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The interdependency between residents' liveihoods and informal settlements improvement: a case study of Sejwetla informal settlement in Alexandra township, Johannesburg

Sibanda, Brighton

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THE INTERDEPENDENCY BETWEEN RESIDENTS' LIVELIHOODS AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IMPROVEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF SEJWETLA INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP, JOHANNESBURG.

Brighton Sibanda

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of the Built Environment in Housing.

Johannesburg, 2018

DECLARATION

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

_____
Signature

_____ Day of _____, _____

ABSTRACT

The failure of South African municipalities to upgrade informal settlements has forced residents to adopt diverse livelihood strategies to improve the physical conditions of their settlements. Consequently, a number of community-driven improvements are taking place in Gauteng Province's informal settlements, such as the Sejwetla informal settlement situated in Johannesburg. Scholars observe that proceeds from livelihoods in informal settlements are very low (Huchzemeyer, 2011). This suggests that when focus is put on improvements to individual dwellings, expenditure is increased, hence an increased economic burden to the residents. Using the case study of the Sejwetla informal settlement in Alexandra Township, this study investigates the interdependency between residents' livelihoods and informal settlement improvements. The study aims to establish the livelihood strategies employed by the informal settlement residents, and how these contribute to different aspects of the upgrading process, in particular, re-blocking and housing consolidation. The linkages between the improvements of informal settlements and livelihoods creation have not been adequately explored (Chalton, 2006; Napier, 2007; SERI, 2012). Although various studies on informal settlements have been conducted, an in-depth investigation of the interdependence between livelihoods and informal settlement improvements in one settlement is scarce. The study uses a sustainable livelihoods framework and rests on the proposition that residents of informal settlements are an asset on their own (human capital,) and they are willing to improve their living conditions (Moser and Dani, 2008). It uses a qualitative methodology to examine the interdependency between livelihoods and informal settlement improvements.

The study expects to establish the livelihood strategies employed by residents, and how these have contributed to re-blocking and housing consolidation. It also anticipates understanding the effects of informal settlements improvement to the livelihoods of the residents. This study concludes that the role of residents' livelihoods in informal settlements improvement is important.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ARP - Alexandra Renewal project

BNG - Breaking New Grounds

CASE - Community Agency for Social Equity

DOH – Department of Human Settlements

HAD -Housing Development Agency

JDA -Johannesburg Development Agency

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

RDP - reconstruction and Development Programme

TUB - technical University of Berlin

UN - United Nations

UISP Upgrade of Informal Settlements Programme

UN HABITAT- United Nations Human Settlement Programme

Wits - University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

CHAPTER **1**
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The challenge of informal settlements is a concern for international agencies, such as the United Nations Human Settlements Programme. The concern is expressed in policy and programmatic initiatives which seek to address the challenge of informal settlements in developing countries (UN Habitat, 2016; Huchzermeyer, 2011). The United Nation's adoption of 'cities without slums' as a slogan to accompany its Millennium Development Goals (MDG) target on slums led to a widespread informal settlements eradication (Huchzermeyer, 2011). Regionally, the African continent has been labelled as rich in different forms of informal settlements (Napier, 2007). Many scholars (Napier, 2007; Moser and Satterthwaite, 2008) observe that the number of people living in informal settlements is high in the sub Saharan region. Similarly, South Africa has the challenge of the proliferation of informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2009). These informal settlements emerge on unutilized pieces of land. Most of these areas lack basic service infrastructure in terms of water and sanitary facilities.

In an effort to address the increase of informal settlements, the government of South Africa introduced the Comprehensive Plan for Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (Breaking New Grounds) in 2004. The BNG fostered the idea that informal settlements must be incorporated into the existing formal urban setup to bring up spatial, social and economic inclusion (Chalton and Kihato, 2006). It promoted phased in situ upgrading of informal settlements. However, municipalities have not implemented the informal settlement upgrading policy instead resorting to temporary measures such as re-blocking. On that basis, residents use their livelihoods to further improve their settlements. This study uses the case study of the Sejwetla informal settlement and a qualitative methodology to examine the linkages between livelihoods and informal settlements improvement. A livelihood is defined as one or more activities required by one to make a living and these often depend on assets, activities and capabilities (Napier, 2007). The study investigates how residents of Sejwetla use their livelihoods to improve the

settlement. In the process, it analyses how different aspects of upgrading, such as re-blocking, consolidation and community participation have unfolded and affected residents' livelihoods. The selection of Sejwetla informal settlement as a case study is well suited to examining the phenomenon because it presents a unique case where the City of Johannesburg supports re-blocking initiatives.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Informal settlements present a huge challenge to the effective planning and management of cities (Abbot, 2001). The current housing policy of South Africa endeavours to promote the upgrade of informal settlements in-situ through the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (Huchzemeyer, 2009). Municipalities have been mandated to implement the provisions of the UISP. However, their failure to implement these provisions have forced residents of informal settlements to adopt certain strategies to improve their individual dwelling places. The Sejwetla informal settlement in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg is one such settlement where residents are investing their livelihood income in processes meant to improve their living environment. The need for habitable shelter has prompted the majority of residents at the Sejwetla informal settlement to engage in the process of improving their dwelling units. Scholars observe that informal settlements are characterised by low proceeds from livelihood income (Huchzermeyer, 2011). This suggests that when focus is put on upgrading projects, households' expenditure increases. Furthermore, their investment is insecure as there is no permanent tenure. Despite this concern, it is apparent that these developments have a positive impact on the lives of the residents.

1.3. Rationale for the study

Scholarship on livelihoods covers such themes as assets, employment creation, and vulnerability as aspects of livelihoods (Napier 2007; Chambers & Cornway, 1992). Despite the importance of this scholarship, it does not examine these themes in relation to housing improvements in low-income settlements, such as informal settlements. Similarly, studies on housing in South Africa largely focus on analysing post-apartheid housing policy (Massey, 2014; Govender, Barnes, Pieper, 2011; Landman and Napier,

2010; Lemanski, 2009). Whilst housing policy remains a fundamental policy framework, its implementation encounters a number of challenges, which include backlogs, and as such, many people live in informal settlements. For instance, in 2015, the housing backlog was at 2.1 million (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2015). Self-help housing, therefore, is a response of the residents of informal settlements to the housing challenge.

Self-help housing has received international consideration by organisations, such as the UN-Habitat. The United Nations considers self-help housing as very practical since it takes into account the actual needs of the people and their levels of affordability (Bredenoord and van Lindert, 2010). The stance on self-help housing by the United Nations has caused a number of governments to re-think their housing policies. In South Africa, the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP), as presented in the National Housing Code was put in place to enable the upgrading of informal settlements in situ. However as already mentioned, the implementation of this plan by municipalities is very slow.

The reluctance of municipalities to implement the provisions of the UISP has triggered a number of court cases. Such cases include the *Melani and others versus the City of Johannesburg and others*, where residents of Slovo Park took the City of Johannesburg to court for failing to upgrade the informal settlement in line with the provisions of the UISP (South Gauteng High Court, 2016). Despite the reluctance of municipalities to implement the provisions of the UISP, some informal settlement residents use part of their livelihood income to improve their dwelling places. These improvements are mainly triggered by the need for habitable shelter and the need for protection from hazards, such as fire outbreaks and floods. It is, therefore, important to analyse the relationship between informal settlements improvement and livelihoods.

According to Charlton (2006), the linkage between people's living spaces and where and how they earn an income is poorly presented in the South African housing policy. Thus, the nexus between informal settlements improvement and livelihoods has not been explored for Sejwetla informal settlement (SERI, 2012; Charlton, 2006; Napier, 2007).

This study, therefore, seeks to examine the linkage between livelihoods and informal settlements improvement.

1.4. Aim and objectives of the study

The study seeks to understand the relationship between residents' livelihoods and the improvements to individual dwellings taking place at the Sejwetla informal settlement. It uses a qualitative methodology to examine how residents' livelihoods have contributed to the improvements taking place at the Sejwetla informal settlement.

Objectives

The study is guided by the following objectives:

- To examine the different aspects of informal settlements improvement as implemented at the Sejwetla informal settlement and the participants involved.
- To examine the livelihood strategies employed by the residents of the informal settlement.
- To analyse the effects of residents' livelihoods on housing improvements taking place in the informal settlement.
- To examine the impact of improvements on the livelihoods of the residents.

1.5. Main research question

What is the interlinkage between residents' livelihoods and housing improvements at the Sejwetla informal settlement?

Sub questions

- How have different aspects of informal settlement improvements, such as housing consolidation, re-blocking and community participation, unfolded in the informal settlement of Sejwetla?
- What are the livelihood strategies employed by the residents of the informal settlement?

- In what ways do the residents' livelihoods enable housing consolidation that has accompanied service upgrading in Sejwetla?
- In what ways do the individual housing improvements in Sejwetla enable or benefit the livelihoods of the residents?

1.6. Expected findings

The study sought to demonstrate different livelihood strategies employed by the residents to improve their social and economic conditions. This is necessary because scholarship (Mutisya and Yarime, 2011; Alexander, 2010) generally observes that residents of informal settlements are frustrated by the poor living conditions in the informal settlements. This study also expected to reveal the effects of informal settlement improvements on the livelihoods of the residents and the extent to which livelihoods have contributed to these improvements. It hoped to provide insights into how different aspects of the improvement process, such as housing consolidation, re-blocking and community participation have unfolded. This study, therefore, hoped to conclude that residents' livelihoods make an important contribution to the improvement of informal settlements.

1.7. Research Methodology

This study used a qualitative research methodology. The use of this methodology is important because it delves into the contextual conditions within which people live (Yin, 2011). The qualitative research approach takes into account unique stages in the analysis of data, and brings to board various strategies of inquiry (Miller and Dingwall, 1997).

The study also used secondary sources of data. This is called desktop research and involves drawing information from published sources, such as academic journal articles, books and grey literature sources such as project registers. The review of literature revolved around the key concepts of this research. The concepts include sustainable livelihoods, housing consolidation, community participation, and informal settlement improvement.

The research design utilised qualitative interviews, with selected residents and officials from the Department of Human Settlements and the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten people, purposively selected for their knowledge on the subject. Three officials from the City of Johannesburg were interviewed to understand the planning of the informal settlement. All three officials were drawn from the Department of Housing in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. This department deals directly with housing issues, such as the distribution of housing stands and the management of the existing housing stock in the city. Furthermore, an official from the Department of Human Settlements was interviewed. Obtaining the views of the department was important because it is responsible for human settlements. I also interviewed ten community members to get a perspective from the residents themselves about the housing improvements, amongst them were five women. This was done to ensure gender balance, and obtain both men and women's perspective on the individual housing improvements taking place within the informal settlement. The Vice chairman of the committee of Sejwetla informal settlement assisted the researcher in identifying community members for the interviews. The selection of the Vice-Chairman and the other participants was based on their knowledge about the settlement, its history and the topic.

The study also adopted a transect walking technique. This was used to complement the semi-structured interviews and provide pictorial evidence. This approach is observatory in nature and, therefore, features of interest and relevance to the study were recorded. I dissected the settlement into two halves, with one section next to the river Jukskei and the other section next to the Alexandra cemetery. Three community leaders (Vice Chairman, Secretary and the Treasurer) assisted me in the transect walk. The three leaders were purposively selected because of their knowledge of the history of the area. The walk was done within a single day on a cool morning. Furthermore, a focus group discussion was held at one of the committee member's residency within Sejwetla informal settlement with a group of six community members purposively selected from the community. The Vice Chairman provided assistance in identifying community members who participated in the focus group. The participants had deep knowledge of the

settlement. The group comprised of three men and three women thus, attained gender balance. An interview guide was prepared for this interview (See appendix 7). However, it was not strictly followed during the engagement as issues not captured in the guide emerged. The purpose was to get an in-depth understanding of housing improvements from a set of people with similar attributes (Yin, 2011). A recording device was used to capture the focus group discussions.

I conducted research interviews over a period of thirty days during the month of September 2017. Three days were taken to conduct interviews with three municipal officials from the Department of Housing of the City of Johannesburg and an official from the Department of Human Settlements.

In preparation for the interviews, with the community members three consecutive days were taken to visit the study area. I was welcomed by the Chairman of the committee of the Sejwetla informal settlement, who had invited all the members of the committee to be present. After explaining to the committee the main objectives of the study, I was given permission to draw community members for the interviews, based on their knowledge of the area. In this exercise, I was assisted by the Vice Chairman of the committee. The analysis of data involved the transcription of interviews, the editing and reviewing of field notes, and contrasting data collected with the propositions made at the beginning of the research.

1.8. Ethical considerations

It was critical for me to obtain informed consent for this research. I divulged my identity as a student from the University of the Witwatersrand and the purpose of the research before engaging respondents in the interviews. I sought participants' consent to use an audio recording devise to record the interviews which would then be transcribed. Eight of the ten community members interviewed agreed to be recorded. Officials from the City of Johannesburg and the Department of Human Settlements agreed to be recorded. In the focus group discussion, all the six members agreed to be recorded. Where consent of audio recording was not given, I managed to take notes. Respondents were given the choice to engage or withhold their consent, or withdraw at any time during the course of

the interviews. Semi-structured questionnaires were used to guide the interviews. Similarly, interview guides were used for the focus group discussions and the transect walk.

One of the challenges that I encountered concerns the fact that many residents were reluctant to be interviewed, arguing that they are over-researched. They explained that they were not comfortable with researchers conducting interviews with them almost every month and not providing tangible benefits. Nevertheless, after explaining the purpose of the study, all the selected respondents managed to participate in the interviews. In an attempt to avoid disruption during the interviews, I took caution and refrained from asking sensitive and personal questions. Furthermore, I avoided any questions which could raise any hopes to the interviewees about the situations they are facing in their individual housing improvements.

1.9. Scope and Limitation of the Research

This research focused on the intersection between residents' livelihoods and informal settlements improvement. It examined how residents have used their livelihoods to finance the improvements of their places of residence in an informal settlement context. Since the research was part of a one year taught Masters Programme, the scope of the study was limited to what was possible to achieve within six months of study. The study was financially supported by the Wits-TUB scholarship programme. The broader research programme focused on the Sejwetla informal settlement which naturally dictates the geographical scope for the study.

1.10. Organisation of the Research Report

This research report comprises of six chapters. After the introductory chapter, Chapter Two presents an in-depth literature review, which discusses key concepts, such as livelihoods, land tenure, housing consolidation, community participation and re-blocking.

Chapter Three delves into the institutional framework that guides the improvement of informal settlements. It discusses the international institutional framework promulgated by the United Nations. It goes further to unpack the legislative and policy framework

guiding the upgrade of informal settlements at a national level in South Africa. The housing policy of the City of Johannesburg is also discussed in detail in this chapter. Chapter Four discusses the contextual background of the research. It begins with a broader view of informal settlements in South Africa. It then cascades down to the state of informal settlements at provincial and regional level. While giving a socio-economic profile of the study area, this chapter also portrays the geographical confines of the study area within Alexandra Township.

Chapter Five presents and discusses findings of the research. Livelihood strategies of the residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement are presented together with their perceptions on tenure options available to them. The analysis of findings, with regard to how the residents have financed the improvements of their dwelling units and the rationale for doing so is also presented in this chapter. Chapter Six provides conclusions and recommendations from the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 2
UNDERSTANDING LIVELIHOODS AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS' IMPROVEMENT

2.1. Introduction

This chapter situates the study theoretically within debates regarding the role of livelihoods to the improvement of informal settlements and vice versa. It presents literature analysis on how the livelihoods of informal settlements' residents has been used to improve their dwelling places. It also explores upgrading processes, such as re-blocking, housing consolidation and community participation within the context of informal settlements improvement. This chapter shows that the two conceptual areas of focus, namely, livelihoods and informal settlements improvement should be considered interconnected, hence the importance of explaining the concepts. The interface of livelihoods and informal settlements translates into practice in the context of informal settlements residents who thrive to improve their living conditions.

