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Exploring rapid development in emergency relocations in the South African context: a case study of Nellmapius Extension 21 in Mamelodi, Tshwane

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EXPLORING RAPID DEVELOPMENT IN EMERGENCY RELOCATIONS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT:

A CASE STUDY OF NELLMAPIUS EXTENSION 21 IN MAMELODI, TSHWANE

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban Studies in the field of Housing and Human Settlements

Johannesburg, 2020

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Urban Studies in the field of Housing and Human Settlements to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.



…….

(Signature of Candidate)

12/10/2020

……..

(date)

Abstract

The upgrading of informal settlements has been at the centre of upgrading in South African cities. While the government advocates for phased *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements, in some settlements upgrading is not possible thus making relocation the only option. While some cities may create Temporary Relocation Areas as guided by the Emergency Housing Programme, the City of Tshwane has managed to create a permanent relocation area for a relocated community in its jurisdiction.

Using a series of interviews with community members, their leaders and a City official, this research report looks at how the City managed to create a permanent relocation area in Nellmapius Extension 21, being the study area. The findings of the paper are that the City has managed not only to develop the area but it did so rapidly.

This paper reports on how rapid development happened in Nellmapius Extension 21 reporting on the potentials and limitations of rapid development, and what it could mean for South Africa.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Professor Marie Huchzermeyer, for the continued guidance throughout the research. Thank you for the comments and invaluable assistance that greatly helped in ensuring the research report gets improved.

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I wish to acknowledge the community of Nellmapius Extension 21 and their leaders for opening their space to me and agreeing to participate in the interviews.

A big thank you to the official of the City of Tshwane for fulfilling his appointment and being part of my research.

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Table of Contents

Declaration ..... **i**
Abstract ..... **ii**
Acknowledgements ..... **iii**
List of figures ..... **vii**

Chapter 1: Introduction to the research **1**
1.1. Introduction **1**
1.2. Background **1**
1.3. Problem Statement/ Rationale **2**
1.4. Aims and objectives **3**
1.5. Research Question **3**
1.5.1.Main Question: 3
1.5.2.Sub-questions: 3
1.6. Expected findings **3**
1.7. Introductory notes on methods used in this research **4**
1.8. Conceptual framework diagram **4**
1.9. Research outline **5**

Chapter 2: Rapid development, relocations and the upgrading of relocation areas **7**
2.1. Introduction 7
2.2. Development of informal settlements and their role in society 8
2.3. The relocation and resettlement of communities 9
2.4. Emergency Housing Programme- the mechanism for emergency relocations 11
2.5. *In situ* upgrading of settlements 13
2.5.1. The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme 13
2.5.2. Performance indicators as identified by the UISP 15
2.6. Community participation levels and the challenges to achieving effective participation 15
2.7. Understanding rapid development 17
2.8. Conclusion 18

Chapter 3: Research Methods **19**
3.1. Introduction **19**
3.2. Research approach **19**
3.3. Data collection tools **20**
3.3.1. Primary data 20
3.3.2. Secondary data 20
3.4. Population and sample size **21**
3.5. Sampling technique **21**
3.6. Data collection challenges **22**
3.7. Ethical considerations **23**
3.8. Limitations of the study 24
3.9. Conclusion **24**

Chapter 4: The geographical and policy context of Nellmapius **25**
4.1. Introduction 25
4.2. The City of Tshwane - background 25
4.3. Tshwane's policy approach to Nellmapius 27
4.3.1. Breaking New Ground (2004) 27
4.3.2. Formalisation of informal settlements: Rearrangement of shacks 28
4.3.3. *Re Aga Tshwane* (We are building Tshwane) housing programme 28
4.3.4. Electrification of informal settlements 29
4.4. Mamelodi East in Context 31
4.5. The case of Nellmapius 32
4.6. Area of study: Nellmapius Ext21 34
4.6.1 The progression of growth in the area (2010-2019) 35
4.6.2. Results of my walk-about observation 37
4.7. Conclusion 41

Chapter 5: Fieldwork **42**
5.1. Introduction **42**
5.2. Settlement background and history **42**
5.2.1. The history of Phomolong and the birth of Nellmapius Extension 21 42
5.3. Upgrading, participation and the outcome of it **43**
5.3.1. The participation of role players during the upgrading process 44
5.3.2. The handling of the development in Nellmapius Extension 21 46
5.3.3. Challenges faced by role players 48

5.3.4. Life after the upgrade 50
a. Housing delivery 50
b. Current status of the area 51
c. Outstanding infrastructure 52
d. What could have been done differently 52
5.4. Conclusion **53**

Chapter 6: Analysis of fieldwork against the theory of the literature review 54
6.1. Introduction **54**
6.2. The impact of existing policy on Nellmapius Extension 21 upgrade **54**
6.3. The accomplishments and limitations of the rapid development in Nellmapius **55**
6.4. Effective community participation: a myth or a possibility? **56**

Chapter 7: Conclusion of research and recommendations for further studies 58
7.1. Introduction **58**
7.2. Conclusion **58**
7.3. Recommendations **59**

References 61
Annexure 1 65
Annexure 2 66
Annexure 3 67
Annexure 4 69
Annexure 5 70

List of figures

Figure number

1.1	Conceptual Framework diagram	5
2.1	Basic outline of the UISP implementation phases	13
2.2	Arnstein's ladder of participation	16
4.1	City of Tshwane location map	26
4.2	Map of Mamelodi in the City of Tshwane	31
4.3	Map of Nellmapius and illustration of case study area	32
4.4	Layout map of Nellmapius Extension 21	34
4.5	Progression growth illustration of Nellmapius (2010-2019)	35
4.6	Pictures of structures on area of study	38
4.7	RDP houses structures found in Nellmapius Extension 21	38
4.8	Illustration of toilets built around the study area	39
4.9	A picture of one of the roads in Nellmapius Extension 21	40
4.10	Picture of uncollected garbage gathering on the side of the main road in Nellmapius Extension 21	40

Chapter 1: Introduction to the research

1.1. Introduction

While the City of Tshwane boasts the decrease in the number of informal settlements within its municipal boundaries (CoT,2017), it takes nothing away from the environmental conditions some informal settlements are faced with. In some cases they find themselves in need of emergency relocations due to the threat of not only severe environmental hazards but also disasters. Even after the relocations, the relocated communities are still in need of assistance to resettle in their new areas and this may come in the form of developing the area,

This chapter provides the context that shapes the research report. It leads with the background and rationale for the study which provides the basis of the study followed by the aims and objectives as well as the research questions and sub-questions of the study, which highlight the direction in which the research aims to go. The next section addresses the considerations of the issues of confidentiality and anonymity regarding protecting the community members. It further looks at the limitations and ethical considerations regarding the research. Finally, the chapter concludes with my interests and expectations as the researcher.

1.2. Background

Between 1993 and 2002 the number of people living under poverty in rural areas globally has shown a decrease in proportion to the number of those living under poverty in urban areas, which has increased (Beall & Fox, 2009). This increase is argued by Beall & Fox (2009) to be an indication of a growth in urban poverty. This growth has resulted in poverty becoming a significant feature of urban areas (*ibid*.). The urban poor often settle in informal settlements on land that is marginal and of little value to developers due to its undesirable location (*ibid*.). These settlements are barely incorporated into the formal infrastructure networks if at all. The failure of government agencies across the developing world to deal with informal settlements is attributed to lack of political will, institutional barriers and inadequate resources (*ibid*). Traditionally, state authorities have responded to informal settlements by either ignoring, demolishing, relocating or upgrading them (Alsayyad, 1993). It has become clear that informal settlements cannot be ignored, they have become a permanent feature of urban areas.

Informal settlements vary in their history, infrastructure and the rate of change (Bettencourt et al., 2015). However, they still have common characteristics, namely: informal land use, lack of physical access to amenities and poor quality or lack of basic services (*ibid.*). The adoption of housing policy in South Africa in 1994 formalised the newly elected government's intention to

provide starter houses which beneficiaries would consolidate over time (Charlton & Kihato, 2006 & Massey, 2013).

The rapid formation of poor households means the rate of growth of informal settlements is likely to increase and some informal settlements will not receive any attention from their municipality for a long time (NUSP, 2015). While the housing policies in South Africa may require that municipalities consider upgrading settlements on site where possible (Charlton & Kihato, 2006 &Huchzermeyer & Karam, 2016), in some cases on site upgrading proves impossible thus forcing the relocation of settlements. The National Housing Programme serves to address the needs of settlements that find themselves forced to relocate from their homes, whether permanently or temporarily (DHS, 2009). Under emergencies, the programme proposes guidelines and principles for relocations in emergency situations, this so to avoid making the situation of the relocated settlements worse. It further, provides guides on how to help the relocated communities resettle in their new area.

1.3. Problem Statement/ Rationale

When the municipality finds itself in position where it cannot deliver housing for the poor and cannot attend to informal settlements in due time to prevent the deteriorating environments in the settlements, relocation areas are then introduced to deal with informal settlements affected by disaster. These areas can either be set-up temporarily while the original area is being upgraded or until a new greenfield development is complete (DHS, 2009). While the emergency programme as per the National Housing Code may make provision for relocations and resettlement of communities, it is important that the development of settlements post relocation be sustainable and ensures that people's lives and their environments are improved.

Ensuring that a development is sustainable, community participation is earmarked as a mandatory requirement as seen in (Nassar & Elsayed, 2018). This is further supported by the work of (Jenkins, 1999) on community involvement in delivery under the new South African housing policy. According to (Mautjana & Makombe, 2014), community participation has levels to it ranging from manipulation to citizen control, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. While attempting to involve community members in decision making during development the question arises at to what happens to community participation in the process where the government aims for rapid development of a site after relocation, or even in greenfield developments. This had become particularly relevant At the time of writing this research report, South Africa was faced by the Corona Virus (COVID-19) which required that the National Department of Human Settlements finds a solution appropriate for informal settlements. The regulations set for the lockdown required a rapid response especially in informal settlements as it made social distancing and isolation especially tricky considering

their conditions. While rapid development in emergency relocations may deliver results much sooner, the compromises that come with rapid development need to be considered in both the short and the long-term.

1.4. Aims and objectives

The main aim of the research is to explore rapid development in cases of emergency relocations in order to contribute to our understanding of what rapid development in relocations involves. In particular to find out the possibilities and the limitations rapid development as applied in South Africa has. This exploration has been done through the study of Nellmapius Extension 21, which is an area in Mamelodi East, located about 20km east of the City of Tshwane (CoT) Central Business District (CBD). Through this research I have looked at how rapid development unfolded in Nellmapius Extension 21, and how the municipality managed to speed up the development.

As mentioned in the section above, community participation is essential for the longevity of a development, with this in consideration the aim is therefore to understand how community participation was handled in the face of rapidly developing Nellmapius Extension 21. Furthermore, while the CoT had rapidly developed the area of study, I have looked at what the potentials and limitations of rapid development have been in the area so far.

1.5. Research Question

1.5.1. Main Question:

What are the possibilities and implications of rapid development in emergency relocation in South Africa?

1.5.2. Sub-questions:

a. What are the parameters for rapid development in emergency relocation in South Africa?
b. How did the Nellmapius Extension 21 case in Mamelodi unfold?
c. How was development speeded up in the Nellmapius Extension 21 case?
d. How was community participation handled in the Nellmapius Extension 21 case?
e. What potentials and limitations does the Nellmapius Extension 21 case present for rapid development in emergency relocation in South Africa?

1.6. Expected findings

My assumption was that no community would stand in the way of rapid development of their area, more so after they have been relocated from an informal settlement. My expectation was

that when done according to the set out promises, then rapid development is welcomed. I expected to find that the municipal officials had been of the opinion that a developed area is what community members ultimately care about, while neglecting the possibility that community members will want to be involved in the decision making considering they will have to live in the area long after the development is complete. There was also a possibility that community participation during the development was in a top-down form, and plans were forced onto the community members rather than allowing them to make their own contributions. This may have resulted in community members not having had any skills and decision making capabilities developed in as far as the development process is concerned. Finally, there may also be the possibility that community members may feel no obligation to help look after the area even after the development due to them being excluded from the actual decision making about the area. This may be because they felt like their needs may not have been fully catered for and that they municipality does not necessarily care about the community but rather about the municipality's statistics on development in the city.

I also expected that the City would struggle with the resettlement of the relocated community due to the resistance from the community members that already live in the surrounding areas, thus prolonging the development of the study area. Considering that the study area is made of communities from different sections around Mamelodi East, it was my expectation that the relocation area will be filled with animosity amongst the different communities considering they are from different settlements and this animosity would be a hindrance to the development of the relocation area.

1.7. Introductory notes on methods used in this research

The data for this research was collected through interviews with different role players of the development of the area post relocation. As the researcher, I had to take into account the anonymity of the community members and make provision for it. I also had to take into account the possible limitations of the study along with the ethical considerations. The selected sampling for the data collection was chosen due to its ability to provide access to community members specific to the development project. This section is covered in detail in the research method chapter.

1.8. Conceptual framework diagram

The literature covers the basics of the development of informal settlements and some of the roles they have played in society, more so for the urban poor. Beyond that, the literature covers the circumstances that drive municipalities to relocate communities from their settlements, and the resettlement of the very communities. Once communities are relocated, they still need help

to resettle in their new areas, therefore another aspect reviewed is resettlement. Other concepts that I used are rapid development community participation and *in situ* upgrading as these all feature in dealing with informal settlements facing disasters and environmental hazards. A framework diagram is below.

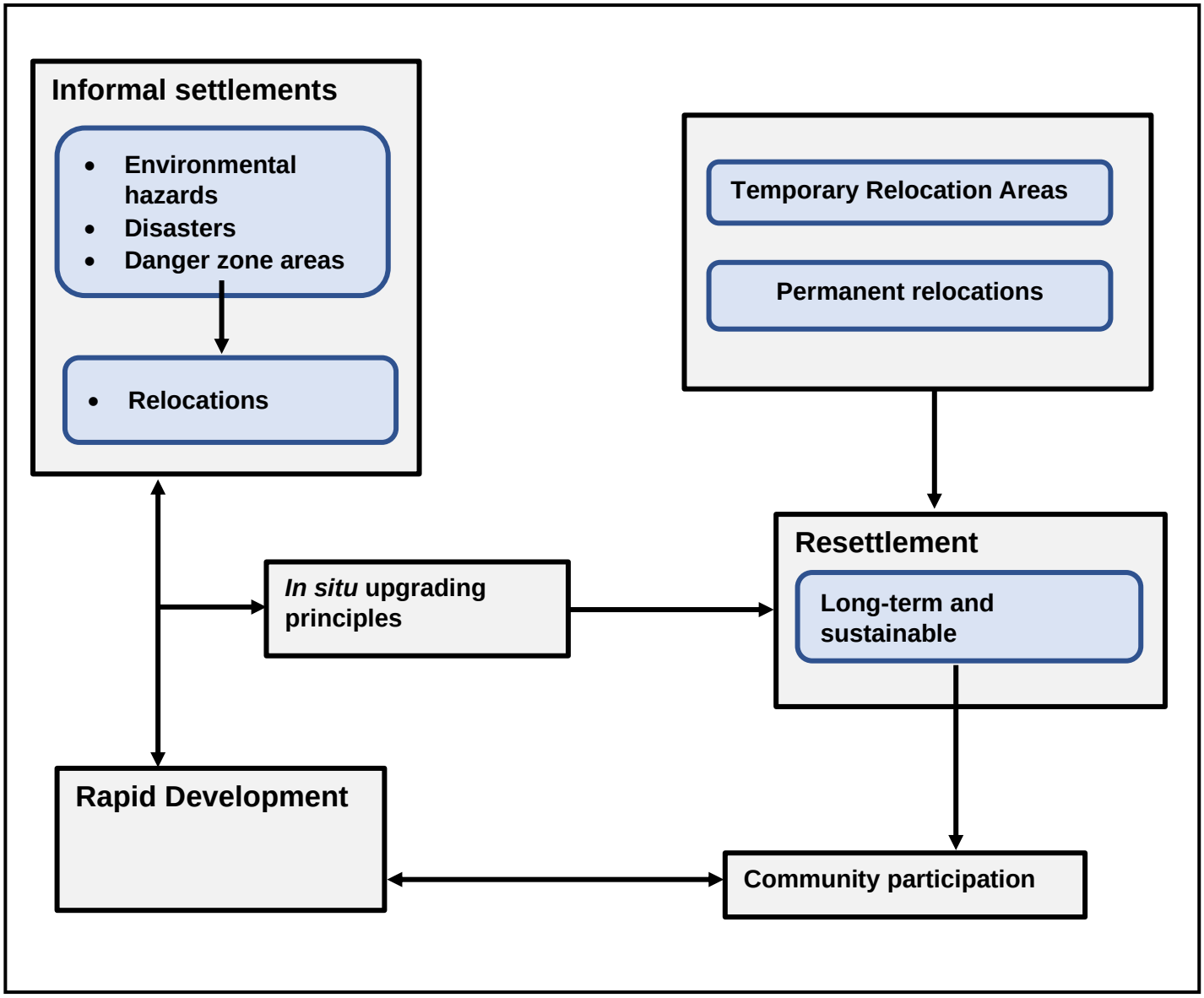


Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework diagram outlining the route of the research report

1.9. Research outline

The second chapter of this research report covers emergency relocations, the circumstances that make relocations necessary and guidelines for resettlements. In line with the research topic, the research also covers the concept of rapid development and its possible impacts on

community participation along with the use of *in situ* upgrading principles in the resettlement of relocated communities. The third chapter covers the methods used to collect data for the research, taking into account the type of data collection, the short-falls and sampling techniques and, importantly, the ethical considerations. The fourth chapter covers the geographical context of the study area, and the programme used by the CoT to deal with the challenges of their informal settlements and areas that need to be developed. Finally the research report in its fifth chapter provides an analysis of the work done on the study area, how it unfolded and how it reflects back on the literature covered in the second chapter of the research report. The final chapter covered in the research will be a concluding chapter to tie in everything together.

