

A Rapid Verification Study on the Informal Settlements and Backyard Shacks' Backlog and Trends within the Eastern Cape

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VIEW OF ORANGE GROVE

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Glossary

BMC	Buffalo City Municipality
BNG	Breaking New Ground
EC	Eastern Cape
ECDoH	Eastern Cape Department of Housing
ECPG	Eastern Cape Provincial Government
GDS	Growth and Development Strategy
IDZ	Industrial Development Zones
NDoH	National Department of Housing
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NMMM	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality
NSDP	National Spatial Development Perspective
PHDP	Provincial Housing Development Plan
SA	South Africa
SH	Social Housing
SHIs	Social Housing Institutions
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
QoL	Quality of Life
UDZ	Urban Development Zone
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements

Executive Summary

Extensive scoping, enumeration and enquiries at municipalities across the Eastern Cape from October 2009 to March 2010 has revealed that there are in the region of 225,000 households living in informal settlements or backyard shacks. These were primarily concentrated within the two large urban areas, Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Metro, where the official municipal counts were both approximately 80,000. The remaining 65,000 (28%) were distributed across the other local municipalities, with the largest concentrations situated in King Sabata Dalinyebo (15,000), Mnquma (11,500), Maletswai (6,000) and Kouga (6,000). Additionally, there were in the region of 3,000 to 4,000 in three local municipalities: Lukanji, Umzumvubu and Engcobo. A further six local municipalities had from 1,000 to 2,000 informal households; a further seven had from 500 to 1,000; and the remaining 18 local municipalities accommodated from 0 to 500 informal households each.

Representative sample household surveys in twelve informal settlements and backyard shacks in their vicinities showed that more than a third of residents were children; 61% were in the 20 to 60 years category and 4% were older than 60 years. In Ocean View, Nompumelelo and Katilumla, however, two-thirds or more were in the 20 to 60 year group. The mean household sizes in these three settlements were the lowest (2,2 to 2,7 people) in comparison with the 3,04 mean across all settlements. Also noteworthy was that 26% of households comprise one person only.

Females comprised the majority of residents except in Ocean View (54% males). The proportion of females was highest (> 56%) in Bhungeni, Aliwal North and Gqebera. These statistics reflect the higher than average proportion of females in the Eastern Cape (54%), owing to male labour migration. Almost half (46%) of the heads of households had never been married; 24% were currently married; 16% living with a partner; 8% widowed and 6% divorced/ separated. The vast majority (95%) were isiXhosa-speaking. In Aliwal North 29% speak Sesotho and in Missionvale, 9% speak Afrikaans. Most residents were SA citizens.

The adult literacy rate was 88%. One-fifth of adults had passed Grade 12 or higher and 41% had some secondary education. The best-educated were in Mdantsane Buffer Strip (32% Grade 12 or higher). Education levels were lowest in settlements furthest away from the main urban centres, suggesting that better educated people are more likely to live in or migrate to larger cities. A consolidated Human Capital Index was computed for each surveyed individual (factoring in literacy, level of education and employment status). The mean was only 5,14 out of 10. The level of disability stood at 5,2% (Aliwal North 3,1%; Mdantsane Buffer Strip 7,8%).

The percentage of adults with was 46% (Katilumla and Ocean View 59%; Duncan Village C-Section 25%). More males (56%) than females (37%) had jobs. Reasons for not working were inability to find a job (62% of the unemployed); sickness or disability (11%); full-time study (6%) or inability to find any suitable work (5%). Amongst those with jobs, the median distance to the workplace was 2 km, varying from 1 km in Silver City, Katilumla and Port St Johns to 7 km in Mdantsane Buffer Strip. The majority (67%) of working residents lived within three kilometres of their workplaces. A further 18% lived 4-5 kilometres from work; and 15%, more than 5 km. The median household monthly income was R751 to R1000 and most (88%) households had an income of less than R2000 per month. In the six settlements situated in or around the two large cities, East London and Port Elizabeth, more than 11% of households had an income in excess of R2000 per month. Most households considered themselves to be very poor (21%), poor (39%) or "just getting along" (37%), indicating a close link between perceived and actual financial deprivation.

One-fifth of residents were ill during the previous three months. The most common illnesses were a bad cough, cold or flu (9,4%); high blood pressure (3,9%) and asthma (2,9%). Less frequent were HIV/AIDS (1,5%), tuberculosis (1,5%), diarrhoea (1,0%), injury (1,0%), diabetes mellitus (1,0%), and stroke or heart disease (0,9%).

More than a quarter of households had been living in their settlements for 10 to 20 years and 9% for more than 20 years. Duration of residence was longest in Duncan Village C-Section,

Gqebera and Mdantsane (mostly over 10 years) and shortest in Ocean View, Nompumelelo and Katilumla (mostly less than 5 years). Three-fifths had moved from somewhere within the same municipality. Local movement was most prevalent in Mdantsane Buffer Strip and Katilumla (> 70%) and least so in Ocean View (33%). The most frequently mentioned reason (53%) for moving to current settlements was to increase accessibility to jobs or job opportunities. This was above average in Orange Grove (76%), situated close to East London airport and West Bank industrial area; Katilumla (73%) in the CBD of Lusikisiki; and Ocean View (71%), located near to the expanding town of Jeffrey's Bay. A further 13% wanted their own place or to be independent; 9% moved for family reasons; and 8% were forced or evicted from previous homes.

Almost three-fifths of households said members of their family live away from the household (highest in Bhungeni, 86%; lowest in Duncan Village C-Section, 40%). About one-fifth of absentee members remit money, mainly every month (51%) or every few months (43%) and most commonly less than R3000. Almost a quarter of households supported family members living elsewhere (most common in Ocean View, Katilumla and Orange Grove). This comprised cash remittances monthly or every few months, usually of less than R3000.

More than seven out of ten households intend to remain permanently in their settlements (ranging from 90% in Aliwal North and Gqebera to half or less in Orange Grove and Duncan Village C-Section). Those who do not intend to remain, intend to move somewhere close (39%) or to another specified place (35%), not necessarily close to where they were living. A further 18% said 'anywhere with a decent house'.

Half of the households said "nothing" could be described as the best thing in their community, indicative of a high degree of dissatisfaction and unhappiness. This sentiment was most frequent in Aliwal North and Duncan Village C-Section (about 70%). However, one fifth said the best thing was being "close to town" (especially Silver City, Port St Johns, Bhungeni, Katilumla) and one-sixth said it was close to jobs or work opportunities (especially in Ocean View, Orange Grove, Port St Johns, Nompumelelo and Gqebera, all with above average levels of employment). The "worst thing" about communities was lack of services (48%) such as tapped water, electricity, rubbish removal, toilets (particularly in Katilumla and Port St Johns). Just over a third (36%) mentioned the high rate of crime (especially in Gqebera, Orange Grove and Duncan Village C-Section). One in six households felt safe.

Most households said they would ask their neighbours, family or relatives for assistance in order to avoid hunger; while almost a third would borrow money to purchase food. Almost half rely mostly on their neighbours in difficult times and 28% rely on relatives or family members in the area. Assistance provided is mainly money or food. People living in their neighbourhoods were perceived to be friendly by 80% of residents, indicative of the need for caution by municipalities when considering any relocation or de-densification of settlements. More than two-thirds of households recognise a local community leader, which would be critical to note in engaging with communities. Nevertheless, the average social capital index was only 4,85 out of 10.

The average number of rooms per dwelling was 2,03 and most had corrugated iron roofs (96%) and corrugated iron (43%) or wooden (35%) walls. Most (81%) households said they owned the dwelling and had paid it off in full, while 9% said they rented. The main problem experienced with dwellings was leaking (70%). Other problems were the house being too cold (11%); structural problems (9%); or the house being too small (6%). The most common sentiment of households about their houses was "dissatisfied" (46%) or "very dissatisfied" (38%). This massive level of dissatisfaction is a serious warning for human settlements authorities.

Most households (92%) obtained their drinking water from a public tap. Only a small proportion (4%) had piped tap water on site. Another 2% had to collect water from a stream or river (23% in Katilumla, where a further 15% use a stagnant dam or pool). The vast majority (97%) did not pay for water. Only 3% of households said that they received free electricity from the government. Of the relatively few with electricity, two-thirds said supply is cut off at least once a month. Almost half of the households (45%) did not have their own toilet (90% in Nompumelelo and Katilumla). The toilets that did exist were mainly pits without ventilation

pipes and the bucket system (especially in Gqebera and Ocean View). Most households were “very dissatisfied” (58%) or “dissatisfied” (36%) with municipal services.