Massey (2014) asserts that half of the South African population lives in urban areas. A decade ago, it was estimated that a quarter of the urban dwellers live in informal settlements, characterised by informal land tenure and violation of official land zoning, land use and planning standards (Misselhorn, 2008; Naidoo, Childley and Mcnamera, 2008; Huchzermeyer, 2009). This calls for some interventions to improve the living conditions of the urban poor in South Africa. Such interventions include self-help housing projects which some informal settlements residents have embarked on. This chapter, therefore, presents a review of literature on various aspects pertaining to the improvement of informal settlements. The first part of the chapter discusses the concepts of sustainable livelihoods and vulnerability. The second part of the chapter delves into the concepts of land tenure, right to the city, community participation, housing consolidation and informal settlements improvements.

2.2. Livelihoods of the urban poor and their sustainability

As already alluded to, a livelihood consists of assets and capabilities needed for a person's means of living (Niehof, 2004). These assets are natural, physical, human, financial, social, and capital assets (Scoones, 1998). Scholarship observes that a livelihood is sustainable when it can withstand the stresses and shocks that it comes across and keeps its assets and capabilities on a long term basis (Napier, 2007; Bohle, 2007; DFID, 2000). This suggests that in the context of livelihoods employed by residents of informal settlements, there is need for such livelihoods to be able to sail through risks, such as forced evictions, the outbreak of fires, the loss of jobs, floods and many others. Bohle (2007) notes that a household may have a sustainable livelihood in various ways, some of which are ownership of land, and stable employment with adequate remuneration, however these do not apply to most households in informal settlements. In relation to the residents of informal settlements, it can be argued that in order to counter risks, such as forced evictions, they should be enabled to have legal tenure to the land they occupy, and also be gainfully employed.

2.2.1. Sustainable livelihoods in low income settlements.

Residents of informal settlements are considered by many as low income earners. Napier (2007) observes that informal settlements are mostly occupied by people living in situations of poverty. These residents are vulnerable to trends and shocks which might affect their livelihoods. For these residents, sustaining their livelihoods warrants a great deal of sacrifice in improving strategies. These include renting out part of their rooms, migrating or renting out additional rooms (Rakodi, 1999). In an informal settlement context, residents may sell their shacks or rent them out in order to sustain their livelihood.

In certain instances, some residents of low income households reduce the size of their family in order to sustain their livelihoods. They relocate some of their family members or children to their homes in the rural areas to stay with relatives (Rakodi, 1999). Furthermore, some residents turn to borrowing or asking for charity in an endeavor to sustain their lives (ibid). Due to the reason that their disposable incomes are very small, residents of low income households resort to cutting down on consumption. In extreme

cases, the residents resort to withdrawing children from school, purchasing cheaper or second-hand clothes, cutting down on the number of meals, and eliminating some items in the consumption basket (ibid).

2.2.2. The role of livelihoods in informal settlements improvement

The connection between self-help housing projects and the general growth of urban settlements is widely presented in literature (Crawford & Stephan, 2015). The concept of self-help housing was advanced by John Turner (1972) and it continues to influence scholarly work even today. Turner (1972) argued that residents of informal settlements should be allowed to use their efforts to find lasting solutions to their problem of inadequate housing through self-help efforts. He advocated for construction of housing by individuals using their own resources and designs. Use of resources refers to the use of their livelihood income to fund the improvement of their dwelling units. However, self-help housing projects are sometimes threatened by environmental and social factors.

2.3. Vulnerability

Scholarship defines vulnerability as a scenario which happens when community members are faced with situations (stresses and shocks) they have limited ability to respond to effectively (Gaillard, 2015; Bohle, 2007; DFID, 2000). For example, residents of informal settlements might be affected by flooding and have their homes swept away. Serrat (2017) presents vulnerability as insecurities in the wellbeing of people in a community as their external environment changes. The external environmental changes may include natural disasters, such as flooding and drought. Scholars also argue that vulnerability comprises of both internal and external aspects (Serrat, 2017; Chambers & Conway, 1992). The internal aspects of vulnerability entail the capacity of a livelihood to cope with external pressures affecting it. The external aspects of vulnerability entails seasonality, trends and shocks (Serrat, 2017). Residents of informal settlements are often vulnerable to forced evictions, the outbreak of diseases, the outbreak of fires and abuse (ibid). These are some of the shocks which may occur and disturb their livelihoods. For example, informal settlements are highly prone to the outbreak of fires. When an outbreak of fire occurs and affects a *spaza* shop in an informal settlement, the owner of the *spaza* shop

loses his livelihood. Some scholars (Marschke & Berkes, 2006; Adger, 2006, Davies 1996), observe that the resilience of a livelihood in the face of various shocks and stresses is key to its adaptation and coping. A positive correlation exists between the ability of residents to cope with stresses and shocks and sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). This suggests that residents of informal settlements who cannot cope with shocks and stresses are vulnerable, and thus unable to achieve sustainable livelihoods. In this study it is argued that such vulnerability affects the potential of the residents to improve their housing and living conditions.

2.3.1. Vulnerability and Poverty

Chambers (1995) argues that vulnerability is not the same as poverty, and dismisses scholarship which fails to determine the difference. Whilst vulnerability refers to the degree of exposure to risks, poverty is defined as a condition that is below an easy and comfortable standard of life (Berner, 2000). Poor people are identified as those who do not have adequate resources to live a decent life (ibid). Scholarship observes the wide variations with regard to what is termed a decent standard of living and the variations in the costs of living between countries. These variations make the definition of the concept of poverty contextual (Chambers, 1995). “Conventional definitions of poverty have been criticized as 'universal, reductionist, standardised and stable' and thus inadequate to grasp the realities of poor people which are 'local, complex, diverse and dynamic’” (Chambers, 1995, p.173). Chambers, therefore, defines poverty as a lack of physical necessities, assets, and income. This definition is contextual in the sense that physical necessities of people vary from place to place. Physical necessities include shelter, food, and clothing. Residents of informal settlements often lack some of these basic necessities and, therefore, are often regarded as poor.

2.3.2. Vulnerability and informal settlements

Scholars note that informal settlements are dominated by conditions of poverty (Napier, 2007). The lack of proper engineering, and the poor construction materials used in the informal settlements make them vulnerable to external natural hazards such as flooding (De Risi, 2013). Some informal settlements are situated along flood lines and flood plains

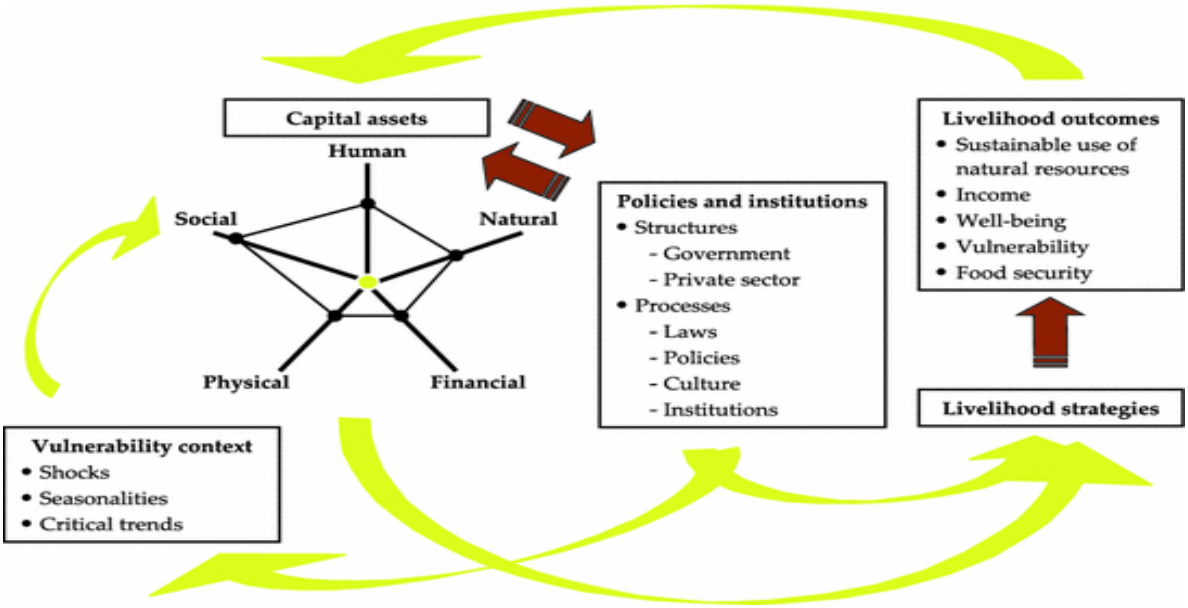
of rivers, and thus are vulnerable to flooding in the case of high rainfall. A good example is the Sejwetla informal settlement which is situated next to the Jukskei River in Alexandra Township in the City of Johannesburg. The settlement has often experienced flooding over the years, with the last one happening in the year 2014.

Due to lack of structural considerations, the informal buildings are vulnerable to elements, such as water seepage during heavy rains (De Risi, Jalayer, De Paola, Lervolino, Giugni, Topa, Mbuya, Kyessi, Manfredi & Gasparini, 2013). These elements cause a lot of damage to their structures, and may even collapse and endanger human lives.

2.3.3. The Sustainable livelihoods framework

The sustainable livelihoods framework is a tool used to analyse sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). It assists in arranging the factors that affect or enhance a livelihood and shows the relationship between these factors (Serrat, 2017). "The framework is based on five key components and these are; contexts conditions and trends, livelihood resources, institutional processes and organisational structures; livelihood structures; sustainable livelihood out comes" (Scoones, 1998, pp.4). The analysis of contexts and conditions involves assessment of policies within which livelihoods are conducted. It also involves the analysis of such factors as the macro economic conditions, demography, history and climate. The analysis of livelihood resources hinges on the five capitals, namely, natural, human, financial, social, and physical capitals (Serrat, 2017). Structures are organisations that implement policies and services that affect livelihoods. Livelihood strategies are means by which livelihoods are attained while livelihood outcomes include such aspects as income, food security and wellbeing. Figure 2.3.3 shows the relationships between the five components of the sustainable livelihoods framework.

Figure 2.3.3: Sustainable livelihoods framework.



Source: Serrat, 2017

2.3.4. Factors hindering sustainable livelihoods in developing countries

According to Napier (2007), Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest number of people living in conditions of poverty. These people are exposed to the realities of hazards on a daily basis. Napier (2007) identifies lack of land tenure security as one of the factors hindering sustainable livelihoods in informal settlements. Lack of tenure security in informal settlements is attributed to the fact that some of the land occupied by informal settlers is zoned for uses other than residential. The majority of residents in informal settlements are not able to obtain legal security of tenure to the land they occupy because of the costs involved and the lack of recognition by local authorities. Lack of tenure security implies that one may be relocated any time, thus it is not convenient to invest heavily in that particular area (Van Gelder, 2010).

Growing income poverty and human poverty have also been identified as obstacles to sustainable livelihoods in informal settlements (Olsson, Opondo, Tschakert, Agrawal and Eriksen, 2014). Income poverty refers to the lower levels of income generated by households compared to the prevailing basic economic demands, while human poverty

refers to lack of resources, such as food and assets to survive. When residents of informal settlements are living under these conditions, it is very difficult for them to sustain their livelihoods as they would be living from hand to mouth. Such a situation does not allow residents to invest in assets. This is also worsened by the lack of proper land tenure rights.

2.4. Land Tenure

The UN Habitat has estimated that currently there are 863 million people living in informal settlements (UN Habitat, 2016). The most evident feature of informal settlements is the lack of security of tenure and basic services infrastructure (Durand-Lasserve & Selod, 2007). Formal housing in developing countries is expensive and unaffordable to the majority of poor people. This factor forces many poor people to opt for informal settlements which provide easy access to land. There is a correlation between tenure, access to basic services and housing (ibid). Land tenure informality presents an easy and quick access to pieces of land. However, this has some serious consequences as it traps informal settlers in poverty and changes land use patterns (Durand-Lasserve and Selod, 2007).

2.4.1. Defining Land Tenure and Security of tenure

Land tenure is defined as the right residents have with regard to the pieces of land they occupy (Payne, Durand-Lasserve, and Rakodi, 2009). These rights entail the rights to occupy the land; the right to transfer the land; the right to rent out the land; and the right to develop the land. These rights come in a variety of ways, with some residents having full rights to the land while others have limited rights. Tenure of land comes in different forms, some of which are freehold leases, and title deeds. These various forms of land ownership have an impact on how the land is used (ibid). Security of tenure is defined as protection offered by the state to residents against evictions (Durand-Lasserve, 1996). Residents of informal settlements are vulnerable to forced evictions. Security of tenure is, therefore, based on the notion that these residents cannot be removed from their residential areas even if they do not own the land they occupy (ibid).

2.4.2. Perceived security of tenure

This is a type of tenure security which is based on the perceptions that households have about their probability of being evicted. It is mainly based on the estimations by households about the chances of being evicted either by the state or the owner of the land they occupy (Van Gelder, 2007, 2009). This form of tenure is all about the perceptions households have about their rights to buy, own or sell their houses. There are a number of factors that may lead to perceived security of tenure. The goodwill by government officials towards the residents of an informal settlement may lead to perceived tenure security (Van Gelder, 2009). When residents see the involvement of the state in their settlement in terms of basic infrastructure provision, they end up assuming that they are staying in the settlement permanently (ibid). Length of occupation in the settlement also gives residents hope about their permanent stay in the settlement (Gilbert, 2002). When residents stay in an informal settlement for an extended period they end up assuming that their plots are permanent.

2.4.3. Land and tenure informality

Many developing countries have formulated frameworks to guide land ownership patterns (Peters, 2009). A number of countries have drafted legislation and policies to reform land ownership rights. This was meant to correct the colonial land ownership patterns which favored certain minority groups. Payne (2002) identifies a continuum in land tenure rights which shows a hierarchy of different forms of tenure rights. Durand-Lasserve and Selod (2007), Varley (2002), and Payne (2001) prefer the use of a continuum to assess land tenure types, instead of a dichotomy between formal and informal. The degree of legality is used to assess various tenure categories in a continuum. The continuum shows the variations of tenure options from informal types of tenure to full legal tenure. Land tenure in informal settlements is low on legality, meaning that most land tenure forms in informal settlements are not recognised by law. Land tenure rights vary with the degree of legality. However, Payne (2002) argues there are factors which affect the level of rights. These are standards of construction, and restrictions posed by land use and planning frameworks.

2.4.4. Tenure formalisation

Bromley (2009) defines the formalisation of tenure as a process of transforming informal tenure into tenure options recognised by law through official registration and issuing of titles to individuals. It is a means that leads to tenure security, either through administrative recognition or the provision of full tenure rights. This process gives residents of informal settlements recognition by local authorities, thereby enhancing their right to the city (Bromley, 2009).

2.4.4.1. Administrative tenure

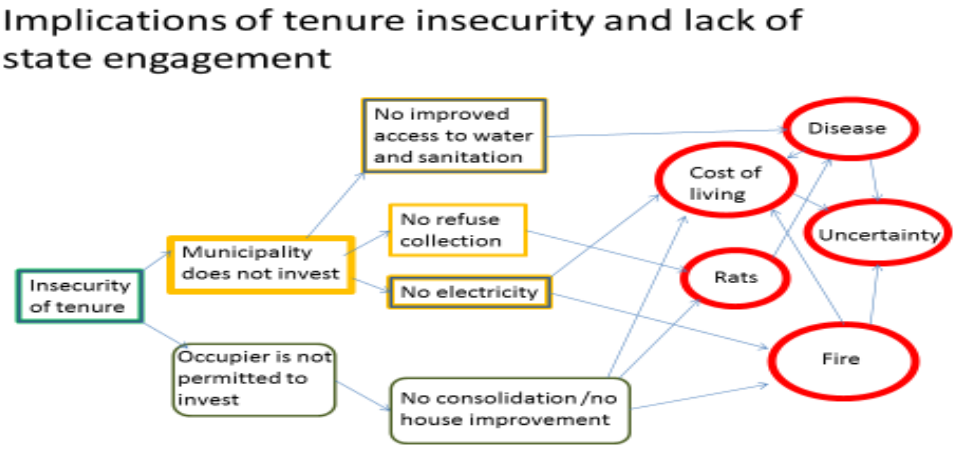
Administrative tenure refers to some form of administrative recognition of informal settlements by local authorities. It usually comes in the form of an administrative permit to occupy or a short term leasehold (Durand-Lasserve and Selod, 2007). Administrative rights are usually renewable and temporary in nature with conditions attached by the responsible local authorities (ibid).

