MANAGEMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS: A CHALLENGE FOR THE GREATER JOHANNESBURG TRANSITIONAL METROPOLITAN COUNCIL (TMC)

By

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I am dedicating this dissertation to my parents, who have showed their love and support throughout. I thank God, the Almighty, for the strength and confidence that has seen me through.
SUMMARY

It has been proven that all over the world informal settlements have come about as a result of housing shortage. Housing crisis is directly associated with rapid population growth which in turn leads to rapid urbanisation. Rapid urbanisation which puts tremendous stress in infrastructure available in the cities, is a process which cannot be reversed or stopped. It needs to be managed by the city authorities. That also is problematic because cities do not always have the resources to cope with this demand. This thesis puts forward suggestions that could be used to alleviate the dilemma facing the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, with the aim of throwing light on how informal settlements can be dealt with in the changing economy of South Africa.

In order to address the research problem and fulfill the research objectives, a literature study was done, which gave various strategies that have been adopted in other countries. The literature study has been largely used to compare South Africa with other countries such as Brazil, Peru, Kenya, etc. who are faced with rapid urbanisation.
A historical overview of urbanisation in South Africa, beginning in the early twentieth century has been given. This was done to illustrate the evolution of the South African legal system in an attempt to cope with events emanating from the discovery of gold in the Johannesburg area.

Attempts by the new government to support the local authorities, particularly the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council have been acknowledged. For example, the establishment of the Development Facilitation Act, the Botshabelo Accord, the repeal of laws which made it impossible for people to take control of their destinies, are a few of these attempts.

The emphasis in this study placed on the involvement of people as a management tool in the development process.
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<td>Civic Association of Johannesburg</td>
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<td>DFA</td>
<td>Development Facilitation Act</td>
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<td>GJTMC</td>
<td>Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council</td>
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<td>GOLDEV</td>
<td>Golden Highway Development</td>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine management style of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, with the aim of shedding light on how informal settlements can be dealt with in the changing economy and the newly established democracy in South Africa.

It seems that South Africa is not different from other developing countries in terms of her experience and growth of informal settlements. The only difference is that in South Africa, informal settlements were not recognised as a challenge, but a problem, as "easy solutions" such as evictions were carried out. The Bill of Rights makes it imperative to address the issue of informal settlements. It is therefore the intention of this thesis to recommend tested strategies that can be adopted in managing informal settlements by local authorities.

According to the UNCHS Community Development Programme Report (1995:1) the population of the developing world has doubled, while its urban population has tripled.
It is not surprising that national and city authorities have found it difficult to meet the shelter and employment needs resulting from these sky-rocketing population increases. In the meantime, poor people have had to cope by occupying whatever piece of land they could find and building whatever form of shelter they could afford. The resulting spread of squatter settlements drew understandably negative responses from the authorities who saw them as breaching the law, an affront to orderly city development and a blight on the urban landscape.

Squatter settlements are characterised by degraded living environments. The poor crowd into ramshackle structures without safe drinking water or even the most rudimentary sanitation facilities. Such settlements are considered illegal, therefore no or very little infrastructure or services, (such as drainage or garbage collection) are provided by the responsible authorities. "Consequently the health of squatter residents is ravaged by waterborne diseases like cholera. Cramped and inadequate housing also give rise to respiratory ailments and other contagious diseases" (Interview with Environmental Health Office, GJTM, April 1996).

Following the decolonisation process after the Second World War, national governments in developing countries struggled to provide low-cost housing for their rapidly-growing urban population.
"They saw informal settlements as temporary, to be replaced by formal public housing estates if their cities were to emerge as acceptable centres of international trade, culture and socio-economic development". (UNCHS, Community Development Programme, 1995:1). In Chapter 3 of this study, where the historical overview of the urban housing in South Africa is dealt with, one will see that the schemes alluded to in the above statements were designed without any involvement of intended residents. In fact the housing delivered was often located far away from job opportunities. Most importantly, these government housing programmes could not deliver housing at the scale needed to match the demand.

The UNCHS Report quoted above observes that the population of developing countries grows by approximately two per cent annually, their cities by four percent and their slums and squatter settlements by eight per cent annually.

It further states that in most cases, the cities' actual growth equals the growth of squatter settlements since there is little real upgrading and little new low-income housing.
From the above it can be deduced that the growth of squatter settlements is worsening and that there is constant failure by government at local level to match population growth with even the most rudimentary services. There is also failure to maintain tolerable standards in housing stock.

There are a number of reasons for these failures such as lack of resources, lack of necessary institutions, rigid adherence to inappropriate standards and consequential concentration of housing resources on those able to pay. The bulk of the population left to their own devices and with great perseverance and ingenuity have found means of housing themselves and have created the shanty towns of the developing world.

RELEVANCE

Informal settlements are an indication of serious poverty. One of the goals of government is to ensure that poverty is alleviated by allowing a fair participation of the people in the development process. One way of ensuring that poverty is alleviated is to generate wealth to improve the living conditions of all the people.
"In Peru, the problem of slums and squatter settlements is seen within the context of the relationships that exist within the cities. People who migrate to the cities from rural areas do not go directly to the slum area. They find unoccupied land, organise themselves and build a "barriada" or marginal settlement, using all sorts of tools and materials. Statistics show that more than a half of all people living in cities in that country live in marginal settlements; this indicates the seriousness of the problem at national scale" (Third World Urban Housing, 1977:14).

All over the world, squatter settlements are formed almost in the same fashion. In many of the slums, the strength of the settlements comes from the people being so close together, from the people realising that they have problems in common and the manner in which they start taking care of those problems themselves, in the exercise of their own powers and initiatives. The basic aims of moving closer together combine in a way that enables the community to produce things that individuals alone could not produce, to assist each other and obtain a level of identity which derives from this communal self-reliance.

"In Panama, the government has helped in upgrading existing conditions in slums and squatter settlements and the communities have participated to a great extent in such programmes."
They have sought to improve infrastructure, water supply, street lighting, roads and paths. Water taps and electricity outlets have been brought into the dwellings and materials have been obtained to substitute for decaying ones. Another governmental approach has been to provide very small plots of land, basic infrastructure and minimum requirements in water supply and electricity" (UNCHS Habitat Report, 1977:8).

"Any assessment of whether a country is really changing attitudes towards upgrading would include a series of test questions related to such items as standards, popular participation, institutions, resource allocation, land tenure and technical assistance services. It is necessary to check on these types of issues in order to know to what extent the problem is being dealt with" (UNCHS Report : 15).

The issue of human settlements and their contribution to the development of cities is so important that even the United Nations had called for a "City Summit" Habitat II Conference in June 1996 to gain global and national commitments to the implementation of programmes to enhance the quality and sustainability of life in human settlements.

MANAGEMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS
METHODOLOGY

Various literature written on addressing development issues have been consulted. Theories that are perceived to be an answer to the problem of informal settlement were looked at in order to provide a comparison to what is happening in reality.

Rudestam et al (1992:21) defines the primary role of research as linking theory with the empirical level. Cross (1990:24) takes this description even further and explains that research deepens the understanding of human issues especially in relation to empowerment and to poverty (within social sciences). Research plays a very significant role in putting views into perspective. It is essential as a means to break new ground and make new discoveries. It is equally important in advancing what has already been discovered and keeping the subject updated. In this study two categories of research methods were used: Literature Study which gives the historical overview and experiences in other countries and the Empirical Research, which was accomplished by way of interviews and statistical research in case studies.
The process of urbanisation in South Africa and how it was dealt with in the past is the direct consequence of the housing shortage and the subsequent informal settlements we are faced with today. Hence, to ignore the historical overview of this process would be doing a disservice to the completion of this study. Literature research was the primary research mechanism used to bring this to the fore. This ranged from books to journals, to newspaper articles that were used to capture the scene. Definitions were derived from textbooks mainly, but newspaper articles have also been used to illustrate the different understanding of concepts that emerge from community to community.

To complement the theoretical study, practical research included interviews with local government officials to obtain a view on implementation of policy at the local level. Academics were also interviewed to give their views on current initiatives and their opinions on the perceived shortcomings and effectiveness of these approaches. Officials at the National Housing Department were also interviewed. These interviews took the form of structured questions which formed the basis of the discussions. Additional questions were asked, and these varied according to each situation and the level of knowledge of the person being interviewed.
As mentioned in the literature study, various textbooks have been consulted for the purposes of this dissertation. It is worthwhile to note that some of them are more pertinent to the study. For instance a World Bank publication by Tolley and Thomas (1986) gives an excellent description of urbanisation and its effect in economic terms. It also aptly covers the urban policies used in different countries to control urbanisation and manage the cities. However, it uses Brazil, China and Colombia to illustrate these urban policies and offers suggestions which may only apply to these countries and not necessarily to South Africa.

Tomlinson (1990) is another source that was consulted in the study. He addresses the housing shortage, the desirability and feasibility of diverting economic and population growth from the then PWV region (now Gauteng). He also looks at the fostering of development in the rural areas in order to reduce pressures towards rural-urban migration.

In his study, Tomlinson (1990) takes cognisance of the fact that urbanisation policy alone cannot address the housing shortage in this country, but that state subsidies for housing and other creative initiatives would have to be embarked upon.
It also confirms the view that shacks, or informal settlements, would still exist even if there was a democratic government in place. He advocates for serious reforms on urban policies. Some of the principles mentioned in his book seem to be based on the ANC's Freedom Charter which may make the book biased towards the ANC's view points. Criticism of Tomlinson's book is that its emphasis on urbanisation and development is based on a political ideology rather than sociological arguments. Most of his work focuses on the strengthening of regional policies as a management tool for urbanisation. For example, he argues strongly for promotion of rural development to curb urban bias. His suggestion is outside the realm of this study.

Morris' (1981) account of the history of black housing in South Africa is a good source for reference. It looks at all the major cities in South Africa where most of the urbanisation took place. It provides a balanced view on policy formulation and policy implementation, which is very useful for this dissertation. The only limitation in using her work today is that all the guidelines listed have now been implemented and this makes the work historical.
**Development is for People** (Coetzee 1989) has been extensively used in this paper. Judging by its title alone, it is an appropriate source to consult when conducting a research on developing human capacity in order to create sustainable development. It looks at various components that have considerable impact on development, such as urbanisation, religion, culture and local government. It critically examines what each role player contributes to the process. The strength of this book lies in the fact that it is written by a South African, for South Africa and, although it covers theory to some extent, most of it is practical. This makes the book realistic and appropriate to South Africa. It also offers a refreshing perspective to the development approach, suggesting that development is a *process* and as such requires a variety of approaches and solutions rather than only one.