A shop selling basic foodstuffs, a minibus taxi rank and a primary school were generally situated within two kilometres of more than three-quarters of residents. Also, approximately 60% of residents said that they were located within two kilometres of a clinic and a secondary school. However, less than 60% of households lived within two kilometres of a train station, social grants pay point, Home Affairs office, Post Office, police station, hospital, traditional healer, bus stop, street market, municipal office, library or access to the internet. More than three-fifths (62%) indicated that air pollution was a serious or very serious problem in their area (especially Katilumla). This was similarly high for poor roads (75%); noise pollution (74%) (especially Ocean View); uncleared rubbish dumps (74%) (especially Duncan Village C-Section and Bhungeni); and fires (64%) (especially Duncan Village C-Section. Significant proportions complained of flooding (57%); leaking water pipes (49%); and water pollution (48%) (especially in Aliwal North).

Less than half (45%) of households had applied for a housing subsidy in the areas where they live. This proportion varied from more than half in Duncan Village C-Section, Ocean View, Orange Grove, Missionvale, Gqebera and Bhungeni to less than one-third in Nompumelelo, Silver City, Port St Johns or Katilumla. Households earning more than R3000 per month were much more likely than others to have applied. Amongst those who had applied, almost half did so more than three years ago, i.e. before 2007. A further 11% applied in 2007, 27% in 2008 and 18% in 2009. The largest proportions of recent (2009) applicants were in Ocean View (47%) and to a lesser extent in Aliwal North, Katilumla and Mdantsane Buffer Strip (all more than 25%). Conversely, the largest proportions (more than one third) that had been waiting more than eight years were in Silver City, Port St Johns, Mdantsane Buffer Strip and Duncan Village C-Section. More than three-quarters of applicants had received assistance in the application process, mostly from a local committee, municipality or local councillor. Most indicated that they have not received any feedback since applying. More than half indicated a preparedness to relocate temporarily during the time that their new house was under construction. Less than half of those who had applied believe they are on the official waiting list for housing, indicative of the need for better communication. Of those who had not applied for a housing subsidy in their areas, 93% said that they did not know how or where to do so. A few (2,5%) households said they had also applied for a subsidy elsewhere.

Just over one-fifth indicated interest in the renting of a formal dwelling. This interest was highest amongst households living at Mdantsane Buffer Strip (41%), Orange Grove (33%) and Katilumla (30%) and lowest in Aliwal North (3%). Households that intended to remain permanently in the area were less likely (17,5%) to be interested in renting than were those that did not intend to stay (29%). The average monthly rental that households could afford for a formal dwelling was R112.10, ranging from R77.52 (Missionvale) to R154.38 (Duncan Village C-Section).

Only one in ten perceived that there had been progress with the delivery of housing in their area (highest in Ocean View: 27%). The most frequently mentioned help needed from government was the provision of housing (83%); electricity (40%), job opportunities (24%) and water (15%). Almost half (49%) were “very dissatisfied” and 38% were “dissatisfied” with their life as a whole these days.

Previous reports have indicated high vacancy rates in housing departments across the province, and that there were severe shortages of engineers, town planners, control technicians, technical and general staff. This was borne out by our research, which showed staff vacancies ranging from 10% in Buffalo City to as high as 50% in some provincial housing units. The reasons for these vacancies are the general skills shortage and steep competition from the generally better-paying private sector. Additionally, several of our respondents complained of political interference in senior managerial appointments, which also resulted in inappropriate middle and junior appointments. Nevertheless, some municipalities deal with vacancies in a systematic way and in direct response to the housing delivery challenges being experienced.

Another method used by municipalities to counteract vacancies is to outsource work, especially to private architects, planners, housing policy specialists and land valuers or to experts in the provincial housing department. A problem that emerged in some municipalities is that even quality control and monitoring is outsourced. In some cases, however, municipalities struggle even to find any external service providers. There appears to be a high retention of existing staff, many respondents having been in their jobs for more than five years, although some get poached by the private sector after a few years in a municipality. Junior staff appears to be more exposed to training than are seniors; the most frequently reported training received was on policy changes and its implications; supply chain management; project management; and conflict resolution. KPIs seemed to be well understood and well-defined and most department and units use their IDPs and quarterly reports to council to monitor performance were common, but more so amongst senior than junior staff.

There is no uniformity in setting delivery targets. The methods used range from council consultations with stakeholders; to executive decision-making by the mayor and council or HoD, in view of the lack of public engagement with IDPs; to internal target setting by housing unit officials. Most take the lead from the 2014 MDGs adopted by the national department, but admit that insufficient funding renders these targets unachievable. Other challenges to delivery are the theft of materials on site; the need to rectify poor quality units built previously; and materials price escalation.

Housing demand databases are kept by municipalities but many settlement residents do not know how to apply for a housing subsidy. Ward councillors are often active in encouraging applications; as are local community committees. In some instances, applicants emerge when a project commences; and sometimes applicants go directly to the municipality. Once a local municipality has details and documentation, it is uploaded onto the database. The province and national verify applications, ensuring no duplications elsewhere. The province informs the local municipality of progress, but very few applicants appear to receive feedback, indicative of a breakdown in communication. Councillors and officials argue that community meetings and loud hailer were effective, although beneficiaries disagree.

Housing and Human Settlements are a cross cutting area affected by laws on the environment, planning, land use and supply-chain management. The aims of EIAs conflict with and delay housing development; inexperienced and non-performing contractors lack the capacity to deliver; the tendering process is complex and tedious; IDPs are regarded as bureaucratic requirements and are not really used for implementation; housing policy is not flexible enough to deal with higher density requirements of alternative building materials; officials spend lengthy periods filling out and filing reports at the expense of doing their jobs.

A challenge to effective delivery is the perceived lack of delivery by other government units (DLA, DEAT, Deeds Office, Eastern Cape Provincial Administration), and uncertainly around and contestation over different mandates of the three spheres of government. A very common theme is a perceived lack of consultation by the province with municipalities. Local authorities felt they were forced to use emerging contractors which lacked capacity for the task, and officials were then left to deal with community dissatisfaction. Some district level officials commented that local municipalities lacked clear IDPs and planning and management systems, yet would not accept assistance from the district, but the district did not “have the teeth” to intervene. Most respondents at local and district level felt that targets were achievable within allocated budgets – but that operational, political and external environmental factors posed challenges to delivery. However, some officials said budgets were insufficient to meet targets set by the province. Provincial government expressed frustration with National Treasury for not allocating sufficient funding.

Other challenges are the difficulty of delivering water and other services to settlements spread across hilly terrain, which are inaccessible by trucks. Water scarcity hampers the mixing of mortar and harsh coastal weather conditions necessitate additional plastering to housing units. Unscrupulous contractors and sub-standard building materials have lead to poor quality units being built and then scrapped. A key factor is community buy-in and understanding of the housing delivery process. Simple ways of conveying this are needed. In

some cases the invasion of land by community members when they hear of a housing project takes time to remedy and damages relationships between municipality and community.

Long delivery times exacerbate difficulties in tracking down intended beneficiaries of the housing units once built. Beneficiaries may die or move after the application was made. Some abandon their unit when they retire to former homeland areas, making the transfer of title deeds to a new potential resident very difficult. Unoccupied houses are vulnerable to vandalism and unlawful occupation. Some housing projects have been halted when it is realised that some applicants have housing subsidies elsewhere, and new beneficiaries need to be identified.

Communities, ward councillors, mayors and government officials thus need to buy-in to projects from the beginning in order to ensure support. A lead department or unit must be recognised and permitted to proceed without interference. Land use and zoning issues must receive upfront attention to prevent later surprises. Monitoring and site visits must be regular. Experienced contractors should be appointed to mentor emerging contractors. Bottlenecks should receive immediate attention and contractors must be paid on time by the province. Payments should be contractually held back only until beneficiaries are satisfied.

1. INTRODUCTION AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

The verification study that was undertaken by the HSRC for the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements was motivated by the concern of the Provincial government regarding the uncertainty as to the exact nature and magnitude of the housing demand in the Eastern Cape. Various assumptions had been made such as idea that there had been a relatively small increase in the number of new households in the province and that the largest housing demand was attributable to the past housing backlog. In addition ECDoHS identified the need for further information about the nature of the housing demand and the burgeoning idea that it is the backyard shack-dwellers who constitute the greatest demand. Further information was required regarding the ability of the various spheres of government to deliver housing throughout the province and the quality of the existing delivery. It was these points that constituted the main areas of investigation in the study.