2.4.5. Tenure formalisation and security

The subject of security of tenure has gained a lot of interest as a tool of poverty reduction and informal settlements improvement (Sjaastad and Cousins, 2009). Conventional approaches have focused on formalising land tenure and introducing a number of titling programs. De Soto (2000) holds that these interventions have improved the commercial value of dwelling units, improved the ability of residents to access institutional finance, and increased their will to upgrade their houses, particularly shacks. Some scholars disagree with the fact that tenure formalisation renders good returns for the residents. For instance, Sjaastad and Cousins (2008) argue that land titling options segregate the poor due to the high registration costs involved. The costs of processing all the paperwork are sometimes too high for the urban poor. Other scholars add that when land titling is done, especially for the urban poor, their social fabric is destroyed (Bromley, 2009; Benda-Beckmann, 2003; Payne, 1997).

It is generally agreed that adequate housing with security of tenure enables residents to access other benefits, such as sustainable livelihoods (Payne, 2000). Security of tenure is an important factor in upgrading the living conditions of the residents of informal settlements (ibid). Scholars argue that perceptions of residents on security of tenure have an influence on the decisions they make about developing their houses (Broegaard, 2005; Sjaastad and Bromley, 2000; Jansen and Roquas, 1998). When residents perceive that they have adequate security of tenure, they engage in long-term construction projects with a view to staying there permanently. However, this assertion is critiqued on the basis that regardless of the degree of tenure security, housing improvements, especially in informal settlements, continue (Van Gelder, 2007; Varley, 1987). Supporters of this view argue that residents in informal settlements improve their dwelling places to protect themselves from hazards, such as heat and robberies. The legality of tenure is not necessarily a prerequisite for security of tenure (Broegaard, 2005; Payne, 2002). Instead, security of tenure depends much on the perception of residents or occupants about evictions rather than the legal status. Figure 2.4.5 shows the implications of the lack of security of tenure to the residents of informal settlements.

Figure 2.4.5: Implications of tenure insecurity



Source: Klug and Huchzemeyer, 2017

Figure 2.4.5 shows the implications of tenure insecurity to the residents of informal settlements. According to Klug and Huchzemeyer (2017), lack of tenure security discourages both internal and external investment. Lack of internal investment refers to the residents of the informal settlements being hesitant to improve their residences. Lack of external investment refers to failure by the other stakeholders to place resources in an informal settlement due to lack of tenure security. This, in turn, leads to consequences, such as hazards, cholera and fire outbreaks.

2.5. Right to the city

Every citizen of a city or town has the right to be part of processes taking place in that particular city (Parnell and Pieterse, 2010). Attoh (2011) defines the right to the city as a socio economic right to housing. He observes that other scholars take the right to the city as a liberty right. According to Lefebvre (1996), the right to the city signifies the right to stay in the city and be part of its processes. This may manifest in different rights, such as the right to housing, the right to public participation, and the right to public spaces and transportation systems (ibid). However, in practice, some urban management processes, such as the design of public spaces is done in ways that leave out the poor, and thus prioritizing the needs of the wealthy and the middle class (Staeheli, 2008). Yet, all those who inhabit the city have a right to that city (Strauss, 2017; Purcell, 2014). The right to the city embraces the rights of citizens to make their ideas known in developmental projects and programs that are taking place within their jurisdiction. Informal settlements have huge challenges with regard to access to basic infrastructure services, such as portable water, sewer connections, electricity and service roads. Parnell and Pieterse (2010) assert that though it is a constitutional right for every citizen of South Africa to access basic services, most municipalities have failed to provide this, citing institutional capacity challenges. Residents in informal settlements are marginalized, and do not have access to basic services, a privilege enjoyed by other residents in established townships.

The urban poor also need access to land in the city for various uses, such as housing, transport, commercial and industrial development (Parnell and Pieterse, 2010; Payne, 2002). Residents of informal settlements need adequate land to construct decent housing

units. This would fulfill their right to a safe, secure and economically viable urban life. However the right to the city of residents is also measured by the degree in which they participate in decisions that affect them.

2.6. Community participation

In contemporary governance, there is pursuit of new methods of citizen engagement which are more direct (Gaventa, 2002) and these include a variety of public consultation and participatory processes which also ensure the inclusion of the urban poor in decision-making. Scholarship observes that contemporary methods of governance have experienced growing interest to enhance public involvement, and the quality and legitimacy of democratic decision-making (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2001, 2002). Participation embraces the reconfiguration of the interrelations and responsibilities in an expanded public arena in which a host of other actors are present. These include the Non-Governmental Organisations, banks, and corporations (Cornwall, 2002). Community participation is the direct involvement of residents or citizens in developmental planning and governance programmes at local level (Williams, 2006). Residents should be involved in projects that would affect them, for instance, in municipal budgeting and community planning.

2.6.1. Community participation and housing delivery

In relation to housing delivery, citizen participation can be considered as a collective process that brings together various stakeholders to share and learn, while accepting responsibility to achieve a shared objective (Moote, et al., 1997). Debates in the field of community participation indicate that there is a disjuncture between policies and practice (Ballard 2008; Bénit-Gbaffou 2008). This suggests that housing provision, in most cases, does not involve the communities. A good example is the RDP housing programme which has largely excluded the ideas of the community members in the design phase, and only considered those of the service providers. This has led to a situation where some beneficiaries of these houses sell them and move back to informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2006). The involvement of residents in their individual housing improvements (housing consolidation) can be regarded as an important form of

participation. Sheng (1990) argues that community participation is sometimes used to refer to community self-help. However, self-reliance or self-help in urban housing projects is very difficult as legal land tenure issues always need the intervention of the state before housing construction can legally begin (Sheng, 1990).

2.7. Housing consolidation

In the developing countries, large volumes of housing production occur from informal settlements (Smart, 2003). Housing consolidation is defined by Ward and Macoloo (1992) as a process where residents of informal settlements improve their dwellings using better building materials. Residents have been observed using brick and mortar in place of plastic and wood in an endeavor to improve their living conditions.

2.7.1. Benefits and challenges of housing consolidation.

The benefits of housing consolidation include protection from hazards, such as the weather, and robberies (Smart, 2003; De Souza, 1998). When construction of these buildings is done using brick and mortar, it is very difficult for criminals to break in and steal, compared to when they are constructed using plastic and wood or zinc.

Governments, however, try by all means to prevent housing consolidation of informal settlements, citing that these settlements are not zoned for residential use (Smart, 2003). The lack of recognition of self-help housing initiatives leads to tenure insecurities. The prevailing ideology in housing consolidation is that insecurity of tenure thwarts investment or improvement in better housing (Smart, 2003). Where there is tenure insecurity, residents are hesitant to improve their dwelling places. Turner (1976) concurs that residents are not likely to spend their resources in improving their dwelling units when they fear that their structures might be demolished in future.

2.7.2. Housing consolidation and security of tenure

There is a positive correlation between housing consolidation and security of tenure. Smart (2003) argues that investment in quality housing is negatively affected by tenure insecurity. When tenure issues are not sorted out, residents of informal settlements are reluctant to upgrade their structures for fear of possible demolition (ibid). Increasing

tenure security by the state encourages individuals to invest their resources in improving their dwelling spaces. However, Varley (1998) observes that regularisation of tenure may not be significant for housing consolidation. Instead, she considers the provision of services by the state as sufficient enough to trigger housing consolidation projects in informal settlements.

2.7.3. Infrastructure and services

Building on the previous point by Varley (1998), access to basic service infrastructure plays a significant role in housing consolidation in informal settlements. Basic service infrastructure refers to water services, sewer, roads, and efficient energy sources. Like Varley (1998), Bredenoord and van Lindert (2010), state that the provision of basic services infrastructure by governments to informal settlements promotes investment in housing consolidation projects.

2.7.4. Housing finance

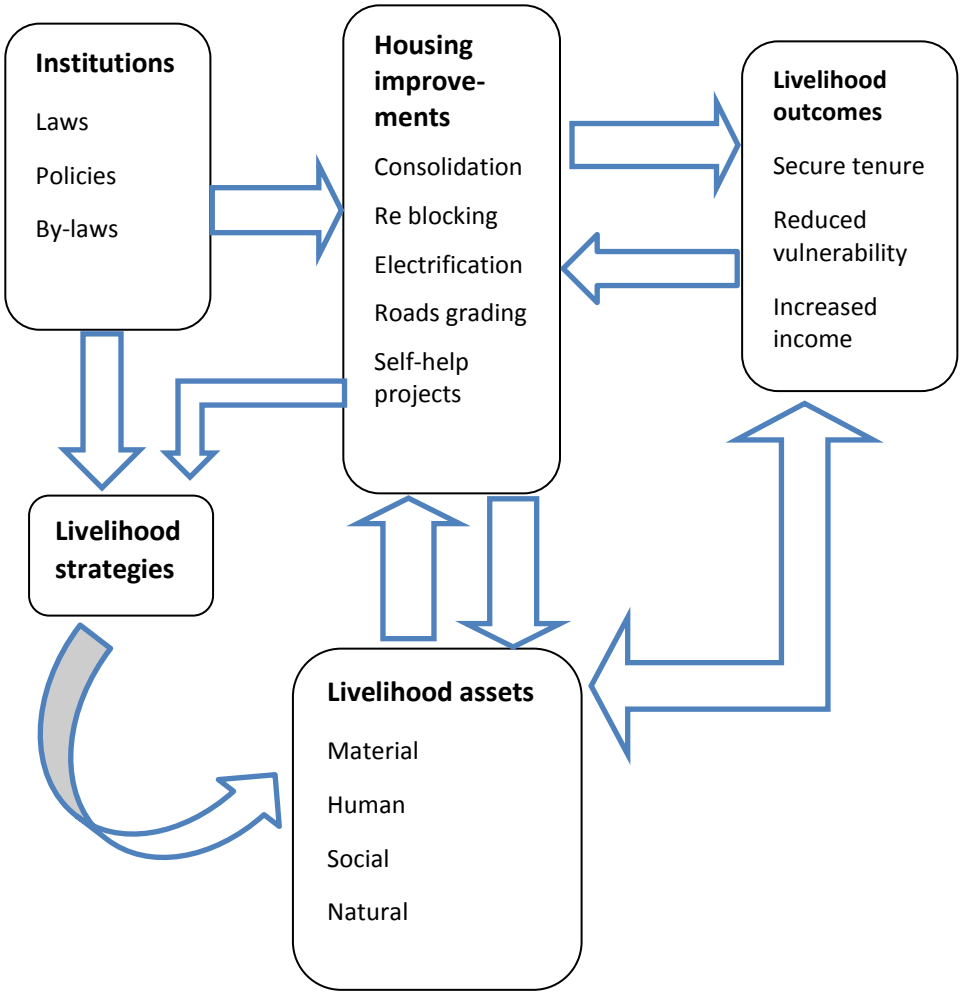
Finance plays a major role in housing consolidation. Since housing consolidation involves the improvement of structures using more permanent building materials such as cement, and cement bricks, there is need for finance to purchase building materials. Institutional housing finance satisfies a certain category of people in the housing market. Institutional finance refers to finance options, such as mortgage loans which are accessible from lending institutions, such as banks. Ferguson and Smets (2009) assert that low income groups have been unable to use institutional finance to improve their residential areas. Likewise, the majority of the residents of most informal settlements do not qualify to access credit from formal lending institutions (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). Consequently, they often use finance from their livelihood income to purchase building materials on a piecemeal basis to improve their dwelling places (Smets, 2004). Stein and Castillo (2005) indicate that the residents of informal settlements secure loans from relatives, and generate income from the sale of assets and through work.

2.8. Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework for this study rests on the proposition that residents of informal settlements are an asset on their own (human capital) and they are willing to lift

themselves out of poverty (Moser and Dani, 2008). My framework rests upon the sustainable livelihoods approach as presented by Scoones (1998). This indicates that sustainable livelihoods are attained through a variety of strategies, such as human, natural, economic and social capitals. The sustainable livelihood framework also shows that at the centre of the framework are institutions that affect livelihood outcomes (ibid). These are policies and legislations that affect the attainment of sustainable livelihoods. Figure 2.8 below shows the interconnection between the different components of the conceptual framework for this study. It indicates that there is an interconnection between residents' livelihoods and the improvement of informal settlements.

Figure 2.8: Conceptual framework



Source: Adapted for my case study from Scoones (1998).

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter has defined a number of concepts in relation to the interdependency between informal settlements improvement and livelihoods. Debates around concepts, such as sustainable livelihoods, housing consolidation, community participation, land tenure security and right to the city have been discussed in detail. It was very critical to discuss these concepts as they contribute towards the conceptual framework of this research.

The Literature review shows that livelihoods of the residents of informal settlements are vulnerable to a number of external forces, such as job cuts and the outbreak of fires. Such factors affect the livelihoods and income of residents. Housing consolidation of dwellings in the informal settlements mainly depends on the proceeds from livelihood income. Residents use part of their livelihood income to improve their dwelling places, thus livelihoods have to be sustainable to withstand diversified demands. The review of literature has also shown that regardless of the conditions of security of tenure, residents of informal settlements improve their individual dwelling places in order to protect themselves from hazards, such as bad weather, fire and robberies. This has been mainly done through self-help efforts, using their own resources.

CHAPTER 3
AN INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IMPROVEMENT AND RESIDENTS' LIVELIHOODS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the policy framework that guides the improvements of informal settlements, both internationally and locally. Interventions to improve dwellings in informal settlements are embedded in various policy frameworks. These policy frameworks involve a number of plans, legislations and policies. This chapter is very critical because it contextualises the study within existing policy frameworks.

3.2. International policy framework on informal settlements

There has been much concern from international bodies, such as the United Nations, on the proliferation of informal settlements in the world. The upgrade of informal settlements has been a challenge internationally, regionally and locally. Approximately one billion people in the world stay in informal settlements (UN Habitat, 2015). This section, therefore, discusses policy frameworks as adopted by the United Nations to address the challenge regarding the proliferation of informal settlements.

3.2.1. The New Urban Agenda

The New Urban Agenda is an international agreement between members of the United Nations which seeks to address globally pressing challenges, such as poverty and poor housing conditions. It is a result of a conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development held in Quito in 2016. Part of the vision for the Habitat III agenda reads, "We …….seek to promote inclusivity and ensure that all inhabitants, are able to inhabit and produce just, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient, and sustainable cities and human settlements." (Habitat 3, 2016, p.5). The United Nations aims to eradicate poverty though promoting policies that will improve sustainable urban development and effectively address the challenges of slum dwellers. The major focus of the New Urban

Agenda is to reduce poverty by promoting sustainable human settlements. Such settlements should be inclusive to every citizen and have basic services infrastructure.

3.2.2. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The sustainable development goals are a set of goals which UN member states should use to direct their policies for the period of fifteen years starting from the year 2015. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were introduced in 2015 following the expiry of most of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). MDG 7 Target 11 aims at improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers. This goal has been interpreted by many governments in different ways. “Several country governments, South Africa included, interpret the MDG to mean eradication of slums, rather than merely the improvement of the lives of those living in them” (Huchzermeyer, 2009, pp.3). Subsequently, many governments embarked on eradication of slums, hence, worsening the living conditions of the dwellers. The eradication of slums did not take into consideration the fact that they are a response to housing challenges faced by many governments, and thus not a menace. In terms of the SDGs, Goal Number 11 aims to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. It advocates for the improvement of the conditions of informal settlements through the provision of basic services.