Chapter 2: Rapid development, relocations and the upgrading of relocation areas

2.1. Introduction

Informal settlements are currently at the centre of the urban development concerns in South Africa, as a result the upgrading of informal settlements is considered one of the country's pro-poor development strategy (Huchzermeyer, 2011 & Muzondi, 2014). As already mentioned in the background of the research in the introductory chapter, since the dawn of its democracy, South Africa has had to acknowledge and deal with the significant growth in informal settlements. Arising from this acknowledgement was the development and implementation of the informal settlements upgrading programme across the country (Charlton & Kihato, 2006 & Massey, 2013). According to Armitage (2011) the combination of rapid population growth, weak local government, insufficient investment and the lack of skilled personnel are recipe for informal settlements growth. Considering the continued growth of informal settlements in urban areas, the abolishment of these informal settlements (itself a contentious proposal, see Huchzermeyer (2006)) is unlikely to be achieved in the short- to medium-term. Armitage (2011) argues that most of the urban poor do not have many alternatives and thus there is a need for a more realistic view regarding the existence of informal settlements that allows for the tolerence of their existence in the short-term. In the long-term however, informal settlements would require progressive informal settlements upgrading through a phased *in situ* upgrade (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

As of 2008 due to work of the National Upgrading Support Programme, the upgrading of informal settlements began to receive attention from officials around the country (Huchzermeyer, 2011). Along with budgets, appropriate policies and skilled personnel are vital for the long-term solution of upgrading informal settlements (Armitage, 2011). Important to note is that informal settlement policies in South Africa have thus far been riddled with the tension between acknowledging the legitimacy of informal settlements and the aggression applied to the removal of these very informal settlements (Hunter & Posel, 2012). This research pays specific attention to the impacts of rapid development in emergency locations as applied around South Africa, focusing on a specific area in the CoT.

This chapter serves as a review of secondary resources to try gain understanding of the characteristics of informal settlements and their rise, and the purpose they serve in society today. It also looks at how communities find themselves in situations where they need to be relocated and resettled and the measures in place to assist relocated communities. The chapter further focuses on *in situ* upgrading of settlements, which serves to guide upgrades in

informal settlements and emergency relocations. Finally, the chapter looks at rapid development and what it can achieve and how community participation can fit in the process if at all.

2.2. Development of informal settlements and their role in society

In the time of Apartheid, much of the South African urban policy attempted to attain the unattainable and that is securing labour-power in the city without having the labourers residing in the city (Maylam, 1990). The increase in the displacement of the black urban population to bantustands led to the overcrowding and impoverishment of rural areas, which in turn put pressure on the people in the rural areas to migrate to the urban areas where they belived they had a better chance to earn a living (*ibid.*). This echoes Muzondi's (2014) suggestion that there exists compelling evidence that the poverty in rural areas has resulted in outmigration to urban areas in pursuit of opportunities or survival.The unwillingness of the different spheres of the apartheid government to bear the burden of housing black people in the urban areas and the weak financial base forced black migrants to devise their own forms of shelter and the mushrooming of informal settlements around urban areas served as an indication of the seriousness of the crisis surrounding the housing of black people (*ibid.*).

In the 1940s, the pressure of dispossession on the one hand and industrialisation requiring labour in South African cities on the other resulted in the growth of informal settllements on segregated peripheral land (Huchzermeyer, 2002). Despite the apartheid government's efforts at eradicating informal settlements, the South african urban landscape has ever since been characterised by informal settlements formed through an informal occupation of land (*ibid.*). The buffer zones which the apartheid government created around townships as segregation barriers became gradually occupied as apartheid rule crumbled, resulting in a band of informal settlements surrounding many formally established townships (*ibid.*).

Infromal settlements are argued to be an indication of poverty, inequality and inefficient land markets and require the type of intervention that supports them rather than just improving them (Brown-Luthango, et al. 2017). In an attempt to provide support to infromal settlements dwellers, it is worth noting that they pick the location of their informal settlements with specific reasons such as proximity to services, work opportunities and social networks (*ibid.*). Though viewed by outsiders as chaotic and unsafe, they still support a livelihood and allows residents the ability to survive under unfortunate circumstances with the little they have (*ibid.*). While informal settlements provide a home and support to the poor, their upgrading is still important to help do away with their insecurity and the unhealthy living conditions (*ibid.*). Upgrading an informal settlement needs to happen with the long-term goal of doing away with their vulnerability and ensuring the sustainablity of the intervention on the informal settlement (*ibid.*).

The creation of a national housing policy that focuses on standardised and individualised subsidy framework has entiled qualifying low-income households to subsidised housing (*ibid.*). This type of intervention along with the relocation of an entire population of an informal settlement continued to drive informal settlements intervention in South Africa (*ibid.*). Even with the entitlement of low-income households to subsidised housing, the continued reduction from the housing budget has made the realisation of a house less likely for many South Africans (*ibid.*). The entitlement of the low-income population has resulted in a culture of waiting for the state to provide housing (Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). The residents are of the contention that waiting on the government to fulfill their promise of housing provision is a validation for their living experience (*ibid.*). The culture of waiting for something better (Kornienko, 2017) and the subsidy scheme as applied in South Africa has created communities of passive recipients of housing (FFC, 2013).

Waiting for state subsidised housing in South Africa has been normalised as people continue to wait in hope and expect that they will someday get their houses (Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). Oldfield & Greyling (2015) argue that the right to access basic housing as outlined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa has legitimised the wait by the majority of the citizens for these state houses. They further argue that the promise by the state to deliver housing to its qualifying citizens symbolises democracy and this is a commitment that is renewed by the state every electoral year (*ibid.*). While citizens continue to wait for housing from the state, they have to find shelter in the meantime (*ibid.*). These shelters are often in settlements that are deemed spaces that are informal and illegal in South Africam cities (*ibid.*).

Improving the lives of informal settlements dwellers has become a pressing matter for agencies like the United Nations and the World Bank (Brown-Luthango, et al. 2017). To ensure the sustainability of these upgrading interventions, the state needs to acknowledge that there isn't one solution that will fit all informal settlements in South African cities (*ibid.*). The state needs to also ackowledge that community partcipation plays a critical role in the long-term success of the upgrading intervention and it also allows for solutions that support the social networks and cohesion in these informal settlements (*ibid.*).

2.3. The relocation and resettlement of communities

While there has been an increase in recognition that housing projects have to adopt the idea of incrementally upgrading informal settlements to address inequality and the lack of access to amenities in South Africa (Fieuw & Mitlin, 2017), it may not always be possible to upgrade an infromal settlement thus requiring the relocation of the community. Relocation can be brought on by disasters or environmental hazards rendering communities homeless and thus requiring urgent intervention. Because disasters force a community into a situation where they

require external assistance, the emergency housing programme serves as a tool to assist in the relocation and the resettlement of the dispossed communities (DHS, 2009).

Ideally, the temporary relocation of a community entails that the community will be dispossessed for a short-term period (Levenson, 2018). This means the community will be relocated to a temporary area while their area is rehabilitated, or the community can finally move on to a new development (DHS, 2009). However, South African disposed communities often find themselves in permanent dispossession (Levenson, 2018). The problem with this is that dispossession results in communities being separated from already established networks, homes and are further from employment opportunities (*ibid.* & Cernea, 1997). Drawing from Levenson (2018) temporary relocation areas (TRAs) were meant to be used in cases of emergencies and sometimes in cases where a settlement was deemed overcrowded, whie the City seeks, alternative accommodation for the dispossessed, however as of late the focus has shifted and TRAs are used even when there are no emergencies. It is through this misuse of TRAs that they are now viewed as dumping grounds for the groups that the City does not want to deal with (*ibid.*). To add to this problem, Cernea (1997) highlights that the dispossession of communities, more so the forced disspossesion often can result in the worsening of an already vulnerable livelihood when not addressed effectively. This makes it important that relocated communities are assisted with resettling in their new areas. The emergency housing programme makes provision for the types of assisstance that can be provided in temporary areas, depending on the time-frame of the relocation, which as evidenced by Levenson (2018) can be long-term.

With the inability for some settlements to be rehabilitated it demands for the permanent relocation of settlements, and the emegency housing programme assists in providing temporary relief to these communities while the long-term resettlement of the site is planned for (DHS, 2009). The development of the site is usually achievable with a different upgrading programme that will allow for the sustainability of the development (*ibid.*). The site should be planned such that interim services provided in the short-term can be extended and upgraded in the long to allow for the permanent housing of the relocated community (*ibid.*). Considering the material loss during disaster forced relocations, helping dispossessed communities resettle is vital.

Resettlement is essential as it affords communities the chance to “improve their livelihoods and living standards” (McAdam & Ferris, 2015, p. 152). This is because resettlement is “a process that introduces new built environment for the displaced community” (Sridarran, et al., 2018, p. 125). While this may sound pleasant the resettlement process isn’t without its challenges. Some of which includes finding the right land to resettle, one that is hazard free

and can improve the livelihoods of the community, which would entail not moving people far away from employment opportunities (Sipe & Vella, 2014). The funding for the resettlement may prove challenging, as the process comes with rebuilding a whole site, and it must be noted that decisions made need to be thought through as they will determine the long-term survival of the area (*ibid.*). Sipe & Vella (2014) and Sridarran et al. (2018) may both agree to community participation (which will be discussed in a different section) being at the centre of successful and sustainable resettlement. Sridarran et al. (2018) take this further by stating that the resettled community is not the only one that should be involved but rather also the community that needs to accommodate them. Good governance in the form of policies guiding resettlement and strong leadership from those incharge of the process is also part of the elements that are necessary for sustainability (Sipe & Vella, 2014). Temporary relief provided on a site set aside for permanent housing needs to take into account the ability to upgrade the temporary services in the long-term (DHS, 2009). The built environment as mentioned above by Sridarran, et al. (2018) refers to not only buildings but the open spaces that support the daily lifestyle of the community including open spaces. All this can be achieved through *in situ* upgrading as supported by the National Housing Code 2009 , this will be discussed in the sections to follow.

2.4. Emergency Housing Programme - the mechanism for emergency relocations

In the early years of democracy in South Africa, the government responded impromptu to disasters in informal settlements (Levenson, 2018). This democracy brought with it the growth of land invasions as a result of migration both within the cities and from rural areas (*ibid.*). This meant the housing demand far outstripped the supply (*ibid.*). As a result the poor households had to find shelter in the informal markets which led to the informal settlements sprawl (Cirolia, 2014). The sprawl happens on what is classified as danger zones and sometimes land that cannot be developed (Levenson, 2018). Households in informal settlements can sometimes experience disasters such as flooding, fires or even evictions and may require emergency assistance. The government has developed the Emergency Housing Programme in order to ensure the rapid response in cases of emergency housing situations, some of which have been mentioned above (Cirolia, 2014).

The Emergency Housing Programme does not have a specific beneficiary criteria, thus delivering to everybody affected by a disaster at a faster rate due to the absence of needing to identify which households qualify and which do not qualify for assistance (Cirolia, 2014). It is designed to realise the basic human right to shelter (*ibid.*). According to the DHS (2009,p.9) “ assistance takes the form of grants to municipalities to enable them to respond rapidly to

emergencies by means of the provision of land, municipal engineering services and shelter. It includes the possible relocation and resettlement of people on a voluntary and cooperative basis in appropriate cases". The programme requires that the implementers balance the long-term goals of housing delivery with the rapid response to current emergencies (Cirolia, 2014) and may not under any circumstances be used to justify funding normal housing development projects (DHS, 2009). The municipalities are required by the programme to ensure that the response to emergencies does not compromise the existing or planned housing development projects (*ibid.*).

According to Cirolia (2014) the original intention and power of the Emergency Housing Programme is that the city and province are able to relocate households under the conditions of emergency to selected sites and areas. Under this programme the relocation can be to Temporary Relocation Areas, where households will be placed while awaiting the development of the area in the long term or are placed with temporary services while waiting to be moved to a place developed for long term housing (DHS, 2009). Temporary Relocation Areas have unfortunately become permanent features of cities and "political hot potatoes, causing both contestation and conflict" (Cirolia, 2014, p.403).

The definition of the Emergency Housing Programme of what constitutes an emergency condition requiring emergency response presents a problem of equity. This is because informal settlements are often associated with lacking basic infrastructure, poverty, inequality and insecurity (Beier & Strava, 2020). They are also environments that are a threat to the health and safety of its dwellers and qualify for emergency intervention as per the Emergency Housing Programme. The South African poor find themselves in emergency conditions on a daily basis which raises the question of " whose emergency should be addressed first" (Cirolia, 2014, p. 404). In the experience of the individuals relocated to Temporary Relocation Areas in Cape Town as described in Cirolia (2014), the Temporary Relocation Areas present as emergencies as the relocated community was subjected to exclusion from the City and violence.

The Emergency Housing Programme is noted as the most flexible mechanism to handle emergency situations in informal settlements, and allows for the immediate response by the government (Cirolia, 2014). The main aim is to address risk and vulnerability in informal settlements however the programme lands itself to criticism when the implementation of it is compromised and ends up shifting communities from one environment of vulnerability to another as described in Cirolia (2014).

2.5. *In situ* upgrading of settlements

The emergency housing programme is set out such that it helps communities in the short-term while making provision for the upgrade of the services, and this is to be done *in situ* (DHS, 2009). The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) as per the National Housing Code 2009 allows for a phased *in situ* upgrade of a settlement. This section highlights the phases outlined in the UISP and how they can be applied to ensure the long-term and sustainability of the upgrade.

2.5.1. The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme

The upgrading of informal settlements has proven to be very challenging and requires "substantive participation and capacity building in project planning and implementation and strong community coalitions" (Fieuw & Mitlin, 2017, p. 219). The introduction of the UISP intends to address the security of tenure, service provision, access to health and empowering community members in informal settlements (Maina, 2016). All this is expected to be achieved through the participation of community members (*ibid.*). The UISP has introduced the concept of incrementally improving informal settlements and advocates for *in situ* upgrading throughout the development process (*ibid.*).