The study thus which focused on the following areas:

- The history and the nature of informal settlements and backyard shacks
- The demographic and socio-economic profile of informal settlements and backyard shacks
- The economic activities, income and tenancy profile of backyard shack dwellers
- A detailed analysis of backyard shacks tenant and landlord relationships
- An analysis of urban/rural linkages
- An assessment of service and infrastructure provision
- The social capital analysis of neighbourhood and community relations
- The socio-spatial mapping, exchange and social interaction modelling
- The rental market analysis and assessment of demand
- The policy options and planning scenarios
- The integration within broader urban renewal strategy
- The people's views and perceptions of state housing delivery programmes in respect of urban areas within the Province
- The capacity requirements for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of urban housing programmes with specific reference to the eradication of informal settlements and backyard shack with affected municipalities;
- And transfer of knowledge and skills to officials of the Department of Housing within the Province.

The study was effectively divided into three parts:

- a. A Desktop review of all material was first written and focused on:
 - The history and the nature of informal settlements and backyard shacks
 - A demographic and socio-economic profile of informal settlements and backyard shacks
 - The general economic activities, incomes and tenancy profiles of backyard shack dwellers at the provincial or district scale
 - A contextualisation of the rental market and assessment of demand, utilising the SAISAS database and the SHF rental housing survey conducted earlier this year.
 - Background to people's views and perceptions of state housing delivery programmes in respect of urban areas within the Province (media reports and perception surveys).
 - An understanding of capacity through an analysis of municipal and provincial websites and HR documentation, as well as the NDoH capacity survey that was undertaken last year.

The literature survey is a comprehensive document and was initially used to direct the rest of the study by confirming through looking at the documentation that there was definitely a great deal of opacity and uncertainty over the quality and quantity of units needed and delivered in the Eastern Cape. The study further confirmed that there were problems with delivery at the institutional level, which needed to be interrogated. The insights gained from the Literature Review were invaluable in the design and development of the quantitative and qualitative

questionnaires and research instruments that were developed for the rest of the project. A copy of the Literature Review constitutes the first major section of this report and was approved and finalised by the ECDoHS in December 2009.

b. Quantitative Base Line Survey

Following from the Literature Review the baseline research, which constitutes the core of the study was undertaken. The baseline study was comprised of a number of steps, but essentially focused on:

- Demographic and socio-economic profile of informal settlements and backyard shacks.
- The economic activities, incomes and tenancy profiles of backyard shack dwellers.
- Backyard shacks tenant and landlord relationships.
- The nature and extent of urban/rural linkages.
- Service and infrastructure provision.
- Social capital analysis of neighbourhood and community relations.
- Rental market dynamics.
- Perception survey of people's views and perceptions of state housing delivery programmes within the province.

The Quantitative Survey interviewed over 2 800 people across the province and the findings will be presented in the Section B of the Report.

c. Qualitative Survey

The qualitative report had the following intentions:

- To understand the challenges facing housing delivery in province.
- To examine the best practises that the various housing delivery agents have managed to institute.
- To gain a sense of issues around capacity and skills and their impact on housing and service delivery.
- To look at the perceptions of informal settlement backlogs
- To try and understand manner in which targets, including targets regarding informal settlement eradication, have been set and how they affect the perceptions of performance.

The qualitative survey interviewed 29 government officials in all spheres of government and from both the Departments of Human Settlements and Corporate Services. The findings are reported in Section C of this report.

As has already been mentioned the document is divided into four sections, the first is the introductory part, which outlines the aims of the study, the structure of the report and the methodology that was used. The second section, Section B, provides a full set of findings from the baseline quantitative survey and the third section, Section C, provides the findings and analysis of the Qualitative survey. Finally Section D, provides some conclusions and recommendations, whilst also identifying areas for further research.

1.1 Methodology

1.1.1 Literature Survey and Desktop study

The study was completed utilising a comprehensive desktop study. Documents were drawn from a range of sources including academic institutions, government departments (national, provincial and local), as well as media and specialist reports. All of these were reviewed and synthesised into a complete document. The review utilised the inception reports as the framework for analysis. One of the key problems with undertaking this literature survey was the inconsistency in the information. Where possible, the 2007 Community Survey is used, but in the absence of 2007 data the survey reverts to using 2001 Census information. The

origin of all information and its date is clearly indicated throughout the document. A further limitation of the study is that the extensive research conducted by Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University on the household dynamics in the informal settlements of NMMM is not available and as such could not be used in the study. This information will be extremely useful material with which to compare findings of the new household surveys and will certainly form part of the final version of this document and the final report.

1.1.2 Quantitative Baseline Survey

The Quantitative Study was undertaken from the beginning of October 2009 until the end of November and resulted in surveying over 2 874 households. During the course of the baseline survey, 12 areas were surveyed, these were:

- Ocean View (Jeffrey's Bay)
- Gqebeqa (Walmer)
- Missionvale
- Orange Grove
- Mdantsane Buffer Strip (Ilings/Velwano/Thembelihle)
- Nompumelelo
- Bhungeni (Kaasiyanda/ Butterworth)
- Silver City (Mount Frere)
- Katilumla (Lusikisiki) – limited sample
- Aliwal North (Phola Park/ Vulavala)
- Port St Johns (Nonyevu/ Mpantu/ Greens Farm)
- Duncan Village C-Section

Preceding the actual fieldwork was the scoping exercise in each of these areas. A standardised questionnaire was used by a team of highly trained field workers, who utilised a stratified, representative sampling technique of households in order to insure that the data was generalisable to the rest of the Eastern Cape. (Please see Appendix I for the full Quantitative Questionnaire).

1.1.3 Qualitative Survey

The qualitative study was intended to provide a comprehensive understanding of the larger trends and issues facing government officials in the provincial, district and local municipalities. There were three types of people who were intended to be interviewed, these included:

- a. Government housing officials.
- b. Government human resource officials
- c. Elected councillors.

Two interview instruments were developed by the HSRC and agreed to by the Eastern Cape Provincial Housing Department. The first (see Appendix II) was directed towards housing officials in all spheres and councillors and the second (see Appendix III) was aimed at human resource officials in order to gain some insights into issues of capacity and skills.

Interviews from the following municipalities and departments have been completed:

- Eastern Cape Provincial Department of Housing
- Amatole District Municipality
- Cacadu District Municipality
- Chris Hani District Municipality
- Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
- Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality
- OR Tambo District Municipality
- Port St. John's Local Municipality
- Mzimbuvu local municipality
- Gariiep Local Municipality
- Maletswai Local Municipality

This has provided the study with a good geographical spread across the province and has a good distribution of local and district municipalities.

In total 29 interviews have taken place, divided in the following way:

- 5 Provincial officials
- 8 District officials
- 11 Local Officials
- 5 Councillors

There has been slightly more emphasis on the local municipal officials as they are the actual delivery agents on the ground.

To break down in terms of the three categories:

- 19 housing officials from all spheres
- 5 HR officials
- 5 Councillors

Most of the respondents were offered, as had been agreed with the client, the opportunity to remain anonymous during the interview, as such comments or experiences are described as coming from a level of government and their department. Where the team was given permission to quote directly and reveal a person's identity (there were very few cases) and where appropriate then that has been done.

2. LITERATURE SURVEY

2.1 Introduction

The region of Eastern Cape, located on the east coast of SA, is the second-largest province of SA, with a total population of approximately 6.7 million people. It is a predominantly rural province but does have some major urban centres, which include its capital Bisho, and the cities of Port Elizabeth (PE), East London and King William's Town (*Figure 1*). The province is considered to be relatively poor when compared to the rest of the country but does have significant manufacturing activities. Most of these are related to the automobile industry, and therefore there are numerous factories located in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan area (Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Despatch). Other commercial activities in the province include fishing and agriculture.

Unfortunately, despite much effort, the Eastern Cape does have a range of service delivery and housing backlogs that needs to be addressed. There is some uncertainty as to the scale and range of the existing backlogs, the perceptions of service delivery and the province's ability to deliver. The HSRC has been commissioned by the Eastern Cape Department of Housing to provide a thorough verification and quantification study of informal settlements and backyard shacks in the Eastern Cape Province. It also intends to look at people's views and perceptions of the state housing delivery programmes, and to examine the existing capacity for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the urban housing and informal settlement programmes in municipalities and districts across the province.