3.3. National and legislative framework on the improvement of informal settlements

South African Cities Network (2006) has estimated that one million one hundred thousand households in South Africa’s major cities live in the informal settlements. About forty percent of the South African human population comes from the cities (ibid). Thirteen percent of the urban population lives in informal settlements (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The alarming figures of people residing in informal settlements are mainly attributed to the apartheid regime’s housing policies which were characterised by spatial segregation (Bosman, 2014). The black people were confined to transit camps and dormitories (SACN, 2006). After attaining freedom in 1994, the South African government introduced a number of policies in the field of housing to correct the apartheid imbalances.

This section discusses the national legislative framework with regard to the improvement of housing conditions, especially informal settlements.

3.3.1. The National Constitution

The South African Constitution of 1996 is the primary legal document which guides other legislations in the country. Section 26 of the Constitution presents rights to housing for all the people in South Africa. Subsection 1 of the Constitution stipulates that all citizens of South Africa have the right to adequate housing (Strauss and Liebenberg, 2014). Adequate housing refers to housing with all basic services, such as water, sanitary facilities and proper energy sources. Regardless of the type of settlement they live in, all residents have the progressive right to access a housing unit with adequate basic services infrastructure.

Section 26 (2) of the Constitution provides for the responsibilities of the state to ensure that this right is fulfilled. It is stipulated that the state should take legislative and other measures within its available resources to fulfil the right to adequate housing (McLean, 2006). Implicit in this clause is that the state should be involved in the provision of basic services, such as potable water and sanitary facilities for its residents. It is against this background that the state is supposed to include in its budgets the provision of adequate housing for its citizens.

Section 26 (3) of the Constitution states that “no one may be forcibly evicted from their place of residency or have their place of residency demolished without a valid court interdict or order, which has been arrived at after making considerations to all relevant circumstances” (McLean, 2006, pp. 55-1). This suggests that residents of informal settlements should only be evicted after considering circumstances, such as the suitability of the settlement for permanent residency, or occupation of private property, and that when they are relocated to a suitable place, this should be identified for their residency (Del Mistro and Hensher, 2009). The government has set a number of legislations and policies in order to fulfil the right to housing.

3.3.2. Housing Act 107 of 1997

The Housing Act 107 of 1997 was promulgated to fulfil the provisions of the Constitution, especially Section 26. Its main aim is to facilitate sustainable housing development nationally, regionally and locally (McLean, 2006). It also prioritises the needs of the poor in terms of housing (ibid). It provides a variety of housing options and tenure measures and promotes integrated development principles. The act also provides for the establishment of the National Housing Code which aims to enable an environment that promotes sustainable human settlements (ibid).

3.3.3. Housing delivery post 1994: The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The Reconstruction and Development Programme was the election manifesto of the ANC- led government in 1994. It was an economic development programme which promised to deliver 1 million houses in five years. This became part of the post 1994 housing policy in South Africa (Powell, 2012). Post 1994 housing policy's main benchmark was the capital subsidy mechanism used to fund what became later known as RDP houses. The capital subsidy mechanism could also be used by individuals doing construction works on fully serviced sites. Huchzermeyer (2003) argues that the focus on housing delivery has forced the relocation of informal settlements to peripheral areas, thereby leading to the destruction of the social and livelihood networks of the residents. Other scholars (Lemanski, 2011, 2009; Charlton and Kihato, 2006) observe that this housing delivery had a top-down approach and did not embrace community involvement or participation in the delivery of housing.

3.3.4. A comprehensive plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements – Breaking New Grounds

The comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements is a product of the revision of housing policy in 2004. Its major focus is to use housing provision to improve the standard of living of many South African citizens (DOH, 2004). The concept is to "stimulate the supply of a more diverse set of housing environments and settlement types through greater choice of housing types, densities, location, tenure

options, housing credit and delivery routes" (DOH, 2004, p. 8). The main difference of this plan to early housing policy in South Africa is that it puts a special focus on the upgrade of informal settlements in situ. Relocations are only considered when in situ upgrade is impossible due to reasons such as poor geotechnical conditions (DOH, 2004). The policy also aims to maintain fragile community networks, minimize disruption and enhance community participation (ibid). "Over the past ten years, state-assisted investment of R29.5 billion/US$4.9 billion has resulted in 1.6 million low-cost housing units being built, and 500,000 families being given the opportunity to secure title to old public (rental) township houses" (DOH, 2004, p.4). However demand of housing has also increased drastically and thus an increased number of residents living in the informal settlements (DOH, 2004)

3.3.5. Upgrade of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP)

The main target of the UISP was to eradicate all informal settlements by the year 2014 (Ziblim, Sumeghy, and Cartwright, 2013). The upgrade of informal settlements is defined under the contexts of incremental improvement, formalisation and the incorporation into the city, and this is done through the provision of services, and secures tenure to the residents of the informal settlements (ibid). Two approaches are relevant and these are: the total redevelopment approach and the in situ upgrading approach. The redevelopment approach happens when the whole informal settlement is destroyed, and the residents moved to temporary residential units at another location with potentially moving back at a later stage, while in situ upgrades involve improving the informal settlement, preferably incrementally (Del Mistro and Hensher, 2009; Franklin, 2011). The UISP is based on the principles of in-situ upgrades of informal settlements. Accredited municipalities apply for a grant from the Provincial Department of Housing to undertake four phases that will lead to the improvement of conditions in the informal settlements. UISP is anchored on the basis of incremental in-situ upgrades of informal settlements rather than relocation of residents to green fields. It seeks to achieve health and safety, empowerment and tenure security for the residents of informal settlements (DOH, 2004). The UISP is a shift away from the radical approaches of informal settlement eradication which are usually based on forced relocations of informal settlements' dwellers. Such

interventions are short-lived and create a lot of problems for the informal settlements' dwellers as they would lose their social and livelihood synergies (Huchzermeyer, 2009). In addition, relocating informal settlements' residents to other locations breaks their social fabric, relations and political connections. Social and political connections contribute to sustainable livelihoods for the residents of informal settlements. Scholarship suggests a strong relationship between in-situ informal settlement upgrading and the socio-economic wellbeing of the residents of informal settlements (Brown-Luthango, Reyes, and Gubevu, 2017). In situ upgrading of informal settlements, therefore, helps in alleviating poverty and vulnerability (ibid). "The physical upgrading of the environment, without enhancing the self-respect of the inhabitants and helping them achieve sustainable livelihoods will not produce lasting improvements" (Majale, 2002: 30). It is necessary also to provide secure land tenure and adequate services.

Furthermore, relocation may do away with the informal settlements for a while, but the spaces become reinvaded again by new informal settlers. The UISP, therefore, recognises that a more participatory and holistic approach to the eradication of informal settlements is key to the provision of sustainable human settlements. The implementation of the UISP comprises four phases, namely, the application phase, project initiation, project implementation and the housing consolidation phase (Klug and Huchzermeyer, 2017). The forcible removal of informal settlements does not effectively address the challenges of informal settlements in South Africa, hence, the importance of implementing the UISP (Ehebrecht, 2015 and Klug and Huchzermayor 2017)

3.3.5.1. Non-implementation of the informal settlement upgrading programmes in Gauteng

The implementation of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programmes is being done at a snail's pace (Huchzemeyer, 2009). This is evident in the number of court cases between municipalities and residents of informal settlements. Such court cases include the *Abahlali baseMjondolo Movement, and others versus the Premier of KwaZulu Natal and others* (Huchzemeyer, 2010; Pithouse, 2006; Chenwi, 2008). In this case, the Abahlali baseMjondolo representatives approached the KwaZulu Natal High Court challenging the Premier of the province of Kwazulu Natal and others for introducing the

Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergency of Slums Act (Pithouse, 2006), which according to them was against the provisions of the Constitution. This is one of a number of court cases where residents of informal settlements have taken municipalities to court. City officials have often used the dictates of orderly development as an excuse for their failure to implement the Upgrade of Informal Settlements Programmes (Huchzemeyer, 2009).

There are various unresolved aspects of in situ upgrading of informal settlements in South Africa. The gaps in the national statistics concerning the number of existing informal settlements, and those informal settlements which qualify for in situ upgrading, is not readily available (Huchzemeyer, 2009). This lack of accurate data pertaining to informal settlements is attributed to poor records management, and poor coordination between different spheres of government comprising the local, provincial and the national spheres of government (Ziblim, et al., 2013).

Huchzermeyer (2006, 2010) points out that there is political rhetoric which usually prescribes repressive approaches to the eradication of informal settlements especially from the municipalities. Similarly, Pithouse (2009), presents a spectrum of progressive policy on one side and regressive politics on another side. The poor implementation of the UISP demonstrates the gap between policy and its execution. There are also gaps with regard to the capacity of municipal officials, which are meant to implement in situ upgrades of informal settlements in their respective municipalities (Huchzemeyer, 2009). A change of mind set towards informal settlement is necessary to promote a transformation from a radical approach to a progressive approach by municipal officials.

In situ upgrades of informal settlements is provided for in the laws of the country. It is against this background that it should be implemented by municipalities. The National Housing Code provides clear guidelines on how the in-situ informal settlements upgrading projects are to be conducted, hence refusal or denial of it will continue to lead to litigation and a number of court cases.

3.4. Conclusion

The processes of informal settlements improvement exist within a number of legal and policy contexts. The upgrade of informal settlements in South Africa is guided by the UISP, which is provided for in the National Housing Code. The UISP provides for the in-situ upgrading of informal settlements as a way of reducing the housing backlog in the country. This chapter has, therefore, located the topic of this research “the intersection between residents’ livelihoods and informal settlements improvement” within the legal and policy framework guiding the improvement of informal settlements. It is significant to locate the study within these frameworks because they guide human settlement development and the upgrade of informal settlements.

CHAPTER 4
CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

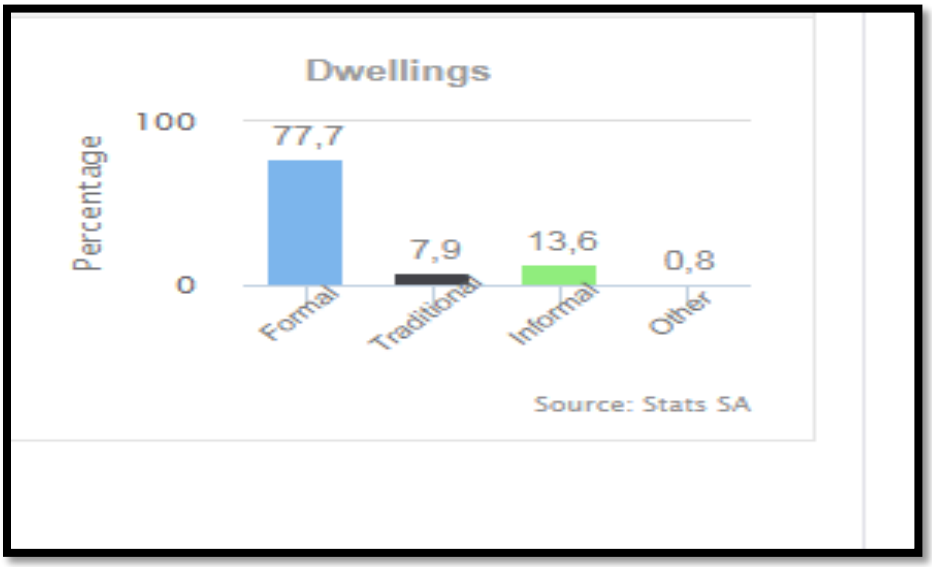
4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the context to which this research is done. The chapter further describes in detail the study area of the research. The research focusses on the Sejwetla informal settlement which has been selected for its unique response to informal settlement improvements by its residents. The socio-economic profiles of Alexandra and the Sejwetla informal settlement are also presented.

4.2. Statistical presentation of Informal Settlements in South Africa

The national population currently stands at 51.8 million, with women constituting 51% and men constituting 49% (Statistics South Africa, 2016). This population is divided between urban and rural areas. As already mentioned, about forty (40%) percent of the South African human population lives in the cities (South African Cities Network, 2006). A substantive number of people in the urban areas of South Africa live in various conditions of informality. Figure 4.2 below shows the distribution of the different types of dwellings. According to this distribution, 13.6 % of the South African population lives in conditions of informality. Similarly, the South African Cities Network (2006) has estimated that 1,100,000 (one million one hundred thousand) households in South Africa's major cities live in informal settlements.

Figure 4.2: Statistical distribution according to types of dwellings



Source: Statistics South Africa, 2016

Figure 4.2 presents statistics on the distribution of types of housing in South Africa. The highest percentage of houses are formal houses. Informal houses constitutes the second highest percentage of the national housing stock. This implies that there are many people living in conditions of informality in South Africa.

The following section details the background of the Gauteng Province, where the study area of this research is situated.

4.3. Informal Settlements in Gauteng Province

Gauteng Province is one of the nine provinces that make up South Africa. It is home to major cities like Johannesburg and Pretoria. Johannesburg is the economic capital of South Africa, while Pretoria is the administrative capital (Rogerson, 1996). Due to high rates of economic activities in Gauteng and particularly in Johannesburg, many people migrate to these cities to access improved economic and employment opportunities. Currently, the human population of the province stands at 12,272,263 people (Statistics South Africa, 2016). As a result of the increasing population, the province is grappling with housing challenges, and as such, quite a number of residents stay in informal settlements. These challenges include the lack of basic services infrastructure and

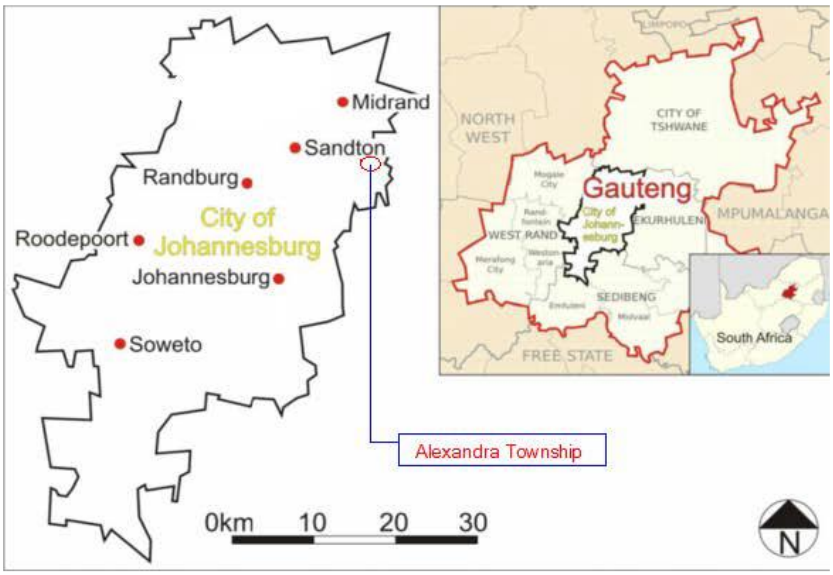
sanitary facilities. In 2012, Gauteng had 339,497 households living in informal settlements, mainly concentrated in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni (Housing Development Agency, 2012). Table 4.3 below shows the distribution of households living in informal settlements in the Gauteng region. Ekurhuleni Municipality has the highest number of households living in conditions of informality, while the City of Johannesburg is the second highest

Table 4.3: Distribution of Households living in Informal Settlements in Gauteng

Local authority	Number of households living in informal settlements
City of Johannesburg	75,255
City of Tshwane	50,548
Ekurhuleni	144,733
Metsweding	4,155
Sedibeng	34,474
West Rand	30,333
Gauteng	**339,497**

Source: Housing Development Agency, 2012

Figure 4.4: Showing the map of Gauteng Province, Johannesburg and the location of Alexandra where Sejwetla is located



Source: Adapted from Basemaps © Openstreetmap.org

4.3.1. Socio-economic profile of Gauteng Province

The province is characterised by inequalities in income, access to space, and access to service provision, which are mainly attributed to the legacy of the apartheid regime's planning based on racial discrimination. The post-apartheid government has not been successful in redressing the anomaly. For this reason, inequality strives and manifests in income distribution. The white South Africans household incomes per month are higher compared to that of black South Africans households (Westaway, 2006).