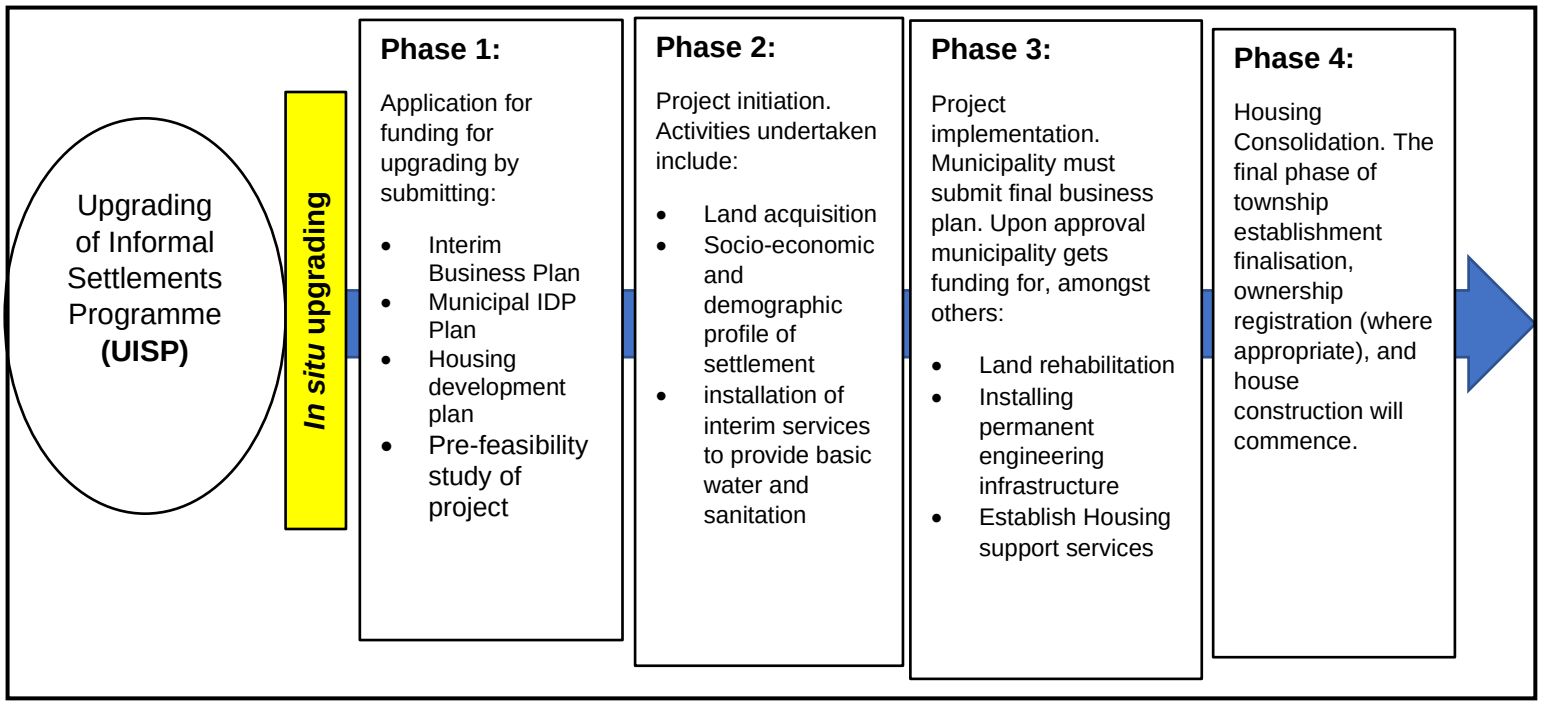


Figure 2.1: Basic outline of the UISP implementation phases
Source: DHS 2009

What is noted as an important consideration by the UISP is that it has been designed in line with international best practise to address the specific development needs posed by informal settlements, which is why it is designed with flexibility to ensure that it can address locally

peculiar requirements (DHS, 2009). It intends to achieve its mandate in four phases (see figure above) with the fourth phase focusing on housing consolidation (Fieuw & Mitlin, 2017). The development phases of the UISP need to be undertaken as follows:

- **Phase 1:**

Municipalities need to apply for funding in order to carry out the upgrading project, by submitting an interim business plan (DHS, 2009). The business plan must include the pre-feasibility details of the upgrading project which includes the age and history of the settlement, ownership status of the land, environmental suitability of the area, the geographic location of the settlement, the identification of illegal immigrants and the estimated number of the households (*ibid.*). The plan must also include the details of the municipality's Integrated Development Plan and Housing Development Plan relevant to the upgrading which will then be evaluated (*ibid.*).

- **Phase 2:**

During this phase of the project municipalities are expected to use funds received to acquire land, undertake a socio-economic and demographic study of the settlement, and to install interim services around the settlement to provide water and sanitation services pending the formalisation of the settlement (DHS, 2009). The municipality is also expected to conduct a pre-planning study determining detailed geotechnical conditions, undertake an environmental impact assessment in order to support the planning process (DHS, 2009). The municipality and the community members need to draw up an agreement and reach a conclusion on the community participation process (*ibid.*). These activities are expected to be carried out over a period of 8-12 months (*ibid.*).

- **Phase 3:**

In the third phase of the upgrading project the municipality needs to submit the final business plan (DHS, 2009). Once approved the municipality will receive funding in order to establish the housing support services and the project management capacity (*ibid.*). The municipality will need to initiate the planning process and formalise land occupational rights and resolve any disputes that may exist (*ibid.*). Where necessary it will need to aid with relocations and land rehabilitation (*ibid.*). In this phase the municipality is expected to install permanent engineering infrastructure and construct social amenities as well as economic and community facilities (*ibid.*).

- **Phase 4:**

Phase four deals with the construction of housing and must start with presenting the various options available to the settlement dwellers (DHS, 2009). During this phase the qualifying

residents will be encouraged to develop proposals based on their needs, affordability and aspirations (*ibid.*). Any benefit under phase four should be determined by the status of the relevant person with regards to their competency (*ibid.*). This means the municipality will need to check the migration status of the beneficiary, whether they have benefitted before, if they have ownership of any residential property and if the individual has received a state financed house before (*ibid.*).

2.5.2. Performance indicators as identified by the UISP

Building from the section above on the development of informal settlements, these settlements are considered " physical manifestations of social inequality, exclusion, marginalisationn and discrimination" (Huchzermeyer, 2006, p. 43). The solutions provided to informal settlements post-relocation and resettlement need to make sense and be sustainable in the long-term and one way to keep track of this is through a check-list as composed by community members during community participation, to be measured against development solutions of which they are listed in the UISP as measurements of project performance. Measured under the section is the improvement in the living conditions of the people in the area where the programme is implemented (DHS, 2009). The indicators as listed under this criteria are improvement in health, access to water and sanitation, security of tenure, decline in crime, economic activity, social amenities and social capital (*ibid.*). The social amenities and capital and economic activities are important for the empowerment of the community members (Huchzermeyer, 2006). Thorough engagement amongst community members and the municipal officials is required in order to determine the types of amenities required by the community (*ibid.*). Another criteria of measure is the sustainability of the programme under which the following indicators are the listed: the willingness and ability of residents to pay for services, the willingness and ability of government agencies to maintain infrastructure developed through the programme, the environmental impact, progress with the housing consolidation phase, which is phase 4 of the programme, whether the area continues to densify after implementation and the rate (*ibid.*). Another measurement is to be done through a residents satisfation survey to determine the impact of the programme on their lives (*ibid.*).

2.6. Community participation levels and the challenges to achieving effective participation

The UISP has placed emphasis on enhanced community participation during the development process (Maina, 2016) because it is believed to be key in ensuring that communities take ownership of the betterment of their area (DHS, 2009). Involving communities in matters that affect them has become the centre for effective service delivery (Molaba & Khan, 2016). For participation to be effective there has to be respect, transparency and accountability amongst

the community members (*ibid.*). Mautjana & Makombe (2014) are of the opinion that community participation affords communities the platform to voice their opinions and take responsibility for changing their communities. This they say fosters a sense of responsibility and ownership (*ibid.*). Community participation, associated with empowerment and ownership, can build social capital through increasing the level of knowledge and skills (*ibid.*) which is listed in the UISP as one of the indicators of project performance (DHS, 2009).

Mautjana & Makombe (2014) conducted an analysis of the ladder of participation as drawn up by Arnstein in 1969. Based on the ladder, community participation has different levels to it, with the ladder separated into three categories, as illustrated in figure 2.2 below.

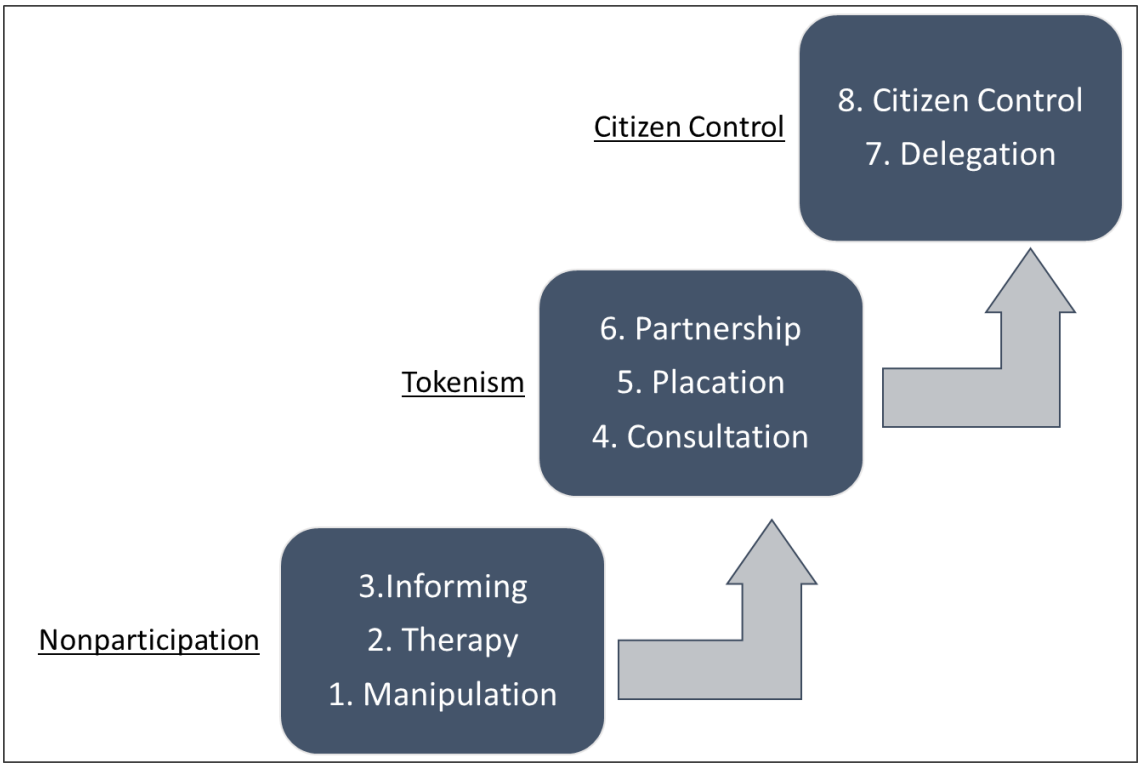


Figure 2.2: Arnstein's ladder of participation
Source: based on Mautjana & Makombe (2014)

The first category is non-participatory and involves therapy and the manipulation of the community (Mautjana & Makombe, 2014). At manipulation level officials consider themselves educators of community members and serve to persuade them to agree to what is already set, whereas at therapy level community members are let to voice complaints under the charade of participation (*ibid.*). This category is not ideal for the sustainability of a development as it often leads to the top-down approach to develoment which in itself does not encourage knowledge and skills development for the community (Jenkins, 1999). The second category is tokenism and covers placation, consultation and informing (Mautjana & Makombe, 2014). Informing involves information delivery to the community informing them about the project

while not necessarily permitting feedback from the community (*ibid.*). When the community is consulted they receive information regarding the project and asked to give inputs which may not be considered in the final decision (*ibid.*). Finally, placation means a few members from the community are placed on the government advisory committee and given minimal influence while their advise is continually validated by those in power to determine its legitimacy (*ibid.*). Both categories one and two can be argued to be problematic as they block community members from being involved in developing their settlements, a requirement for the sustainability of a development. Category three of the ladder is about citizen power and covers the delegation of power, partnerships and citizen control (Mautjana & Makombe, 2014). In a partnership the power needs to be redistributed amongst all the community members with the community given substantial influence (*ibid.*). The delegation of power would require that officials surrender their power to community members and having the majority of the government advisory committee be the community members (*ibid.*). Citizen control implies the community gets full reign over the development of its settlement and decides on the managerial aspects and taking initiatives independently without external influence (*ibid.*). As highlighted by Cirolia, et al. (2016) developing a settlement has both social and technical aspects to it and these can be used in bringing all role players together during the process of development. It is thus important that officials and community members learn to negotiate power in the process and take turns addressing points in the process that they have information on. Communities want to have a say in matters that affect them and the rest of their lives therefore community participation should be a commitment made by role players and not merely a gesture this so to do away with community dissatisfaction (Cirolia, et al., 2016).

2.7. Understanding rapid development

In a country with housing backlog and growing lists of housing beneficiaries, there is no doubt that the backlog needs to be addressed. The housing policy in South Africa was first developed during the political transitional phase (Jenkins, 1999). The focus of the Reconstruction and Development Programme at the time became delivering mass housing to previously disadvantaged communities as fast and cheaply as possible (Wilkinson, 1998). In an attempt to speed up housing development and delivery, the consequence became that the housing policy failed to acknowledge the role of housing in addressing the spatial and social segregation created by the apartheid legacy which was what initially informed the drafting of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (*ibid.*). The Housing Policy may have thus far managed to deliver housing rapidly however its implementers have placed more emphasis on the technical and managerial efficiency while neglecting community participation (Jenkins,

1999). Efforts continue to be made to speedily provide housing to the poor (Wilkinson, 1998) , while community participation continues to be neglected (Jenkins, 1999).

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the accounts of the development and role of informal settlements in South African cities, highlighting that while we may acknowledge their existence it must not be forgotten that their living conditions need to be dealt with. The biggest struggle for housing policy in South Africa has been balancing between recognising the legitimacy of informal settlements yet aggressively pursuing the process of getting rid of these very informal settlements. Earlier policies have been rigid in their design and failed in adapting to the continuously changing dynamics of the urban development. The latest policy introduced in 2009, the UISP, has been designed to deal with the peculiar needs of informal settlements and has served as a guideline to the progressive eradication of informal settlements through *in situ* upgrading.

However, dealing with informal settlements will not always involve *in situ* upgrading as some settlements are located on danger zones. When this is the case relocations are inevitable. The Emergency Housing Programme has become a mechanism that can assist in dealing with informal settlements in cases of relocations. While the policy does not apply to the delivering of the housing structures themselves, its application lays the foundation for the long-term delivery of sustainable human settlements, post informal settlements disasters. No matter the intervention for informal settlements, to ensure its sustainability, community participation is essential. The social aspect of a chosen intervention method needs to be emphasised as much as the managerial and technical aspect of it. This means the role of the government needs to be that of supporting the community and its networks. Effective community participation takes time, time which causes tension with rapid development goals as rapid development may take away from the time required to ensure community participation is done accordingly and is meaningful.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1. Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to highlight the approach used for the study. It explains the methods chosen and why they were chosen. It also explains the data collection tools used, the sampling technique and the population size and sample. Given that my research involved interaction with community members, community leaders and a municipal official, it addresses the challenges encountered during fieldwork and the ethical considerations for the research.

3.2. Research approach

This research is qualitative and uses an exploratory case study with the goal of understanding the possibilities and limitations when developing settlements rapidly. According to Yin (1994) the advantage of a case study approach is that it allows for one to analyse an intervention and the daily context in which it occurs. This further allows for in-depth research and focus on verifiable life experiences (Sarantakos, 2005). Using a single case study allows for the documentation of the extent to which the selected method of intervention in Nellmapius Extension 21 has been able to transform the area. Such documentation can be useful for the generation of theory (Benbasat, et al., 1987).

For the study, interviews were conducted within the case study area with community members as well as community leaders and a ward councillor (see annexure 1). I started the fieldwork by walking through the area to familiarise myself with the space. I first conducted interviews with two (2) community leaders selected based on their accessibility, as they spend most of their days in the community office. Their daily tasks include handing out proof of address to those that need them and handling registrations for houses in the area. It was helpful that they have been living in the area since its establishment and were hands on in the upgrading of the area. Although I had hoped to do a transect walk guided by the Ward Councillor, I had to conduct this walk on my own as neither the Ward Councillor or the community leaders were able to accompany me on the agreed day. I thus spent a day walking through the settlement to familiarise myself with the area, and to compare the area with the insights I received during the two interviews with the community leaders. After my familiarisation with the area, I conducted interviews with ten (10) community members, selected based on their willingness to participate. Most of the community members are at work during the day and only come back in the evening, therefore most of the interviews were conducted over the weekend. The interviews were conducted in the community member's language of choice which included English, isiZulu, Sepedi and in some cases a mix of the languages. What was helpful for the

study is the fact that the community members have lived in the area since the beginning of the area to this day, post upgrading interventions.

In addition to community leaders and community members, the intention was to interview several municipal officials from the CoT who deal with upgrading of informal settlements. However, only one (1) official was willing to be interviewed. I was thus not able to gather different perspectives of the upgrading of informal settlements around the CoT but specifically in Nellmapius. The primary data collected was supplemented with the municipality's progress reports on the project and the flooding incident (discussed later in the report) that occurred in Phomolong leading to the growth of the settlement. The municipality's Regional Spatial Development Framework for Region 6, which is the region of the study area, was also used to make comparison between the upgrade of the study area and the development goal for the area.

3.3. Data collection tools

As is evident from the above, the data used for this research is both primary and secondary data. This has helped in providing insight into the upgrading process in Nellmapius Extension 21. Secondary data was essential for an understanding of the official planning, structure and decisions relating to the upgrading, particularly as my interviewees in the community were not always aware of the municipal guiding frameworks that applied during the planning stages of the upgrading project.

3.3.1. Primary data

Primary data refers to data that one collects specifically for the research question at hand (Hox & Boeije, 2005). The advantage of using primary data is that the information collected can be tailored to the specific research question to help resolve the problem being researched (*ibid.*). The primary data for this research report was gathered first-hand through the different sets of interviews mentioned above. Semi-structured interviews are beneficial in that they are well suited for exploring the perceptions and opinions of community members regarding their experiences. (While & Louise, 1994). Semi-structured interviews combine the advantage of being able to compare the responses to standardised questions, but also allow for deeper questioning for clarification (While & Louise, 1994).

3.3.2. Secondary data

Secondary data was used to supplement the primary data collected through interviews. The interviews with the participants all took place between the months of October 2019 and November 2019. Secondary data entails information that has already been collected for other studies. Over time data is collected and added to existing knowledge and this is made available

for reuse; this data is then called secondary data (Hox & Boeije, 2005). Secondary data for this research was collected from newspaper articles, the CoT's Regional Spatial Development Framework, documents on the project of upgrading Nellmapius Extension 21, Integrated Development Plan, and various academic journal articles and books, along with conference papers, and web-based data such as Google Earth layers. The secondary data collected, especially through the City's documents, provided insight into the processes and the guiding principles for the upgrading of Nellmapius Extension 21.

