFORMATION LEAFLET AND CONSENT FORM

STUDY TITLE: RESIDENTS' PERCEPTION OF URBAN INTEGRATION: THE CASE OF DUKATHOLE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT.

RESEARCHER: MAEMA SIMON MMONWA

INSTITUTION: UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Good day, my name is Maema Simon Mmonwa; I am a Development Planning Student at the University of the Witwatersrand. I would like to invite you to consider participating in a research study, titled Residents' Perception of Urban Integration: The Case of Dukathole Squatter Camp.

1. It is important that you read and understand the following details about the intention of the study, risks, distresses and measures involved in the study, and your right to refuse to participate and stop continuing with the study at any time before agreeing to take part in the study.

Please make sure that you totally understand the following explanations involved in this study before you agree to be part of it, they are:

(a). You will openly ask me any questions regarding the study.

(b). You will not agree to take part in this study until you are satisfied about its goals and measures involved.

(c). You will be honest with me regarding your emotional and psychological health, as you may otherwise harm your self by taking part in this study.

(d). If you agreed to take part in this study you will be asked to sign this sheet to verify that you understand the study.

(e). That you are an adult person over the age of 21 years.

(f). The total amount time of participation in the study will be 45-1hour.

(g). Your will not be given any reward or payment for participating in this study.

(h). All data or information gathered from you will be kept strictly confidential, and no information in the study will be linked with you.

(i). You will not benefit from this study, but my participation may help in the understanding of urban integration.

INFORMED CONSENT

- I hereby verify that I have been informed by a Planning student,…….. (state name of student), about the intention of the study, risks, distresses and measures involved in the study titled…….. (state the title of the study),

- I have also obtained, read and understood the above information leaflet in relation to the study as listed above.

- I am also aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials or my actual identities will be anonymously processed or analysed into the study.

- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.

- I was given enough chance to ask questions and voluntarily decided to take part in the study.

Participant:

Print Name: …… Signature/Mark or Thumbprint…….

Date…… Time……..

I,……, herewith verify that the above participant has been completely informed about the intention of the study, risks, distresses and measures of the study.

Researcher:

Print Name: …….. Signature……..

Date…… Time……..