There are also contradictions in the living conditions of the different types of settlements. High-affluent suburbs are owned by the white South Africans and some rich black people. The poor Africans own shacks and reside in informal settlements (Westaway, 2006). Despite the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, there are still white dominated towns in Gauteng Province. These towns are well resourced compared to black townships. They have good urban infrastructure while black townships have poor living environments and

infrastructures (ibid). These informal settlements have the fastest population growth rates, mainly due to the migration of people from other provinces and countries.

4.4. Informal Settlements in Johannesburg Metropolitan

Johannesburg is located within the economic heartland of South Africa, Gauteng Province. It is South Africa's largest city and metropolitan municipality, with a population of 3.9 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Johannesburg is divided into seven regions, namely Regions A, B, C, D, E, F, and G. The study area for this research is in Region E of Johannesburg's Metropolitan Municipality. This region comprises the areas of Sandton, Marlboro, Moddefontein, Linboro Park, and Alexandra, amongst others. Johannesburg has edge cities and nodes, and gated communities. Another major attribute is the growth of informal settlements on the periphery of the city, and densification in the inner part of the city (Todes, Weakley, & Harrison, 2017).

According to the City of Johannesburg (2010), there are 180 informal settlements with 125,784 households in Johannesburg. Backyard shacks and other informal households make up 17.4% of all households in the City of Johannesburg (Statistics South Africa, 2012, a). A comparative analysis of the positioning of informal settlements in all regions of the Johannesburg Municipality reveals that informal settlements are located next to work opportunities, such as factories and industrial zones, and public transportation systems (City of Johannesburg, 2010). Since it is the economic powerhouse of Africa, Johannesburg has attracted people both regionally and internationally. These immigrants often move into informal settlements as they would be still in search of work opportunities (ibid).

4.5. THE STUDY AREA OF THE RESEARCH

The research uses the Sejwetla informal settlement as a case study. Regardless of the City of Johannesburg stance that the residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement will be moved to other areas, the residents themselves have been improving their individual dwelling units from plastic/zinc to brick and mortar. This shows a unique response by these residents to the improvement of their dwelling places. This informal settlement is

located in Alexandra Township. The research focuses on how the residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement have used their livelihood income to improve their dwellings and housing units.

4.5.1. Socio-economic profile of Alexandra Township

Alexandra Township is located in the northern part of the City of Johannesburg. The township is bordered by the M1 and the M3 major roads. The Jukskei River runs through the township. The township covers a surface area of 7.6 square kilometres (Gauteng Local Government and Housing, 2009). It is close to the Sandton and Marlboro precincts. Sandton has emerged as one of the economic hubs of Johannesburg. Marlboro has a Gautrain station which links the area to regional centres, such as Pretoria and Johannesburg Central. Alexandra Township is divided into Old Alexandra, East Bank and Far East Bank (GLGH, 2009). Old Alexandra is situated next to the Jukskei River to the west. This section of the township is the most densely populated and poverty stricken (ibid). It is dominated by the presence of hostels and informal settlements. The Sejwetla informal settlement is located on the edge of Old Alexandra.

Alexandra Township is well located next to recognised economic nodes, such as Sandton. The township's challenges include crime, the lack of amenities and poverty (GLGH, 2009). In South Africa, Alexandra Township is regarded as one of the most densely populated areas (ibid). The high population is mainly attributed to a high influx of young people in search of employment. Newcomers fail to secure formal housing due to the shortage of housing in the area. Figure 4.4 shows the geographic location of Alexandra Township within the Johannesburg city region.

4.5.2. Economic attributes of Alexandra Township

The location of Alexandra next to Sandton, a suburb characterised by high-value property and economic activity, is unusual for low income settlements in South Africa (Community Agency for Social Equity, 1998). This locational advantage ought to benefit the township of Alexandra, socially and economically, however, the township finds itself in conditions of extreme poverty.

An estimated average income per month in Alexandra's households is R1029.00 (GLGH, 2009). Statistics also show that men earn more than women in this township, with men earning in the range of R900.00 and R1499.00 monthly, whilst women earn between approximately R500.00 and R899.00 per month (ibid).

4.5.3. Social attributes of Alexandra Township

According to the GLGH (2009), Alexandra Township is characterised by poverty, crime and the lack of basic amenities. The population density is very high in Alexandra, with mostly young people migrating to the township in search of employment. Most of these immigrants have found it difficult to secure residency in the formal townships closer to the city centre, and cannot afford to pay for decent rental housing, and thus end up occupying vacant land. The increased influx of people into Alexandra has created many challenges for the city planners as it is very difficult to plan for infrastructural services for an unknown number of people (Jackson, 2015). The increase of population in Alexandra is also attributed to regional economic challenges. For instance, migrants from countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique come to the township looking for employment, and thus find themselves staying in informal settlements. This has caused a huge population growth in Alexandra. A socio-economic study which was conducted in Alexandra in 1998 shows that some residents indicated that they came from outside of South Africa (CASE, 1998). The study speculated that the number of foreigners staying in Alexandra might be higher than what was reported because some of the respondents would not reveal their nationality for fear of being deported (ibid).

Statistics show that approximately 33% of the population of Alexandra does not have formal education, whilst only 17% have been reported to have formal education (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The statistics also indicate that approximately 39% of the population is unemployed, whilst 44% are employed, with the remainder of 17% underemployed (ibid). The majority of residents who are employed, do semi-skilled work which is characterised by low income. This work includes building, plumbing, vending and domestic work (Richards, O'Leary and Mutsonziwa, 2006).

4.5.4. Environmental attributes of Alexandra Township

Alexandra Township has been described as one of the most polluted and degraded living environments in South Africa (Mgquba & Vogel, 2004). This is attributed to congestion in the township. Due to overcrowding, basic infrastructure is overburdened, resulting in frequent sewer bursts and dropping of water pressure. The residents often have to cope with sewage overflows which threaten their health. In addition, some areas in Alexandra Township have been used as dumping areas, for example, the river banks of the Jukskei River (ibid).

4.5.5. Housing in Alexandra Township

Alexandra Township is characterised by a variety of housing stock ranging from brick homes to informal housing. Statistics show that currently there are about 41,605 dwelling units of different types in Alexandra (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The township is dominated by backyard structures, and informal settlement housing made of various materials, such as zinc, bricks and timber. These materials are hazardous as they can easily burn and offer little protection against weather hazards. Furthermore, the sizes of rooms in Alex are small with CASE (1998) indicating in the late 1990s that most of the rooms were single (one) room dwellings. This demonstrates overcrowding with one room being used for multiple functions.

The location of informal housing in Alexandra has been a cause for concern for certain development agencies, (Mgquba and Vogel, 2004). Some informal housing is located within the flood lines of the Jukskei River, encroaching on busy roads and on waste disposal sites. Location within flood lines of houses places residents at risk in times of flooding.

4.5.6. Alexandra renewal project

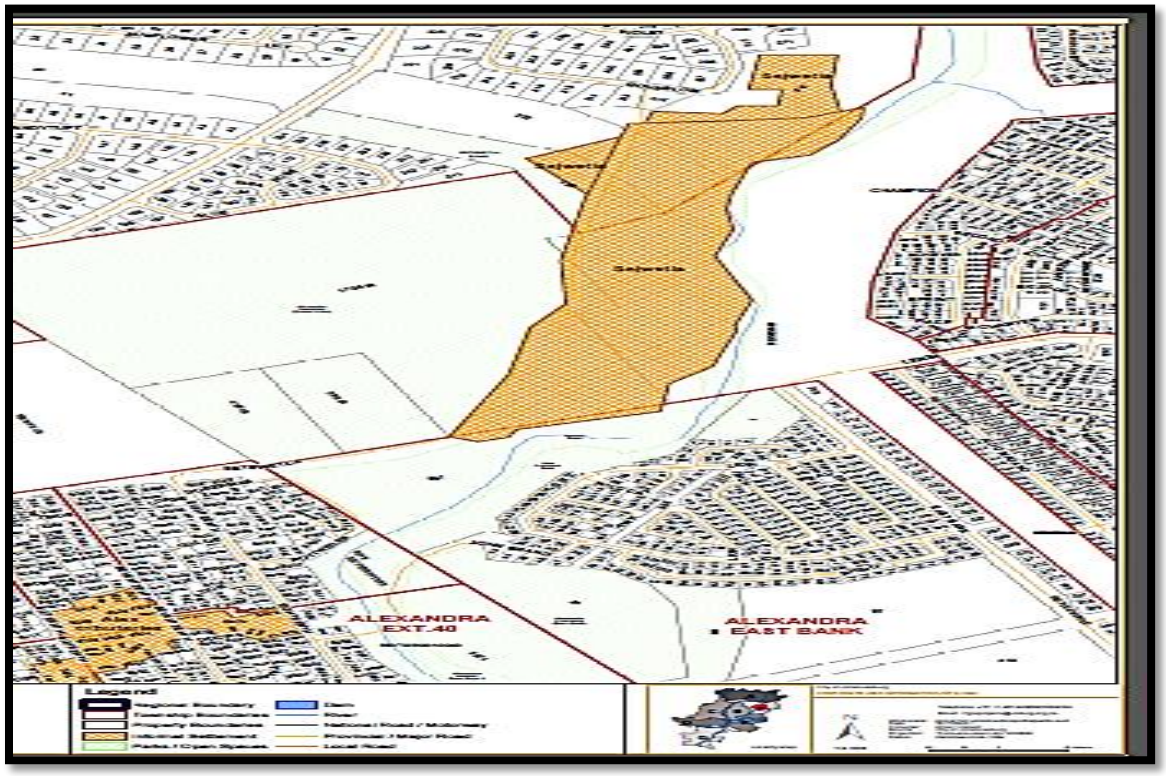
Many low income areas in developing countries have the challenge of high unemployment, lack of basic services and high crime rates (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011). Alexandra Township is no exception to this challenge. In response to these challenges,

the government of South Africa has come up with urban renewal programmes (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002). “The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) is a state-sponsored area-based urban renewal initiative launched in 2001” (Sharpurjee and Charlton, 2013, pp.5). Its major objective is to improve the overall living environment through infrastructure upgrades and housing construction amongst other things. Alongside so called RDP housing delivery, the ARP has supported a limited amount of rental accommodation in pilot projects (ibid). The housing project, completed in 2005, was on the Far East Bank of Alexandra Township and consisted of 181 detached units, built to accommodate households relocated from shacks in other parts of Alexandra Township. The settlement comprises one-roomed 36 square-meter RDP houses on 200 square meters plots (ibid). Of late, housing projects in Alexandra have average plot sizes of 80 square meters, aiming for greater land-use efficiency, whilst also discouraging private backyard dwelling construction (City of Johannesburg, 2014).The emerging of backyard dwellings have been perceived by the ARP to undermine urban renewal initiatives through overcrowding, perpetuating poor housing quality and appearance, and burdening water, electricity and sanitation capacity (ibid).

4.6. The Sejwetla informal settlement

The Sejwetla informal settlement is situated between the Jukskei River and the Alexandra cemetery. Its main entrance is at the Florence Mophosho Street on the South and can also be accessed from the Gousblom Crescent on the northern side. Figures 4.6a and 4.6b below show the location of the Sejwetla informal settlement in Alexandra Township.

Figure 4.6a: Location of the Sejwetla informal settlement



Source: City of Johannesburg, 2017

Figure 4.6b: Location of Sejwetla next to the Jukskei River



Source: Author, 2017

4.6.1. Demographics of the Sejwetla informal settlement

The current population of the Sejwetla informal settlement is estimated to be approximately five thousand people (City of Johannesburg, 2014). The figures are not static due to the frequent migration of people from other regions into the settlement (ibid). A registration process which was done in 2005 by the City of Johannesburg discovered that the Sejwetla informal settlement then had 4,317 households before relocations (ibid) . Some of the residents of the settlement were relocated to areas such as Diepsloot and Bram Fishersville, mainly because of a flood that had affected the area in 2007. Despite the fact that the number of households was reduced during this relocation, the population has doubled over the years and rebounded to the original size.

4.6.2. History of the Sejwetla informal settlement

The Sejwetla informal settlement came into existence in 1995 with the bonded and reconstructed houses in the south of Alexandra (City of Johannesburg, 2014). The area grew much in the 1990s when people from all over South Africa and Africa came to Alexandra to look for employment opportunities (ibid). This led to the whole area being occupied with shacks. The new residents continued to construct their residences using timber, zinc and plastic (ibid).

When the Alexandra renewal project (ARP) was initiated at Sejwetla, it was discovered that there was a huge number of informal settlers even at nearby areas, such as Florence Maphosho and Vincent Tshabalala (City of Johannesburg, 2014). The major growth in the number of shacks at Sejwetla and its neighbouring area was attributed to the strategic location of the area to job markets, for example, Alexandra factories and businesses in Sandton (ibid).

4.6.3. Relocations

Due to the fact that the Sejwetla informal settlement is located on an old landfill site, in 2005 the Johannesburg City Council approved the Alexandra Housing and Land Strategy which prioritised Sejwetla for relocation (City of Johannesburg, 2014)**.** The council constructed new housing on the Far East Bank, and relocated 1584 households from

Sejwetla to RDP and rental housing. The demand for housing increased as new settlers arrived in anticipation of being allocated new housing as well. The settlers occupied the remaining portion thus making the area extremely congested. With the increase in demand of rudimentary services, the City of Johannesburg decided to supply the residents of Sejwetla with electricity. Some residents had to be relocated to pave the way for the electricity power lines. The affected residents were relocated to an upper section of Sejwetla which is at the Southern part of the settlement. The municipality built approximately 750 new tin shacks to accommodate the relocated residents (ibid). The area close to Gousblom Street remained un-electrified because of the refusal by residents to move to pave the way for the electricity power lines (ibid).

4.6.4. Gift of the Givers Village

Gift of the Givers is an international non-governmental disaster response organisation mainly based in South Africa and operating in Africa. It essentially deals with offering assistance in relation to health, sanitation and nutrition to the underprivileged in various countries of the African continent. In Alexandra, the organisation has made a number of donations, especially to clinics (City of Johannesburg, 2014).

The Gift of the Givers Foundation approached the City of Johannesburg in 2013 for permission to build a settlement for destitute elderly women and single mothers living within the Sejwetla informal settlement. This came after the realisation that the previous floods had affected the elderly and women with children, hence the need for habitable shelter for them (City of Johannesburg, 2014). The council supported this initiative and used it as justification for removing shacks that were within the flood line of the Jukskei River. Construction of the seventy housing units was done using fireproof and prefabricated material (ibid). Figure 4.6.4 below shows the dwelling units constructed by Gift of the Givers Foundation at Sejwetla.

Figure 4.6.4: Shelter constructed by Gift of the Givers at Sejwetla



Source: Huchzemeyer, 2017

4.7. CONCLUSION

The chapter presented the general outlook of the distribution of informal settlements nationally, regionally and locally. Analysis of the statistics presented in this chapter show that despite the efforts of the government towards alleviating housing challenges, the number of informal settlements continues to grow. Lastly, the chapter presented the geographical context of the study. The socio-economic profile of the study area was presented with a view to portraying to the reader the attributes of the study area. The presentation of the socio-economic profile of the study area gives initial understanding of the area of study before the presentation of empirical findings is done.

CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH FINDINGS, PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings on the intersection between residents' livelihoods and housing improvements in the Sejwetla informal settlement. Scholarship demonstrates that the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) in South Africa remains a de jure policy framework, hence residents find alternative ways of improving their living conditions (Bradlow, 2013). The majority of the residents of informal settlements use their income to improve their economic development incrementally. The findings of this study demonstrate various livelihood strategies employed by the residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement and their investment in housing improvements. In addition, the chapter presents the findings on the land tenure situation of the residents of Sejwetla. The empirical evidence is based on the research field work conducted in September 2017. As discussed in the methodology section, different methods were employed which included interviews with community members of Sejwetla and officials from the City of Johannesburg and the Department of Human Settlements of the City of Johannesburg. This chapter also uses data derived from focus group discussions and the transect walk. The presentation of findings follow themes drawn from the conceptual framework which captures livelihood strategies, aspects underlying informal settlements improvement, such as housing consolidation re-blocking, and livelihood outcomes.