"*The Urbanisation of the Third World*" by Gugler (1988) offers a comprehensive account of Third World Urbanisation. It looks at the urban-rural migration in developing countries, the urban bias in world development and the relationship between the urban labour market and migration. It also focuses on housing the urban masses and what the survival strategies are for the poor. It uses as examples, Nairobi (Kenya) squatter settlements and the street-trader in Jakarta (Indonesia). It looks at the social organisation in the city and various patterns of political integration and conflict.
Gugler has certainly researched widely on all these subjects, but not all of these are applicable to the research of this paper. It is appreciated that what is being highlighted are principles and how they apply to Third World urbanising countries. One can learn certain lessons which could be applicable to the South African situation. As mentioned earlier not all of Gugler's chapters are relevant to this research. For example, the article on street-traders in Jakarta highlights that life is not easy for the urban poor, although the main aim for migration is always to find better opportunities.

Cheema's book, "Reaching the Urban Poor" (1986) has also been consulted in putting this research together. The focus of this book is on project implementation in developing countries. It describes the evolution and rationale of selected urban projects, the capabilities and resources of implementing agencies, the extent and models of community participation, and the performance of the projects in achieving stated objectives. It also discusses the policy implications of providing basic urban services to the poor in developing countries.
SEQUENCE OF CHAPTERS

The different theories pertaining to development in general, and basic needs, in particular, will be discussed in the next chapter as it is central to this study. Concepts will be defined so that common understanding is achieved. The next chapter will give a historical background to the urbanisation process, thus leading to the housing shortage in the country. This chapter will contextualise the process thus serving as a reference for analysis and the recommendations to follow. Following the historical background, will be a discussion on the current legislation, policies and initiatives taken by the South African government at its different levels to alleviate the situation. The next chapter will analyse and criticize these initiatives, based on the theories offered earlier. Finally, in the last chapter some conclusions will reached. Based upon these conclusions, practical suggestions will be made.
CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide literature review by way of defining basic concepts that will be used in this paper in order to create common understanding on the use of terminology. It will also give international perspective in defining the problem as it is a global and not only a South African problem. How it has been tackled and what similarities can be drawn from these experiences will also be discussed.

DEFINING BASIC CONCEPTS

BASIC NEEDS

The five core basic needs needed by human beings to live healthy without pain and suffering are normally considered to be nutrition, education, health, shelter and water sanitation (Fry and Math, 1991:40).
The basic needs approach is widely accepted as the principal objective of development policies. Basic needs is concerned with removing mass deprivation. The approach can be defined briefly as one which is designed to improve, firstly, the income earning opportunities for the poor; secondly the public services that reach the poor; thirdly the flow of goods and services to meet the needs of all members of the household; fourthly, the participation of the poor in ways which their needs are met. All four pillars must be built on a sustainable basis. The basic needs approach is concerned with particular goods and services directed at particular identified human beings. It spells out in considerable detail human needs in terms of health, food, education, water, shelter, transport, simple household goods as well as non-material needs like participation, cultural identity and a sense of purpose in life and work, which interact with the material needs.

Streeten (1981:24) concludes by saying “basic needs is an end in itself, not in need of any further justification. But it is also a form of human resource mobilisation, it harnesses the factor in abundant supply in the poor countries, and by reducing population growth, it economises in the use of resources and improves the quality of labour.
If this effectiveness and concerned attack on hunger, malnutrition, ignorance and ill health also mobilises more international resources, by making meeting basic needs a first charge on our aid budgets, it would testify to the fact that we have begun to acknowledge our membership of the human family”. It needs to be emphasised that there is no unique basic human needs strategy as basic needs are country-specific, resource-specific and aspiration-specific. The broad principles of such a strategy could, however, be sketched as the planning for economic development that ensures the satisfaction of:

- Basic human wants such as food, clothing and shelter
- Communal services such as education, transport, health and sanitary services and safe drinking water
- The creative energies of the masses by encouraging popular participation in planning decisions that map out the economic density of the LDC’s
- The need for gainful employment or self-employment opportunities to provide for basic family consumption demands
Basic needs is one of the most important, but also the most complex concepts in the development field. As Streeten (1981:25) has pointed out, the key question related to who determines basic needs. Do the people themselves decide their basic needs, or should basic needs be determined by objectives technocrats specifying levels of nutrition and minimal housing standards, for example? Basic needs may vary with climate and environmental conditions. The basic needs approach represents a response to the unequal development patterns associated with the conventional emphasis in macroeconomics growth.

DEVELOPMENT

Development has been defined in a number of ways. During the 1950’s and 1960’s it was equated with economic growth, particularly growth of industry and infrastructure. Although later groups criticized this definition for ignoring the basic needs for the poor, the growth emphasis was not as simplistic as many suggested. Growth advocates were seldom concerned with growth for its own sake.
They promoted it because they assumed it would lead to other values, specifically to economic development throughout the society. Only as it became clear that these other values were not forthcoming and that some groups benefited more than others was more attention paid to the poor, to ways in which to encourage equity, and to rural developments issues. In recent decades development has been defined more broadly to include a concern for basic needs, for equitable distribution, for participation by beneficiaries, and for enhancing the capacity of people to choose and carry out their futures.

Another reason for caution is empirical. Research indicates that participation may or may not improve the life chances of people and that the relationship between participation and increased benefits is an empirical question rather than a definition one (Tendler 1982:180). Research also tells us that the poor do not always benefit even when programs are directed to them. At the same time, programs not directly targeted to the poor may benefit them by stimulating overall agricultural output and employment (Minear 1975:21).

A more limited definition is used in the framework, one that leaves room for different approaches by developing nations and emphasizes activities to increase productive and organisational capacity and reduce poverty.
A development program is one that is designed to (1) carry out a nations development goals; (2) introduce change in a society or community to increase its productive or organisational capacity; and (3) improve the quality of people’s lives including improvements in the well-being of the poor. Theories that define developments in terms of equity and participation are introduced in subsequent chapters as specific approaches to development rather than as defining characteristics.

Development defined as capacity building means that assistance should enable people to do more for themselves rather than simply provide them with welfare. However, relief services and capacity building are not mutually exclusive. Relief activities can be developmental if they bring community members together around common concerns or such activities enable community members to devote more energy to making choices.

Welsh and Butorin (1990:310) define development as the process of economic and social betterment resulting from increased production, more rational or equitable distribution of benefits from this activity the adoption of principles of national and individual conduct more conducive to economic growth, and general institutional and structural change in society.
They observe that these result in higher standards of living in terms of income, food and other forms of consumption, health, housing, education and increased freedom of choice in all aspects of life.

They further argue that development is not restricted to the material plane. When true development is taking place, individuals are able to achieve greater self-expression, self-realisation, and enhanced fulfilment of their talents and physical and intellectual capacities within a sustainable environment.

This is supported by the example they use that even international providers of development finance, including the World Bank, seems to be moving slowly away from megaprojects and a preference for major infrastructure in the direction of promoting self-reliant development with increased participation.

Nyerere (1974:24), the first president of Tanzania, talks of development as the realisation of human potential. A country, or a village or a community, cannot be developed, it can only develop itself. Real development means the development, the growth of people. According to the World Development Report of the World Bank (1978:5), development is not an absolute condition.
There is no fixed point at which people, region or country passes from a state of underdevelopment to a state of development. The relative condition of development, rather, is comparative and ever changing - it fluctuates according to what is needed, what is possible and what is desired. Development is relative also in terms of the possible, it fluctuates according to what is feasible at any particular time. A country which utilises its resources effectively is considered to be more developed than a country which does not. This utilisation potential increases with the growth and application of scientific knowledge and technology.

This report further states that a country which is not satisfying the expectations of its population is to that extent not developed: the goal of development has not been reached. Development is relative to the aspirations of the people - how the aspirations are defined and how firmly they are expressed. These expectations increase as the information about feasibilities become known. Because development is comparative in terms of scientific knowledge, feasibilities and desires, it is also comparative in terms of time because what is known, possible and desired all changes as time goes on. Peoples desires and expectations are heavily influenced by comparisons of their own conditions with conditions in other regions, or countries or classes.
According to Fray and Math (1991:92), development refers to processes leading to a higher quality of life for a given population. Development involves both the determination of goals and the means of achieving those needs. Development is a desired state that could be achieved quickly and on a massive global scale is essentially a post-world War II concept. At various times and within different schools of thought, development has been used interchangeably with such term as modernisation, progress, industrialisation and economic growth. Development has also come to be prefaced by many sectoral terms such as economic, cultural, social, community etc.

A recent and increasingly common prefix to development is sustainable, a reminder that development issues should be addressed in terms of the well-being not only of this generation, but also of those to come. The notion of sustainability adds an ironic twist to that of development, suggesting that it involves not just change but also preservation and conservation.
In Nyerere's (1974:25) terms it is the “realisation of human potential”. Goulet and Galtung (1992:115) define development in three interconnected dimensions: life-sustenance, ability to meet basic human needs, self-esteem, meeting basic and other needs with a sense of dignity, and freedom from servitude's which involved emancipation from all form of oppression and the empowerment to choose. They further address development in terms of survival needs, well being interpretations challenge and universal notion of development. They leave open the question of how development goals might best be determined and achieved, suggesting the possibility of many alternative forms of development.

THE ROLE OF PEOPLE IN DEVELOPMENT

Development can be considered as the interaction of people with the natural resources available to them - that is, people's utilisation of their resources. The involvement of people in this interaction has many related and seemingly contradictory aspects, all of which must be taken into account and accommodated in a fully effective process of development. It is instructive to examine the several roles of people in the development process.
First of all, people are the target of the development process; their well-being is the purpose of development. Political units such as nations and states may also gain strength from systematic development, and it is desirable that they do so, but such strength is legitimately used to improve the welfare of the population as a whole, rather than to aggrandize some elite portions of the population.

At the same time that people are the target of development, they are the instruments of development. In some respects, people are a human resource and from that point of view, in a category not unlike other resources such as soil and water. It is not particularly appealing to be thought of as a resource, to be managed and used, but the concept is useful as an aid to understanding the development process.

"In an uncertain and complex world, planning and administration must be adaptive ......... requiring administrators who can facilitate rather than control ... who view themselves as leaders rather than bureaucrats ... sensitive and responsive to the needs of the people they serve" (Rondinelli and Nellis 1986:4).
Local people must be involved in development, not only in the implementation of programmes, but also in the choice of planning of them. Communities must be approached but with discretion, aware of the local power structures; but more importantly with trust. They understand the social structures, and the ramifications of various activities in their community. They can predict the effects of particular changes in the interrelated stresses that make up a community. They, rather than an outsider, are likely to know whether a programme may worsen their position, or bring about communal disharmony. Taylor (1987:90) suggests that development might well be considered the grand experiment of the twentieth century. According to Fry and Math (1991:96), development addresses fundamental human aspiration and had proven to be one of the more compelling visions of our time. Given the breadth and depth of the concept of development as well as its normative definition, it is not surprising that the field of development studies has, sometimes lacked clarity and definition.