Figure 1: Map of Eastern Cape Province indicating major cities and demarcations

This document serves as the second phase of the research project and focuses specifically on the following sections:

- The history, development and nature of informal settlements and backyard shacks.
- Nature of housing demand and supply in the Eastern Cape and its contribution to informality within the province.
- A demographic and socio-economic profile of informal settlements and backyard shacks across the province.
- The general economic activities, incomes and tenancy profiles of backyard shack dwellers at the provincial or district scale.

- A contextualisation of the rental market and assessment of demand, utilising the SASAS database and the SHF rental housing survey conducted earlier this year.
- Background to people's views and perceptions of state housing delivery programmes in respect of urban areas within the province (media reports and perception surveys).
- Case studies and lessons learnt from four other developing countries who have engaged in slum eradication activities.

The survey also examines the legislative and policy environment and domestic experience on informality and backyard housing.

As such, the paper is divided into a number of sections: the first part deals with the general history of landlessness and housing backlogs in the country with a specific focus on the EC province. The historical perspective leads into a discussion regarding the housing and service delivery backlogs in the post-democratic period, and the current status. The delivery and demographic figures are then compared and contrasted with existing work on the state's delivery and how those on the ground have perceived it. An overview of both supply and demand within the province is discussed, and then broken down to examine these dynamics in specific contexts i.e. rural housing, rental housing, public housing, informal settlement upgrading and infrastructure delivery. Each of these sections will also examine the policies and pieces of legislation that apply to each specific housing typology or tenure formulation and the challenges to implementation. The final section will provide some conclusions about the nature of informality in the province, the scale of the issue, as well as a discussion regarding the dynamics of the various kinds of housing and the quality of life of most Eastern Cape households.

2.2 Background and history of Housing in the EC

Landlessness and lack of housing have been continuous and repetitive themes in South African history (Mamba, 2008). Colonisation of the interior of SA led to fierce competition over agricultural resources and land rights. By the 1870s, commercial farming saw the rise of White sharecropping and the contrivance to force Black farmers into seasonal or wage labourers on White farms. The EC was also witness to one of the earliest urban forced evictions, and the Native Stranger's Location was established in PE in 1855. The relocation of Black urban residents to relocated to this settlement was unfortunately the first of many EC relocations (Arenas, 2002). Further relocations took place in the early 1900s when the state used the outburst of bubonic plague to relocate Black residents from a central to a new government location, New Brighton, 8 km north of the city.

The 1913, the Native Land Act exacerbated the issue of landlessness among the Black majority and forced 80% of the population into reserves that comprised 13% of the total land (Mamba, 2008). It simultaneously confiscated land and ownership rights making it possible for Black South Africans to own land only in a specified 8% of the country. In urban areas, the 1923 Natives Act mandated local municipalities to create separate settlements for the different race groups, each segregated by an open piece of land called a buffer strip (Arenas, 2002). The new settlements were vastly under-serviced and urbanisation of the Black population was severely discouraged; until well into the 1930s, local governments insisted on treating Black urban dwellers as transitory. Few local councils set aside land for 'Native villages' and most created locations outside towns and villages where 'non-White' people could build their own homes. The net result of the various policies was an under-housed and under-serviced population with very little tenure security in either the rural or urban areas.

The apartheid era did little to resolve these issues, although with the advent of a newly industrialising economy there was a need for a cheap and accessible urban labour force. As such, authorities created urban reserves for Black labourers. These were, however, highly policed and restricted spaces, which only allowed certain numbers of people (Mamba, 2008). A succession of Acts including the 1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the Population Registration Act, and the 1954 Natives Resettlement Act, were all targeted at the removal of 'unneeded' Black households from urban areas. The vast majority of Black South Africans were then forced to live in the "homelands" and "Bantustans" that had been created in 1951

with the Bantu Authorities Act. The Act had a dual purpose: on the one hand the homelands were created in order to ensure that Black people were no longer citizens of South Africa but rather citizens of the particular “homeland” in which individuals would hold basic rights such as voting and property ownership. The second intention was to assign each Black person with an “ethnic” or “tribal” identity, which correlated with a specific homeland such that all Zulu speakers were seen to come from KwaZulu. The intention behind such think was to foment division amongst the Black population in order to attempt to destabilise any form of unified protest or rebellion against the Apartheid State (Chokshi, et al, 1995).

In total some 9 million people were forcibly removed, relocated and “repatriated” to these homelands over the period 1976-1981. Entry into South Africa from these states, which constituted less than 13% of the land, was controlled and Black people were required to have passports in order to enter the land of their birth. The living conditions in the homelands were nothing short of appalling and the land, which most people were intended to farm at a subsistence level was poor to start with and soon degraded as too many people, tried to live off it too quickly. The relocations effectively created a series of rural slums where the majority of people lived in unserviced plots and were effectively reliant on remittances sent from South Africa (SA History online, n.d.).

The economic relationship between the homelands and what was considered South Africa was one of exploitation as the homeland areas had few economic opportunities, little manufacturing and services operating in these areas. As such the majority of people were reliant on work and remittances from SA who utilised the homelands as labour pools, which could be called upon and sent back as and when necessary (Morris and Padayachee, 1988). The relocation of Black people created two types of slums within the homeland areas: the first were the resettlement camps designed and implemented by the authorities and were to some degree planned, and the second are sites that Crankshaw and Parnell (1996: 235) describe as places of “spontaneous urbanisation”, whereby rural households congregated at specific points along the SA/Homeland borders. These settlements were closer to the SA metropolitan areas and thus the work opportunities but still within the borders of the Bantustans and thus out of the reach of the influx control legislation. They developed into informal settlements with little or no services or infrastructure and acted as dormitory towns, which serviced the metropolitans in commutable distance. Some of the best known of these informal dormitory settlements include: Botshabelo (60km outside Bloemfontein), Kanyamazane (20km outside Nelspruit), Winterveld, Mabopane and numerous settlements in KwaNdebele (between 30 and 110km north of Pretoria).

The 1960s’ policies, however, had a slightly different intention and were used to restrict township sizes and housing for Black workers in White urban areas. These policies expressed the preference for forcing Black labourers to commute long distances to their employers, rather than having Black workers living in White spaces. Simultaneously in the homelands located in the Eastern Cape (Ciskei, Transkei) and in other Bantustans, the Apartheid government instituted a so-called “Betterment” programme, which encouraged (read: forced) residents to leave their farmsteads, which had been quite scattered and to move into rural villages (Andersson and Axelsson, 2005). The intention seems to have been to make the inhabitants of the homelands more dependent on employment opportunities in SA and less able to sustain their livelihoods from subsistence sources. There are no exact figures as to how many people the Betterment Policy affected but researchers put the figure between 1.3 and 2.5 million people with an end result of large numbers of settlements reflecting intense poverty with few if any services and hardly any income or livelihood generating opportunities (Andersson and Axelsson, 2005).

The 1971 restrictions on family housing contributed to an already untenable situation. By the end of what has been termed early apartheid period (1948-1976), rural areas were typified by poor subsistence farming without proper facilities in the Reserves, and large commercial White-owned farms in the rest of the country. Black labourers were either taken on as farm workers or seasonal labourers with few attendant advantages. The urban areas saw increasing densification as rural populations moved to these areas, but diminishing services and housing as the state tried to force townships to become self-sustaining. According to Bank (2005), throughout the height of apartheid, backyard dwellers managed to slip into the cracks and find accommodation in ‘hidden’ spaces among the housing that was supplied to

the urban Black population. As such, there has been a backyard population in the Eastern Cape for at least the last half-century.

The 1970s saw an attempt by the Nationalist government to try find a compromise position between the need for housing in urban areas and White fears of Black land ownership. A flurry of policies were enacted during the late apartheid period (1977-1993), which were intended to try address the housing and service backlogs. Various local councils were put in place in both the homelands and the urban areas to try address delivery issues. The local communities, however, never considered most of them legitimate and almost all failed to deliver.