3.4. Population and sample size

The selection of interviewees for this research report was restricted to residents living in Nellmapius Extension 21 settlement and those with knowledge of this area namely the Ward Councillor, an official, and two (2) community leaders. The officials who I intended to interview were selected because they worked on the upgrading project for Nellmapius Extension 21. However, only one (1) was available for an interview, despite numerous repeated attempts to follow up with the other officials. The reasons cited for postponement and ultimate refusal to grant an interview are listed in section 3.6 of this chapter. The purposive sample for the research consisted of a total of fifteen (15) individuals, namely three (3) community leaders, one (1) of which is the ward councillor, one (1) municipal official who was put in charge of the upgrade, and ten (10) community members. All the interviewees were above the age of 18, some are employed part-time while others run their own businesses from home. The sample had a mix of both male and female community members.

3.5. Sampling technique

While I had hoped to use the snowball sampling technique for the fieldwork, it initially proved to be difficult. The snowballing technique allows for the community members to identify each other as potential participants (May, 2001). This is ideal in that community members are likely to identify other people that are knowledgeable in the development of the area and individuals that participated in the process from the beginning to the end. In the beginning it was difficult to get any community members to agree to participate in the interviews. However, after establishing trust, community members agreed to participate. To establish the trust I had to present the community members with proof that I was from the University of the Witwatersrand and this came in the form of the community members information sheet. Upon reading it and agreeing to participate the community members set out to establish their own terms for participation which involved them not telling me their names, where they are originally from or presenting any form of identification. This was easy to agree to because the elimination of names from the research report was part of the anonymity and confidentiality agreed to on the

consent form. In some cases the snowballing technique worked once I had completed the interview without breaking any of the agreements, making it easier for the community members to trust me with their recommendations for others to interview. Some community members however, had no problem making recommendations from the beginning or even during interviews when they felt there was someone who could possibly answer some questions better than them. Even after the recommendations, in some cases I would find the homes of the recommended potential community members with their children who would recommend that I return over the weekend as the adults of the home would be around.

3.6. Data collection challenges

While data may have been collected from all participants , there were challenges in the field that had to be overcome to achieve the collection of data. These challenges include: the availability of community members: the community of Nellmapius Extension 21 consists mostly of people that are at work during the week only to come home after 8pm in the evening. Unfortunately, 8pm was too late for me to do interviews, especially with individuals who have just gotten home tired from their day at work. But, when the time did come around for me to do the interviews, a challenge I did encounter was when having to not comment with my personal opinions regarding the area and role players in the upgrading projects, as I was worried it might influence the opinions of community members. I also had to try to not seem dismissive in my not pushing my personal opinions into the interviews. Those that worked night shifts were available during the day in the week but they were not many. The few that were available were simply not interested in participating in the interviews and gave no specific reasons why.

While the community members were a challenge to pin down for an interview, the officials presented me with the same challenge. I had hoped to interview at least three (3) officials, but only one availed themselves for the interview. Even after agreeing to participate we had to reschedule the initial appointment set. Other officials were not responsive, and the one that I did get hold of eventually stopped responding before an appointment could be set. Due to delays in the ethical clearance process, there was a limited amount of time in which officials could be pursued and convinced to partake in the interviews. Part of the ethics clearance requirement was securing a permission letter from the CoT. To get the permission letter I had to wait for a selected committee in the City to review my application resulting in a delay of the permission letter and furthermore a delay in clearance without which my fieldwork could not begin.

Finally, I had to always check in with myself and ensure that I try to remain impartial at all times. As Perera-Mubarak (2014) states, ensuring impartiality on the part of the researcher in qualitative fieldwork is unrealistic, however the ethical considerations taken into account played a role in helping with not influencing the outcome of the interviews and the answers given by the community members.

3.7. Ethical considerations

The fieldwork for this research only proceeded after receiving ethical clearance (see annexure 5). The CoT granted me a permission letter (see annexure 3) stating that I may conduct interviews with officials, and a confidentiality agreement (see annexure 4) had to be signed between myself and the CoT. The community members who took part in the interviews were all informed of the fact that the University places the final research reports on the internet., therefore the issue of anonymity and confidentiality had to be discussed. In an attempt to deal with confidentiality and anonymity one-on-one interviews with residents were conducted with community members at their homes and most community members preferred that their names should not be used in the paper, so much so that they insisted that to this day I do not know any of their names. Though this may not necessarily guarantee anonymity and confidentiality, depending on who may be acquainted with the residents of the area and the officials handling the upgrade of the study area, it will hopefully help in the matter. The data collected through the interviews is not of a sensitive nature, and some community members on their own accord invited some of their neighbours to come and participate in the interviews.

The issue of ethics is of major concern and needs to be taken seriously. It is seemingly easy to read about, yet it is difficult to follow through in the field, more so in cases when potential community members ask questions about other community members. My refusal to hand out any detailed information about the community members I had already interviewed proved to the potential community members that protection of anybody that took part in interviews was not just something written on paper (see annexure 2, it is stated in the consent forms that community members identities would be kept anonymous), but something I was willing and ready to do. It also helped that I do not have the names of the community members who participated.

3.8. Limitations of the study

While I was able to collect primary data through interviews with participants, there may be a possibility that some of the participants have inflated or played down information given during the interviews. It may be that in an attempt to influence how they are perceived, Participants may have left out some details.

The sample size is justified by the qualitative approach and the scope of the research report. Additional interviews may have enriched the findings, and a comparison with other case studies could lead to more conclusive recommendations. I attempted to use in depth interviews to find out what some of the thoughts and experiences in the community may be in relation to the benefits and limitations of rapid development can possibly be.

3.9. Conclusion

In any research conducted, a researcher needs to collect data, often both primary and secondary, in order to test a hypothesis. This chapter has pointed out all the considerations taken into account regarding the methods for data collection. It has also highlighted the challenges encountered through the process of data collection. These challenges were encountered mainly during the interviews conducted with all community members. The matter of ethics and anonymity was also taken into account and provisions were made for the anonymity and trust building. Some of the rules set to guarantee the community members some anonymity were set by the community members themselves. All these consideration served as a guideline for the information collected which will be covered in the following two chapters covering the context of the study area and the fieldwork respectively.

Chapter 4: The geographical and policy context of Nellmapius

4.1. Introduction

As evident from the previous chapter, the demolition of informal settlements is deemed inappropriate both socially and economically; upgrading informal settlements has therefore come to be recognised as a viable option (Karimi, et al., 2007). With this being noted, the CoT has adopted legislation that has and continues to guide the development of informal settlements and addresses its housing backlog and service delivery. Like most townships in the CoT, Mamelodi has experienced a growth in informal settlements. The national Department of Human Settlements has encouraged the incremental *in situ* upgrading of these informal settlements and requires that community members participate and are empowered through this process (DHS, 2009). While the CoT has seen a decrease in the number of informal settlements in its jurisdiction (Ramokgopa, 2015), areas with informal settlements still exist and these still have work to be done. One such informal settlement is Nellmapius in Mamelodi East.

This chapter outlines the approach of the CoT towards informal settlements and the guiding policies and programmes that aided in addressing the conditions in informal settlements around the city. It also provides background information on the area of Mamelodi and Nellmapius as this is the area of the case study.

4.2. The City of Tshwane - background

The city of Pretoria, whose municipality is known as The CoT, has not always been the size it is known to be currently. In the year 2000 the CoT municipality was established through the incorporation of various municipalities that had previously served the greater Pretoria regime (CoT, 2017). The border of the city was amended in 2008 to incorporate the former Metsweding District Municipality in line with the Gauteng Global City Region Strategy to reduce the number of municipalities in Gauteng (CoT, 2019). The amendment resulted in the enlargement of the municipality to cover an area of 6,345km^2. As a result the CoT is considered the third largest city in the world, with an estimated population of over 3,3 million people. The CoT is divided into seven regions in order to enhance service delivery and for administrative purposes (CoT, 2019). The division of the city into seven regions, with Nellmapius in region six, has been part of the city's strategy to bring services closer to its people and capitalising on each region's uniqueness to create strong, prosperous and resilient areas for people to live and work in (CoT, 2017).

The existence of the seven regions means service delivery is regionalised (*ibid.*). According to this approach, the daily functions of maintenance and repairs will be handled per region through performing the functions of utility services, community and social development and housing and human settlements, to name a few (CoT, 2017).

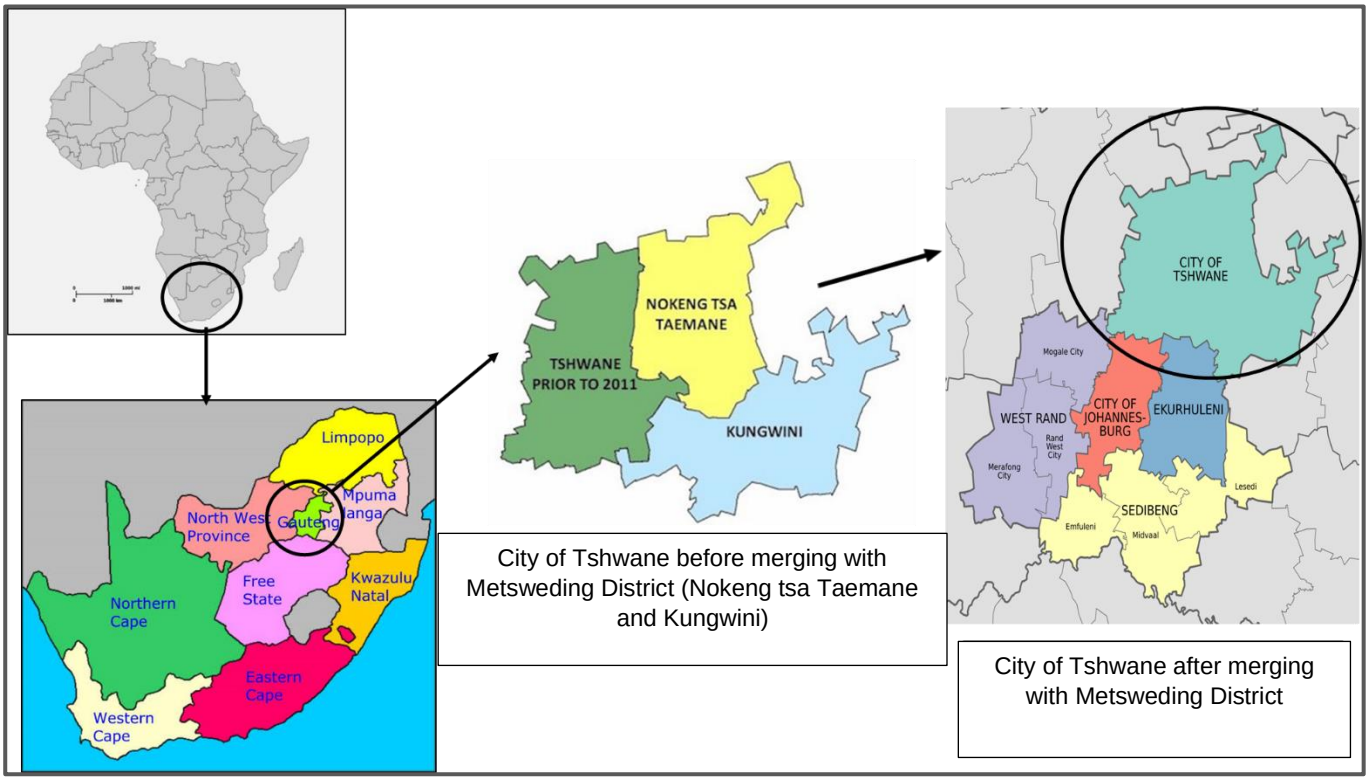


Figure 4.1: City of Tshwane location
Source: Compiled by author using google images

Post the 2016 elections the CoT faces the challenge of about 173 informal settlements (CoT, 2018). It is estimated that the CoT has roughly 197 412 households living in informal dwellings with 46 800 found in region 6 (CoT, 2019). The CoT has created categories of different settlements, which they say to have been based on the Stats SA definition of households and dwelling units (CoT, 2019). They then categorise informal settlements as “shacks or shanties in informal settlements, serviced stands, or proclaimed townships, as well as shacks in the backyards of other dwelling types” (CoT, 2019, p. 43). Informal settlements in the CoT are mostly located on the northern part of region six (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2015). This part of the region is also a high density area that has been allocated for RDP developments.

In the City’s admission, far too many communities in the City still live in underdeveloped areas with little to no access to good quality basic services (CoT, 2018). Some of the informal settlement communities still receive rudimentary water and sanitation services and have not benefitted from any form of infrastructure upgrading (*ibid.*). While the CoT may have managed to meet some basic services backlogs, the rate of formalisation of informal settlements is much

slower than the rate at which informal settlements grow; this has called for a change in the approach to dealing with informal settlements in the City (*ibid.*). In the State of the Capital Address speech for 2019 themed 'service delivery is the only priority', the Mayor of Tshwane outlined one of the strategic objectives to be "a city that cares for residents and promotes inclusivity" (Mokgalapa, 2019, p. 12). One of the focuses under this objective is placing efforts on the upgrading of informal settlements (Mokgalapa, 2019). To aid in this process the CoT had already put in place programmes to aid in achieving this objective, one of which they termed *Re Aga Tshwane* (We are building Tshwane) housing programme which will be discussed in the next section. These were developed to address these informal settlements through *in situ* phased development for informal settlements whose location and conditions support the approach (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2015). In cases where relocation is deemed necessary the municipality intends to seek more developable land nearby (*ibid.*). While the CoT continues to work towards upgrading their informal settlements, the following have been identified as some of the challenges experienced: budgetary constraints, high settlement densities making servicing difficult, lack of bulk services infrastructure, limited capacity building, lack of communication in all tiers of government and implementation gap in terms of progressive legislation (*ibid.*). Some of these challenges will be picked up and addressed in the fieldwork chapter as they relate to my case study area.

4.3. Tshwane's policy approach to Nellmapius

As already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the CoT has claimed to have experienced a decreasing number of informal settlements in its jurisdiction. This the City managed to accomplish using a set of legislative and policy guidelines. In addition, South Africa has a legislative framework that supports, guides and motivates the upgrading of informal settlements. This legislative framework is used by the CoT to guide the upgrading of their informal settlements and is often supplemented by programmes and campaigns that the metro runs from time to time to achieve their mandate of service delivery. The policy documents and programmes that guide informal settlement upgrading are outlined next.

4.3.1. Breaking New Ground (2004)

Breaking New Ground (BNG) is a plan for the creation of sustainable human settlements (NUSP, 2015). The policy outlines the shift from product uniformity of providing single houses on single plots in distant locations to providing sustainable human settlements by responding flexibly to demand (DoH, 2004). The significance of the BNG is that it recognises the existence of informal settlements and the need to upgrade them and sees this as an instrument to eradicate poverty (NUSP, 2015). The policy states that informal settlements need to be incorporated into the urban fabric to overcome exclusion of any kind (DoH, 2004). It adopts an

in situ upgrading approach to informal settlements (*ibid.*). With this the policy supports the eradication of informal settlements through development of informal settlements in their location rather than relocating the people (*ibid.*). It is intended to be flexible and to support a range of tenure options and housing typologies rather than being prescriptive (*ibid.*).

The political interpretation of the BNG in its initial stages has led to the understanding that informal settlements need to be eradicated through removal. The confusion has since been cleared through the clarification of eradication which was explained to mean upgrading informal settlements wherever possible. This was then reinforced in the National Housing code of 2009 (NUSP, 2015) .

4.3.2. Formalisation of informal settlements: Rearrangement of shacks

In his State of the Capital Address speech, the former mayor of the CoT, mentioned the 'rearrangement' of informal settlements as a form of intervention (Msimanga, 2018), and this type of intervention is referred elsewhere in South Africa as re-blocking (Pather, 2014). With that the mayor stated that there have been informal settlements around Tshwane that have benefitted from the incremental upgrading of informal settlements (Msimanga, 2018). Under this process he has highlighted that some informal settlement households have received rudimentary and basic services while some households have been relocated to areas around Tshwane (*ibid.*). Overall he counted 3 862 households that have benefited from 'rearrangement' of which 2 669 are noted to be around Mamelodi (*ibid.*).

4.3.3. *Re Aga Tshwane* (We are building Tshwane) housing programme

It is under the *Re Aga Tshwane* housing programme that CoT fast tracked the formalisation of informal settlements in its jurisdiction, aiming to enhance the quality of the lives of all who live in the city (CoT, 2015). At the time of the publication on their website in 2015, the CoT expected that over ten thousand families will benefit from the relocation to more permanent serviced stands across the city (*ibid.*). The objectives of the *Re Aga Tshwane* program are (*ibid.*, para. 24):

- "Fast-tracking the formalisation of informal settlements"
- "Relocating families in informal settlements to permanent serviced stands"
- "Issuing title deeds to the beneficiaries of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)"
- "Proclaiming suppressed townships", this is to say that the City is on a mission to register the townships around the city that have not yet been registered. According to one of the City's officials, there are some townships with erfs that do not reflect in the Deeds Office because the townships are still registered as farms.