This multi-disciplinary field was originally promised on rapid advancement in the hard sciences that have influenced the social services, and it ultimately addresses normative questions central to the humanities. Development, understood as improvement in the quality of life, is a reflection of long-standing hope that the basic human condition can indeed be improved.
EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment for the governance, planning and management of cities and settlements is about handing down authority. It is about increasing efficiency, enhancing the effectiveness and ensuring the sustainability of development by passing responsibility to those people, communities and enterprises to whom efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability matter (Wakely 1996:2). Empowerment can be defined as a process which shifts the perceptions of powerless people and enables them to assume greater control over their own lives. It depicts human beings as active agents constantly interacting with their own environment as informed, calculative beings, rather than unfortunate victims of social structures (Giddens 1987:49).

Welsh and Butorin (1990:312) argue that sustained development ultimately depends on enhancing people’s own capacities to improve their own lives and take more control of their own destinies. External assistance, whether from capital city or foreign country cannot long be the sole star of the show. The recipient of such sustenance must learn the skill of the supporting role.
Whether in agriculture or industry, water supply or housing scheme, development to date has shown that there is an absolutely crucial distinction between the kind of assistance which enables and involves and the kind which alienates and disenfranchises. The success or failure of any development effort will usually depend on which side of that sometime subtle line such assistance falls.

Empowerment can be linked to enabling. Enabling is about ensuring that those who are empowered have the information, technology skills and support to exercise their new authority with responsibility. It is about roles: who should do what and in partnership with whom. Therefore, it is about relationships and interfacing between the different skills and the different levels of responsibility. Empowerment and enabling cannot be defined in isolation from capacity building as they all belong to the same category. Capacity building is the business of equipping all actors to perform effectively both in doing their own thing in their field and level of operation and in working in collaboration or partnership with others operating in other fields and other levels. It is an essential component of both enabling and empowerment (Wakley 1996:3).
This is the process of giving the people or the programme beneficiaries equal and democratic rights to voice their demands or needs (either directly or through their elected representatives), and to decide for themselves how these demands or needs could best be met. This involves the removal of undemocratic authoritarian and paternalistic policies, regulation and procedures which inhibit people to exercise their equal and democratic rights on any undertaking that affect their lives.

Bozzoli (1987:72) asserts that the word 'community' undoubtedly has romantic connotations and is seriously in need of demystification and analysis. She questions whether 'communities' are real or imagined. Development studies generally places a sense of delineated geographical boundaries to the concept of 'community'.

For the purpose of housing delivery, it may be appropriate to define 'community' in a residential and geographical sense (ie. A group of people in the project areas concerned with common core issues), without the insistence that such a collection of individuals always exhibit mutuality, interrelatedness, and a sense of common identity, though there may exist possibilities for participatory mutual self-help.
THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS

Institutions are the forms in which people organise their affairs in relationships with each other. An institution is a system of action. Systems of action comprehend the structures and mechanisms which provide the capacity and support for action in the form of agencies or organisations. Systems of action also comprehend processes and delivery instruments by which specified tasks are executed or by which categories of actions are supported or controlled (Bozzoli 1987:74). An institution as a system of action possesses certain indispensable qualities. First of all the institution, the system, must have the capability to produce or deliver the product or perform the function for which it was created; the institution must be effective in accomplishing its purpose. Secondly, the institution, whether as an agency or process in convention, must be accepted in the society and environment of its location. The institution must represent the way in which people, as individuals and in groups, wish to be served and to work with or relate to one another.
The institution must therefore have value and meaning for these people if it is to serve in a fully effective and productive way. And in the third place, the institution must be able to survive because it has the ability and the capability to adapt itself and its programme to changing and evolving conditions and situations, including the ability to learn from its own experience and to correct its mistakes. If the institution is lacking with respect to one of these three qualities of capacity, public acceptance and survival capacity, it fails as an institution (Bozzoli 1987:90).

In outlining the broad description and functions of an institution, it is necessary to link this to the functions performed by a local authority which is the primary institution on which this study is based. The responsibility of local government authorities encompasses all infrastructure sectors, social services, and general urban economic and spatial development and is therefore broader than that of technical agencies. Ideally, the infrastructure related interests of local government authorities correspond to the overall goals of urban development itself, and include such facts as the welfare and quality of life of the population, development of the local economy, environmental protection, and public process of governance. In economic terms, local government authorities are concerned with the financial viability of the mobilisation of investment funds for urban infrastructure development. In political terms, the local government is concerned with the level of satisfaction of the
population with municipal services, civil peace and possibly the approval of higher
government authorities (Schübeler 1996:31).

The Development of Squatter Settlements

The description of the functions of a local government offered by Schübeler are not
enough to explain the functions of a local authority in a developing country. Over
and above the responsibilities he has cited, any local authority in a third world
country functioning in an urban environment is faced with the mamoth task of
dealing with the urbanisation process. There are numerous reasons which give rise
to this process, but most would be fundamental to every developing country. For
instance, urbanisation in Latin America is fuelled in all cases by the same macro-
structural forces such as uneven development, demographic growth and income
inequality, Castells (1983:210) says the way in which this process is accommodated
depends on the political climate within a country. In Latin America this mostly
takes the form of land invasions and squatter settlement. Castells (1983:191) points
out that, since a squatter settlements is, by definition, an illegal form of land
occupation, it can only service through the permissiveness of the authorities or the
strength of the squatter movement (or a combination of both). Castells (1983:210)
adds that land invasions are self-spiralling: the more the state permits these
settlements to operate, the more they will expand.

The most common political form in which urbanisation is embedded in Latin America is what Castells (1983:175) calls urban population. He defines the latter as "the process of establishing political legitimacy on the basis of a popular mobilisation supported by and aimed at the delivery of land, housing and public services.

What it boils down to in most cases is that people will trade their political supports for a governing party for the legislation, or tolerance of their settlements as well as the provision of services.

The development of squatter settlements poses a threat to some local authorities or a challenge to others. By the same token, different local authorities chose to respond to these differently. To those which perceive squatter settlements as a threat, the most logical solution is eviction. This decision is consequently viewed as unjust by the proponents of human rights.

"Every human being has the right to housing. It is not only the right to a roof, but the right to dignity and citizenship" (Audefroy, 1994:8).
The first United Nations Conference on Human Settlements held in Vancouver in 1976 established the right to human settlement. This right is inscribed in the Constitutions of several governments such as Uruguay, Mexico, Pakistan, Portugal and Spain. In the Third World, millions have their right to housing violated. The UNCHS estimates that over 1 billion persons throughout the world lack adequate shelter or live under unacceptable housing conditions. Considering such circumstances, the right to housing is one of the least respected human rights (Audefroy, 1994:8-9).

In his article, Audefroy (1994:10), argues that most of the identified cases of eviction are urban, suggesting that these evictions are linked essentially to the growth of cities. He further states that fourteen of the forty documented cases identified by the Habitat International Coalition involve the forced eviction of people from private or public land.

This is one of the most common bases for evictions - perhaps not surprisingly, given the extent to which poorer groups in most third World cities have to rely on illegally occupying land or on acquiring illegal subdivisions as the only way of obtaining land on which they can develop their shelter.
Khan (1994:25-39) observes that in many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the structural adjustment programmes promoted by international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund have resulted in increasing problems for low income urban residents. Low income households have no access to public low cost housing finance institutions. In many countries the latter do not exist. In others, they have recently been privatised. Many city residents have no option other than to invade public or private land and organise the construction of their own shelter to meet their need for housing.

Magebhula (1994:60-62) narrates similar stories about evictions in South Africa in the nineties. He dates this back to 1948 when there were forced removals of black people from urban areas to the homelands. (This will be explored further in Chapter III.) He argues that the Durban City Council has been demolishing shacks as late as November 1993, ostensibly to install services but in reality removing people away from the more affluent suburbs of Durban.

The rapid pace of urbanisation in developing countries has increased the demands for urban services. In particular, the urban poor lack adequate access to services such as water supply, sewage systems, low-cost housing, education and public health. Effective management of urban services for the poor is being increasingly
emphasised by planners and practitioners in developing countries, international organisations and donor countries (Cheema 1986:1).

It is Cheema's (1986:2) view that this rapid population increase and its concentration in Third World cities will inevitably bring about a significant shift in the incidence of urban poverty. This he supports by quoting World Bank studies which indicate that by the 1990's, more than half of the urban poor will be concentrated in urban areas. Inevitably, this will be indicated by the proportion of squatters and slum dwellers.

According to Cheema (1986:2) the supply of urban services has not kept pace with increasing need. He further states that many reasons account for the strain on basic urban services in developing countries. The financial resources and administrative capacity of central and municipal governments to provide greater coverage are extremely limited, whereas the cost of providing basic services is rising.

In several cities, central and municipal governments are unable to recover costs through user charges, constraining greater coverage. Cheema (1986:4) also points out that an increasing number of squatter settlement dwellers do not have the capacity to pay for services, and, because of maintenance problems, even some
existing facilities are not fully utilised. He further states that the poor continue to concentrate in the largest urban centres, causing more and more pressure on urban infrastructure. The scarcity of employment opportunities results in a large segment of the population not being in a position to afford some of the basic services.

The urban poor in general, and residents of slums and squatter settlements in particular, have been affected most negatively by urban services deficiencies. Their access to basic urban services has been constrained by many economic, social, administrative and political factors. (Cheema 1986:8-9) supports this view by identifying the following six reasons which underscore these constraints:

1. "In low-cost housing areas the poor cannot afford to pay for urban services because of their low incomes. Even when some services are directly provided by government or semi-autonomous agencies, the actual beneficiaries may be middle-income groups.

2. Residents of squatter settlements do not usually have legal ownership of the land they occupy, thus they cannot be forced to pay user charges for services. Therefore, the concerned government agencies are reluctant to provide services such as water supply, electricity, and sewage systems to them.
3. The administrative systems of municipal governments and semi-autonomous development authorities are characterized by inadequate community participation in identifying projects, and implementing development activities. Without adequate community participation, the urban poor are unable to safeguard their legitimate interests. Their access to key decision-makers within government agencies is usually limited.

4. Government standards for urban services are usually too high, resulting in high costs for these services. Therefore, predominantly middle-income families often utilise some services meant for the urban poor.

5. The urban poor are usually not effectively organised. The diversity of their social backgrounds and their poverty hinder the emergence of viable community-level organisations.

Although they may have links with political parties, they are unable to assert collective pressure from below to ensure adequate access to urban basic services.