The establishment of hundreds of informal settlements in small towns across the province typified the spatial landscape in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Bank *et al*, 2006). These informal settlements grew despite the apartheid government's 'orderly urbanisation' policy. The policy, which did demonstrate a slight loosening of the apartheid noose, tolerated urban migrants with the condition that they were 'properly housed'. The state, of course, did not provide a great deal of housing for new urban dwellers in an attempt to both limit expenditure and urban growth. Different parts of the province, however, responded in different ways. In the homeland of Ciskei, the puppet government enforced apartheid legislation and utilised a series of 'strong-arm tactics' including arrest, forced evictions and destruction of shacks, to prevent and retard the growth of informality. This was a programme it followed right up until the early 1990s at the beginning of political transition. The Transkei government was far more tolerant of the increasing informalisation of towns and settlements. By the late 1980s, as a result of their lax enforcement, there were large and expanding informal settlements across the homeland, especially around Butterworth and Umtata. The Cape Provincial Administration (CPA), which controlled large parts of what is now the EC, enforced the 'orderly urbanisation' policy and added the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1986 to its arsenal in order to try control squatting. The area it tried to control was vast and the enforcement was met with varying degrees of success (Bank *et al*, 2006). At the same time as the informal settlements were growing, the apartheid state was losing its control over the townships, and, as a result, backyard dwellings increased in these newly 'freed' spaces (Bank, 2005).

According to Bank *et al* (2006):

"The decisive moment for the expansion of informal settlements in the Eastern Cape as a whole, however, came after 1990 when the newly unbanned ANC declared its support for land seizures by dispossessed urban communities. The political endorsement of land seizures led to widespread defiance of the state and catalysed rapid informal settlement formation throughout the province".

The ANC support exacerbated the informalisation of the province and by the 1990s, almost all of the large towns in the province had a growing informal population. Butterworth boasted an average annual growth rate of over 10% and Dimbaza, Peddie and Mdantsane also developed informal sites on their outskirts. The phenomenon was not limited to the homeland areas and informal dwellers located themselves in Burgersdorp, Bedford, Bathurst, Kei Road, Komga and others. The rise of these settlements was exacerbated by the drought between 1986-1992, during which an estimated 80 000 farm workers lost their jobs and were forced to leave their homes.

At the end of the apartheid era and the beginning of the democratic dispensation, the urban housing backlog was estimated to be 1.5 million units. In addition, 48% of all households did not have access to flush toilets or ventilated pit latrines, 25% had no access to potable water and a further 46.5% had no electricity (Mamba, 2008). According to Arenas,

As a result of years of apartheid planning and development, human settlements in South Africa are characterised by spatial separation of residential areas according to class and population groups, urban sprawl, a lack of access to basic services in many instances, and concentration of the poor on the urban periphery. These factors have led to human settlements being inequitable, highly inefficient and unsustainable (Arenas, 2002:21).

This was a fair description of the EC at the end of the apartheid period.

2.3. EC Demographics, Housing and Service Delivery: An Overview

2.3.1 Demographics

Basic demographic information from StatsSA's 2007 Community Survey has been difficult to find. As a result, this section relies on the figures from the 2001 Census reported by the Eastern Cape Government and, where appropriate, compared with the survey conducted by the University of Fort Hare. According to StatsSA the current population of the EC sits at somewhere between 6.3-6.5 million people distributed highly unevenly between the urban and rural areas. Amathole and O.R. Tambo district both of which are highly urbanised account for 26% each, while the Ukhahlamba district has only 5% of the population. The population of the province has a very young profile, and in 2001, 71% of the population were below the age of 35 years and of that, 23% were below the age of nine. There is also a strong gender imbalance, with a ratio of 54 women to 46 men. The imbalance is especially in the rural areas where over 50% of household heads are female.

Bank *et al*, (2006) report that 29.6% of the population are unemployed, which tallies with the 2001 Census report that states that two million people are not economically active, 908 000 people are unemployed and only 754 000 are employed. According to the rapid assessment, the highest percentages of those 'looking for work' were in Amathole and the NMMM. Incomes are very low and the majority of income earners bring home R800 or less per month. However, Bank *et al* (2006) recorded that the highest household income levels were found in NMMM (about R2500 a month), followed by Cacadu at about R2000 a month and then Amathole. It is also worth noting that the average rural income was just under half of the average urban income. The largest employment sector in the province is community, social or personal at 29%, followed by 15.4% trade and 13.4% manufacturing.

2.3.2 Housing

There have been some significant changes over the period 2001 to 2007 and the EC government has certainly delivered in a range of areas. However, indications are that the province is still mostly rural with StatsSA reporting in 2004 that 61.2% of the province's households were categorised as rural (Kilian, *et al*, 2005). The National Department of Housing (NDoH) concurs with this statistic and its 2002 Housing Atlas demonstrates that the settlements in the EC are primarily traditional, particularly within the interior. OR Tambo, Alfred Nzo and Chris Hani District Municipalities have the highest prevalence of households, which are subject to traditional authorities. The coastal zone displays the highest densities and large urbanised stretches typified by formal-informal mixed settlements (see *Figure 2*). Land under communal tenure in former homelands and large peri-urban dormitory settlements in former homelands, display very low densities and generally high poverty indicators. In terms of informality, informal settlements and dwellings are 10-12 times more likely in urban areas than in the traditional/rural authority settlements (Mamba, 2008). Sherwood (2003:41) describes the situation in PE as one in which, "the impoverished black communities ring the city" and that "[i]nformal settlements ... have mushroomed on the edge of town in the past ten years". Similarly, a CSIR report on environmental disasters and informal settlements noted that there are an estimated 80 000 people living in informal settlements around East London, with an average density of 3 000 people per hectare (Napier and Rubin, 2002).

Table 1: Percentage Formal and Informal Dwellings per District (StatsSA, 2007).

District Municipality	Formal 2007	Informal 2007
Cacadu	88.1	6.9
Amatole	56.9	14.0
Chris Hani	51.6	2.4
Ukhahlamba	52.7	5.3
O.R.Tambo	27.2	2
Alfred Nzo	34.3	1.6
Nelson Mandela Metro	85.1	13.7

In terms of housing and settlement typology, 54.7% of households in the EC live in formal structures and 8% live in informal dwellings. When broken down by municipality, the following had the lowest numbers of formal dwellings: Umzimvubu (22.2%), Engcobo (22.8%), Mhlontlo (23.9%), Mbizana (24.7%), Elundini (24.7%), Intsika Yethu (25.6%), Nyandeni (25.6%), Mbhashe (20.3%), Qaukeni (19.2%), Port St. Johns (14.6%), and Ntabankulu (13.7%)(StatsSA, 2007). The highest percentages of informal dwellings were found to be in Buffalo City (24.5%), Maletswai (21.8%), Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan (13.7%), Kouga (13.1%), Blue Crane Route (11.1%), Mquma (8.9%), Great Kei (10.1%), Amahlathi (8.3%), and Nxuba (8.8%) (StatsSA, 2007). In terms of tenure, 63.5% of all households' record that they own their homes, and a further 11.4% claim to rent their current dwellings (StatsSA, 2007). When disaggregated by typology, it is estimated that 25% of households in informal settlements rent their dwellings (ECDoH, 2008).

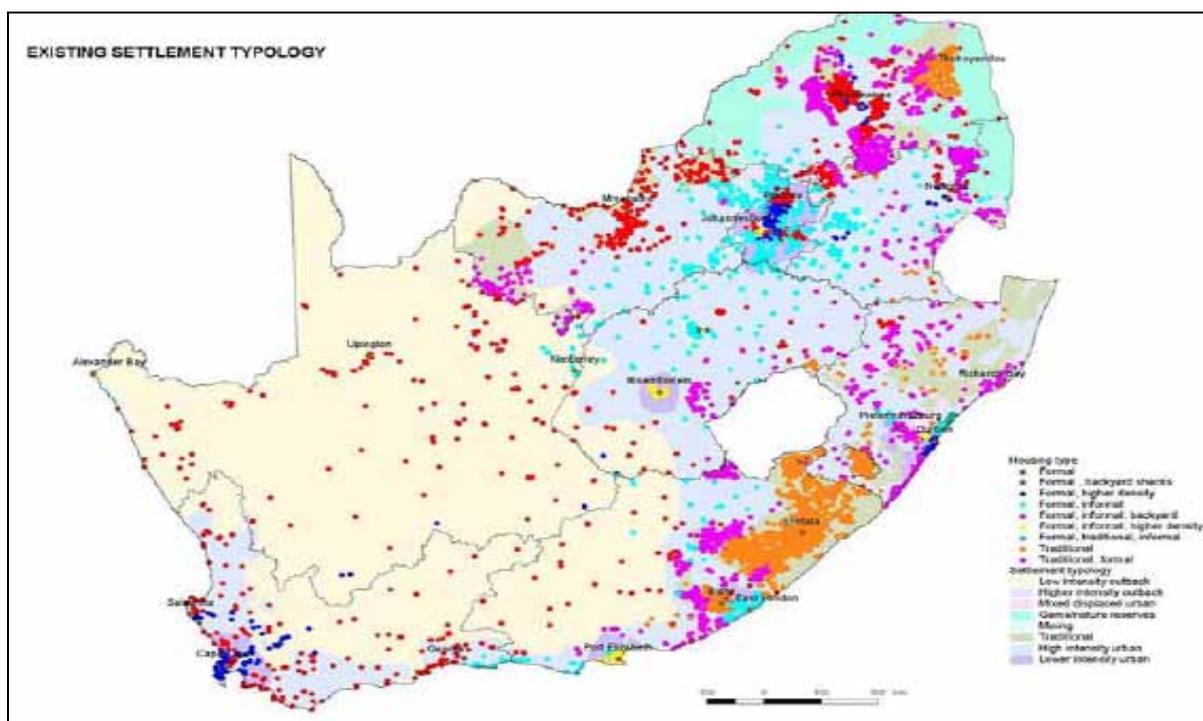


Figure 2: Existing Settlement Typologies across SA (NDoH, 2002)