According to Ramokgopa (2015) *Re Aga Tshwane* has managed to assist in formalising 68 townships of which 13 have been proclaimed. The mayor further announced in his speech that phase two of the formalisation process involved the installation of services including electricity, water and sanitation. At the time of the speech Nellmapius Extensions 21 and 24 were recorded as informal settlements that were in receipt of electricity connections (Ramokgopa, 2015). In 2011 Tshwane recorded 150 informal settlements across the city which by 2015 were recorded to be reduced to 124 and the CoT aimed to continue on the *Re Aga Tshwane* path to decrease the number of informal settlements in the city (*ibid.*). While this may have been the recorded data in 2015, 2016 however has seen an increase in informal settlements which as mentioned in section 4.2 was 173 post the 2016 elections. With the continued change in data the CoT believes it necessary to keep up with the *Re Aga Tshwane* programme as it is seen as a way of restoring dignity to informal settlement dwellers who continue to live without access to basic infrastructure (Ramokgopa, 2015).

4.3.4. Electrification of informal settlements

The Integrated National Electrification programme was approved in 2013 with the aim of electrifying formal housing in urban and rural areas (DoE, 2015). However, according to Marutlulle (2017) the failure to address housing issues in Africa has led to the continued growth of informal settlements on the periphery of urban areas. South Africa, like other countries faces a challenge in providing access to suitable housing (Marutlulle, 2017). In 2015 the Department of Energy highlighted that informal settlements continued to grow at 4% per annum, and while they may have expected the growth to slow down to 3% per annum after 2010 (DoE, 2015), it said nothing about the informal settlements ceasing to exist. This growth in informal settlements has resulted in the creation of the guidelines for the electrification of unproclaimed areas, which directs the provision of energy solutions to informal settlements preferably as part of the urban infrastructure development rather than as a stand-alone project (DoE, 2015).

Before electrification can commence, there is a criterion that an informal settlement must meet before it can receive a subsidy for the project (*ibid.*). This criterion requires that the informal settlement must be near already existing infrastructure and be in a location where electrification is practical (*ibid.*). The chosen informal settlements must also not be burdened by the following elements (*ibid.*):

- Under high voltage lines
- Road or rail reserve
- Flood-prone area or flood plain
- Environmental issues
- Storm water retention or detention pond

- Private land
- Unstable land
- In an area that poses any other health or safety hazards such as dump sites

Even with the existence of this policy, the electrification of informal settlements, though not a campaign run by the CoT, has had to push for the supply of electricity in informal settlements (Mviko, 2018). This campaign is run by activists all around Gauteng who come together to mobilise for electrifying informal settlements (*ibid.*). While most settlements have access to piped water, electricity access remains a problem with most informal settlements lacking access to electricity. The activists of the campaign arrange for picketing days with messages to raise awareness about the predicament of households living in permanent load shed areas (*ibid.*).

The existence of this campaign could possibly speak to the constraints caused by the policy due to its criteria for choosing informal settlements for the electrification process. The ability of informal settlement dwellers to get electricity for their areas seems to be dependent on community members to create such campaigns as the one mentioned above because the selection criteria by the policy guideline seems to speak against most informal settlements as they are mostly located on infertile grounds though not a good enough reason to not develop the area, along rivers, in areas prone to floods, on extremely insalubrious sites with health hazards, or near or on dump sites with little access (Marutlulle, 2017).

4.4. Mamelodi East in Context

Established in 1953, Mamelodi, translated as “mother of melodies”, is a township in the CoT located about 20km east of the CoT Central Business District (CBD). It is largely a black township on the periphery of the city, isolated from job opportunities and the CBD (Ramafamba & Mears, 2012). Divided into Mamelodi East and West, Mamelodi consists of a diverse set of living standards from formally built houses to small informal dwellings made of corrugated iron (*ibid.*). The formally constructed houses are found mostly in Mamelodi West, whereas Mamelodi East, where my area of study is located, has a large component of informal settlements located on either illegally occupied land or plots that have over time been legalised (*ibid.*). These informal settlements have been continuously uprooted and displaced at the establishment of every new formal development in the township (Gottsmann & Osman, 2010). Figure 4.2 below is an illustration of how the Pienaars River, locally known as Moretele River, divides Mamelodi into the East and West.

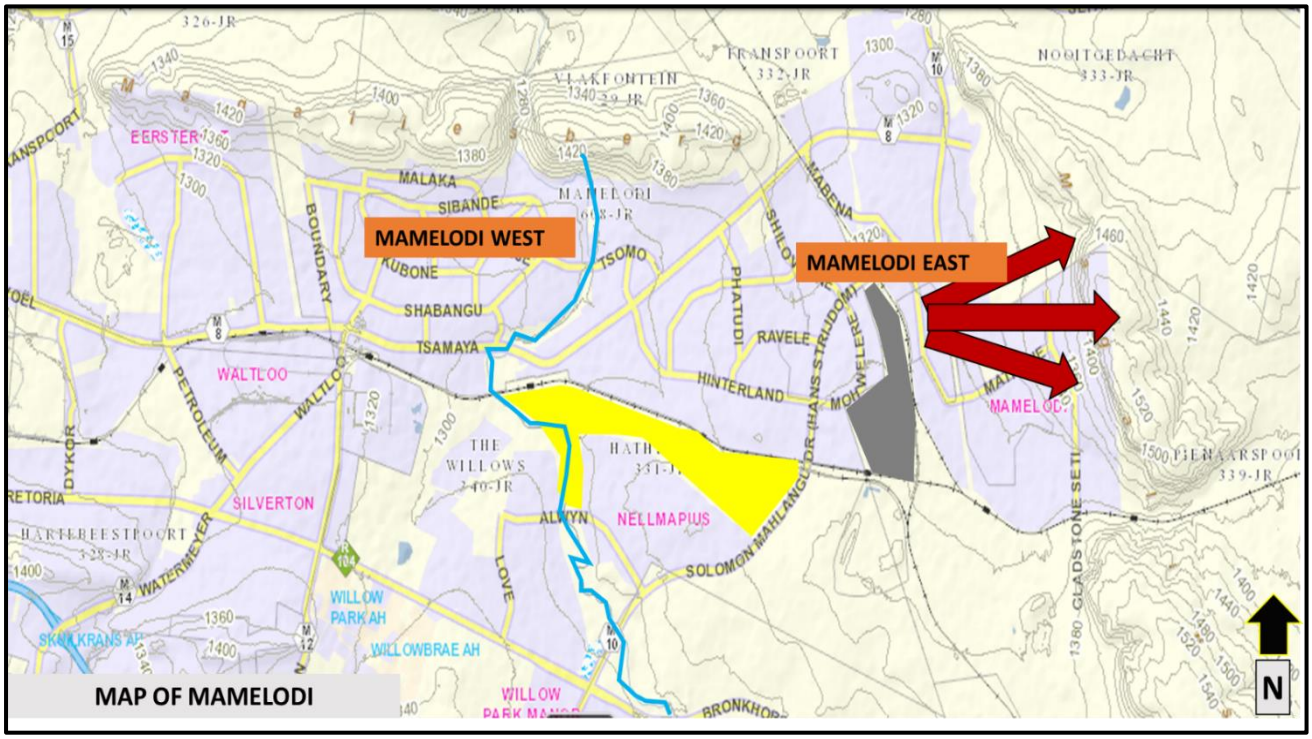


Figure 4.2: Map of Mamelodi in the City of Tshwane
Source: Base map by Tshwane.gov.za
Area of case study marked with yellow, is where the pipe burst victims were relocated to
Area marked with grey is where the pipe burst occurred.
The red arrows indicate the direction in which the informal settlements have expanded

Mamelodi West is bordered by the township of Eersterust to the West, Silverton to the South West and Magaliesberg mountain to the North (Gottsmann & Osman, 2010). Theses borders have prevented Mamelodi from growing to the west, and as a result Mamelodi continued to grow eastwards (as indicated by the red arrows in figure 4 above), where most of the informal settlements of Mamelodi are located. These informal settlements are growing towards the

mountainous parts of Mamelodi (as indicated by the contour lines in the map indicating the topographical gradients of the area), where there is less formal housing and limited infrastructure (Gottsmann & Osman, 2010). These lines are an illustration of how the surface of the land in Mamelodi East and West changes as the township expands outwards. One of the informal settlements in the East of Mamelodi is called Phomolong, which translates to “a place of rest” (indicated in grey in the figure above) and when a water pipe burst in the area (McKeed, 2012), the residents of the informal settlement were relocated by the City to Nellmapius, to the area that is the case study for this paper (indicated in yellow in the figure above).

4.5. The case of Nellmapius

Nellmapius, located east of Pretoria, in Mamelodi East, consists of about 56 111 people (StatsSA, 2011). Most of the population of Nellmapius is unemployed with some working temporarily in low-paying jobs (Manyaka, 2015). A small proportion of Nellmapius households live in bonded houses, while the majority live in Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses (*ibid.*). In the course of 2012, some community members built shacks along the railway line (*ibid.*) which is depicted in a green line on Figure 5 below. Figure 5 below is a map illustration of Nellmapius located in Mamelodi East.

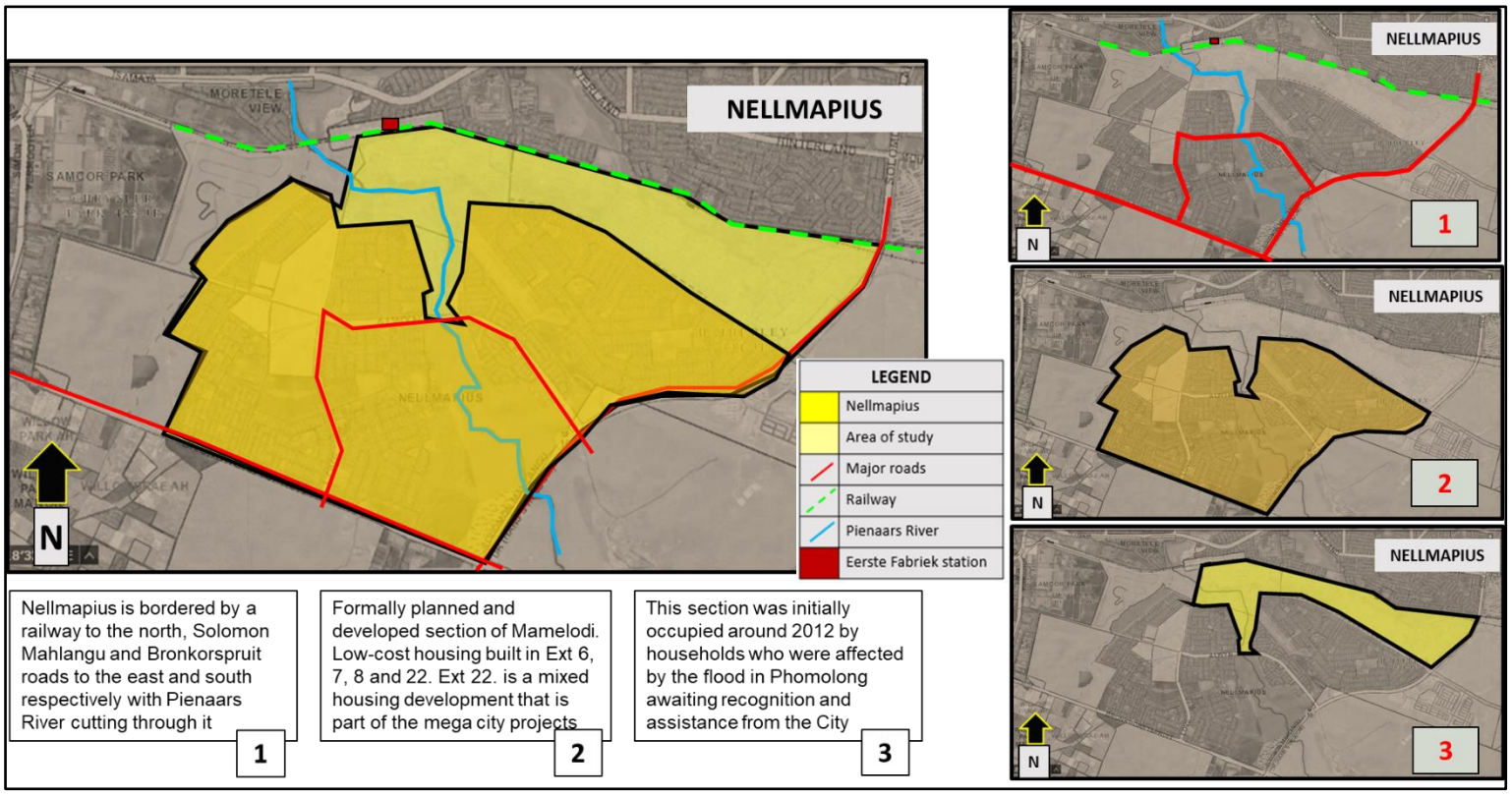


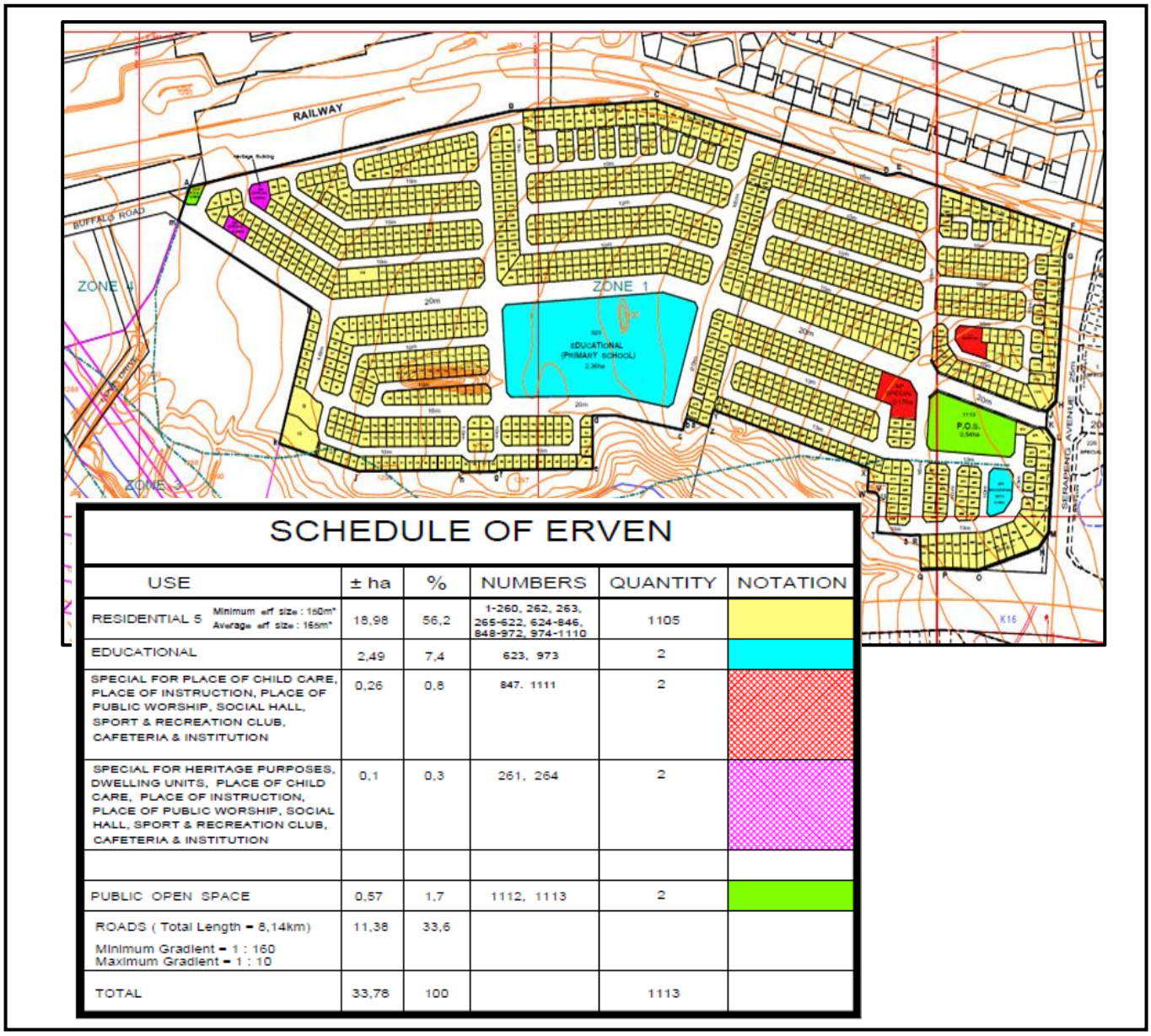
Figure 4.3: Map of Nellmapius and illustration of case study area
Source: Base map by Tshwane.gov.za

Nellmapius is bordered by the R104 to the South, Solomon Mahlangu to the West a railway line to the North and Willows and other industrial areas to the West. There is only one clinic in Nellmapius that services the whole area and one high school and four primary schools (Manyaka, 2015). While many crèches may exist in the area, they are unregistered (*ibid.*). The Eerste Fabriek train station has been envisaged as one of the good options for the development of an activity node (CoT, 2018). It was once identified as an ideal place for a high concentration of mixed use, commercial, residential cultural and social use (Treasury, 2007). As an activity node, it needs to be developed around major railway stations and transport infrastructure (Treasury, 2007). In the year 2007, the Department of National Treasury identified 34 hectares of vacant land around the Eerste Fabriek station (Treasury, 2007) and due to the types of activities identified as part of the planned development around the station, the City has identified two to three storey walk-ups for the residential development in this area (CoT, 2018). This may, however, prove to be a challenge due to the continued informal occupation of land witnessed around the station.