6. In some cases no explicitly stated public policies are aimed at providing basic
urban services to the poor in an integrated manner. This lack of policy reflects the inadequate political and administrative will of policy-makers and planners to allocate adequate resources for providing basic services to the poor”.

These constraints as highlighted by Cheema will be revisited in Chapter 6 of this study, where their analysis and applicability to the South African situation will be assessed.

Urbanisation Policy

National urbanisation policies generally have three goals:

1. to correct the undesirable spatial effects of national economic policies;

2. to make internal management of cities more efficient; and

3. to increase economic efficiency and socio-economic integration by eliminating the barriers to resource mobility and the diffusion of innovations (Renaud, 1981:1). Renaud further argues that the need for national urbanisation strategy is much stronger among developing countries than it
was in the economies that developed earlier.

He supports the notion that the rate of urbanisation in developing countries is much faster than that experienced historically by the developed countries. In practically all developing countries the role of the state is dominant, the government has an inevitable influence through its policies, the location of infrastructure investment, and the public enterprises that it controls. Because the government is an important and sometimes even a dominant partner in the growth process, it must clarify its objectives and strategies.

According to Renaud (1981:7) national urbanisation policy has four major objectives: (i) the full development of the national resources of the country; (ii) the maintenance of national cohesion among various regions, particularly in the case of very large disparities in per capita output among regions;

(iii) the prevention or correction of excessive concentration of economic activities within the capital region; and, (iv) the more efficient and more equitable management of growth within cities.
He cites three major reasons for the frequent failure of national urbanisation policies in developing countries. First and foremost is the lack of high level political commitment to a better distribution of economic activities throughout the country. Secondly, urbanisation policies fail because they concentrate exclusively on problems of urban decentralisation and ignore the fact that national economic policies (in such areas as trade, industry and infrastructure) provide strong implicit incentives to locate in the dominant urban region. The third typical cause of failure of settlement policies is the 'stop-and-go' application of policy instruments according to short-term political and economic circumstances.

Tomlinson (1990:35) maintains that the previous South African government's urbanisation policies, in addition to being intended to improve the government's legitimacy and control, are also intended to serve the interest of capital. There is an element of truth in this position if one examines Cooper's (1983:12) definition of "urbanisation" as "a self-propelled process that has a direct link with capital accumulation".

"As Africans flocked into cities in ever greater numbers in the 1950's, the dualist approach to urbanisation suggested that they were entering the mainstream of history. The key word in the urban anthropology of those years was "adaptation", 
and studies stressed how organisations from ethnic associations to trade unions eased the inevitable -- movement into an urban way of life. The liberal affirmation that the African was becoming an urbanite was an affirmation of modernity" Cooper (1983:12).

Conclusion

This chapter offered a variety of theoretical perspectives on urbanisation, housing, employment opportunities and service provision in the cities. It has also defined concepts that explain and evaluate development. The next chapter will offer a historical overview of urbanisation in South Africa and how it was approached.
CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

History should form the basis upon which future policy recommendations can be based. This chapter will give a brief summary of the history of urbanisation in South Africa which has led to where we are today as far as informal settlements are concerned. It will trace the different attitudes that were adopted by Government, particularly at local level, in dealing with informal settlements. It must be noted that this chapter merely serves the purpose of giving a perspective or context to the subject and does not indict these policies. The summary of the history of urbanisation in South Africa will be limited to the Greater Johannesburg area as defined in the title of this study.

Nattrass (1983:14) observes that the legal framework affected Black urbanisation patterns in many ways. The laws forming the basis for racial separation led to large numbers of blacks being removed from so called ‘Black Spots’ in white rural areas and resettled in rural high density villages which in general had little or no economic
vitality of their own. With no land to farm and no economic opportunities close by, the breadwinners from these resettled families had little choice but to seek work in the urban areas- usually as migrants without their families, due to the restrictions placed upon access to the towns by the Black Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923.

Urbanisation, in what is today the Witwatersrand, dates back to the discovery of gold in 1886, which led to the convergence of a large number of people at a temporary mining camp, according to Davenport and Hunt (1975:6). Johannesburg developed as a result of thousands of people flocking to the gold mines. The first census in 1896 revealed a population of 102 000 of which approximately half were black, and the majority males (Lewis 1966:10).

Initially Blacks were temporary migrant workers employed by the mines and housed in mine compounds, but with the growth of the towns, Blacks were finding alternative employment as domestic servants and in the growing industrial service sectors.

Domestic workers lived on the premises of their employers and hostel accommodation was provided by municipal employees and some private industrial concerns. The rest were left to find their own accommodation. Davenport and Hunt
(1975:15) pointed out that in the Transvaal the legal recognition of urban black locations was a gradual process. Although blacks were prohibited from living in places abutting or on public streets, they were permitted to live in backyards as domestic servants.

To urbanise legally, Black migrants had to go through a legal process that was essentially designed specifically both to retard permanent urbanisation and to limit the number of Blacks living in the towns. The consequences were that people both bypass the law and ignore it and growing numbers of Blacks lived in the urban areas illegally. The form of illegality, Nattrass (1983:10) argues, however, varies in some instances. The entry itself is illegal, in others it is the form of residence that is illegal whilst the entry is legal. Examples of the latter case are the migrant workers who move out of the hostel accommodation in favour of living in illegal lodgings in the townships or who become shack dwellers. Largely as a result of the complex legal framework, one found two distinct classes of urban Blacks:

1. Those living permanently and legally within the urban areas.

2. Those living permanently but illegally in urban areas. These people by definition are found only in the designated white areas and may be living in
either the Black townships, squatter areas or in the backyard of their employers (Nattrass 1983:11).

Entry and residence rights were determined by the well-known conditions that are set out in Section 10 (1) of the Black Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923, and they had the effect of permanently institutionalising the migrant labour system. This Act also prevented Blacks from obtaining land in the urban areas on a freehold title basis. Nattrass contends that these restrictions increased the cost of urbanisation to would-be rural-urban migrants, in terms of both the amount of personal effort that had to be expended in fulfilling the legal requirements and the personal costs involved in the increased chance of being caught and fined in the case of illegal entrants. Further the restriction on freehold title severely limited the potential benefits accruing to the rural urban migrant, further retarding the urbanisation process.

According to Maud (1938:16), black people, by tradition, were accustomed to building their own homes in the rural areas from which they were recent immigrants, and although certain conditions such as availability of materials were different, continued to erect their own accommodations, however rudimentary, in the urban areas. They were however, unaccustomed to the greater density of the urban settlements and did not have the know-how or resources to establish the necessary
sanitary or service infrastructure.

Maasdorp (1975:37) asserts that apart from resettling blacks from inner areas, little was done to provide adequate services, or to facilitate the provision of accommodation. There was no overall central government policy regarding the status of or the central issue of land ownership for urban blacks. Regulations and controls were not strictly enforced by local authorities and blacks had the opportunity to move relatively freely into an urban area, find or establish their own accommodation, and seek employment.

In an attempt to cope with the growing population in the urban centres of South Africa, the Housing Act (Act No. 33 of 1920) was introduced under which terms the Central Housing Board of the Department of Health was established. This body was to control the housing developments of local authorities and was viewed initially as a purely administrative organisation which would supervise the lending of government funds for this purpose. No subsidies were contemplated as it was held that, in effect, this would mean an indirect subsidy to employers (Calderwood 1953:110).
Local authorities could, under the terms of the Act, borrow money from the Administration of the Province or with the consent from any other source, to construct approved dwellings or carry out approved schemes. For many years however, according to Hellmann (1949:79), the powers given by the Act in respect of black and coloured housing were little used. Hellmann further states that in Johannesburg, after the establishment of Klipspruit in 1904, little attempt was made by the municipality to deal with the housing of urban blacks.

In Johannesburg the construction of new housing declined and stopped completely during 1943 and 1944 due to the war. The rapidly growing population crowded into any available accommodation, mostly as sub-tenants, within the existing locations or in shacks or rooms provided for domestic servants on their employers properties. The acute overcrowding led to a number of squatter movements. In other words, people started organising into groups whose objectives were to secure “housing” for themselves. As noted previously in Chapter II, political legitimacy will be established on the basis of popular mobilisation supported by and aimed at the delivery of land, housing and public services (Castells 1983: 175).
To illustrate the above, in March 1944, a group mainly from Orlando East, Newclare and Kliptown organised by James Sofasonke Mpanza, a member of the Orlando Advisory Board, set up corrugated iron shelters on a municipally owned site adjoining Orlando East. By April the numbers had increased to between 6 000 and 8 000 and, at its height, there were about 20 000 people in the camp. In 1946 a second and third squatter movement took place on to municipal land in Orlando, Pimville and Dube, and early in 1947 it was estimated that there were some 60 000 people in these camps. James Mpanza set up his own party, the Sofasonke Party, and assumed control of the settlements. Squatters had to join the party and make payments for membership fees and running costs (Morris 1981:35).

The Johannesburg Municipality provided an elementary water and sanitation service (Lewis 1966:125). According to Lewis (1966:126) these camps not only created health hazards, but the rule of law was openly flaunted with men rising overnight to assume leadership and prey on the ignorance and latent violence of the Blacks who lived in the camps. In response to the crisis, and particularly to the alarm expressed by the health authorities, joint discussions were held with the council and interested departments of the central government. It was decided to institute a system of temporary controlled squatting. A site was set aside on vacant municipality-owned land, south-west of Orlando and the Moroko Emergency Camp was established.
The council provided batteries of pit-latrines. Existing squatters were evacuated and moved to the new site.

By 1945 as a result of the large population increase and rapid post-war industrialisation, the concept of the urban black as a "temporary phenomenon" was subject to a further reassessment. One of its manifestations was the appointment by the Union Government of the Natives Law Commission under the chairmanship of Justice H.A. Fagan. A major opinion of the Commission's Report, tabled in 1948, was that the migration of blacks into the town was a natural economic phenomenon which could be regulated and guided but not reversed. It was recommended in the Report that the stabilisation of labour be encouraged and facilitated and reflected the total segregation of the races as utterly impracticable. The conflict of interest facing local authorities heightened during this time due to the reliance on black labour, as this carried with it increased responsibility for providing infrastructure and housing for blacks.

In response to the critical housing shortages and extreme over-crowding in existing houses, many blacks took the initiative and provided their own accommodation in unauthorised settlements. This was an inevitable process, given existing conditions, and reflected their willingness and potential to deal positively with their own
housing requirements. Maasdorp (1975:150) pointed out, too, that the informal activities that were characteristic of these settlements provided a valuable additional source of income.