Rental housing is also quite common in the province and a recent report completed for the SHF found that 12% of the EC population are currently renting their accommodation¹. The figure translates to 200 000 households and displays a marked geographical discrepancy - of the urban population, 18.4% of households rent as opposed to only 3.8% of all households in the rural areas (SHF, 2009). One-third of the rental market in the province comprises households earning less than R1500 a month, with just over 20% in the next two income categories: 21% in the R1500-R3499 and 23% in the R3500-R7500 cohort (SHF, 2009). In terms of housing typologies, houses or townhouses represent the most common form of rented dwelling and shacks the least. Apparently, only 7% of rented dwellings in the Eastern Cape are informal dwellings. This figure is startlingly low and, according to the study, is 13% below the national average. Interestingly, traditional housing also constituted a very small percentage of rental units in the province, constituting just over 5% of the rental stock. Rentals are relatively low and all backyarders and informal dwellers pay less than R500 a month.

2.3.3 Service delivery

The province is considered to be one of the poorest in the country and is regarded as having relatively poor service delivery; access to water, sanitation and electricity are all below the

¹ The SHF study utilises information from the Community Survey 2007, the General Household Survey 2007 and the 2005/6 Income and Expenditure Survey, which is weighted and consolidated to provide a series of figures.

national average (StatsSA, 2007), even though there has been steady improvement in almost all sectors since 2001 (see Table 2). There were, however, noticeable rural/urban discrepancies and according to the Rapid Assessment, urban households had, on average, twice as much access to services than rural households. However, city-based households did pay more for services than their rural counterparts. The overall trend was that the higher the household income, the more services the household could access.

Table 2: Access to Services in EC, 2001 and 2007 Comparison (StatsSA, 2007).

Service	Access 2001	Access 2007
Electricity for lighting	50%	65.5%
Access to piped water	63.2%	70.4%
Flush Toilet	33.7%	40.2%
No Toilet	31.3%	25.2%

2.3.4 Perception of status quo: housing and service delivery

The figures above indicate the official delivery statistics, but they only provide the quantitative part of the story, the rest is given by means of the opinions of the various beneficiaries. Perception surveys have been undertaken in the province and the work conducted by Bank *et al* (2006), at the University of Fort Hare and Development Research Africa in over 12 000 households, as well as De Nobrega's 2006 study, in conjunction with a range of media reports, provide a sense of how people see delivery in the province.

i. Housing access and provision

According to the Bank *et al* (2006) study, low-cost housing is seen as an essential service by 88.1% of the households in the EC. According to the study, nearly a third of all respondents agreed that RDP housing is a priority service for the household. Throughout the province, some 13.6% of households have access to housing subsidies. Access is highest in Nelson Mandela Metro (35.7%) and Cacadu (32.2%), but few households in OR Tambo and Alfred Nzo say they have access to housing subsidies (1.4% and 0.7% respectively). Actual housing subsidies have been received by 11.3% of households in the EC. Cacadu had the highest number of households with housing subsidies (29.1%), followed by Nelson Mandela Metro (26.5%). The lowest percentage of housing subsidies received was in OR Tambo (2.7%) and Alfred Nzo (2%). The figures seem contradictory as almost 20% of households in the province have access to low-cost/RDP housing. Again, the levels of access are highest in Nelson Mandela Metro (44.7%) and Cacadu (54.2%), and lowest in OR Tambo and Alfred Nzo (3.1% and 3%).

The consequences of the housing subsidies and housing delivery schemes are mixed as 6.3% of households who have received subsidies are still living in informal housing (0.4% paying rent, and 5.9% not paying rent). A further 3.2% live in a dwelling on tribal land. Altogether, 11.8% of those who had received a housing subsidy still do not own a formal dwelling. Disaggregating this information indicates that households who received housing subsidies, but are still living in informal or tribal housing, are mostly located in OR Tambo and Alfred Nzo. Bank *et al* (2006) argue that a range of reasons exists which possibly explains this behaviour, including that a member of the household could have received a housing subsidy and subsequently moved to an informal settlement, or used the housing subsidy to provide a dwelling for another part of the family (not part of that household).

ii. Settlement relocation

There are a number of anecdotes from households that are very dissatisfied with housing provision in the EC. Informal dwellers from the Chatty Settlement argue that they have been waiting for between 15-20 years for a house (Timse, 2008). Residents from informal settlements describe how they have been moved from municipal land in and around PE and re-settled, and how the relocations have occurred in some cases, like that of the Moeggelsukkel township, without appropriate warning (Reyneke, 2006). One of the residents of the relocated informal settlement said, "I arrived on Tuesday evening to find my house and family gone. We had been told about a month back that they were going to move us, but no one had gotten back to us as to exactly when" (Reyneke, 2006: 5).

Their new homes have few and widely dispersed communal taps, bucket toilets that are rarely cleaned by the municipality and schools that are inaccessible to the local residents. As such, there is widespread unhappiness among people who have not yet received subsidies or have been moved off private or municipal land.

iii. Quality of housing

In terms of the housing that has been delivered throughout the province, there are a number of common complaints from beneficiaries, which include:

- Rain water coming through the roof, along the bottom and top edges of walls and around doors. In De Nobrega's (2006) study, beneficiaries apparently had to routinely move their furniture and possessions to the centre of the house when it rained to avoid water damage.
- Roofs that are not always firmly secured to walls and/or trusses, and rattle or blow off during high winds and storms.
- Doors that do not fit securely in their frames and require beneficiaries to stuff material or newspaper in the gaps to stop rainwater and draughts.
- Cracks developing in walls soon after beneficiaries move in, particularly around windows, doors and corners.
- Foundations often cracking where they meet the top structure.

There are reports of officials from the municipality promising to address the housing quality issues, but so far nothing has come of these commitments (De Nobrega, 2007).

iv. Water and electricity

A number of issues around the delivery of water and electricity exist, and most houses that De Nobrega visited did not have bathrooms. Bank *et al*, however, demonstrate that satisfaction with sanitation and services is dependent on location. According to their study, households *with access* to basic on-site sanitation in all districts were generally satisfied with the sanitation that had been provided. The province has placed a great deal of emphasis on upgrading sanitation and, in total, 16% of households have had their toilet facilities upgraded (32.7% of toilet facilities upgrades were from bucket latrines to flush toilets, and a further 29.1% of the upgrades were from basic pit latrines to VIPs. This approach has clearly met with a great deal of approval.

Free water has been available in the province but that option seems to be disappearing and is being replaced by water meters. It seems that of those who pay for water, households spend on average R111.00 per month per household on water. Households in OR Tambo pay the most (R155.00) and residents of Alfred Nzo pay the least (R59.00). There were similar affordability and expenditure patterns regarding electricity - households in NMMM spend approximately R150 a month on electricity, while the average for OR Tambo was only R66 a month. Only half of the households interviewed said that they could afford to use electricity for cooking everyday. Free basic electricity was reported to be available in 41% of households and there were high levels of approval for this policy in Alfred Nzo. Unfortunately, over half of the respondents said that they had not always been able to pay for water and electricity over the last year. There is a spatial discrepancy, with households in NMMM saying that they are most likely to be able to afford payment, while households in OR Tambo and Alfred Nzo are least likely to always be able to pay for water and electricity. In terms of service, 71% of households reported interruptions in their service.