As will be evident in chapter 5, some residents I interviewed have said their living environment has somewhat improved as they no longer live in shacks. The location of their new homes is relatively convenient in as far as transport is concerned. Health facilities are located closer to taxi routes, Eerste Fabriek, is a walking distance from them and Mamelodi Hospital is located just across the railway line (residents cross over using a bridge built to connect Nellmapius to the rest of Mamelodi.

4.6. Area of study: Nellmapius Ext21

Figure 4.4 below is a layout plan that shows the zoning that different erven parcels were designated for in the area of study. One challenge identified from my initial walk- about in the area is that the area destined for a clinic has been occupied by someone who has built a home on the land parcel, something community members did not seem pleased about. One of the community members interviewed was of the opinion that there was no point in bringing these invasions to the attention of their leaders or trying to stop the invaders because the efforts of the community seemed to be in vain.



SCHEDULE OF ERVEN

USE	± ha	%	NUMBERS	QUANTITY	NOTATION
RESIDENTIAL 5 Minimum erf size : 150m² Average erf size : 165m²	18,98	56,2	1-260, 262, 263, 265-622, 624-846, 848-972, 974-1110	1105	
EDUCATIONAL	2,49	7,4	623, 973	2	
SPECIAL FOR PLACE OF CHILD CARE, PLACE OF INSTRUCTION, PLACE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP, SOCIAL HALL, SPORT & RECREATION CLUB, CAFETERIA & INSTITUTION	0,26	0,8	847, 1111	2	
SPECIAL FOR HERITAGE PURPOSES, DWELLING UNITS, PLACE OF CHILD CARE, PLACE OF INSTRUCTION, PLACE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP, SOCIAL HALL, SPORT & RECREATION CLUB, CAFETERIA & INSTITUTION	0,1	0,3	261, 264	2	
PUBLIC OPEN SPACE	0,57	1,7	1112, 1113	2	
ROADS (Total Length = 8,14km) Minimum Gradient = 1 : 160 Maximum Gradient = 1 : 10	11,38	33,6			
TOTAL	33,78	100		1113	

Figure 4.4: Layout map of Nellmapius Extension 21
Source: City of Tshwane

4.6.1 The progression of growth in the area (2010-2019)

Nellmapius Extension 21 has witnessed a growth in size in terms of the number of households it accommodates. From the initial group of households that placed itself on the area to the group of households that were relocated to the area by the City after a bulk water pipe burst in a settlement called Phomolong, in the far east of Mamelodi. When the City intervened in the emergency of Phomolong they graded and pegged out sites in the study area and allocated sites to the relocated households. For the sake of this research report, the focus will be on the growth (illustrated in the figure below) of household in Nellmapius 21.



Figure 4.5: Progression growth illustration of Nellmapius Extension 21 (2010-2019)
Source: Google Earth



Figure 4.5: Progression growth illustration of Nellmapius Extension 21 (2010-2019)
Source: Google Earth

Based on a collection of images from google earth, Nellmapius Extension 21 grew rapidly between August and September 2012. This growth happened around the same time when there was bulk waterpipe burst in Phomolong, as mentioned in section 4.6.1. The damage from the burst resulted in the evacuation of more than 800 people to the vacant land in Nellmapius which they named Marikana (Selaluke, 2015). According to (McKeed, 2012), the families were met with hostility in the area by a group of people claiming that the land was meant for people from Nellmapius. The former Phomolong residents had reported that a group of unknown people tried to stop them from occupying the land, one resident went as far as reporting that while he was sleeping in his shack a petrol bomb was thrown on his shack, however no casualties were reported (McKeed, 2012). The residents managed to extinguish the fire and alert the police of the incident, but the attacks on the area took place even with the police patrolling the area (*ibid.*). When the City intervened in the area, they brought with them the layout plan for the area to assist with laying out of the shacks on the ground and everyone was given a 10mx15m stand by the City on which they were to build their shacks.

4.6.2. Results of my walk-about observation

The transect walk through the area was mentioned as one of my methods for this study, and this section serves as a list of my observations around the area. During the week many children can be found playing on the streets in the afternoon, mainly after 3pm.

For reasons unknown to me, there are children who are not in kindergarten in the afternoon. Considering the time of day this observation was made, it could have been that their older siblings may have picked them up from kindergarten after they themselves had left school. When asked, some of the children mentioned that they stay home alone after school until their parents get home from work after 7pm. Over the weekend when I went back to the area around 10am, I noticed many adults on the streets, and some at home either cleaning their houses or doing laundry which suggests that the interviews could be done in their numbers over the weekend, with the adults that do not have to go in to work.

In terms of the infrastructure, the area has designated roads, though not tared, and a public space for the community. The taps provided per yard can be seen along the fences when walking past them along with a washing line, and a toilet structure. Based on the City's layout plan, there is meant to be a clinic and a kindergarten in the area. As mentioned I observed shacks with families living on the spaces that were designated for these two services.

Both the train station and the hospital are within walking distance from the area of study, which saves the community members money when they need to get to either one of the two. While I observed many yards that had taps, toilets and a washing line, fewer yards had houses made of brick and mortar. This to me suggested that there exists people in the area that do not meet the criteria for subsidised housing and those that possibly meet the criteria and are still waiting for their subsidised houses to be built.



Figure 4.6: Pictures of structures on area of study
Source: own images, taken October 2019

Thus far Extension 21 has electricity, water-borne toilets (see figure 4.8), on-site water and one thing the community members have also contested for is a public open space, which also exists in the area. Some of the structures around the area houses made of brick and mortar (see figure 4.7) provided for by the City, other structures are houses that the families have built for themselves, and the rest of the structures are still built with corrugated iron.



Figure 4.7: RDP houses structures found in Nellmapius Extension 21
Source: Own Images, taken October 2019

In spite of the proximity of the area to the Eerste Fabriek train station and the two to three storey walk-ups envisaged for the Eerste Fabriek urban core (CoT, 2018), the type of housing units that the City continues to develop in the area is “a single house on a single plot” (Huchzermeyer, 2006) as illustrated in figure 9. This method of delivery is however one the Breaking New Ground has intended, since its existence, to do away with (Huchzermeyer, 2006).



Figure 4.8:Illustration of toilets built around the study area
Source: Own images, taken November 2019

The toilets as illustrated above are found in every yard and have a wash basin attached to them. The image below is an illustration of what happens to some parts of the roads whenever there is heavy rain. The residents who live on this street specifically have to live with the damages caused to the street by rain water that can’t be drained as there are no facilities installed in the meantime, and the cars that cause the deep tracks in the road.



Figure 4.9: A picture of one of the roads in Nellmapius Extension 21
Source: Own image, taken November 2019



Figure 4.10: Picture of uncollected garbage gathering on the side of the main road in Nellmapius Extension 21
Source: Own image, taken March 2020

In early March 2020, I went back to the study area and though much has not changed in terms of the outstanding services I noticed that there was garbage piled alongside the main road. The amount and the pungent odour could suggest that the garbage has not been collected for a while. Though a single case, this still made me wonder if the services in the area were deteriorating as fast as they were provided.

4.7. Conclusion

The CoT has not been immune to informal settlements. As a response the City has had several policies that it has followed to deal with the demands that come with these informal settlements. Some of these policies, relevant to the upgrading of the case study area have been listed and discussed in section 4.3 above. Thus far, based on my walk-about in the area, the policies have helped achieve most of the set goals for upgrading of settlements. While the City states to have been able to provide some basic services, it also acknowledges that the formalisation of informal settlements has slowed down. The mayor of Tshwane made a commitment during his 2019 State of the Capital Address that the City would, through *Re Aga Tshwane* commit to the continued upgrading of settlements in its jurisdiction. Thus far, *Re Aga Tshwane* has played a guiding role as a housing programme to deal with improving the living environments of the poor. Nellmapius Extension 21 has grown rapidly in a short period and has accommodated households that had been relocated due to the area. Post the relocation the area had to be upgraded with the individuals already living there while considering their daily lives. The upgrading progress and the outcomes thereof are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Fieldwork

5.1. Introduction

The Regional Spatial Framework has highlighted that in the process of the 2017/2018 IDP in region 6 (the region where the study area is found), the formalisation of informal settlements and provision of basic services came up as priorities for communities (CoT, 2018). Nellmapius Extension 21 inherited these very priorities in their upgrading process through the relocation of households from danger zones around Mamelodi East, and this is indicated through the responses of the community members. This chapter provides the findings from the fieldwork done through semi-structured interviews with the selected community members. It covers the settlement background and the views of community members, community leaders and the City official who oversaw the upgrading project.

5.2. Settlement background and history

Prior to the rapid growth of Nellmapius Extension 21 was a settlement of Phomolong in the far east of Mamelodi. Though Nellmapius Extension 21 was a relocation area set aside by the municipality, Phomolong is a relocation area due for upgrading created by the municipality earlier. The history of Phomolong is covered below. The households were resettled not only on Extension 21 but also on land across the road which the City called Nellmapius Extension 24. Both extensions 21 and 24 have over time come to be registered and recognised by the municipality. Although extension 21 and 24 are separated by a road, for the purpose of this research report the study area is a portion of extension 21. Extension 21 has thus far been developed to accommodate 1093 households. At the time of my fieldwork in November 2019, it had a park, clearly delineated roads and mostly formal structures.

5.2.1. The history of Phomolong and the birth of Nellmapius Extension 21

The city council made a collective decision in 2001 to revitalise Marabastad and incorporate it into the greater fabric of Tshwane (DHS, 2017). The separation of Marabastad from the rest of the City was as a result of the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, therefore the municipality had no jurisdiction in Marabastad (*ibid.*). The City Council relocated the families that lived in Marabastad in August 2002 to Mamelodi East (*ibid.*). The Environmental Impact Assessment done along with other assessments, resulted in the development of 864 stands for low-cost housing in Phomolong (*ibid.*). The rest of the families from Marabastad were housed in other sections of Nellmapius (*ibid.*).

To the recollection of the ward councillor and the official, the number of the households in Phomolong skyrocketed overnight resulting in a number of shacks being constructed on top of municipal services servitudes, road reserves and a bulk high-pressure water pipe and underneath electricity cables. Unfortunately, in the early hours of August 2012 around 1am, the bulk high-pressure water pipe burst resulting in the flooding of several shacks and the drowning of two children. This incident resulted in the rapid growth of Nellmapius Extension 21 as demonstrated in section 4.6.1 above.

The rapid growth is as a result of the City's decision to establish a new township to house the relocated households from Phomolong and other identified danger zones including Phases 1 and 3 around Mamelodi east. To this date 1093 households were allocated stands in Nellmapius Extension 21. Beyond the relocation the City further decided it needed to speed up formalisation of settlements, not only in Nellmapius Extension 21 but in all of Tshwane (DHS, 2017). Along with this formalisation, the plan was to proclaim unproclaimed townships and promote the sustainability of all townships with its needed amenities (*ibid.*). According to the official, the process of establishing a township takes a while and the City needed to find a way to speed up the process and *Re Aga Tshwane* housing programme was the option for it, and further enabled the City to accomplish its other objectives around the city.

One of the community leaders had a similar account of how everything unfolded. The one thing that the community of Nellmapius Extension 21 has accomplished thus far is that they have managed to come together as one community of the area and were not divided by where they came from prior to living in their current community. Due to the urgency of the matter after the pipe burst, the City had acted rapidly and according to Official 1 (interview 11 November 2019) it had to do everything almost simultaneously (official 1, interview 11 November 2019).

5.3. Upgrading, participation and the outcome of it

The emergency of the water pipe burst in Phomolong gave birth to the existence, upgrading and growth of Nellmapius Extension 21. According to the City official in charge of the project, the aim was to shorten the time it normally takes to upgrade informal settlements if they were ever going to make a positive difference in the lives of the resettled dwellers (official 1, interview 11 November 2019), and it is because of that reason the City chose to do the upgrading of the study area under the *Re Aga Tshwane* housing programme. This programme has allowed the City to relocate households that were in danger zones around Mamelodi East, to Nellmapius Extension 21 and upgrade the area to what it is today (*ibid.*). The City decided that it needs to come up with a programme to help them upgrade informal settlements much faster and could be used as guide to upgrade all the informal settlements around Tshwane (*ibid.*). According to the community members, the upgrading of the area was done with the

residents in the area. Upon arrival all the community members were allocated a stand to build their shacks while they waited for the upgrading process.

5.3.1. The participation of role players during the upgrading process

In an effort to improve the livelihoods of the poor, it is important to note that decisions made at the moment of planning and implementation affect the ultimate impact (Adebayo & Adebayo, 2001). The houses the recipients get to have are not only a home but also a space that can be used for income production (*ibid.*). It is for this reason that community members need to be involved in the process and are given the opportunity to effectively participate in a place they will have to live in for years to come.

According to community leader 1 (interview 15 October 2019), the municipality had to send in a team to Nellmapius Extension 21 to investigate the state of the ground and determine the extent to which it is developable. The community members mentioned that they were relocated to the area and upon arrival the area was already subdivided, and everybody was allocated a stand. Some of the community members said they remember spending two years after moving in without any services. The municipality then introduced mobile toilets around the area along with JoJo tanks and electricity connection for all the shacks. The official (interview 11 November 2019) also mentioned in his interview that the naming of the streets and electrification was done in-house and the municipality does have its own engineers that handled the process. Community leader 1 (interview 15 October 2019) highlighted that he took part in the construction of the toilets in the area, which was the first service installed. He has a construction company which was subcontracted for the toilets.

Seeing as one of the research questions in this research report revolves around participation, it is worth noting that when asked about it, community leader 1 (interview 15 October 2019) mentioned that his company is registered on the City's service providers' database and had to go through the procurement process to get appointed as a subcontractor for the project of constructing toilets in the area. The official (interview 11 November 2019) highlighted the need for the City to ensure that the community members are empowered through the whole process and this was supported by the employment of community members as mentioned by community leader 1 (interview 15 October 2019) on the job to help build the toilets. They were further employed to assist in installing water pipes.

In the entirety of the rapid development of the relocation area, the community members were involved in the construction of the permanent services, this was captured by one of the community members when he mentioned that as an individual due to his experience working with electricity he participated in the wiring of the households in the area and the experience of participation for him was beneficial in that he managed to make an income. Two out of ten

of the community members I interviewed mentioned that the community insisted that the municipality had to make space for them to play a role in the upgrading of the area for the sake of community empowerment and skills development. When asked about selecting community members to help with the physical labour of the area, three out of ten of the community members said that individuals within the community had to bring their Identity Documents to a community meeting, put them in a hat and whichever names the selected child pulled out of the hat were the community members that were to participate in the physical work of the upgrade. However, one community member said that on their street, as neighbours they chose for themselves a person that was to work on the upgrading project for an income. This decision he said they made based on which household would benefit the most from the participation and had a family member young enough and able to partake in the physical labour of the upgrading. As far as the planning is concerned, the community members I interviewed said they were always invited to community meetings before every phase to be informed of what was about to happen next.

The participation of community members in physical labour was limited to the construction of toilets, installation of water pipes through digging trenches on the street to place the pipes and the electrification of the area. When it was time for constructing the houses for the area, every community member had to register themselves at the local municipal office. Community member 1 (interview 17 October 2019) and 3 (interview 06 November 2019) mentioned that the meetings were mostly just to tell the community about what is to happen in the area rather than community members coming to make contributions. In all the meetings that served as a platform to share in information regarding the upgrade of the study area, none of the community members interviewed knew what the name of the type of intervention chosen for the area is and what policy they seem to have used as a guide for the upgrading. But community member 9 (interview 06 November 2019) said that while she might not know what the intervention is called she can't claim the municipality to not have informed them because she has not been able to attend every single community meeting and the information may have been shared in one of the missed meetings.