Resentment towards the authorities grew gradually. Criticism was levelled against authorities for failing to provide sufficient accommodation. While the establishment of advisory boards provided some opportunities for representation, they were regarded as mere "talking shop". The opinion was expressed that only direct representation on the city council would ensure effective participation. The Johannesburg Municipality reacted with indignation and horror at the emergence of squatter settlements because they represented a breakdown of control and highlighted their own failure to provide adequate housing. The standard of accommodation was, according to their perception, totally inadequate, and they did not appreciate the positive aspects of the process, in particular the initiative taken by the residents to provide their own accommodation.

While they responded by providing sites and elementary services in an emergency camp, this was regarded as a temporary measure until such time as they could resume control and build proper housing. By adopting this approach, they were encouraging the Black community to become more, rather than less, dependent on
the authorities for their housing.

The new Nationalist Government that came to power rejected the findings of the Commissions and the belief that Black urbanisation was inevitable and reaffirm their faith in the findings of an earlier, Nationalist inspired Commission, the 1922 Stallard Commission, which had concluded that only the white group had the right of permanent residence in the towns. This new state policy direction formed the foundation for the legal structure of influx control in township administration within which Black urbanisation has taken place from 1948 to late 1980's (Nattrass 1983:13).

The Group Areas Act Number 41 of 1950, provided for the stricter implementation of this policy and for compulsory removal of residents in existing areas. It imposed control throughout South Africa over interracial property transactions and changes of occupation and provided for the elimination of specific group areas for the various races. The control of the movement of blacks into the urban areas provided for in the 1923 Act and its subsequent amendments was progressively more strictly enforced by the Nationalist Government.
In 1952 the Act was amended and the qualifications for remaining in the white areas was defined in Section 10 of the Act, commonly known as Influx Control. Briefly, a person had either to have been born in the urban area and have lived there continuously (Section 10 (I)(a); or, if the person was born elsewhere, to have worked for the same employer for 10 years or for more than one employer for 15 years (Section 10(I)(b). The possession of such qualifications did not confer them on a spouse. Davenport and Hunt (1975) noted that these provisions were a 'curious reversal' of policy since they actually created statutory rights to remain in an urban area. Such people had only enjoyed common law rights before that.

According to Morris (1981: 69-70) the stricter enforcement of influx control, and particularly the resettlements that took place under the terms of the Group Areas Act, (Act No 41 of 1950) caused severe hardship and disruption. In 1951, the number of black squatters in urban and peri-urban areas had reached a formidable total of 200 000.

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No.52 of 1951 provided penalties for the unlawful occupation of land or building and for the removal of persons concerned to a place 'as might be determined'. It also provided for the establishment of emergency camps to accommodate 'homeless' persons.
During 1951 a substantial housing programme took place, stimulated by the growing public and private sector awareness of the critical housing shortages and growth of squatter settlements that had emerged in the previously. Policies and legislation introduced, such as the Black Building Workers Act (Act No 27 of 1951), the Black Services levy Act (Act No 64 of 1952) and the promotion of site and service and home ownership schemes, provided both the finance and direction for the programmes that were carried out subsequently.

If self-sufficiency is taken to be a goal of development, then housing provision should be strictly according to the real ability of households to pay for that housing and the adoption of an economic policy for housing cannot be criticised. However, there are a number of factors which made the adoption of this policy for urban blacks inequitable.

The overall aim of the policy was to reduce State and Local Authority expenditure on 'temporary' urban blacks. Blacks were contributing to the economic development of both the urban centres and the country as a whole, yet relatively little metropolitan or State resources were being allocated to their development. Even if the eventual goal was the provision of economic housing, the greater allocation of funds for infrastructure and community
facilities could have been justified.

Sub-economic loans continued to be made available to the country's other population groups.

Municipal housing was being provided at a standard that was too expensive for many households. Even in existing sub-economic schemes, only those earning below £15 per month were permitted to pay sub-economic rentals and there was evidence of increasing inability of households to pay rentals during this phase.

In terms of development goals and the potential benefits to be derived from housing, the above policies initiated by the Nationalist Government had certain positive effects for they gave individual households some incentive and opportunity to build their own houses (Morris 1981:70). The clear policy directives issued by the government, as well as the use of black labour and the revenue accruing from the Services Levy Fund, contributed to the implementation of substantial municipal housing schemes during this phase. Local authorities trained and mobilised efficient housing teams, provided many houses (in Johannesburg up to 11 000 a year) and substantially reduced existing backlogs.
Sharpeville Day, 21 March 1960 (now known as the Human Rights Day) resulted in a state of emergency being declared. This marked an extremely retrogressive phase for urban black development. The disturbances that occurred in 1960 strengthened the Government's determination to proceed with their policy of separate development.

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development concentrated on the longer term objectives of its policy i.e. to promote the development of the homelands and to further restrict movement into white areas as well as the restriction of opportunities for black advancement and status within the white areas. Most of the more positive aspects introduced previously as part of their short-term strategy were reversed during this time (i.e. the promotion of leasehold rights, the provision of family housing) (Morris 1981:72).

Measures were introduced to reinforce the temporary status of the urban black, leasehold rights were withdrawn, trading and entrepreneurial opportunities were restricted, the powers of township managers to eject tenants were increased, influx control regulations were substantially tightened up, and the opportunity to attain permanent residence rights curtailed. Much damage was done to black morale and initiative, and an attitude of resentment towards the authorities was engendered.
The Central Government assumed increasing control over the administration and development of urban black areas. The Bantu Affairs Administration Act (Act No 45 of 1971) transferred all responsibility to administration boards which became agencies of Central Government. Not only were financial resources diminished, but many valuable services being provided by local authorities were discontinued.

The planning and development of black townships became less integrated within the wider metropolitan region. Housing continued to be provided for those families being resettled from freehold or other inner city areas under the terms of the Group Areas Act. However, much of the initiative and momentum that was built up by local authorities in was lost as a result of the curtailment of housing loans and the policies introduced inhibiting the provision of family housing.

Since Administration Boards, introduced towards the end of the phase, were to be self-financing, funds available for housing were further decreased and most housing programmes came to a virtual standstill (Morris 1981:76).

Despite the obvious disadvantages of hostel living, the provision of hostel accommodation was stepped up during this time. In many urban areas the high standard of accommodation provided and the low wages of breadwinners meant that
many householders were still unable to afford the rentals charged.

Blacks were moved further and further from their places of work resulting in increased commuting time and cost. They also became more and more isolated from the city centres of their metropolitan or urban areas. Although many of the new townships offered and improved standard of housing, they tended to be drab and monotonous, and lacked the gaiety and spontaneity of the older established areas. Informal opportunities for supplementing income were also lost.

The inevitable urbanisation process resulting from poverty in rural areas and job opportunities in the urban areas meant that migration was accelerated into those areas where there were relatively few controls. Large uncontrolled settlements mushroomed in peripheral areas within the homelands.

The responsibility of providing suitable infrastructure and basic controls was thus transferred to the homelands governments which had few resources or technical experience to deal with the inflow.
The Removal of Squatter Settlements

During this time the Government introduced policies and legislation aimed at intensifying the removal and prevention of further development of squatter settlements in the white areas (Ellis et al 1977 in Morris 1981:110).

- It was proposed that such settlements should be frozen and that any new shacks built, or additions to existing shacks, should be demolished.

- Basic services would be provided in these recognised, but frozen settlements and a service fee would be charged.

- Those blacks living illegally in the settlements would be repatriated to their homelands.

Two amendments to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (Act No 52 of 1951) gave increased powers to enforce these policies. The amendments drastically increased the penalties for illegal squatting and contained provisions enabling land owners, local authorities, the Department of Community Development and the Administration Boards to demolish unauthorised structures without a court order and
without the consent of the owner. It was also provided that the authorities had no obligation to furnish alternative accommodation and that the owner or leaseholder of land was responsible for informing and evicting unauthorised occupants. The only safeguard for the squatter was that seven days' written notice of the intention to demolish was necessary.

A subsequent amendment in 1977 removed this provision and prohibited squatters from seeking a court interdict, order, judgement or other relief against the demolition of a structure without first satisfying the court that he had title or right to the land on which the structure was situated. During this phase the strict enforcement of housing policies aimed at furthering the ideology of separate development were modified as it became increasingly clear that urban blacks would permanently remain in the larger urban centres.

The most significant reversal was the reintroduction of leasehold rights for blacks in these areas. This concession was also made to ease the critical financial state of the Administration Boards through the sale of houses and through the stimulation of individual households and employers into contributing towards the financing of housing.
The Central Government assumed increasing control over the affairs of blacks in the urban areas. Initially their powers to regulate were increased and they were given the power to suspend Local Authority resolutions. The process culminated with the introduction of Administration Boards at the end of the previous phase, and proved to be extremely counter-productive in terms of the development of urban black areas.

The main problems which became evident during this period were:

- The financial resources of most Boards were inadequate. The destruction of many beer halls and liquor outlets caused further loss of income. Long or medium-term planning was impossible.

- The centralisation of control meant that Boards, hamstrung by red tape, were unable to operate efficiently and spontaneously in response to local needs.

- It seemed that most boards had little incentive to seek alternative finance and tackle their housing and other problems in the townships under their jurisdiction.
Blacks were not represented on Boards. This, as well as the failure of many Urban Black Councils to effectively represent residents, meant that community participation in the development of black areas was inadequate.

Informal settlements on the urban fringe of many centres grew substantially during the period. Although there was no alternative accommodation, the authorities introduced harsh legislation and adopted strong-arm tactics in an attempt to remove and control these settlements.

This action was taken against those working in and contributing to the urban economy and improving their own and their family's status. In addition, they were using their own resources and initiative in providing their own homes.

Significant recommendations specific to housing are detailed:

(i) Ownership should be granted to employers who wish to provide housing for employees.

(ii) The private sector should be allowed to develop housing schemes on a business basis for sale to black buyers under the terms of the 99-year
leasehold scheme.

(iii) Stands should be provided on a leasehold basis to blacks who wish to build their own houses according to prescribed minimum standards.

(iv) The capital gains obtained from the sale of houses to blacks should be used only for the provision of housing in black residential areas.

(v) The State should subsidise the housing of its own black employees on the same basis as the housing of employees of other races (Morris 1981:150).

The abolishing of the Influx Control (Section 10 of the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950) in 1986 was a sign that Government had admitted to the impossibility of controlling the migration of people from rural to urban areas. The establishment of the Free Settlements Act (Act No 102 of 1988) without repealing the Group Areas Act (Act No 41 of 1950) was also indicative of changes in policy with regard to housing. These changes were happening without any more houses being built, hence the sprawling of informal settlements in public and private owned land.
At the local level, the Johannesburg City Council continued with eviction of illegal occupation of land in its area of jurisdiction until early 1994, using the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (Act No 51 of 1952). This attitude did not prevent further occupation of land but an increase thereof. Although more constructive ways of dealing with the issue of illegal occupation of land were devised, these will be discussed in detail in the next chapter which deals with the current trends in housing provision for the homeless.