The chapter provides a description of the respondents and presents the findings on the settlement organisation and livelihood strategies employed by the people of Sejwetla. Various livelihood strategies employed by the residents have played a role in improving their dwelling units. The later sections of the chapter present findings on housing consolidation and re-blocking taking place at Sejwetla.

5.2. Profile of respondents

This section gives a summary of the description of the respondents. Table 5.2a shows the description of the committee members of the Sejwetla informal settlement. The profile includes data on age, designation and the length of stay in the settlement. The composition of the committee is relatively balanced in terms of gender.

Table 5.2a: Profile of the Committee of Sejwetla informal settlement

Committee member	Age	Gender	Designation	Period of residency in the settlement
Committee member 1	52	Male	Chairman	8
Committee member 2	44	Male	Vice Chairman	6
Committee member 3	28	Female	Secretary	6
Committee member 4	36	Female	Treasurer	8
Committee member 5	41	Male	Housing Leader	7
Committee member 6	36	Male	Youth Leader	5

Source: Author, 2017

Table 5.2b shows the profile of the community members interviewed for this study. It shows the age of the respondents, their gender and their period of residency in the informal settlement of Sejwetla. The sample provides a balanced profile with the youths also selected for the interviews.

Table 5.2b: Profile of Respondents (Community members)

Respondents	Gender	Age	Dependents	Period of residence in the settlement
Respondent 1	Female	48	3	8
Respondent 2	Male	36	4	6
Respondent 3	Male	28	2	4
Respondent 4	Female	35	4	8
Respondent 5	Female	25	0	4
Respondent 6	Male	28	2	5
Respondent 7	Female	46	3	7
Respondent 8	Female	26	0	3
Respondent 9	Male	38	3	4
Respondent 10	Male	30	1	5

Source: Author, 2017

Figure 5.2c shows the description of members of the focus group conducted by the researcher. The table shows that the focus group was balanced in terms of gender. Furthermore the group also included the youth.

Table 5.2c: Profile of the focus group respondents

Members	Age	Gender	Period of residency in the settlement
F.G. member 1	40	Female	4
F.G. member 2	48	Female	8
F.G. member 3	53	Male	7
F.G. member 4	38	Female	8
F.G. member 5	24	Male	5
F.G. member 6	32	Male	5

Source: Author, 2017

5.3. Organisation of the community of Sejwetla

During the early stages of the field work, I sought to understand the organisation of the community. The community of Sejwetla is governed by a committee of six members elected every two years by the community members. The committee comprises the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Housing Leader and Youth Leader (Personal Communication, September 3, 2017). Figure 5.2a shows the profile of the committee governing the affairs of the Sejwetla informal settlement. The main function of this committee is to facilitate dialogue between the community of Sejwetla and the City of Johannesburg and other service providers. Six respondents living in Sejwetla highlighted that every last week of the month there is a community meeting to deliberate on issues to do with the welfare of the residents. “We gather every month end as a community of Sejwetla to discuss issues that affect us.” (Respondent 10, September 3, 2017). This meeting is facilitated by the community leadership. Respondent 3 indicated that, when new residents come into the area, they are supposed to consult the community leadership first, however, of late, many residents have just come in and settled in the area without the consent of the community leadership (Personal communication, September 3, 2017). Most of these residents occupy the flood plains of the Jukskei River.

I also observed that five of the six committee members spoke Tsonga and nine of the 10 community members interviewed spoke the same language. I enquired whether Tsonga was the dominant language in the settlement and Respondent 7 confirmed this. When asked about the reasons why this language is dominant, Respondent 6 indicated that the leadership of the community is mainly Tsonga dominated, hence people from Limpopo find it very easy to get places of residence in the area. This suggests that even though other languages are present in this informal settlement, the dominant culture in the informal settlement is that of the Tsonga language group. It also demonstrates interrelations between the native areas where Tsonga is dominant and the Sejwetla informal settlement. These native areas are mostly found in Limpopo Province and, as such, there is strong migration link between the Limpopo Province and the Sejwetla informal settlement.

5.4. Government interventions as perceived by the residents of the informal settlement

Conceptualised within the framework of the developmental state and highlighted by the Constitution of South Africa, local government is expected to provide basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation. The local authorities are also expected to provide institutional support to government in its programmes addressing the housing needs of communities. Eight respondents indicated that they expected the government to do more in terms of improving their situation in the settlement. They expect the government to provide adequate water and sanitation facilities for all residents of the settlement. One of the respondents asserted that "we expect government to provide us with free running water per household" (Respondent 2, September 2017). Three of the respondents cited the provisions of government policy in the Upgrade of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP). However, they expressed their frustrations with the failure of the City of Johannesburg to implement this policy. They mentioned that the government should provide residents with affordable housing, building on the available assets. Respondent 3 therefore stated, "I expect government to assist us with better housing based on what we have done, instead of relocating us to rental housing" (Respondent 3, 2017). The respondents also indicated that their committee is in the process of engaging the City of Johannesburg on service delivery issues, especially chemical toilets. Recently, the municipality provided additional chemical toilets to the households who did not have them. Furthermore, the residents explained that the servicing and maintenance of the portable chemical toilets has improved. This follows successful engagements between the municipality and the community. However, I could not verify the information on service delivery issues because I was unable to obtain a copy of the minutes of the community meetings.

5.5. Livelihood strategies employed by the residents

The findings show that residents of Sejwetla informal settlements pursue various livelihood strategies to earn a living. Most informal settlements position themselves next to areas of work such as industries, factories, transportation nodes and shopping malls in order to access work opportunities with low transport expenses (Hunter and Posel, 2012).

The Sejwetla informal settlement is no exception to this as the settlement is positioned next to areas of work such as Alexandra Township, Linbro Park, Sandton, and Marlboro while some residents are employed by companies located in other areas. Table 5.5 below shows the distribution of livelihood strategies among the respondents in Sejwetla.

Table 5.5: Distribution of livelihood strategies per respondent interviewed

Respondent	Livelihood strategy	Gender	Employment status
Respondent 1	Homebased care	Female	Self employed
Respondent 2	Tiling	Male	Formally employed
Respondent 3	Plumbing	Male	Formally employed
Respondent 4	Dressmaking	Female	Self employed
Respondent 5	Hairdressing	Female	Self employed
Respondent 6	Home electrification	Male	Formally employed
Respondent 7	Airtime sales	Female	Self employed
Respondent 8	Sale of cooked food	Female	Self employed
Respondent 9	Vending	Male	Self employed
Respondent 10	Vending	Male	Self employed

Source: Author, 2017

Five respondents indicated that they are employed outside the Sejwetla informal settlement. Three of these indicated they are engaged in tiling, plumbing and home electrification, while two of the five men are involved in informal trading at the Alexandra Business Centre. Four respondents mentioned that they are self-employed within the informal settlement. Respondent 1 explained that she is self-employed as a home-based caregiver who operates both within and outside the informal settlement. The other four female respondents interviewed indicated that they are engaged in various self-employment activities within the settlement. These activities are dressmaking, hairdressing, selling prepaid airtime and food. This suggests that residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement have equipped themselves with various livelihood strategies to earn a living. In-depth analysis of these results also suggests that when residents of Sejwetla

informal settlement fail to attain formal employment, they use their skills to generate income to meet their needs such as paying school fees for children, buying food and clothes for children, and providing remittances to other family members who stay in their rural homes.

During the transect walk undertaken on the 4th of September 2017, I observed that there are a number of income generating projects within the informal settlement. These projects include moulding of bricks for sale, *spaza* shops and restaurants. Semi-skilled residents, such as builders and carpenters, also find work within the informal settlement and even in the neighbouring areas of Marlboro and Alexandra. See Figure 5.4a and 5.4b below.

Figure 5.5a: Self-employment – brick-moulding project



Source: Author, 2017

Figure 5.5b: Self-employment – *Spaza* shop with hair salon



Source: Author, 2017

5.6. Housing consolidation and livelihood income

Scholarship notes that income is an integral part of any livelihood strategy (Scoones, 1998). The field work conducted for this study reveals that all 10 residents interviewed were engaged in some economic activities to sustain themselves. The participants mentioned that they did not receive support from the government therefore they have to find alternative strategies to generate income to improve their houses. They engage in various economic activities to earn a living. Table 5.6a below shows an outline of revenue generated by the interviewees per month.

Table 5.6a: Distribution of respondents' income per month

Respondents	Source of Income	Income/month (ZAR)	Income/year (ZAR)
Respondent 1	Home-based care	-	-
Respondent 2	Tiling	1200.00	14400.00
Respondent 3	Plumbing	1900.00	22800.00
Respondent 4	Dressmaking	2300.00	277600.00
Respondent 5	Hairdressing	2100.00	25200.00
Respondent 6	Home electrification	980.00	11760.00
Respondent 7	Airtime sales	800.00	9600.00
Respondent 8	Sale of cooked food	800.00	9,600.00
Respondent 9	Vending	1500.00	18000.00
Respondent 10	Vending	1200.00	14400.00

Source: Author, 2017

The table indicates an average income of ZAR 1358.00 per month, which suggests very low levels of monthly income for these respondents.

For any construction projects to take place, there is need for resources such as finance and construction materials. Materials required include cement, bricks, roofing sheets, timber, glass, nails, doors and quarry stone. Eight respondents stated that they used their income to purchase bricks, cement and other building materials. For instance, one of the respondents explained: "I managed to mobilise bricks, cement and roofing sheets using the income I generated from the sale of cooked food" (Respondent 8, September 2017). Table 5.5b below shows the average quantities of materials and costs associated with an improvement of a shack into brick and mortar. It reveals that, on average, ZAR 4000.00 is the minimum amount of money required to upgrade a shack to brick and mortar.

Table 5.6b: Showing an approximation of building materials and costs per dwelling unit

Material	Quantity	Unit cost	Total Cost
Cement	50kg x 8	85.00	680.00
Bricks	1000	2360/1000	2360.00
Water	-	-	
Brick force	2 x 115mmx 20m	41.95	83.90
Roofing sheets	4 x 0.25mmx 3m	179.56	718.24
Roofing nails	1 kg wire nails	49.50/kg	49.50
Tying wire	5kg	73.95/5 kg	73.95
Door	1 x flush door	184.95	184.95
Timber	6m x 1 gum pole	184.00	184.00
Window	3 pan x 1	289.95	289.95
Total			**3944.49**

Source: Author, 2017

All the 10 respondents stated that they built their houses incrementally because of the cost implications. This shows these residents' determination to improve their dwelling places. Respondent 9 indicated that, from the ZAR 1500.00 he generates every month, he sets aside a certain amount of money for the upgrading of his shack. He also highlighted that sometimes it is difficult for him to save money because of competing needs, such as school fees for his child and groceries for his family. This demonstrates the extent to which these respondents are committed to improving their dwelling places to achieve a better standard of living and adequate home security. Two respondents explained that they obtained bricks from the rubble which was dumped at the site next to the Jukskei River that runs through the informal settlement. This demonstrates strong survival skills and innovation from the two residents.

5.6.1. Forms of housing consolidation in Sejwetla informal settlement

Housing consolidation is an act of improving shacks from plastic and wood to brick and mortar or even better building materials (Gough & Kellett, 2001). There are various factors underpinning housing consolidation in informal settlements. During the transect walk, I observed that many shacks have been upgraded in the settlement (see Figures 5.6.1a, 5.6.1b and 5.6.1c below). The improvement of housing occurring in Sejwetla can be classified into three categories, namely, wood, tin/zinc, or plastic.

Table 5.6.1: Categories of housing improvements

Original structure	Improvement	Average costs
Wood	Brick and mortar	ZAR 4000.00
Tin/Zinc structure	Brick and mortar	ZAR 3800.00
Plastic	Brick and mortar	ZAR 5500.00

Source: Author, 2017

Table 5.6.1 shows the different type of housing improvements that have taken place at Sejwetla informal settlement. Residents have improved their houses from wood, tin/zinc and plastic to brick and mortar and provided reasons for improving their structures. They mentioned that these materials (wood and tin) can be reused for roofing a brick and mortar structure. Respondent 5 highlighted that she used the original zinc from her initial shack for roofing the new structure made of brick and mortar thereby reducing construction costs. However, those who upgraded from plastic to brick and mortar incurred higher costs on construction material as they could not re-use the plastic in the construction of their buildings.

Shacks have been upgraded from wood and plastic to brick and mortar. Better housing materials have been used for the housing consolidation process. Materials used include bricks, cement, iron sheets and timber. Respondents highlighted that they purchase some of the building materials, such as cement and roofing sheets, from the Alexandra Business district, while bricks are bought from brick moulders in the settlement. Some of the structures have been built into double storey housing units using materials such as cement, cement bricks, quarry, river sand and deformed iron bars. Three of the respondents said that they have consolidated their units from tin shacks to double storey structures. Respondent 3 indicated that he preferred to construct a double storey structure to accommodate his big family (Respondent 3, September 2017). He therefore elaborated “I designed the double storey building on my own. The staircases have been designed and assembled by a local welder.” (Respondent 3, September 2017). Figure 5.6.1c shows one of the consolidated shacks which is now a double storey building. Some residents are reconstructing the tin structures which were provided by the City of

Johannesburg Department of Housing to brick and mortar housing units. Figure 5.5.1a shows the reconstruction of a shack using brick and mortar.

Figure 5.6.1a: Double storey housing consolidation



Source: Author, 2017

The shacks bordering the Jukskei River banks have also been consolidated. During the field work, I observed that most *spaza* shops, especially those alongside the cemetery, are not consolidated, giving an impression that the residents of the informal settlement prioritise their residential units over business premises.

Figure 5.5.1b: Housing consolidation in progress



Source: Author, 2017

Figure 5.6.1c: Single storey housing consolidation



Source: Author, 2017

5.6.2. Rationale for housing consolidation

The respondents provided their views regarding the rationale for housing consolidation in the Sejwetla informal settlement. Three respondents noted that they constructed double storey buildings to avoid inconvenience emanating from sharing the same room with their children. Respondent 6 explained that the need for privacy has forced them to find alternatives within a limited space hence the construction of the double storey structures. "I used to share the same room with my children and I was not comfortable with it, hence I decided to add another room. Due to the limited space, I decided to construct a double storey building" (Respondent 6, 2017). Given the limitations of space, they could not expand the houses sideways but only upwards. In all the three double storey buildings observed, the kitchen and cooking facilities, and the children's bedrooms are on the ground floor. Inside divisions for all three structures were created using curtains due to space limitations. It was also interesting to hear from the three respondents that they generated designs for the double storey themselves. This reveals the fact that residents of Sejwetla informal settlement were innovative in improving their living conditions. However, their safety is at risk because double storey structures need to be supported by detailed structural diagrams which provide calculations for support pillars and bases. The plans by the respondents were just simple plans with no such details.

Respondent 1 indicated that the major reason for housing consolidation was the weather which affected them in zinc shacks (Respondent 1, September 2017). She highlighted that the zinc shacks would let in rain water during the rainy season and absorb heat during summer. This results in much discomfort, hence the move to reconstruct her dwelling with better materials such as brick and mortar. Certainly, residents of Sejwetla informal settlement also need safe and secure living environments and the right to adequate housing as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

All 10 respondents also indicated that the issue of crime is a key push factor to consolidate their shacks. Before they reconstructed their shacks, they would experience many break-ins which increasingly put their lives at risk. Tin shacks can be easily broken into by criminals who cut the zinc using a scissors or knife in order to create an opening to gain entry into the structure. Respondent 1 narrated a debacle which befell her one night

before she reconstructed her shack. A robber broke into her shack using a knife and threatened her before taking some of her belongings:

"*As I was asleep in 2014, I heard a sound at the back of my tin shack. Within some few minutes I heard a male voice threatening me to keep quite otherwise I would lose my life. Immediately the robber asked for money and took some of my precious belongings*" (Respondent 1, 2017).