Beyond the upgrading of the area, the community members were called by the community leaders to create street committees that would be in charge of dealing with daily challenges that community members face. In his interview, the official (interview 25 February 2020) pointed out that the City had no contribution to the selection of the community leaders for the area. He further mentioned that the City knew of the ward councillor and the rest of the community leaders were introduced to the City through working with the community members. As per the mention of the ward councillor (interview 16 October 2019), he was initially a group leader of the community of Phomolong. After the relocation of the community, he carried on

as the leader of the community up until he became the ward councillor. As part of the leaders of the community, whenever there is a challenge that proves difficult for residents to resolve themselves, the street committee would then need to talk to community leaders so they may intervene where they can (community leader 1, interview 15 October 2019). The community leaders oversee helping community members open accounts with the municipality, to which rates can be billed for every house that a community member moves into (*ibid.*).

5.3.2. The handling of the development in Nellmapius Extension 21

The country holds elections every five years for citizens to vote for who they believe stands a better chance at representing them and ensuring service delivery in their areas. The previous elections placed the area of Nellmapius Extension 21 in an ANC led ward. The ward councillor (interview 16 October 2019) said that as the African National Congress (ANC), they believe that the main aim of upgrading of areas is to ensure that there is an improvement in the lives of the people on the receiving end of the upgrading efforts. As a result, more than anything chapter two of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which covers the Bill of Rights, has been the guide to what they wanted to accomplish for the community members. In consideration of the fact that community members were relocated from an informal settlement, it had to be considered how the community members had adjusted to their new settlement. Out of interest and as a side note the ward councillor was asked if they found themselves needing to re-block the area in order to fit in any services after the community members moved in. The ward councillor (interview 16 October 2019) responded by stating that “the ANC does not believe in the ability of re-blocking to change the lives of informal settlements dwellers. Upgrading informal settlements is about providing a permanent solution to the challenges faced by community members of informal settlements and because of this, re-blocking is not the best option because it costs a lot of money, has a temporary feature and money does not have a temporary feature. Once it is used it is gone forever, and this is money that can go towards establishing a township.”

In addition to that, the ward councillor further mentioned that the belief that re-blocking is wasteful as an upgrading tool, has been re-enforced by the fact that informal settlements that they have been confronted by thus far are all clearly delineated. He also mentioned that the decision made by the ANC was to relocate informal settlement dwellers of Phomolong to Nellmapius Extension 21 and do *in situ* upgrading to formalise the area, essentially rapid land development.

When the community members were relocated from Phomolong, they expected that they believed they were moving to a better place. The biggest challenge after the relocation of community members to Nellmapius Extension 21 was that community members were

expecting an immediate delivery of services in the area more so because some of the informal settlements' dwellers had just benefitted from the electrification project in their former area, keeping in mind that some community members were from Phases 1 and 3 (ward councillor interview 16 October 2019) . While this pressure as experienced from the community members may not have been the reason for rapid development of the area, but it may have contributed, along with the need for the municipality to speed up service delivery in the area (official interview 11 November 2019). Because Tshwane has multiple areas in its jurisdiction that need intervention, it is plausible that informal settlements dwellers around the city may be turning to the formation of groups around the city to find ways to get the attention of the municipality. One incident of this is the incident that led to prioritising one of the informal areas in the city. In 2006 the City had a plan to formalise a settlement in Mamelodi and commenced with the planning (Mokwena, 2017). A Town Planner was appointed to draw up a layout map for the area (*ibid.*). Unfortunately the plans came to a halt in 2007 when the area was invaded by residents who further complicated the process when they took to the illegal mining of sand in the area as a result the project was cancelled (*ibid.*). When the City resolved to continuing with the project again, it decided to do it within a short amount of time (*ibid.*). The issue of invading land marked for development is something the city has been dealing with as there was a similar issues in 1995, and now in 2012 with Nellmapius Extension 21. It is therefore imperative that the City does not delay any plans and that it carries out its project as soon as possible to avoid invasions getting out of control thus delaying the completion of projects or having them come to a complete halt. In his interview (11 November 2019) the official of the City stated that the City aims to have an overall process that can be applied in informal settlements all over the City that does not prolong the upgrading of informal settlements.

The formalisation of informal settlements, which is one of the objectives of the *Re Aga Tshwane* housing programme, was one of the guiding goals and they managed to, under this programme, deliver roughly 75% of the services in three years. According to the official (interview 11 November 2019), The *Re Aga Tshwane* programme was specifically chosen as an intervention of choice due to the urgent need by the municipality to cut down on the time it takes to deliver services in the area. Any other option usually delays delivery because the chain of a township establishment in a bureaucratic set up takes at least seven years, which is the time the City did not have considering the urgency of the situation and because of this *Re Aga Tshwane* helped to move the process along much faster. The official stated that a town planner was appointed to do a layout plan (official interview 11 November 2019). As with other upgrading projects in the City, the intention has been to create a settlement with houses, water, electricity, sewer systems, roads and storm water drainage systems (Mokwena, 2017).

One of the mandates of the City during such upgrading projects is community empowerment therefore according to the official the City called upon the community members to participate in the upgrading (official, interview 11 November 2019). He further mentioned that the community does not get involved and skilled through the upgrading then the City would not have fully served its purpose. However, some community members mentioned in their interviews that the form of participation they had was that of being called to meetings to be informed about the next step to be taken in the project. According to community member 8 (interview 06 November 2019), the struggle for community members has been that of continuing with attending community meetings. He mentioned that the venues selected for the meetings have been too far for many to get to and some do not have the money to get to community meetings. The meetings, are according to him, held in a different section of Nellmapius and are held on Wednesday mornings. He further mentioned that these meetings have no longer become about coming up with solutions to the challenges faced in the community but rather a power play between those in attendance, and eventually these meetings had become pointless to attend. While he may be the only one who mentioned this as a reason for not attending meetings anymore, community member 3 (interview 06 November 2019) mentioned that she does not believe in the community leaders as nothing brought to their attention ever gets resolved. This does not sound like the participation in the community was people centred, which brings into question whether the participation was meaningful. Unfortunately, any documentation handed over by the official regarding the project and the *Re Aga Tshwane* housing programme does not have any mention of community participation and how it was to be handled. The meetings regarding the upgrade project were handled by the community leaders.

5.3.3. Challenges faced by role players

Any process that involves different role players with different needs and interests has the potential to be difficult and long. However, in the case of Nellmapius Extension 21 the process did not take long. As mentioned in the previous section, 75% of the upgrading was complete in three years. One of the initial challenges in the process was that of the stand sizes, which had to be negotiated (ward councillor, interview 16 October 2019). While the City may have suggested 70m^2 at first, the community leaders were not in agreement with the sizes arguing that they were too small, and because the available land was not enough to grant community members of 250m^2, which is perceived by the ward councillor as the national requirement, the community leaders and the City agreed on 150m^2 stand sizes (*ibid.*). To the recollection of the ward councillor, the negotiation happened in 2012 during the planning for the area of study (ward councillor 16 October 2019). He further mentioned that he remembers one Friday when there was a meeting that took place and the participants were forced to stay long into the night

of the Friday in order to reach an agreement as the City had to proceed with its plans the following week (*ibid.*). Unfortunately, before the city could commence with their plans the following week, the water pipe burst in Phomolong and the ward councillor had to rush to the site.

Another challenge in the area is that of informal land occupations on the vacant land directly adjacent to the relocation area. According to the official (interview 11 November 2919) and community leader 1 (interview 15 October 2019), land occupations in the area have been happening and as a result there are areas that appear to be part of the Nellmapius Extension 21, but are not considered as part of the area where the relocated have been allocated permanent stands. There are competing reasons for these land occupations. The third community leader (interview 18 October 2019) pointed out during the interview that the invasions started in 2016 because people needed a place to stay as they could not afford to pay rent anymore where they lived, which was in Eersterust for some of the residents. On the other hand, the ward councillor (interview 16 October 2019) argued that the migration of people into the urban areas in search of economic opportunities has undermined the ability to plan what needs to happen next. Considering the rapid development of the study area with the need to improve the settlement and ensure its sustainability, the land invasion may serve as an indicator that rapid development may serve as a pull factor for land invasions. Based on the land invasions that happen on land that gets earmarked for development, rapid development may serve as a motivation for land invaders to continue to live on land where they may potentially get evicted from.

Land invasions are hard to deal with and yet community leader 1 recalls having tried with the help of other leaders to handle the invasions. Community leader 1 said in his interview he remembers having reported the land occupations to the City, but his efforts were in vain as the City did not react (community leader 1 interview 15 October 2019). A few months later when he confronted the invaders with the help of his colleagues he reported the dwellers telling him that the time for their eviction has lapsed and are now the responsibility of the municipality, and if they wish to evict them the municipality must provide them with alternative housing. The official (interview 11 November 2919) was then asked about land invasions and in his response, he argued that it is sometimes hard to deal with land invasions on land that is privately owned, however in the case where the land is owned by the City the PIE Act has made it hard to efficiently deal with land invaders. He further argued that there is also a historical component of apartheid at the centre of how to deal with land invaders, thus making it a hard and sensitive issue to deal with during and after the upgrading process. Even upon the return to the area in March 2020, the land occupants still live in the area and their conditions have not changed.

During interviews, it was noteworthy that any account given in the interviews of the upgrading process were based on the experiences and perspectives of the participants. In the perspective of the ward councillor (interview 16 October 2019), there is a wasteful component of the upgrading process which he has stated to be that some community members have come to sell the stands they have gotten from the City. The beneficiary administration system for the stands is not done in a prudent manner because even people who had benefitted before can relocate to another informal settlement and once you relocate them they become beneficiaries and sell their stands because they know from being previous beneficiaries the title deed will not serve in their favour because they have benefitted before (ward councillor, interview 16 October 2019). This may potentially be an issue that can be handled through effective participation with community members. Data collection that may allow to determine the needs of the community members may serve as an opportunity to gather the historical information that may help them understand how they can qualify from the upgrading process.

5.3.4. Life after the upgrade

Post the upgrade, the community members generally agree with the sentiment that their lives have been improved by the upgrading process in the area due to the availability of the services. However, beyond the services community members still have grievances. The community members seemed to all have similar issues around the upgrading, which are discussed below.

a. Housing delivery

Most of the community members expressed that they have a problem with the progress of delivery of houses, in addition to this community member 2 (interview 26 October 2019) said that she cannot afford to build her own house and has no choice but to wait her turn. They expressed that they would love for the City to speed up housing delivery in the area. In addressing the matter community leader 1 (interview 15 October 2019) highlights that the City sends in a new contractor every year to construct the houses, and the contractors are given a certain amount of houses to construct which unfortunately are limited and do not cover everyone. The community has to go through the process of having their eligibility checked. This process takes time as the community has to wait for the feedback from the department to inform them whether they still qualify or not. Unfortunately not everyone in the area qualifies for subsidised housing, therefore those that are able to, use their own resources to build houses for themselves. Community member 8 (interview 06 November 2019) stated that as a community member he would appreciate it if the community did not need to keep registering for houses every new financial year because this has made him wonder what the municipality does with the registrations that makes them require that community members register every year. Some of the participants shared the same views as community member 8 however they

are amongst some of the community members that have already received their houses. Community member 10 mentioned that she received her house in 2015 and hopes that other community members that do qualify receive theirs as it is not ideal to have to wait for a house for so long. Community member 6 (interview 06 November 2019) made the argument that the City needs to rethink their approach in housing delivery. He further stated that the City needs to acknowledge that not every community member in the relocation area wants a house (community member 6, interview 06 November 2019). He still had not received his house to the date of the interview and was still on the waiting list. In the interview, what he was most concerned about was the size of the yards received and mentioned that some community members have big families and the subsidised houses were too small specifically for his family. In his opinion the sizes of the bedrooms are too small; it feels as if the government is saying we don't deserve big bedrooms because we don't afford to buy a bedroom suite" (*ibid.*).

b. Current status of the area

According to community member 2 (interview 26 October 2019) and community member 7 (interview 06 November 2019) their lives have improved because they now have services and do not live in shacks. In contrast to that community member 2 (interview 26 October 2019) also thinks that they are in some ways no different to those in the informal settlement adjacent to the area because they still have no title deeds and most community members still have not gotten a house of their own. However, for those that do have the financial power, the ward councillor and the City have confirmed that they can build their own houses. She further stated that while this may be the case, not everyone can afford to build their own houses and she like other community members that do qualify for a subsidised house have no choice but to wait. Community member 6 (interview 06 November 2019) believes that community members have not complained about much because they were excited by the fact that they each got to have their own permanent stand. Yet, community member 3 (06 November 2019) argued that she believes the area is incomplete and although they are called permanent stands, she still does not feel like she is living on a permanent stand. She received her house, but the area does not feel like a permanent place due to the absence of a school and clinic (community member 3, interview 06 November 2019). She does not believe the clinic will be built because the area that has been zoned for a clinic has been invaded and has someone living on it.

Community members 3 and 8 (interview 06 November 2019) are of the opinion that not much has improved because the lives of the children in the area are put at risk due to the long distances travelled to get to school and there are still people who are unemployed and without houses. Community member 9's (interview 06 November 2019) main concern regarding the absence of schools in the area is that sending children to school has become burdensome due to the transport costs. In addressing this issue, the official (interview 11 November 2019)

mentioned that the City had to take into account that the relocation of the community happened during school time at a crucial point in the children's schooling as they were preparing for exams. The City arranged busses to transport the children until the schools closed for the year. The parents were then responsible for transport arrangements for when the schools opened.

c. Outstanding infrastructure

According to all the respondents, the area still does have some outstanding services, this includes tar roads, a school, clinic and storm water drainage systems. For some community members all hope seems to be lost as to whether these will be delivered or not. This is reflected in the comment made by community member 3 (interview 06 November 2019) noting that community members have not heard anything from neither community leaders nor municipal officials regarding the outstanding services and nobody has been back in the area to check on the impact of the upgrading process in the area. She also said "aaah we have stopped following up on matters as community members because nobody ever has a straight answer for us when we make inquiries." Community member 6 (interview 06 November 2019) mentioned that he does not believe anything else in the area will ever be done beyond what has happened thus far due to the inability of the municipality to respond to the complaints of the rainwater running into his house from the street irrespective of the number of emails he had forwarded (which he showed to me during the interview). In the matter of the outstanding services the official (interview 25 February 2020) said that they were still awaiting the approval of the budget from the City. He has also mentioned that there is no set timeline thus far for the project. According to DHS (2017) which is the progress report from the City, there was a budget of R8 000 000 but it had to be readjusted and the services to be delivered are said to be set for the 2019/2020 budget year. Based on the document the budget has been set for projects in multiple areas that are to benefit from the formalisation process (DHS, 2017).

d. What could have been done differently

According to community member 9 (interview 06 November 2019) the houses are not being delivered according to the registration list and when asked why she thought this is the case, she mentioned that she did not understand how it is that she got her house built and her neighbour didn't when they went to register together at the same time and both qualified for subsidised housing. As a result of this, she further mentioned that she wishes the City would deliver the houses the same way they delivered the toilets, which was by building per street. Community member 6 (interview 06 November 2019) is of the opinion that the City needs to find a method to provide for those who may be after getting a permanent stand of their own rather than a house and stop focusing on building standard houses for everyone in the area. While the ward councillor (interview 16 October 2019) said he is satisfied with what they have

accomplished thus far, with the current update, but mentioned that in the future he is for the idea of building high-rise units. This he says is ideal in cases where there is not enough land to accommodate people. This he believes will assist considering one of the challenges of Nellmapius Extension 21 upgrades was the size of the available land versus the number of people that needed accommodating.

5.4. Conclusion

Upgrading a settlement, and in this case a relocation settlement, is a process that requires the participation of recipients to ensure that the upgrade is moving in the desired direction and has some guarantee of being satisfactory to most if not all the beneficiaries in the area. While the community of Nellmapius Extension 21 has received the upgrade well, there are some services that are still outstanding. For some, these services are essential for them to feel like they live on permanent stands. Community participation has been essential for community members, yet it seems the form of participation involved in the area has had its limitations. While the leaders may seem to be taking pride in their ability to complete most of the upgrade in less than four years, the views of some of the community members are seemingly not completely satisfied with what has been done. Important to note is that there are some members who still feel like their area does not feel permanent due to the lack of title deeds, which speaks to the possibility that title deeds are deemed as much a priority as basic services.

Chapter 6: Analysis of fieldwork against the theory of the literature review

6.1. Introduction

This research was targeted at figuring out what the possibilities and implication of rapid development are in cases of emergencies. Specifically, looking at the outcome of Nellmapius Extension 21 after its residents has to be relocated from their communities due to an emergency of a bulk water pipe burst. Discussed in this chapter is the outcome after the manner in which the development process was handled. It also discusses the implication for community participation under the circumstances of Nellmapius Extension 21 development. Finally, it also looks at what this could possibly imply for rapid development in emergency relocations in South Africa.