As Schlemmer (1988:1) notes, that both direct and indirect controls on black urbanisation, as well as measures taken by government in the past to secure the availability of rural labour for industry have been essential elements in the overall political structuring of South Africa. In the past urbanisation control and apartheid were synonymous, and at present changes in urbanisation policy are closely interwoven with the slow transition away from the older political order, observes Schlemmer.
CURRENT TRENDS AND POLICIES IN URBANISATION PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

In line with the new democratic order, the South African Government authorities deemed it unconstitutional to deal with housing related matters in the same way as in the old order. To this end, certain processes were set in motion that would revamp the entire housing policy. Thus the national housing vision became the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities and social amenities, within which all South Africa's people would have access on a progressive basis, to a permanent residential structure with secure tenure.

This chapter will trace the current trends and policies adopted by government post 1990 in addressing the urbanisation process.
On 31 August 1992 the National Housing Forum was formally established, as the ‘first real step towards dealing with the housing crisis’ (Rust and Rubenstein 1996:1). From 1992 to 1995 the National Housing Forum successfully negotiated for the development and implementation of the housing policy that fundamentally changed the housing landscape in South Africa.

The Weekly Mail (4-10 September 1992) aptly describes this forum as ‘a purposeful politicisation of the housing issue. It is about bringing those people who represent constituencies and special interests in the housing field around the table to negotiate a way forward, which has never been done before’. As stated, the purpose of the National Housing Forum was to negotiate the housing policy as a whole, but for the purposes of this dissertation only a few sections of the housing policy that have direct implications on informal settlements will be considered.
A summary of the Development Facilitation Act objectives is given below, together with other processes that have been embarked upon in an attempt to address housing delivery to the needy. This chapter seeks to discuss these processes as perceived at the provincial and at local level, dealing also with the implementation phase.

**RAPID LAND RELEASE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME**

The increasing incidence of land invasions after the election of a popular government, as well as delays in housing delivery, raised debate within the NHF and the Department of Housing on ways to fast-track the housing delivery process. The authorities are looking at proposals to allow settlements on residential plots (erven) in advance of service provision and township establishment. Conventional residential development, under ordinary establishment legislature, requires that residential erven be serviced and that most of the steps of township establishment be completed before settlements can occur. However, Rust and Rubenstein (1996:129) maintained that this process is time consuming, and may take several years to complete. In the meantime there are many households who, by virtue of poverty and lack of real choices, cannot wait this long, and who may be forced to invade vacant land (or, indeed, land in the process of being developed) in order to
Rapid land settlement of the kind proposed here recognises the pressure on poor households. If they allowed to settle, in an orderly fashion on demarcated sites, they could begin constructing their own shelter (whether on an incremental basis or otherwise). While they construct their shelter, the servicing of the residential erven and the legal processes associated with establishing the township could continue. In a sense this is like upgrading an informal settlement in situ, except that costs can be kept down through orderly settlement and completion of site allocation procedures.

The Gauteng Province was the first to implement the Rapid Land Release Development Programme (RLDP). This programme is seen to be a partnership between the provincial government and the local government as the implementing agency. The main thrust of the RLDP as it is commonly known, is to provide for communities in crisis. In other words those who are located on geotechnically unsuitable land, unhealthy living conditions and politically unsafe areas, to be relocated to land which is well located for residential and other purposes and forms part of the urban form. This is the first programme of its kind to be implemented by a local authority.
The Development Facilitation Act is considered to be a key legislative mechanism for the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The DFA, which was promulgated on 22 December 1995, will have a major impact on local government, in the way in which it delivers its services and manages the urban form. Not only does the Act provide a streamlined and more inclusive alternative to the processes of land development, but it also introduces a new way in which local government has to function and undertake its various tasks. This transformation will take place through the formulation of land development objectives that are related to all functions of local government.

The Development Facilitation Act, (Act No 67 of 1995) as a short term measure, provides for uniform national norms and standards for land development. The sharp increase in land invasions highlighted the need for rapid identification and orderly release of land. The Act will also assist in this regard. The Act, however, will have to be supplemented by additional legislative policy and strategy measures, not only to allow for rapid development, but also to address land invasions (Development Facilitation Act No. 67 of 1995).
HOUSING SUPPORT

The Department of Housing's overall approach to the housing challenge is aimed at mobilising and harnessing the combined resources, efforts and initiatives of communities, the private and commercial sector and the State. The land delivery process is critical to housing. This includes the identification and allocation of undeveloped land and its transformation into serviced sites for residential development.

Central to the Housing Support Initiative, which forms part of the framework of the National Guidelines on Housing Delivery published by the Department of National Housing in October 1995, is the recognition that the majority of dwellings in South Africa are built by people themselves. Also that a people's housing process must remain one of the critical thrusts in housing delivery and should be enhanced through technical, financial, administrative and logistical support.

The guidelines recognise that housing support should not be rigid but must provide the most appropriate support to beneficiaries based on the following fundamental criteria:
It has to necessarily be supporting people's housing and not supporting a conventional contractor-based approach to construction.

The institutional arrangement and mechanisms should be transparent and accountable to the people as well as to the authorities concerned.

Cost effectiveness is essential in the provision of support.

Support should begin at the point where people on their own cannot undertake a necessary activity or solve a problem.

In short, any housing support initiative should add value to the delivery process.

Housing support would broadly take the form of:

- A recognition of the necessity of a people's driven housing process to trigger initiatives.
- Information, dissemination that facilitates choice and informed decision making.

- Training in technical, financial, legal, institutions, materials production, construction and other skills.

- Creating greater access to resources to facilitate local material production, access to cheaper material through bulk buying schemes, access to plant and equipment and the like.

- Removal of obstacles, inter alia, rules, regulations, permits.

- Streamlining procedures relating to subsidy applications, loan applications and the like.

- Other forms of support such as access to municipal services and community facilities and entrepreneurial development.

The Housing Support Initiative is about empowerment of the people to decide about their destinies. As described by Wakley (1996) in Chapter II, empowerment is
about increasing efficiency, enhancing the effectiveness and ensuring the sustainability of development by passing responsibility to those people to whom efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability matter. Furthermore this process subscribes fully to Welsh and Butorin’s (1990:310) argument that sustained development ultimately depends on enhancing people’s own capacities to improve their own lives and take more control of their own destinies.

**HOUSING SUBSIDY SCHEME**

The housing subsidy scheme, in conjunction with various intentions aimed at mobilising credit, is one of the cornerstones of the new government’s approach to the housing challenge. Subsidy levels are linked to house income. The following subsidy instruments are available:

*Project-linked subsidies* provide housing opportunities for individuals on an ownership basis in projects approved by the Provincial Housing Boards.

*Individual subsidies* give persons access to housing subsidies to acquire ownership of an existing property or a property not located in a project approved by a Provincial Housing Board. A person may also buy a serviced site and construct
his/her own top structure.

Consolidation subsidies allow persons who, before the inception of the Housing Subsidy Scheme received housing assistance from the state in the form of a serviced site only, to apply for a further benefit from the state to improve their housing situation. The subsidy amount is fixed. If the household income is between R0-R800 a month, then the subsidy that would be provided would be R7 500. If the household income is between R801-R1 500 then the subsidy would be R5 000.

Institutional subsidies are available to institutions to create affordable housing stock to enable persons who qualify for an individual subsidy, to live in subsidised residential properties on the basis of secure tenure.

Some of these subsidies may not directly relate to the solution to dealing with informal settlements. However, they are worth mentioning as attempts by government to deal with the housing problems which manifests in informal settlements.
When the draft legislation refers to housing it not only means the development of houses but rather on a broader definition, namely:

"Housing development means the creation of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments for viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and health, education and social amenities in which all persons lawfully resident in South Africa will on a progressive basis, have access to:

(a) permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements;

(b) potable water, adequate sanitary facilities, waste disposal and domestic electricity supply, access roads and stormwater management." Draft Housing White Paper (1996)
The primary goal of the Housing Bill published in 1996, is to detail the broad principles of housing and to guide the three levels of government in their functions. Within the above context, the Bill aims to allocate powers and functions to the various levels of government, starting from the lowest level of Government and working up.

A further goal is that the National Housing Board be abolished and replaced by South African Housing Board that will only advise the Minister on national Housing Policy. Local government will now have to take over and manage the assets, liabilities and functions of the NHB and the PHB. The intention is to devolve the functions to local government in terms of the capacity they have.
BOTSHABELO ACCORD

On 27 October 1994 in Botshabelo, Free State, representatives of the homeless, the communities and civil society; government at national and provincial level; builders and the international community gathered and committed themselves to a South African Housing Accord. This came about as a recognition that although they came from different sectors of society, it was in their deepest interest to house the nation. They recognised housing as the country’s vital engine room - meeting South Africa’s need for shelter for all will bring growth, employment, economic prosperity and stability.

The Housing Accord was adopted as a programme of action:

- For building viable communities across the country

- For overcoming the legacy of the past which made housing policy an instrument of government policy and ideology.

- And as a path to dignity for the millions of South African whose shelter is today inadequate
In the preamble of the Housing Accord, it is stated that for black people, urban housing development virtually stopped three decades ago. The result was a widely diverging set of standards in the country, and an extremely uneven pattern of housing delivery. It further states that for the past majority’s only option was in the erection of squatter cities which the homeless viewed as their personal victory, in the absence of government support.

To this end, a declaration of commitment by the representatives of the stakeholders was taken. This study will only quote those commitments made by the homeless, the government at all tiers, the communities and the civil society.

“We the homeless poor people of South Africa, pledge”:

“1. To continue, as we have always done in the past, to meet our own housing needs, using our very limited resources, our creativity, our initiative and our collective strength. By this we mean we will continue to implement and upgrade the systems we have designed in order to secure affordable housing for ourselves. These systems include:

a) Appropriate models for people-driven development
b) Local, regional and international exchange programmes

c) Housing savings and loan schemes

d) Community-based training programmes

e) Community-controlled building centres

f) A people controlled and managed community fund

2. To demonstrate that our systems for housing ourselves should be the basis for a housing delivery system for the poor.

3. To continue to demonstrate to the formal world that in spite of extremely limited support, we, the homeless poor, remain by far the biggest providers of this country's housing stock.

4. To work co-operatively will all those who recognise that we need to be at the centre of the low-cost housing process, making decisions and managing resources.
5. To continue to organise and act collectively to ensure that the government makes affordable housing a right - not a gift.

But with that right comes responsibilities, not only from the poor but from government and the private sector as well.

6. It is the responsibilities of the state in recognition of the obstacles placed in our way by successive apartheid governments - to provide us with resources that we identify as necessary to take our social housing tradition forward.