Furthermore, six respondents revealed that the menace of rats and mice is a contributing factor to housing consolidation. Due to poor solid waste management (dumping) in the informal settlement, there is a high population of mice and rats. Rats would come into their tin shacks through openings at the corners of the shack and eat their food. The rats hid behind suitcases and cupboards and procreated. Residents therefore often found their clothes eaten by rats which affected their economic status as they had to either take the clothes to dressmakers or buy new ones. To prevent losing their belongings and contracting diseases, they decided to reconstruct their shacks using better building materials such as brick and mortar. Brick and mortar has the advantage that all holes are sealed, hence rats are unable to gain entry into dwelling units.

To improve the general aesthetics of their dwellings, the residents constructed their dwelling units with materials which look attractive. The researcher observed that some of the consolidated buildings have their frontage constructed with face bricks or decorative plaster such as elephant skin plaster. The residents also used external paintwork to improve the buildings. This is indicative of the need by the residents to have attractive homes (refer to Figure 5.6.1a).

5.6.3. Support in the housing consolidation process

The housing construction process involves a number of actors, such as residents, municipal technical departments, service providers and other stakeholders. This section discusses the actors involved in the Sejwetla housing improvements. Various actors are involved in the housing consolidation at the Sejwetla informal settlement. Although all the respondents noted that they have been solely responsible for the upgrading of their structures, various stakeholders, such as the local authority, skilled labour, such as

builders and Non-Governmental Organisations, such as the Gift of the Givers, are involved in the housing consolidation processes.

5.6.3.1. City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

The Department of Housing in the City of Johannesburg was involved in the re-blocking of the settlement and the provision of tin shacks and water taps. The city was responsible for the installation of the electricity infrastructure through City Power. The registration of residents of the informal settlement was done by the Department of Housing from the City of Johannesburg. The city was also involved in the installation of chemical toilets and their maintenance. This suggests that the engagement of the city officials by the residents committee of the Sejwetla informal settlement might have resulted in the implementation of the abovementioned services. Interviews with the city officials revealed that these interventions were done as a temporary measure while residents await their relocation to different sites.

5.6.3.2. From a non-governmental organisation or community based organisation

City officials interviewed noted that the Gift of the Givers Foundation provided better shelter for the elderly at the Sejwetla informal settlement (Figure 4.6.5). This area has been enclosed with a security fence in order to improve security for the elderly. Various activities, such as gardening, are taking place within this enclosed settlement. Officials from the City of Johannesburg Housing Department highlighted that the selection criteria used to select beneficiaries for this residency was mainly from the registers compiled by the municipality.

5.6.3.3. From community leadership

Respondents indicated that their community leadership support them a great deal in the housing consolidation process. The leadership engages various stakeholders, such as the City of Johannesburg Metro Municipality and other city departments, regarding the provision of services to the settlement. The engagements by the leadership resulted in the installation of communal water taps. Consequently, the residents have enough water to use in the construction projects within the settlement. Respondents indicated that their

committee visits the City of Johannesburg Housing Department every month to present their requests. However, I could not access the minutes of the meetings between the community leadership, the municipality and other stakeholders.

5.7. Re-blocking of the Sejwetla informal settlement

Re-blocking of an informal settlement involves the rearrangement of an informal settlement into a better pattern with good access points, roads and the placement of public amenities, such as community parks, street lightning and public toilets (Brown-Luthango, Reyes & Gubevu, 2017). Interviews with the City of Johannesburg officials from the Department of Housing revealed that the Sejwetla informal settlement was re-blocked in 2014. When, in the same year, the area experienced some flooding, certain residents were affected by the floods as they were located within the flood lines of the Jukskei River. These residents were relocated to an area outside the flood line of the river. Also, in order to electrify the area, the local authority relocated some residents from the areas next to the river bank to the higher ground, to tin constructed shacks (See Figure 5.7a).

Figure 5.7a: Tin structure after the re-blocking process



Source: Author, 2017

The area where there were tin shacks was re-blocked, with access roads of two metres provided between blocks of shacks. It was, however, observed that when re-blocking was done, the access roads are too small for service vehicles, such as ambulances, to get into the informal settlement. Municipal officials indicated that the major reason for re-blocking the informal settlement was to reduce the incidences of fire due to congestion and also to provide access for services, such as electricity pylons and water pipes. They indicated that there is no formal layout for the area as it is not zoned for residential use. They explained that the land is not suitable for residential construction based on a geotechnical study done in 2014. During the transect walk, I observed that there are pathways and access roads throughout the whole informal settlement, proving that the realignment of shacks was done (See Figure 5.7b).

Figure 5.7b: Pathway created by the re-blocking process



Source: Author, 2017

Figure 5.7b shows a pathway which was created after the re-blocking exercise at the Sejwetla informal settlement. The pathway is used as an access to the central sections

of the settlement, while also being used as a water drainage line. The drainage line shown in Figure 5.7b takes surface running water down to the banks of the Jukskei River.

Figure 5.7c: Pathways created for installation of electricity lines



Source: Author, 2017

Figure 5.7c shows a pathway created after the re-blocking process of the Sejwetla informal settlement. Though the pathway was created for the installation of electricity power lines, it is also used by residents to access their houses.

5.7.1. Re-blocking pattern and design

The major objectives of re-blocking an informal settlement are to produce an acceptable settlement pattern which improves safety and aesthetics for residents. The settlement pattern adopted by the municipality evolved around the grid settlement model where settlements are grouped and separated by access roads. I managed to measure four plots belonging to four of the respondents. Three of the plots measured approximately three (3) metres by three (3) metres, while one measured four metres by two and a half metres, giving an average of nine square metres per plot. In most instances, the plots are

completely built/developed, while in a few instances, some space is left for shade or a verandah. Some residents even extend their buildings to access space and extend their shade.

Seven respondents, who have consolidated their structures to single storey structures, noted that they designed their own dwelling units. The plans were neither approved by the local authority nor the Ministry of Health for quality and housing related safety and health assessments. For instance, some of the houses lack adequate ventilation. The participants explained that the plans are implemented by local semi-skilled builders, using standard building materials, such as cement bricks, sand, and cement. Indeed, I observed that these buildings have proper floors, internal and external plaster, and internal and external paint work.

During the transect walk with three participants, I observed that the majority of the commercial structures, such as restaurants, hair salons and *spaza* shops, are located along the main road. The grouping of these structures in a particular area, which is segregated from the residential area, is indicative of re-blocking efforts which were done. From the three participants, I learnt that most of these structures are rented out and the owners do not reside within the settlement. The separate uses of space illustrates that the community engages in some form of organisation of the settlement.

There is only one point that grants access to the informal settlement joining the main road (from Alexandra to the Marlboro precinct). According to planning standards, there should not be many access roads within a short distance branching from a main road. In this settlement, this planning principle has been observed thus providing safety for the residents. Furthermore, barricades have been used to protect buildings from traffic on the main road.

5.8. Basic services infrastructure and land tenure

There is need for basic services infrastructure in the housing consolidation process. Services, such as water, are needed so that construction can take place smoothly. During the transect walk, I observed that some basic infrastructure has been put in place at the Sejwetla informal settlement. Electricity power lines and water taps have been installed.

In terms of sanitary facilities, residents of the informal settlement use chemical toilets which are located on the periphery of the informal settlement (see Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8: Chemical toilets



Source: Author, 2017

5.8.1. Residents' perceptions on the provision of basic service infrastructure

The ten respondents whom I interviewed highlighted that their greatest challenge is the provision of sanitary facilities. Interim chemical toilets have been placed alongside the cemetery on the periphery of the informal settlement. The distant location of these toilets is a disadvantage to the residents, as they find it difficult to access them at night, which forces them to use buckets during the night and empty them in the morning. This is inconvenient as a respondent stated: "Chemical toilets are an inconvenience to us. One cannot use them at night due to their location and thus forcing us to use buckets at night" (Respondent 4, September 2017). Though the municipality empties the chemical toilets three times a week, Respondent 10 indicated that the collections were not sufficient and that this compromises the hygiene of the toilets. The fact that the informal settlement is not connected to a bulk sewer line makes it very difficult for the residents to construct toilets as part of the housing consolidation process taking place. The provision of individual sanitary toilets is also hindered by space limitations. The plots are too small to accommodate individual toilets. Respondent 3 highlighted that, given enough space, he

would construct his own bathroom and toilet. All ten respondents interviewed highlighted that they use their bedrooms for bathing.

5.8.2. Provision of water

Respondents were not satisfied with the positioning of the water taps. Approximately fifteen families share a common water tap. Respondent 1 explained that they do not pay for water, which is provided by the City of Johannesburg. Some respondents indicated that they would not be able to pay for water if the local authority puts metered taps in each individual household. Respondent 2 noted that there is great need for individual households to have individual water taps and to pay for that service.

5.8.3. Education and health facilities

Facilities, such as schools and clinics, are critical for any settlement as they empower the community with knowledge and health care. I observed that there is no school or clinic within the Sejwetla informal settlement. All the respondents indicated that these facilities are available in the neighbouring areas such as Alexandra Township and Linbro Park. All the respondents pointed out that the nearest clinic is expensive for them to access in terms of consultation fees and distance.

5.8.4. Perceptions of residents with regard to land ownership at the Sejwetla informal settlement

As indicated in Chapter 2, for the residents of informal settlements to improve their dwelling places, there is need for security of tenure (Payne, 2002). From the interviews conducted, residents revealed that they have some documentation from the Department of Housing for the dwelling units they occupy. These documents were given to them by the City of Johannesburg Housing Department when they were allocated their tin structures. These documents are in the form of letters which inform residents of their allocation to a tin structure by the local authority. They indicate the name of the beneficiary and the plot number. The document, however, stipulates that the residents are accommodated temporarily in the tin structures pending their transfer to RDP housing. Respondents 7 and 8 mentioned that they did not receive any documentation from the Department of Housing. This can be attributed to the fact that some of these respondents

bought the shacks from other residents. The respondents also revealed that some sell their shacks or rent them out to generate revenue.

Some of the respondents are aware that they might be relocated to new housing in future thereby losing the investment they have made in their structures. They, however, pointed out that the system of relocating may not work perfectly for Sejwetla because residents might not be able to afford payment of service fees which comes along with owning a house. These includes the payment of rates and utility bills. This suggests that the issue of affordability should be taken into consideration when rental housing or RDP housing is being allocated. Some beneficiaries of government RDP houses might fail to keep up with demands of rentals and service charges which can cause them to sell the RDP houses and go back to the informal settlements.

5.8.5. The position of the municipal officials on land tenure security at Sejwetla

According to the Upgrade of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP), it is the responsibility of local authorities to provide tenure security to the residents of informal settlements through tenure regularisation programmes. From the interviews conducted with the officials from the City of Johannesburg, residents of Sejwetla have temporary tenure of the land they occupy. This is based on the temporary occupancy letters they issued to these residents. The stance of the local authority is that these residents will be relocated to better forms of housing when the city finds land and resources to construct housing units for them. The municipal interviewees also indicated that the relocation programme is a process, as residents from Sejwetla were once relocated to rental housing at Linbro Park. During the relocation process, the local authority faced challenges as residents from nearby areas, such as Alexandra, lodged serious complaints that they had been waiting much longer for housing and were far ahead of the people of Sejwetla on the housing list. The local authority had to accommodate them in the new rental housing. Municipal officials also indicated that, after the relocation of some residents from Sejwetla, some open land was created. However, in less than a year, the settlement returned to its original size as the open space was invaded by new residents coming from outside the settlement. This suggests that relocations of informal settlers is no longer a viable option but improvements of dwellings in-situ could ease the situation.

One of the questions posed to the respondents was about the possibility of the residents staying permanently at the Sejwetla informal settlement. The question was posed both to the municipal officials and the residents. Their responses are as follows:

The municipal officials interviewed dismissed the permanency of the Sejwetla informal settlement. They indicated that, based on a geotechnical study which was conducted in the informal settlement in 2014 by a consultant from the University of Witwatersrand, the soil at Sejwetla is not suitable for permanent housing construction as the area was a dumpsite and the soil is still porous. Another reason given by the city officials was that, in terms of their zoning, the area is not designated as a residential zone but is a buffer zone between the Jukskei River and the Alexandra Township cemetery.

5.8.6. Response from the residents on tenure security

Six of the respondents interviewed revealed that officials from the City of Johannesburg informed them that they will be moved to RDP or rental housing in the future. The date of relocation was not specified to them. Four respondents were not aware that they might be moved to another place. Respondent 8 indicated that she would prefer staying in the settlement to avoid the demands that come with renting a house. She also indicated that, despite the fact that they would be moved, she consolidated her house because the process of moving people might not materialise in her generation. She further alluded to the fact that land for housing development is very scarce. Most of the respondents also expressed concerns about relocating arguing that it could affect their livelihoods as they may have to look for new jobs and find new schools for their children while having to bear the burden of making rental payments, property rates or service charges every month. They also highlighted that they needed bigger spaces with adequate services, such as running water and sanitary facilities, and proper energy sources, such as electricity. For these reasons, they emphasised that they need to be in a planned township with proper infrastructure.

5.9. Opportunities and threats of housing consolidation to residents

Housing consolidation poses a number of opportunities and threats to the residents of informal settlements of which the Sejwetla informal settlement is no exception. This

section unpacks opportunities and threats identified by respondents during the data collection process.

5.9.1. Opportunities for housing consolidation at Sejwetla

Respondents failed to identify opportunities which might come with the housing consolidation processes taking place at Sejwetla. They mentioned that the issue of temporary security of tenure and the uncertainty regarding the position of the municipality about the development of the area does not leave them with any opportunities. However, it could be argued that, due to the housing consolidation that has taken place and the subsequent involvement of service providers, such as City power, there is an opportunity for investment in businesses because they have access to electricity which most commercial businesses require to store certain merchandise. Electricity is the most convenient form of energy to use in the refrigeration of cold drinks and meat. Respondents expressed their gratitude regarding the availability of electricity which presents an opportunity for operating *spaza* shops. The respondents also explained that the construction of dwelling units using brick and mortar prevents the spread of fires. The presence of electricity also means a reduction in the use of flammable sources of energy, such as paraffin, thereby reducing the risk of fires.

The researcher also observed that the residents have improved lifestyles due to improved housing conditions. Housing consolidation replaces shacks which are cold and dusty inside, and which could contribute to colds and flu, and other illnesses.

5.9.2. Threats to housing consolidation

The majority of shacks at the Sejwetla informal settlement have been consolidated. There are various factors, however, which might threaten the lives of the residents in the settlement. All the respondents identified flooding as a threat to the existence of their structures particularly in reference to those houses which are located within the flood line of the Jukskei River (See Figure 5.9.2). They are concerned that their structures might be affected by water from the river during the rainy season which will make their lives difficult and uncomfortable.

Figure 5.9.2: Shacks located next to the Jukskei River at risk of flooding



Source: Author, 2017

Forced evictions and the relocation of residents was also identified as another threat. Six of the ten respondents interviewed were concerned that the municipality might forcibly remove them and relocate them to areas which are far from their sources of income. This could affect them greatly as most of them are semi-skilled, hence moving into a new area and finding a job would not be easy. In addition, if they are relocated, they might need to commute to work, which could create additional expenses for them, and thus affect their disposable income.

Municipal officials interviewed considered the geotechnical failure of consolidated structures as a threat to the residents of the informal settlement. The double storey structures may collapse due to failure to adhere to specifications such as proper reinforcements and the fact that the soil of the informal settlement is not yet ready to support structures may cause them to crack and subside.