6.2. The impact of existing policy on Nellmapius Extension 21 upgrade

What is worth noting is that the community of Nellmapius Extension 21 was relocated twice before they benefited from an upgrade process. The Emergency Housing Programme has been designed to rapidly respond to the emergency needs of informal settlements including relocations (DHS, 2009). While the programme may respond to home losses of informal settlements dwellers, it does not respond to the long-term development of sustainable human settlements. Beyond the implementation of the Emergency Housing Programme, there exists other mechanisms for the long-term upgrade of informal settlements. In the case of Nellmapius Extension 21, the CoT made the choice to tackle the matter of Nellmapius 21 using their *Re Aga Tshwane* housing programme. While the Emergency housing programme deals with Temporary Relocation Areas, Tshwane has managed to convert the case study area into a permanent municipal relocation area, and have further managed to complete at least 75% of upgrading of the area in under four years. *Re Aga Tshwane* has allowed the City to immediately respond and upgrade Nellmapius Extension 21 after being relocated from Phomolong, after a bulk water pipe burst and other danger zones. Fortunately for the community members theirs was not a case of a temporary area that became permanent as argued by Cirolia (2014).

In dealing with informal settlements, the UISP has also designed to guide the phased *in situ* upgrading where relocation is unnecessary or in the case of this report post relocation. This programme allows for a multi-phase approach to upgrading. It is designed to respond to the specific needs of informal settlements (DHS, 2009). This programme is important because

while the Emergency Housing Programme is short-term, the UISP is a supporting programme necessary for the long-term sustainability of settlements. Nellmapius Extension 21 has been upgraded by the City with the main aim of fulfilling the Bill of Rights as covered in chapter two of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The City also argues that they wanted to upgrade the area as fast as possible and ensure the end results was the improvement of the livelihoods of the area and *Re Aga Tshwane* has made this possible. While the community may have received basic services thus far, one thing that continues to take longer to deal with is the issue of housing. The majority of households that do qualify for housing in the area are said to have received their houses while those that do not meet the criteria for houses have been granted permission to build their own houses. This dilemma is made possible by the fact that the emergency response to disaster in settlements qualifies everyone affected to receive assistance from the City whether they rebuild in the same area or are relocated. Post the disaster, the housing criteria also kicks in to ensure that it response to those who qualify for government subsidised housing. While *Re Aga Tshwane* has provided everyone in the area with a stand and basic services, the City still had to follow the rules in as far as housing provision is concerned.

6.3. The accomplishments and limitations of the rapid development in Nellmapius Extension 21

While the research report has acknowledged the policies that exist in helping with informal settlements intervention, it also points out the programme of choice as used by Tshwane to speed up development in the area. Rapid development has allowed the delivery of services in the area to be done almost simultaneously as highlighted in section 5.3. This may have possibly been able to ensure that there are no delays in between phases and tasks completed. Furthermore, even though schools and clinics are still outstanding community members got an improved living environment. Rapid development has allowed the City to respond to the basic needs of the community much faster. How development was sped up in the area was by choosing *Re Aga Tshwane* as an intervention mechanism, which had the city done the usual township establishment process, would have taken longer due to the bureaucratic setup that usually takes about seven years, as mentioned in section 5.3.2.

What is worth noting is that there may be a possibility that *Re Aga Tshwane*, may have sped up development in the area all the way through to its registration considering the objectives that it intends to fulfill, which are listed in section 4.3.3. While it covers speeding up formalization of informal areas, it further tackles the relocating of families and issuing tittle deeds while at the same time ensuring unregistered townships finally get registered. This may have urged in speeding up the establishment of the study area, though not completed in a

conventional manner but still necessary considering this area is the City's permanent relocation area.

Considering that this report was completed during the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, it became necessary to try and fit rapid development in emergency in the broader context of South Africa. Reports on the pandemic have been all over the news and social distancing and isolation have become a way of trying to prevent being affected or affecting others. The reality of informal settlements does not allow for effective social distancing if any, thus requiring the government to respond rapidly to informal settlements. Assessing the case of Nellmapius Extension 21, rapid development is necessary for South African informal settlements, not only for the pandemic but beyond. The rapid development provides the basic services needed for informal settlements dwellers. Part of fighting the pandemic requires the frequent washing of hands, which is challenging in cases where there is no water. While nobody could have predicted the pandemic, the rapid development of Nellmapius has allowed the community members to be in a position to at least get a chance to fight COVID-19 due to the receipt of an upgraded area with basic infrastructure that enables the community to adhere to the call by government for people to stay at home.

In the current state of South Africa, rapid development will allow a certain level of comfort to informal settlements dwellers, through the provision of areas that allow for social distancing through the layout of the settlements. It may also contribute to slowing down the spread of COVID-19 in informal settlements and relocated communities, by allowing the space between community members necessary. Rapid development is most important in informal settlements now more than ever because the virus also affect people with underlying illnesses more due to their weakened immune systems, and as pointed out in section 2.4 informal settlements are environments that are a threat to the health of its dwellers.

6.4. Effective community participation: a myth or a possibility?

While the UISP advocates for community participation, there are researchers like Mautjana & Makombe (2014) who have written about the experiences of community participation. The general argument is that effective community participation is essential for effective community participation. While there exists different levels of participation varying from the government being dominant in the process to community members being dominant, it is vital to get a balance between the two. This balance is also important in order to deal with managerial, technical and social aspects of any development. Community members should never be excluded from a development affecting them to ensure the sustainability of a development. However, there will always be some tention between effective community participation and speeding up development. Nellmapius Extension 21 developed fast however community

participation as per the fieldwork information was not as effective as it could have been. The consequence of this has been the relocation of community meetings from the area to a different section in Nellmapius, resulting in some participants arguing that they have not been able to attend meetings anymore. Some of the participants have expressed some dissapointments they have post the upgrading of the area, something Cirolia, et al. (2016) have been argued to be the result of not commiting to community participation.

Some of the participants have expressed disappointment from the City due to the incomplete services, the invasion of land zoned for a clinic and school and the discontinued provision of transport for school kids. What I found was that the official gave responses stating that community members were granted transport for their children but were then expected to make a plan for the following year. This is a problem considering that community participation would have provided the City with the opportunity to clearly explain this to the community members but rather they were expected to know that there was a set timeframe for the provision of the transportation. The granting of land zoned for a clinic to some residents, created tension between community members and their leaders, as some of the participants reported to not believe in their leaders, and this tension could result from the lack of involving community members in decision making and choice making.

So far effective community participation has proven to be a myth in the case of Nellmapius Extension 21 as some of the participants stated that the purpose of meetings that occurred every beginning of a new upgrading phase was only to inform community members about what was going to happen next rather than for incorporating the ideas of community members into the development plans. The City has thus far failed to negotiate and share power with community members in order to attain information from community members that could strengthen the development. The type of participation used in Nellmapius Extension 21 has been that of non-participatory with the City coming into the area with a set plan for the members. It is also worth considering that the main goal was to speed up the development of the area so not to remove community members from one bad area to another bad area. However, this does not excuse the inability of the City to effectively consult with community members about what they want which could have in the long-term ensured that the community members take care of their area even with the absence of the City after the upgrade.

Chapter 7: Conclusion of research and recommendations for further studies

7.1. Introduction

The main goal of this research report was studying what rapid development can achieve in emergency relocations in South Africa. This chapter presents the conclusion of the research report based on the literature and the findings from the fieldwork as well as the recommendations for further research.

7.2. Conclusion

Informal settlements are a spatial manifestation of poverty and inequality in South Africa. While the long-term goal may be to eradicate them through a phased *in situ* development guided by the Housing code, in the short to medium-term South Africa has to accept that they are a reality and part of the urban fabric. They are however in need of constant attention as they are at times built on danger zones and its dwellers are faced with potential disaster on a daily basis.

The Emergency Housing Programme (EHP) enables the government to have a rapid response to disasters, however this on its own is not adequate. Important is that the EHP can facilitate meeting the immediate needs of informal settlements in the context of the longer-term goals of the government for human settlements.

As far as Nellmapius Extension 21 is concerned the *Re Aga Tshwane* housing programme has enabled the rapid development of the area post the relocation of the community from Phomolong and other identified danger zones around Mamelodi East. This programme, though not making use of the EHP, has enabled the City of Tshwane (CoT) to achieve the necessary upgrade of the relocation area to improve the lives of the community members. Based on the objectives of the programme as listed in section 4.3.3 of the report, *Re Aga Tshwane* is a long-term guide as it enables the relocation of families, the registration for title deeds and fast-tracking the development for households living in informal settlements. This programme may need to be supplemented by various policies throughout the development process depending on the phase the upgrading project finds itself in.

While rapid development may be favorable, insights based on the case study of Nellmapius Extension 21 in this research report suggest it does have some limitations. The process allows for the speedy upgrading of the relocation area. However, the rapid upgrade is only limited to public infrastructure, allowing for the general improvement of the public environment. In Nellmapius Extension 21, this was by carrying out most of the upgrading tasks simultaneously to ensure that the community does not wait too long for the various aspects of essential infrastructure. This may have been motivated by the fact that some of the community members were relocated from areas that had recently benefitted from an electrification project.

Based on the information gathered during the fieldwork, it was evident that the CoT made way for the community members to participate in the development process. Overall, a positive aspect that emerged from the case study is that while speedily developing Nellmapius Extension 21, the CoT did not lose sight of skills development and empowerment for the community, but with limitations. According to a few participants, community participation as handled in the area allowed for skills development for some of the community members yet did not allow for the opinions of the community members to inform the plans for the area. The form of participation used in the rapid development of the relocation area falls under category two of Arnstein's ladder of participation as described in Mautjana & Makombe (2014), namely tokenism. Specifically it falls into the category of informing, as one participant described that the meetings were held at every phase to inform community members what was to happen next. This type of participation is worrying as it is described by Mautjana & Makombe (2014) as a hinderance to the sustainability of a development. The possibility exists that this may have resulted in low levels of sense of ownership by the residents..

Approaches for rapid development of relocation sites such as documented in this report in relation to Nellmapius Extension 21 is a theme that calls for further research. It is particularly relevant to the current search for refined methods that are suitable for the conditions South Africa currently finds itself in as far as informal settlements and housing is concerned.

7.3. Recommendations

Informal settlements will continue to be of concern in South Africa. The poor have no choice but to find accommodation in informal settlements as these allow them to exist in a social network at low cost in a way that allows them to survive with the little they have. It is also important to keep in mind that any rumours of potential development in an area and of open land are pull factors for the poor needing free or affordable accommodation. These pull factors contribute to the instances of land occupations which if not handled swiftly, through rapid development, place more responsibility in the hands of the government. This responsibility can grow faster than the ability of the government to provide for the needs of the poor.

Further research needs to be conducted to find out how a programme such as *Re Aga Tshwane* can be duplicated and in what instances it may need to be supplemented. Additionally, considering the position of one participant that some community members just want land to build houses for themselves, the process of housing needs to be sped up by providing multiple options for the beneficiaries to access land.

In all forms of land release and housing development for informal settlement, it is essential that the type of community participation that is conducted is effective and at an appropriate level. Role players need to find a way to push past tokenism and learn to share and balance power amongst each other. This is a particular challenge when there is pressure for development to unfold rapidly. Research also needs to be done to find out how to best get this balance of power and to share it amongst role players without compromising the whole project and the pace of development.

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Annexure 1

Community Leader 1, leader of community, interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21 community office, 15 October 2019

Community Leader 2, leader of community, interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 18 October 2019

Ward councilor, ward 15 , interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 16 October 2019

Community member 1, (male household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 17 October 2019

Community member 2, (female household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 26 October 2019

Community member 3, (self-employed female), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 06 November 2019

Community member 4, (female household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 06 November 2019

Community member 5, (male household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 06 November 2019

Community member 6, (male household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 06 November 2019

Community member 7, (male household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 06 November 2019

Community member 8, (female running a stokvel), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 06 November 2019

Community member 9, (male household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 06 November 2019

Community member 10, (female household head), interviewed in Nellmapius Extension 21, 09 November 2019

Official 1, City official and project manager for Nellmapius Extension 21, interviewed in Tshwane House (municipal office), 11 November 2019

Annexure 2

[redacted]

FORMAL CONSENT FORM

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE & PLANNING

Project Title: Exploring the transformative potential of re-blocking in the South African context: A case study of Nellmapius Extention Mamelodi, Tshwane

Phumuzile Mahlangu

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the student researcher of the purpose, procedures and my rights as a participant. I have received and understand the Participant Information Sheet.

I have also been informed of:

- € The reason why I was selected to participate in the research project
- € The nature of my participation in the form of an interview
- € The place and duration of the interview
- € The voluntary nature, refusal to answer and withdrawing from the interview, no payment or incentive
- € No loss of benefits or risks
- € My identity will be kept anonymous
- € The information I provide will be kept confidential
- € How the information will be used and disseminated

I AGREE/ DO NOT AGREE to participate by undertaking the interview

I AGREE/ DO NOT AGREE to audio-recording of the interview

_____

Name of participant

_____

Signature of participant

_____

Date

Annexure 3

CITY OF TSHWANE
IGNITING EXCELLENCE

City Strategy and Organisational Performance

Room CSP23 | Ground Floor, West Wing, Block D | Tshwane House | 320 Madiba Street | Pretoria | 0002
PO Box 440 | Pretoria | 0001
Tel: 012 358 7542
Email: NosiphoH@tshwane.gov.za | www.tshwane.gov.za | www.facebook.com/CityOf Tshwane

My ref: Confidentiality Agreement
Contact person: Pearl Maponya
Section/Unit: Knowledge Management

Tel: 012 358 4559
Email: PearlMap3@tshwane.gov.za

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE RESEARCHER AND THE CITY OF TSHWANE MUNICIPALITY

(To be completed by researchers who require access to conduct research within the City of Tshwane Municipality)

Name of Researcher	Phumuzile Nicoline Mahlangu
ID Number	9303300102083
Research Topic	EXPLORING THE TRANSFORMATIVE POTENTIAL OF RE-BLOCKING IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY OF NELLMAPIUS EXTENTION IN MAMELODI, TSHWANE

I, the undersigned, acknowledge, understand and agree to adhere to the following conditions of access.

(Insert details of dataset fields and other information to be accessed in course of research)

- I will maintain the privacy and confidentiality of all accessible research data and understand that unauthorized disclosure of personal/confidential data is an invasion of privacy and may result in disciplinary, civil, and/or criminal actions against me.
- I will not disclose data or information to anyone other than those to whom I am authorized to do so.
- I will access data only for the purposes for which I am authorized explicitly. On no occasion will I use research data, including personal or confidential information, for my personal interest or advantage, or for any other business purposes.
- I will comply at all times with the City of Tshwane's data/information security policies and confidentiality code of conduct.

- I am informed that the references to personal, confidential and sensitive information in these documents are for my information and research purposes, and are not intended to replace my obligations under the Data Protection and Privacy policies and regulations of South Africa.

- I understand that where I have been given access to confidential information I am under a duty of confidence and would be liable under common law for any inappropriate breach of confidence in terms of disclosure to third parties and also for invasion of privacy if I were to access more information than that for which I have been given approval or for which consent is in place.

- Should my work in relation to the research discontinue for any reason, I understand that I will continue to be bound by this signed Confidentiality Agreement.



Signature

28/08/2019

Date

Annexure 4

CITY OF TSHWANE
IGNITING EXCELLENCE

City Strategy and Organizational Performance

Room CSP22 | Ground Floor, West Wing, Block D | Tshwane House | 320 Madiba Street | Pretoria | 0002
PO Box 440 | Pretoria | 0001
Tel: 012 358 7423
Email: NosiphoH@tshwane.gov.za | www.tshwane.gov.za | www.facebook.com/CityOf Tshwane

My ref: **Research Permission/Mahlangu**
Contact person: **Pearl Maponya**
Section/Unit: **Knowledge Management**

Tel: 012 358 4559
Email: PearlMap3@tshwane.gov.za
Date 22 August 2019

Ms Phumzile Mahlangu
20642 Ext 3
Serapeng Str
Mamelodi
0122

Dear Ms Mahlangu

RE: EXPLORING THE TRANSFORMATIVE POTENTIAL OF RE-BLOCKING IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY OF NELLMAPIUS EXTENTION MAMELODI, TSHWANE.

Permission is hereby granted to Ms Phumzile Mahlangu, Master's Degree Candidate in Urban Studies at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS), to conduct research in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

It is noted that the aim of the research is to provide an overview of what transformative potential means and how it is translated through the implementation of re-blocking. The City of Tshwane further notes that all ethical aspects of the research will be covered within the provisions of WITS Research Ethics Policy. You will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement with the City of Tshwane prior to conducting research.

Relevant information required for the purpose of the research project will be made available as per applicable laws and regulations. The City of Tshwane is not liable to cover the costs of the research. Upon completion of the research study, it would be appreciated that the findings in the form of a report and or presentation be shared with the City of Tshwane.

Yours faithfully,

PEARL MAPONYA (MS)
DIRECTOR: KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

Annexure 5

[redacted]

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP061/06/2019

PROJECT TITLE:	Exploring the transformative potential of re-blocking in South Africa: A case study of Nellmapius in Mamelodi East, Tshwane
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Phumuzile Mahlangu (Student No: 1921771)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Master of Urban Studies (Housing)
DATE CONSIDERED	29 October 2019
EXPIRY DATE:	29 October 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	Approved

CHAIRPERSON B C Boshoff
(Dr Brian Boshoff)

DATE: 30/10/19

cc: Supervisor/s: Marie Huchzermeyer

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

Signature

11/11/2019
Date

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