7. It is the responsibility of the private sector to support a people-centred social housing process and to recognise that a decently housed population is an investment in a secure future for all classes in our society, and takes precedence over profit.

8. It is the responsibility of the homeless poor to actively reconstruct their living environment and their lives. If we have managed, however inadequately, to have ourselves in spite of years of violence and neglect from government and the formal world, imagine how effective we will be once the other players begin to actively support our mechanisms for housing delivery.
9. To refine community-based training programmes and materials supply for bottom up overall housing and community development.

10. To contribute our labour on a communal basis as a means to make housing affordable to the poor and simultaneously build the capacity of the people.”

(Botshabelo Accord, 1994:6)”

Government at all levels committed itself to assisting all South Africans who are inadequately housed. It was seen to be the task of national, provincial and local level to mobilise sufficient public and private sector finance to allow for systematic and targeted growth in the rate of housing production.

It was stated that every family, no matter how poor, has the right with commensurate responsibilities to a basic structure with water, electricity and waste water disposal, which is both capable of protecting them from the elements and of being extended as resources become available. Government will provide a support infrastructure including appropriate training whose task it will be to help people help themselves.
The communities and civil society pledged that: failure to involve themselves fully in this great task would punish the poorest because they are most dependent on further resources being made available, whether via the market or government. They recognise that whilst the poorest are the most desperate, every occupation of land set aside for housing construction diminishes the rights of these poorest people who can benefit most from its unhindered progress.

This chapter has demonstrated a willingness by the state and the homeless to commit themselves to creating better living environments. The main thrust is that roles and responsibilities are clearly defined in the Botshabelo Accord and the Housing Bill. These are only intentions it seems, the next chapter will look at case studies which illustrate what happened in reality.
CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES

Introduction

In order to either support, or challenge, the notions that have been put forward in the previous chapter regarding the role played by local authorities, communities and national government in dealing with the urbanisation process, two case studies will be used to highlight the dynamics that tend to exist among the parties.

The informal settlements that will be used are Golden Highway Development Project (Goldev) and Zevenfontein. Historical background of each of these settlements will be provided. Site location and current developments will also be given. An in-depth analysis of these case studies will be provided in the next chapter which will form the crux of this study.
GOLDEN HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT (GOLDEV)

Historical Background

The former Johannesburg city Council initiated a process in 1991 whereby it donated a part of its land south of Johannesburg for a housing development project. It turned out that the Johannesburg City Council land would not be enough for the intended community of Thembelihle who were identified as the beneficiaries of this project.

(How this community was chosen will be discussed separately.) A proposal was made to expropriate surrounding land belonging to private land owners for the housing development project. A negotiation process began and involved surrounding landowners, such as the St Martins Trust and other private owners.

The Civic Association of Johannesburg which was a collection of all civic associations in the Johannesburg area representing the community, lobbied the Johannesburg City Council to initiate such a project. As such, they also formed part of the forum, which was later established to drive the process.
Also involved was the Development Bank of Southern Africa, who was providing expertise on financing development projects. The New Housing Company (Newhco) was also involved as the developer that would see to the building of the houses. All these parties agreed to the development process and a "Goldev" forum was formed. The development framework was adopted by the forum on 29 November 1992.

The Beneficiary Community

Thembelihle, a transition camp situated between Lenasia Ext 9 and 10, approximately 40 kilometres south of Johannesburg, was identified as the first community to benefit from this housing development. This settlement was established in 1987 by the then Transvaal Provincial Administration.

Currently there are approximately 4 200 structures with an average occupancy of four people per structure. This equates to an approximate population of 16 000 people. In September, 1995 the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council conducted a socio-economic survey of Thembelihle. The following is the summary of the result:
95% of the heads of the households are older than 21 years of age;

55% of the registered heads of the households were unmarried and 41% married;

an equal distribution of gender, 47% female and 48% male, was recorded;

Of the registered residents, only 33% were unemployed as opposed to 65% who were employed;

57% of the unemployed have been unemployed for a period of 1-5 years;

81% have been living in Thembelihle for longer than 3 years.

62% earn between R0 - R800-00, the lowest category for housing subsidy qualification.

The level of services consist of 130 standpipes with water taps on the
boundaries of the settlement, 160 chemical toilets and 22 refuse containers supplied by the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (unpublished GJTMC statistics, 1995:1). Considering that the population is 16 000, one can easily conclude that these services are inadequate.

Thembelihle is situated on dolomitic land which is the reason they were identified as a priority community to be relocated. However, due to previous experiences of forced removals, the community regards the geotechnical report as a ploy to move them from the area as it is adjacent to the affluent Indian community (Interview with Councillor D Bovu).

Site Locality

The Goldev area is situated along the Golden Highway, south of Johannesburg. It is located east of Eldorado Park. It is in close proximity to the Johannesburg Central Business District and is located on two major roads, namely N1 Freeway and the Golden Highway. Its location makes it accessible to transport and other amenities. It is estimated that the site could accommodate ± 80 000 people. (± 15 000 affordable housing units). (GJTMC unpublished statistics).
The 480 hectares is owned by various land owners ranging from privately owned property to business owners. The larger portions are owned by the former Johannesburg City council, St Martin's Trust, the Anglican church and the South African Housing Trust.

ZEVENFONTEIN

Location

Zevenfontein is a squatter settlement situated in Fourways. It is located west of the R511 Sandton road and adjacent to the Dainfern area, which is a high income residential area.

Historical Background

Zevenfontein was established in 1990, on privately-owned land. The landowner allowed the people to settle on his land as he was sympathetic towards the homeless. His intention was to later persuade the Greater Transitional Metropolitan Council, then the Randburg Town Council, to expropriate the land. Due to the slow wheels of bureaucracy, this process
was delayed. There were also other reasons for the delay. The then Transvaal Provincial Administration had established a site along the R511 Sandton and west of R28 Krugersdorp road, where the people of Zevenfontein would be moved.

This was a serviced site. Due to its location and it being remote from all amenities, people of Zevenfontein refused to move to the site. Also the fact that no proper consultation was embarked upon, people felt that this was the perpetuation of the old apartheid policies. Hence the resistance. (Survey conducted by GJTMG officials, as at 1 June 1996-Annexure C).

Service Provision

When the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council came to being in December 1995, a decision was taken that all informal settlement areas within its jurisdiction be provided with services. Previously, people were left to their own devices to provide services for themselves.
The TMC provided thirty two (32) water tanks, which would supply water to a population of 7,570 and 1,514 structures. Twenty seven (27) chemical toilets and thirty (30) refuse collection bins were provided. The settlement has sixteen (16) gravel roads. (Survey conducted by GJTM officials, as at 1 June 1996—Annexure C).

Community Profile

The total population of Zevenfontein is 7,570 with 1,514 households and 3,880 dependants. Zevenfontein is probably one of the few settlements in the GJTM area where there are more males (60%) than females (37%).

In the latest socio-economic survey conducted by the GJTM, it was established that 60% of the respondents were unmarried. 77% are employed and a variety of low level skills were found in the area. 48% of the people have been living in the area for longer than two years. This information was obtained in preparation for the relocation process as this community is residing on privately owned land. They formed part of the Rapid Land Release Development Programme which was discussed earlier in this paper.
This chapter has provided realities of what happened on the ground. These are substantiated by statistics of who is available, where, and the status of the living conditions. The next chapter will provide more of the current realities which have been derived from newspaper reports.
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS

In the previous chapters various theories have been touched upon which either support or refute the idea that urbanisation is a process that cannot be stopped, but must be managed. It has also become clear that control of this process has exacerbated the situation rather than abated it. Evidence is contained in the historical overview of the process in the South African situation and the processes that are currently being reviewed to deal with urbanisation.

This chapter will almost crystallise the debate on urbanisation as experienced in the informal settlements, by examining the theories covered in this paper in relation to the case studies cited in the previous chapter.

Firstly, it is crucial to examine the purpose of formulating national urbanisation policies. As stated in Chapter II, one of the goals of national urbanisation policies is "to make internal management of cities more efficient." (Renaud, 1981:1) There is a direct link between this goal and the fast rate of urbanisation in developing countries. If urbanisation is to be managed, then there needs to be a national strategy that is consistent with this rate.
One can deduce from this argument that much of the urban sprawl is the result of the lack of this "national strategy". For example, informal settlements in the Greater Johannesburg area have developed as a result of inadequate housing provision and the enforcement of the decentralisation policy by the Verwoerd and Vorster Administrations in the late 1960's.

It must be emphasized that it is not the intention of this research to look at what has not been done right in the past, but to suggest policy options for the future and management of informal settlements as it is clear that they are here to stay, despite attempts to address the housing backlog. The point being made in this analysis is that no one municipality can attempt to resolve this problem without national guidelines for urbanisation policy development. This may not necessarily take the form of introducing another "influx control" law but may mean seriously addressing the urban bias by developing other centres in the region that would encourage migration of urban populations to small and intermediate-sized cities.

Such a strategy would not only "decentralise" populations but would also foster job creation, as we have seen that there is a direct link with the rate of urbanisation and employment opportunities, supported by Cooper (1983:15) and Tomlinson (1990:35) with their views on capital accumulation.
In Chapter II of this paper, the basic needs approach is defined as one which is designed to improve, firstly, the income earning opportunities for the poor. This is strongly supported by the argument put forward in the previous paragraph of this chapter. Secondly, basic needs approach is designed to improve the public services that reach the poor. The case studies in Chapter 5 will be used to illustrate the truth in the statement.

Goldev and Zevenfontein both developed as a result of illegal land occupation by the homeless people. The prime reason was that people were looking for income earning opportunities closest to the economic activities. After land was occupied, people demanded services, which were not provided by the local authority. A greater detail of what has been provided by the municipality under great pressure from the community, is minimal. There are a variety of reasons for the inadequate provision of services to these areas. One of those reasons is that the services are very expensive to provide and given the status of their household income (urban poor), payment for these services is not affordable. For example, in Goldev, the total population is 16 000, of which 33% is unemployed and 65% employed (unpublished GJTMC statistics 1995:1) but 62% of that earn only between R0-R800-00 a month.
The rate of cost recovery is almost zero. In this instance the local authority would be faced with a policy option of lowering the costs of providing services through changes in regulations and methods of delivery.

Cheema (1986:4) argues that many reasons account for the strain on basic urban services in developing countries. He cites that the financial resources and administrative capacity of central and municipal governments to provide greater coverage are extremely limited, whereas the cost of providing basic services is rising. Because employment opportunities in urban areas are inadequate, a large segment of the population cannot afford some of the basic services.