There does seem to be an overall sense of cynicism around housing and service delivery in the province, in both the rural and urban areas. Bank (2005) argues that there is a growing sense of disillusionment in the rural areas and cites the 2005 Imbizo in which the residents of Debe Nek, Middledrift, Alice and Fort Beaufort, met to discuss their disapproval of the rural development processes, and to petition Premier Nosimo Balindlela, and the Amathole and Nkonkobe district municipality mayors, Sakhumzi Somyo and Mandisile Mdleleni, to start living up to their promises and improve the lives of rural dwellers. The dissatisfaction and disillusionment in the province can be summed up by in statement by a Nelson Mandela Informal Settlement dweller, who had recently been relocated to Chatty Extension 5: "I am

sad today. I have lived there [Nelson Mandela Informal Settlement in New Brighton] since 1990. We named the squatter camp after Nelson Mandela as he was released in 1990. We had so much hope then” (Timse, 2008:8). There is a clear implication that, unfortunately, a great deal of hope has been lost.

2.3.5 What does it all mean?

Effectively, the above data points to the fact that there has been an overall improvement in the conditions in which most people live. There is, however, a perception that the housing process has, for the most part, been deeply unsatisfying and that there is now a great deal of scepticism of the ability of the province to deliver adequate services and housing. There is also some unhappiness with the quality of housing and services that have been delivered and a realisation that the vast majority of the poor pay high prices for their basic services. There is also the realisation that delivery has a spatial component and those in the more urban areas pay more for the same services.

2.4. Demand Overview

Demand needs to be understood in all of its component parts, thus the demand for various types of units and housing typologies need to be raised. What needs to be understood is that there are many different types of informal settlements, each with their own specific needs and requirements. The following section analyses the factors which contribute to demand, following which a model of informal housing will be explained and applied to the EC’s informal settlements. The NDoH has constructed a housing need model (see *Figure 3*), which depicts the main factors that contribute to a disaggregated sense of housing demand.

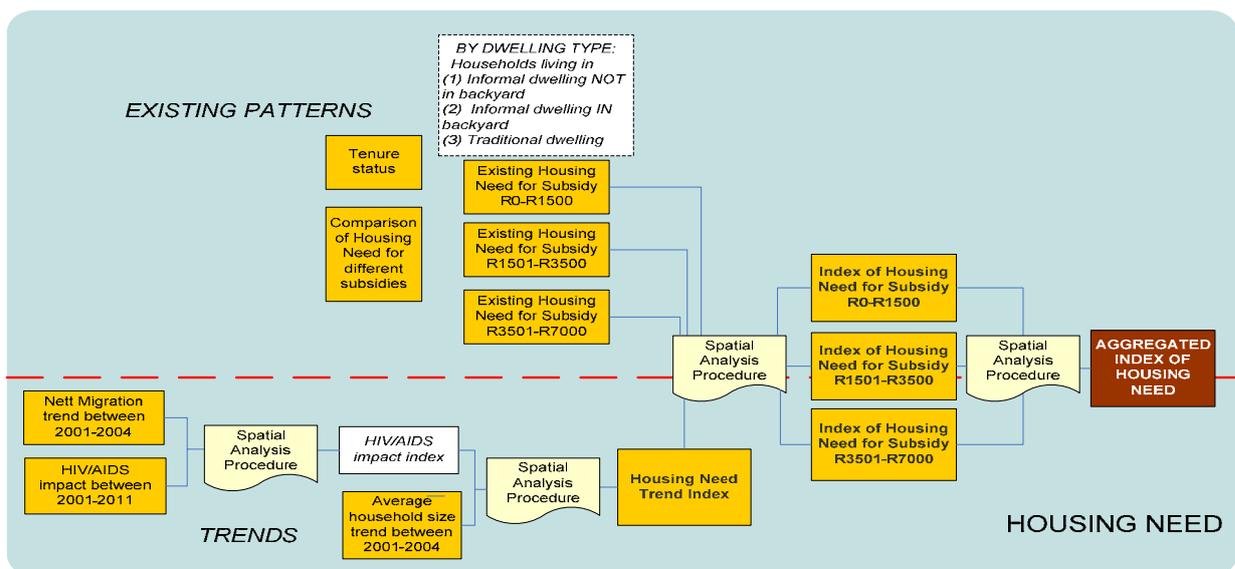


Figure 3: Model of Housing Need (NDoH, webpage)

The factors that need to be considered, include:

- Migration
- Household changes (size and composition)
- Economic conditions (macro and micro)
- Mortality issues (HIV/Aids)
- Locational issues within the province

An understanding of these factors will allow the researchers to make comment regarding the nature of housing and housing backlogs in the EC province and potential demand in the future.

2.4.1 Factors Affecting Demand

i. Migration

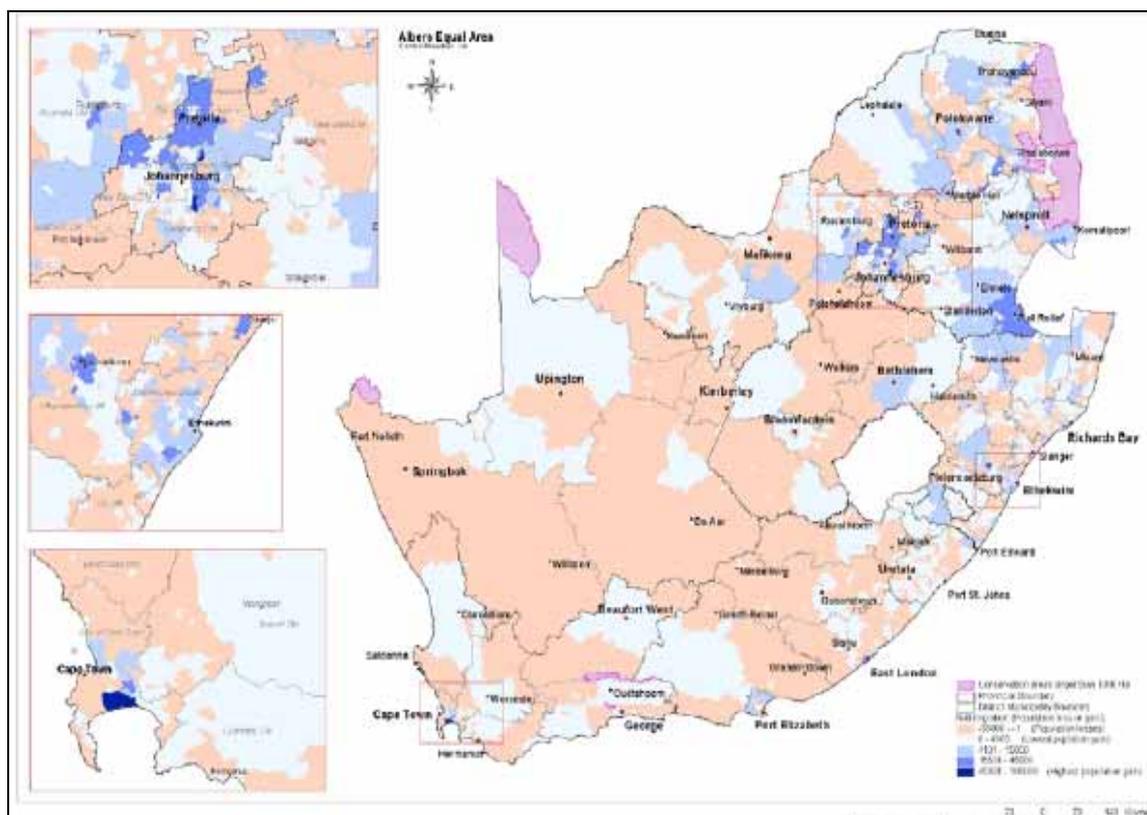


Figure 4: Migration in SA 2001-2004

Migration has always been a feature of the EC in the post-apartheid period, however, the rate of migration has increased. In the late 1990s, Cross and Bekker conducted a study along the eastern seaboard of SA. Their study revealed that EC residents were perpetually on the move and that three million of the 5.7 million people had moved at least once. They argued that the collapse of the traditional rural livelihoods had forced rural households to look for other income-earning and livelihood strategies. Their work further found that migration to smaller administrative centres and proximal nodes attracted a large number of previously rural dwellers, either as semi-permanent migrants or as a step towards a larger urban centre (Neves and Du Toit, 2008). Posel (2001) argued that not only had migration increased but also that it was, importantly, predominantly circular and dominated by women. Bank *et al* (2006) have noted that the reasons for current migration in SA are complex and are influenced by more than the need for employment. One of the main factors that is currently motivating household and individual migration is the search for decent infrastructure, as well as the relocation to places which have high potential of being developed in terms of services and housing.