5.10. Conclusion

This chapter has presented findings on the intersection between residents' livelihoods and the improvement of informal settlements with particular reference to the Sejwetla

informal settlement. Regardless of the fact that local authorities should implement the provisions of the UISP to upgrade informal settlements under their jurisdiction, residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement have decided to upgrade their dwelling places. The study has found that these residents use their income to improve their dwelling places. Various stakeholders have been involved in the housing improvements at Sejwetla, however, the improvements to the individual dwelling units have been done solely by the residents. An exception to this pattern is the old people's shelter provided by the Gift of the Givers Foundation. The next chapter provides the conclusions and recommendations of this study.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

This research report has discussed issues pertaining to the link between residents' livelihoods and informal settlements improvement. It used the case study of the Sejwetla informal settlement in Alexandra Township to give a contextual understanding on how residents have used their livelihood income to improve their individual dwelling places. It has also delved into the institutional frameworks guiding the improvement of informal settlements in South Africa. These include legislation and policies that guide the upgrade of informal settlements in situ. This concluding chapter discusses some of the main points discussed earlier, presents a summary of key findings emanating from the research, and demonstrates how they address the guiding research questions. The conclusion also identifies possible areas for further research and provides recommendations based on the findings.

6.2. Summary of key findings

The first research question guiding this research relates to the understanding of how different aspects of informal settlements improvement, such as housing consolidation, re-blocking and community participation, have taken place at Sejwetla. Literature review shows that indeed, community participation is very critical in the improvement of individual dwelling units in informal settlements. Community participation in the form of self-help initiatives have been well recorded in various countries of the world, for example Brazil and Kenya (Otiso, 2003; Choguill, 1996). This involves the provision of building materials and the finance required by the residents of the informal settlements to improve their houses. Empirical evidence from the study indicates that the residents initiated the process of housing improvement. They did this in order to protect themselves from hazards, such as fire outbreaks. Furthermore, literature points out that residents of informal settlements improve their dwelling units regardless of their tenure situation. The empirical findings of the study reveal that residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement

are improving their dwelling units from zinc to brick and mortar, citing the challenges of robberies and weather hazards. This has been done regardless of the temporary tenure provided by the municipality to the residents. This suggests that security of tenure on its own does not direct the commitment of residents towards housing improvements, and that but other factors also contribute.

The study also found that the re-blocking of the informal settlement by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Department of Housing has led to some open spaces for the installation of services, such as water pipes and electricity pylons. The re-blocking exercise, however, has not opened enough spaces for the movement of service vehicles into the inner parts of the settlement.

The results of the study also reveal that the provisions of the UISP have not been implemented at the Sejwetla informal settlement. The interviews conducted with the city officials demonstrate a radical approach towards the developments at Sejwetla. The mentality of the city officials regarding the Sejwetla informal settlement is that the area is not meant for any residential purposes. The City insists that these residents have to be relocated to other areas despite their commitments in developing their residencies.

The second sub question relates to the livelihood strategies employed by residents of informal settlements. To provide an answer and understanding on the issues of livelihoods in informal settlements, the study delved into literature review and also obtained empirical data from the case study of the Sejwetla informal settlement. The study revealed that residents of informal settlements are involved in a number of livelihood-generating activities. These include semi-skilled work such as plumbing, vending, self-reliance projects, and the selling and renting out of shacks. The study concludes that most of these livelihoods are vulnerable to external factors, such as weather hazards (flooding), job losses and forced evictions. Based on Napier's (2007) notion that residents of informal settlements live in conditions of poverty and tenure insecurity, the study found that most of their income is from hand to mouth. This means that their livelihood income is not enough to accumulate assets for themselves. This, therefore, suggests that residents of informal settlements have to make sacrifices in order to set aside funds for

the improvements of their residences. In light of the relatively small income they acquire when such sacrifices are made, these residents may end up struggling to satisfy other needs, such as paying school fees for their children.

The ways in which residents livelihoods enable the housing consolidation processes is the major focus of the third research question. The study found that from the various livelihood strategies employed by the residents of informal settlements some income is generated. Residents have used their livelihood income to finance the improvements of their shacks. Review of literature points out the difficulties residents of informal settlements face in accessing institutional finance, such as mortgage loans. The fact that most of these residents are not formally employed deprives them of mortgage loans which are calculated based on one's monthly salary and pay slip. These residents are, therefore, left with no option but to spend their meager monthly livelihood income on improvements to their houses, even though they have competing financial needs, such as school fees for children, food, clothing, just to mention a few.

The improvement of shacks involves the purchase of building materials. Such building materials include cement, bricks, roofing materials, doors and windows. The costs of mobilizing all these materials was found to be above the monthly livelihood income of the majority of residents. The study found that residents purchase this material incrementally through making certain sacrifices, such as skipping meals. In addition to purchasing materials, residents have to pay builders and transport building materials as these are bought mostly from outside the informal settlement. These sacrifices by residents indicate the need for adequate housing for residents of informal settlements, thereby fulfilling their right to the city.

The fourth research question attempts to gain an insight into the benefits which has been brought by the individual housing improvements in informal settlements with a major focus on the livelihoods of the residents. An in-depth analysis of literature was conducted to ascertain these benefits. The review of literature indicates that when housing consolidation is done, residents get benefits, such as protection from bad weather and the outbreak of fires. In the field, the study found that the major reasons for housing consolidation are to gain protection from bad weather, robberies and floods.

6.3. Areas for further research

The limited scope of this research can be extended through further research in the future. The focus on the interdependency between residents' livelihoods and the improvement of informal settlements can be researched further on a bigger scale. Such an investigation can be done using a number of case studies rather than a single case study. A broader investigation across major cities of South Africa might enhance the findings of the intersection between residents' livelihoods and the improvement of informal settlements, and thus give an impetus to leaders to consider developing policies which encourage informal settlements improvement through self-help approaches.

6.4. Recommendations

This research has ascertained that residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement have taken it upon themselves to improve their dwelling places. The need for habitable space has triggered these developments. Backed with the ever-increasing population of the City of Johannesburg and the diminishing space for housing, it is recommended that the City of Johannesburg considers implementing the provisions of the UISP as a matter of urgency. This would reduce the housing burden from the municipality, while on the other hand improving the conditions of informal settlements in the city. Furthermore, the municipality should offer support to the residents of informal settlements, who are willing to improve their residences through the offer of structural design advice and plan approval.

Security of tenure has also been found to be a determinant factor in the growth of housing consolidation in informal settlements. Residents of the Sejwetla informal settlement have conducted their housing improvements regardless of their temporary security of tenure. It is, therefore, paramount that the responsible authorities provide the residents with some administrative forms of tenure, such as leaseholds, especially considering the fact that the relocation of residents to other sites does not end the settlement of people at Sejwetla. Provision of secure forms of tenure would enhance the housing consolidation processes

taking place at the moment, and this can create a good precedent for other informal settlements in the city.

Finally, the study recommends that the re-blocking of informal settlements should provide adequate spaces for individual houses. The case study of Sejwetla revealed the small dimensions of plots, and that there is not enough space to accommodate bathrooms.

6.5. Conclusion

The study set out to investigate the intersection between residents' livelihoods and informal settlements improvement. It used two methods of inquiry, that is the desktop study and field work. A qualitative research methodology was used to assess various components of the study, such as housing consolidation, re-blocking and livelihood strategies employed within the informal settlement of Sejwetla. The review of literature and the reality from the case study of the Sejwetla informal settlement have produced a number of findings which have been summerised above. The findings mentioned provide answers to the research questions set out in the first chapter. The study points to the significance of adequate housing for the residents of informal settlements as a basis for their enjoyment of the right to the city. It argues that informal settlements are part of the housing stock which needs to be provided with adequate basic services and support.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

FORMAL (SIGNED) CONSENT FORM

Master's Research Report titled: "The interdependency between residents' livelihoods and informal settlements improvements; A case study of Sejwetla Informal settlement in Alexandria Township, Johannesburg".

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

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

I therefore agree to participate in this study by completing the survey.

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

PARTICIPANT:

_____
Printed name

_____ _____
Signature Date

APPENDIX TWO

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

The interdependency between residents' livelihoods and informal settlements improvements; A case study of Sejwetla informal settlement in Alexandra Township – in Johannesburg.

Brighton Sibanda, MBE (Housing) School of Architecture and Planning

University of the Witwatersrand

Greetings

My name is Brighton Sibanda and I am currently a fulltime student studying towards a MBE Housing Degree in the School of Architecture and Planning (SOAP) at the University of Witwatersrand. I am currently investigating the interlinkage between residents' livelihoods and informal settlement upgrading projects.
I am inviting you to be part of the study through an interview. You have been selected to participate in this study due to your knowledge on informal settlement upgrading projects at Sejwetla informal settlement. The interview will take no longer than 30 minutes of your time. The interview can be conducted in your office, residence or a suitable place as suggested by you. During the course of the interview I would like to ask you questions on the interdependency of livelihoods and informal settlement upgrading projects. I have a particular interest in issues such as community participation, re-blocking and consolidation projects.

Should you agree to participate, then I will ask your permission to use an audio recorder for the interview, in addition to me taking hand written notes. Your participation is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive no payment or other incentives for your participation.

Everything that we discuss in this interview will be treated confidential. However, confidentiality and anonymity cannot be guaranteed during focus group interviews as you will be expected to share your personal experiences with other participants who will also take part in the study. False names (pseudonyms) will be used to represent your name to avoid your identification.

Any comments that you make that you deem "off the record" or similar, will not be quoted. Please alert me when this is the case. Further, any information that you share will be kept confidential in that I will not make it available to anyone else and it can only be accessed by me on a password protected computer. There are no foreseeable risks associated with your participation.

The research undertaken is solely for academic purposes. Once completed, it will be available electronically through the online library and can be accessed publicly. If you have any questions, concerns or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at bsibanda59@gmail.com or 079 6332763 or my supervisor Dr Hloniphile Simelane at hloniphiles@planact.org.za or 011 403 46291 or

degree convener Professor Marie Huchzermeyer at marie.huchzermeyer@wits.ac.za or +27-83 4242457.

_____.

NAME: Brighton Sibanda
DEGREE: MBE Housing

APPENDIX THREE

FORMAL (SIGNED) CONSENT FORM-FOCUS GROUP

Master's Research Report titled: "The interdependency between residents' livelihoods and informal settlements improvements; A case study of Sejwetla Informal settlement in Alexandria, Johannesburg".

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

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

I therefore agree to participate in this study by completing the survey.

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

PARTICIPANT:

_____
Printed name

_____ _____
Signature Date

APPENDIX FOUR

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN SETTLEMENT OFFICIAL

A. Self-introduction of the researcher and the interviewee

B. Questions on the history of the informal settlement

1. Tell us about the history of this settlement from your own knowledge?
2. What might have prompted the existence of the informal settlement?
3. How long has it been in existence?
4. What is the original zoning of the area occupied by the settlement
5. As the Department of Human Settlements how have you been dealing with this informal settlement?

C. Questions on the upgrading projects taking place

1. Please tell us about the re-blocking and consolidation process taking place at Sejwetla
2. What is the involvement of the Department of Human Settlements in the re-blocking and consolidation process?
3. What have been the results of the re-blocking and consolidation process?
4. How has been community participation in the re-blocking and consolidation exercise?
5. What other players have been involved in the re-blocking and consolidation processes?
6. Tell us about other infrastructure which has been installed at Sejwetla.
7. What is your projected settlement pattern for Sejwetla?
8. From a human settlements point of view what strategies have you put in place to ensure that the settlement has habitable residential units?

APPENDIX FIVE

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS

D. Self-introduction of the researcher and the interviewee

E. Questions on the history of the informal settlement

6. How did the settlement develop?
7. What might have prompted the existence of the informal settlement?
8. How long has it been in existence?
9. What is the original zoning of the area occupied by the settlement
10. As a local authority what plans did you have for this settlement?

F. Questions on the upgrading projects taking place

9. Please tell us about the re alignment of structures taking place at Sejwetla?
10. What planning concepts, have you used to reshape the settlement pattern at Sejwetla?
11. How have you incorporated the settlement to the overall zoning patterns of Johannesburg?
12. What social and public amenities have you planned to provide at Sejwetla?
13. How has been the community participation in the planning of re-blocking processes?
14. Which other stakeholders are involved in the upgrading processes taking place?
15. Tell us about other infrastructure which has been installed by the local authority at Sejwetla?
16. How did the local authority handle the concept of self-help housing taking place at Sejwetla?
17. What specific mechanisms have been put in place to ensure the structures constructed are of minimum design/building standards?
18. What is your projected settlement pattern for Sejwetla?

APPENDIX SIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Self-introduction

Good day, thank you for to the interview. My name is Brighton Sibanda. I am a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am studying towards the Master of the Built Environment degree (MBE-Housing). I am doing a research on the interdependency between residents' livelihoods and informal settlement improvements taking place at Sejwetla informal settlement. I will be asking you a number of questions surrounding livelihoods and informal settlements improvement.

A. General background questions

1. Where were you residing first before you came to Sejwetla?
2. When did you settle at Sejwetla?
3. What did you expect in terms in terms of livelihood when you moved here?
4. Do you feel like you have achieved those goals yet? How so?

B. Questions on livelihood strategies

1. How do you earn a living?
2. Is your livelihood in Alexandra?
3. What other economic activities are you involved in?
4. Where do these economic activities take place?
5. What are the main challenges you face in pursuing economic activities?
6. What is your estimated income per month?
7. How many dependents do you have?
8. Mention the responsibilities which come with being a community member of Sejwetla?
9. How have you contributed to the development of your house?
10. How have you contributed to the development of the settlement?

C. Questions on the housing improvements taking place

1. Since being allocated a tin shack in the re-blocking process, what improvements have you made?
2. Have you built using bricks?
3. If so, have you built a double storey?
4. If not what do you think of other houses that are built double storey?
5. Did anyone assist you with designing the alteration?
6. How have you finance your alteration?
7. Did anyone give you a loan?
8. If so how are you paying it off?
9. How would your income been affected if instead of the reblocking process you have been relocated to a place like Dierpsloot?
10. Can you give examples of cases where households' income reduced as a result of the housing improvements?

D. Questions on tenure and services

1. Who allocated the site to you?
2. How is your right to live here documented?
3. Do you have papers or documents to prove this?
4. Are you asked to pay a monthly fee?
5. If so, what is this for and who do you pay this to?

Thank you very much for your participation.

APPENDIX SEVEN

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE FOCUS GROUP

Self-introduction

Good day, thank you for to the interview. My name is Brighton Sibanda. I am a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am studying towards the Master of the Built Environment degree (MBE-Housing). I am doing a research on the interdependency between residents' livelihoods and informal settlement improvements taking place at Sejwetla informal settlement. I will be asking you a number of questions surrounding livelihoods and informal settlements improvement.

A. General background questions

1. Tell us about the history of this settlement from your own knowledge?
2. What might have prompted the existence of the informal settlement?
3. How long has it been in existence?
4. Please tell us about the re-blocking and consolidation process taking place at Sejwetla?
5. How has been community participation in the re-blocking and consolidation exercise?
6. What other players have been involved in the re-blocking and consolidation processes?
7. Tell us about other infrastructure which has been installed at Sejwetla.

B. Questions on livelihoods

1. How do residents here earn a living?
2. What other economic activities are they involved in?
3. Where do these economic activities take place?
4. What are the main challenges faced in pursuing economic activities?

5. What is the average estimated income per month per household?

6. What effect do these improvements have on the income position of residents?

C. Questions on housing improvements

1. How have you contributed to the development of the settlement?

2. What improvements have been made to individual tin shacks allocated to individuals by the reblocking project?

3. What type of materials are being used for these improvements?

4. What is the rationale behind the construction of double storey?

5. Who provides the designs of double storey buildings?

6. How are the housing improvements taking place financed?

7. Are there some housing finance schemes available?

D. Questions on tenure and services

1. Who allocated the sites to you?

2. How is your right to live here documented?

3. Do you have papers or documents to prove this?

4. Are you asked to pay monthly fees?

5. If so, what is this for and who do you pay this to?

Thank you very much for your participation.