Coupled to affordability is the fact that residents of squatter settlements do not usually have legal ownership of the land they occupy; thus they cannot be forced to pay user charges for services. Therefore the local authority concerned is reluctant to provide services such as water supply, electricity and sewage systems to them. This is very true of the Goldev and Zevenfontein cases.
Cheema (1986:8) supports a situation where a combination of several policy alternatives and organisational arrangements are identified. One of the policy options he puts forward for reducing urban service deficiencies in developing countries is expanding the provision of services directly by the government by building up municipal government capacity.

This approach is strongly refuted by Jaglin (1994:3) where she states that few city or municipal authorities or national agencies concerned with service provision have a large enough technical and financial base to render the service on their own. In many instances they require partnerships.

"A successful approach taken by the Urban Basic Services Programme in Guatemala lies not only in its participatory methodology, but also in its integrated nature. It began with two basic assumptions: that no single institution has the resources, human or financial, to make significant inroads into the problems of servicing human settlements, and that a single issue approach is inadequate to address the complex reality faced by those living in low-income settlements." (Espinosa and López, 1994:28)
A policy option that is conjured up by Espinosa and López (1994:28) is the promotion of public-private sector co-operation and partnerships with the beneficiary communities. These partnerships are useful for both housing and service provision projects. What becomes crucial in these partnerships is how they are structured and what roles are played by each party. Noted in the Guatemala project is that its success is attributed to the participatory methodology used and its integration.

In Chapter II, the concept of participation in infrastructure management is defined as a process whereby people as consumers and producers of infrastructure services, and as citizens influence the flow and quality of infrastructure services available to them. The impact of participatory infrastructure development extends beyond service improvement to include enhancing people's capacity to manage local affairs and interact more effectively with authorities and other partners (Schübeler 1996:14).

Local government authorities bear the primary responsibility for provision of infrastructure as well as other urban services. As well as being humanistic and idealistic, the interests of local government authorities are political and economic.
Being at the 'contact' level of government, local authorities are very much concerned with the level of satisfaction of the people with service delivery performance. There is a link between this analysis of a local authority and the analysis of development as contained in Chapter II of this paper, where development is perceived to be relative to the aspirations of the people - how these aspirations are defined and how firmly they are expressed. The demand by the homeless for security of tenure is expressed by them through the illegal occupation of land. Land invasion will not stop before the demand is met. The irony of it all is the way the local authority respond in meeting that demand is crucial. The involvement of the homeless in the process of housing delivery is key to meeting the demand.

In the Housing Journal (August 1996:5), the Director-General of Housing, Mr Cobbett, commented that local government needs to start promoting the interest of all citizens more actively and prioritise the interests of the poor. He cited, among its important new roles, becoming the tier of government that engages most with the private sector, especially in the form of joint ventures which will allay the fears of the private sector. R525 million is expected to be made available for this purpose, he noted. He further stated that local authorities should give active backing and support for the people's housing process, which should be driven by community based organisations and non-governmental organisations.
In engaging in this process, local authorities must always be careful to support, but not control, he warned.

Community-based strategies constitute the most elementary form of participatory development. They support the local development of infrastructure services and enhance community groups' capacity to manage service development. Adler (1994:99) notes that there are wide-ranging misconceptions concerning homeless people in informal settlements which include assumptions that they are resourceless, without skills, isolated and helpless. This misconception is obviously disproved by international experience such as Guatemala, where community self-reliance is promoted.

There is evidence to suggest that South Africa, especially the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council, is not experiencing anything unique in dealing with informal settlements. As demonstrated, it is necessary to look at a variety of policy options and implement them simultaneously rather than examine and implement one that might not work eventually.
The Star (23 January 1996) reported that the Gauteng MEC for Development Planning Environment and Works disclosed that between 2 million and 3 million people in Gauteng are homeless or living in other people’s backyards. He further stated that the Gauteng government had already identified 30 000 sites which would be released before the end of the first quarter in terms of his department’s rapid land-release programme.

The Sowetan (4 April 1996) reported on the land release programme that the GJTMC has become the first local authority in Gauteng to introduce some of the seven programmes aimed at an equitable redistribution of land for development and planning. The seven programmes, proposed by Gauteng MEC for Development Planning, Environment and Works, Mr Shiceka, hope to tackle growth and development while also trying to house and employ Gauteng’s landless”.

The programmes include solving the problem of land invasion, overcrowding, growing squatter settlements. It was also reported that the next step after land release would be to put up rudimentary services and to allocate stands to people.
The Business Day (9 April 1996) reported: “The Council wants to help resolve the conflict between property owners and squatters”. This was as a result of a squatter crisis which erupted in Far East Bank, near Alexander, where land was invaded. Steps to resolve this conflict included registration of squatters to be relocated, settling outstanding legal processes and strategic planning on the tightening of security at the site. It was further reported that “significant progress towards a resolution of the problem was made at a meeting attended by local councillors, the South African Police Service and members of civic organisations”. It was decided at this meeting that two groups would be established to deal with security matters. Discussions also centred on action to be taken against individuals selling plots at the site and clarification of the respective roles of the police and the security company employed to curb further invasion of the site. The second group consisting of all stakeholders, will address the legal process of relocation and determination of criteria for relocation and implementation of the programme.

In another Business Day report, (15 April 1996) on the Rapid Land Release Programme, it was stated that the relocations have caused an uproar among residential groupings, which have accused the Council of a lack of transparency, saying they were not called to discuss the relocations.
A GJTMC spokesperson on urbanisation is reported to have said: “We have thousands of people living in dangerous conditions who have no homes and we have vacant land in areas around Johannesburg where they can move”. Residents from neighbouring areas where relocations was to take place, voiced concerns about how the children from the new settlements would be educated, and what provision would be made to cope with the increased transport and health needs.

The Sowetan (22 April 1996), reported that squatter leaders defied the authorities and allocated plots to more than 2000 people near New Canada railway station outside Soweto. It further reported that a spokesperson for the squatters stated that they were forced to move out of their informal settlement because of poor living conditions. “Shacks are being built right next to each other, posing a serious health risk. And people use the area as a dumping ground. So we have exchanged Mandelaville (where they came from) for the piece of land”.

The 1994 elections came with excitement and expectations to some and with apprehension to others. The homeless in the South of Johannesburg decided to invade land so that they could have “something” after the elections. The Sunday Times (14 April 1996) reports that on 11 April 1994 a shack-dweller pegged out stands on the open ground and wrote on a board: “free plots available”.

That precipitated an exodus of back-yard shack-dwellers from the nearby township and overnight a new community of 2500 families was born. It was named Kanana, the promised land.

The birth of Kanana illustrates a trend that goes some way to explain the sudden burgeoning of squatter communities through land invasions in Gauteng, particularly in the Greater Johannesburg area. Contrary to perceptions that Gauteng is under siege from outsiders, there is growing consensus in government circles that the dramatic increase of squatters is largely a result of actions like those at Kanana.

"There is some movement to the cities but it is not that dramatic. It doesn’t account for the increase of squatter camps. This is more a result of a lack of housing over many years, and linked to this the movement of people out of back-yard shacks. After 1986, when influx control was abolished, there was a large influx of people to the cities, many of whom ended up in backyards. They have been forced to pay rents and service charges whereas the people in the front house haven’t paid for years. Now these people are trying to find places". (Sunday Times 14 April 1996).

This land grabbing is linked to some kind of organised network. The group identifies the land and find out who it belongs to. In the case of Kanana the land that was chosen is public land owned by the town council.
The reason for this choice is to minimise the risk of being evicted. They then embarked on their town-planning exercise, pegging stands, marking out streets and allocating public spaces for sports fields, parks and churches. The squatter call it "a professional invasion". Their move was timed to take place days before the 1994 national elections. There was suddenly an expectation of delivery and an anxiety that there wouldn’t be delivery. People also thought that the new government would not take action against them.

On 28 April 1996, The Sunday Times revealed a scam where squatter lords are making a small fortune by selling public property to the homeless. The Sunday Times (28 April 1996) confirmed that land was being sold for R50 a site on Alexandra’s far East Bank. In addition to that they are promised basic services such as waste removal, electricity and water. In dealing with this matter, the GJTC reported to have appointed a full-time official to take affidavits from people who had bought sites. In this way, charges were laid against squatter lords.

This chapter has analysed the various theories explored and has linked those to the current reality, as explained by newspaper articles. Whilst co-operation between government and the people is advanced, most of the responsibility still lies with government.
This next chapter will recommend what could be done by government to alleviate the situation.
CONCLUSION

In the first chapter of this dissertation it is stated that its intention is to recommend strategies that can be adopted by local authorities in managing informal settlements.

One of the reasons cited as leading to the formation of squatter settlements is population increase in urban and rural areas. As a result land is illegally occupied and inevitably people get evicted. Tomlinson (1990), Renaud (1981) and Magebhula (1994) advocated for urbanisation policy reforms that seek rather to manage the process than control it through evictions. Tomlinson (1990) in particular argues that urbanisation must be seen in a regional context rather than a city context when looking for solutions. In the light of this, it is recommended that a national and regional urbanisation policy be formulated. Policies at local level must be guided by a comprehensive national strategy that seeks to facilitate the process of urbanisation rather than to control it. This seems to be one of the objectives of the Development Facilitation Act (Act No 67 of 1995).
The growth of settlements in worsening, as it is confirmed in the body of this thesis supported by events. This calls for the release of land by the metropolitan council at a scale that meets the demand.

The Rapid Land Release Programme is a strategy adopted in the Greater Johannesburg region, but it needs to happen at a faster rate than the five odd sites identified because land is being occupied frequently. The release of land must go hand in glove with the housing provision. The Housing Bill and the Botshabelo Accord bear testimony to the fact that housing provision can only take place if government is in partnership with the private sector, the non-governmental sector and the homeless people themselves. The local authority has to cede control and assist in empowering and unleash the creative potential that other sectors have demonstrated. It must support, through resources, the self-help and service upgrading by the affected in order to create sustainable development.

Lack of service provision to informal settlements has led to degraded living environments and health hazards. Adequate service provision must be a priority to the metropolitan council as its contribution towards habitable environments. It must commit itself to expanding the provision of services by building up its capacity.
This could be done by way of partnership between itself and the communities where services must be delivered.

Lastly, the local authority must promote local economic development in order to create jobs that will enable the people to pay for the services that they receive and meeting their basic needs. These strategies will hopefully assist in acknowledging informal settlements as a challenge and treating them accordingly. It must be noted that no government can do it alone but with the people affected.

In summary it is recommended that:

- A national and regional urbanisation policy be formulated.
- The GJTMС release land at a scale that meets the demand.
- The GJTMС forms partnerships with private sector, non-governmental organisations and the homeless communities so as to create sustainable development.
- Adequate service provision be a priority in the informal settlements.
- The GJTMС promote local economic development so as to create jobs.
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60. Interviews

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### Informal Settlements

**Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council**

**Organisation Department**

Date: 11 February 1996

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Annexure C

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