It would seem from Bank *et al*'s 2006 study that contemporary migration is quite different to the mobilisation and movement patterns seen in the 1990s. In particular, circular migration seems to have slowed and only 15% of the households interviewed had an active migrant. Evidence seems to suggest that of the households and individuals who are migrating, most are relocating permanently to their new homes. This echoes a view that Bank (2005) put forward in an earlier ECSECC study, where she stated:

Our main point here, then, is not to suggest that James is wrong to highlight post-apartheid connections between town and country, or to deny that many of those who live in rural areas do not continue to hold 'stakes' in the cities. This is certainly the case, and it remains the desire of most families to have access to bases, resources and networks in both urban and rural areas. But the reality is that fewer ordinary people are able to constantly move between the urban and the rural, and many are finding

themselves trapped within what Davis (2003) would call 'involved slums' which they find increasingly difficult to escape, in both town and countryside (Bank, 2005).

The key issue, however, is that about 85% of the households in the province had no migrants in them. This is backed up by the apparent halving in migration to Cape Town from the mid-1990s when Bekker stated, "the ongoing rural-urban migration from the Eastern Cape... 'may well represent the largest and most rapid demographic flow in South Africa at the moment' (Bekker, 2002: iv)" (quoted in Deumert, Inder and Maitra, 2005:309). Singh (2005) puts the figure at 45 000-50 000 people leaving the EC and heading for Cape Town, as opposed to the 80 000 seen a decade before.

Bank *et al's* (2006) findings tally with Singh's and argue for a more stable population in the EC than had been imagined. Some of the reasons include the large amount of migration seen in the previous decade, which leads us to believe that most people who wanted to move have already done so (see *Figure 4*). Secondly, the availability of social grants and infrastructure in the smaller towns and villages has lessened the drive to leave the rural areas and the need to urbanise. Although where migration is still taking place, Singh (2005) argues that there is a gender distinction, with men often moving to Cape Town for work opportunities and women leaving the EC for health reasons, often related to seeking medical attention for pregnancy or HIV-related illnesses.

The presidency's National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP, 2006) noted that, "Of the 20 district or metropolitan municipalities that experienced the highest net out-migration of people between 2001 and 2006, six (out of a total of seven for the province) district and metropolitan municipalities are in the Eastern Cape...The three district municipalities that experienced the largest net out-migration in absolute numbers in this period were all in the Eastern Cape, while the municipality that saw the largest out-movement of people as a percentage of its total population was Chris Hani DM with 8.51%"

Areas with above-average migration rates include Ukuhamba (7%), OR Tambo, Alfred Nzo and Amathole, which reinforce the idea of the eastern half of the province as the main sending areas. In terms of where people have migrated, 25% are in Cape Town, 30% in Johannesburg, 10% in EL or PE, and 16% in other EC towns. Very few - only - 6% move between rural areas. Chris Hani and Amathole are the main senders to Cape Town and Ukuhamba, while OR Tambo and Alfred Nzo are the main senders to Johannesburg. It is important to note, however, that in the PE area, there is a great deal of migration from the immediate hinterland into the city (over 50% in PE metro).

ii. *Macro-Economic Conditions*

Economic growth in the province is important as it helps to indicate the likelihood of households requiring housing and those who will be able to provide their own units over time. The sites of economic growth will also influence migration patterns, as well as the locations of wealth and, paradoxically, inequity. The province indicates serious underdevelopment, and pockets of intense poverty and vulnerability scattered across it, which how, even now, the legacy of its homeland past still haunts it. The Eastern Cape Provincial Growth and Development Perspective 2004-2014 points out that the province contributed 7% to the national GDP of which most of the province's income (63%) comes from tertiary activities, 27% from secondary and only 10% from primary.

In terms of distribution, most of the province is considered to be rural but the majority of people are engaged in survivalist and subsistence farming. The secondary sector is dominated by the automobile industry and is mainly concentrated in the NMMM (64%) and Amathole (22%). Tertiary activities are mainly made up public sector services in education (22%), public administration and defence activities, and health and social work (11% each, respectively). The retail trade and repair of goods sub-sector (11%), posts and telecommunications (8%), wholesale and commission trade (7%), financial intermediation (6%), activities auxiliary to financial mediation (5%) and land transport (5%) also make up a significant portion of the gross value added (GVA) output for the tertiary sector.

The EC intends to focus on existing nodes in order to drive growth. As part of this strategy the EC government has industrial development zones (IDZs) at Coega and in EL. These IDZs are

'are purpose-built industrial estates geared for duty-free production for exports... Both IDZs are developing automotive production clusters linked to the strong and expanding industry already established in the Eastern Cape' (extract from Eastern Cape Development Corporations webpage on IDZs, http://www.ecdc.co.za/eastern_cape_districts). Although there is focus on these industrial nodes, the ECPGDS demonstrates that the province intends to spatially and economically integrate the province to ensure more equal development.

iii. Rural- urban linkages

Rural-urban linkages have always played an important part in EC incomes and livelihood strategies, and the interaction cannot and should not be ignored (Bank, 2005). Ironically, though, there seems to have been an increasing disconnect between the urban and rural: "Over the past decade, some parts of the Eastern Cape have become increasingly disconnected from the urban economies on which they have relied for so long. De-industrialisation and retrenchments in manufacturing and especially mining in metropolitan areas, has had a dramatic impact on some rural areas in the Eastern Cape" (Bank, 2005:24). The traditional flow of young men and women to the urban areas is continuing but returned migrants and improved communication have shown would-be migrants that their journeys to the urban centres and larger towns may be both dangerous and unsuccessful, and there is now an anxiety at the prospect of leaving home.

Having said that, there are still households that are still dependent on urban remittances from family members and kin who have left the rural areas. Although research conducted by Bank (2005) indicates that due to the de-industrialisation of the EC and the very high unemployment areas, the amounts flowing back have apparently significantly diminished. Interestingly, the state seems to have stepped into the gap and in some areas, such as the Transkei, coast pensions and government grants contribute up to 50% of households' incomes.

There also seems to be an intermediate form of urban-rural linkage, which the NSDP identified. Migrants are now moving from deeply rural areas to major roads that cross the rural areas (NSDP, 2006). The intention is to maintain a link to rural livelihoods and households, while simultaneously benefiting from being located on transport route and utilising the passing traffic as both a market for goods and a way of facilitating access to job and transport opportunities in urban areas. Thus, the previous rural-urban divide has been complexified by a new hybridised form of income that is neither rural nor urban but linked to both. Unfortunately, putting exact numbers to the income that is generated through remittances and urban-rural linkages has proven impossible, as the researchers were unable to find any figures or statistics for the province.

iv. Mortality Issues (HIV/Aids)

One of the key areas affecting SA housing predictions is the issue of HIV/Aids. There is a great deal of uncertainty as to the overall effect the disease will have on housing demand, both in terms of housing typology i.e. what kinds of units will be needed, and tenure, i.e. will more rental units be needed for child-headed households, especially when one considers that there are 5.7 million people who are HIV positive. In the period 2000-2004, the EC had underspent its health budget by a figure of some R170 million. The table below indicates that the province has had slightly lower prevalence rates than the national average and the most recent figures (2007) indicate that some 26% of the EC population are infected.

Table 3: HIV Infection rates in SA and the EC (<http://www.avert.org/safricastats.htm>)

Province	2001 prevalence %	2002 prevalence %	2003 prevalence %	2004 prevalence %	2005 prevalence %	2006 prevalence %	2007 prevalence %
Eastern Cape	21.7	23.6	27.1	28.0	29.5	28.6	26.0
National	24.8	26.5	27.9	29.5	30.2	29.1	28.0

An earlier study, the Report on the National HIV and Syphilis Antenatal Prevalence Survey in South Africa for 2005, indicated that the most affected groups were those in the categories

20-30 with children over the age of eight years, while older people over the age of 60 showed the lowest rates of prevalence and infection. Effectively, the HIV rate, as measured a few years ago, means that the average resident of the EC was unlikely to live past his/her fiftieth birthday.

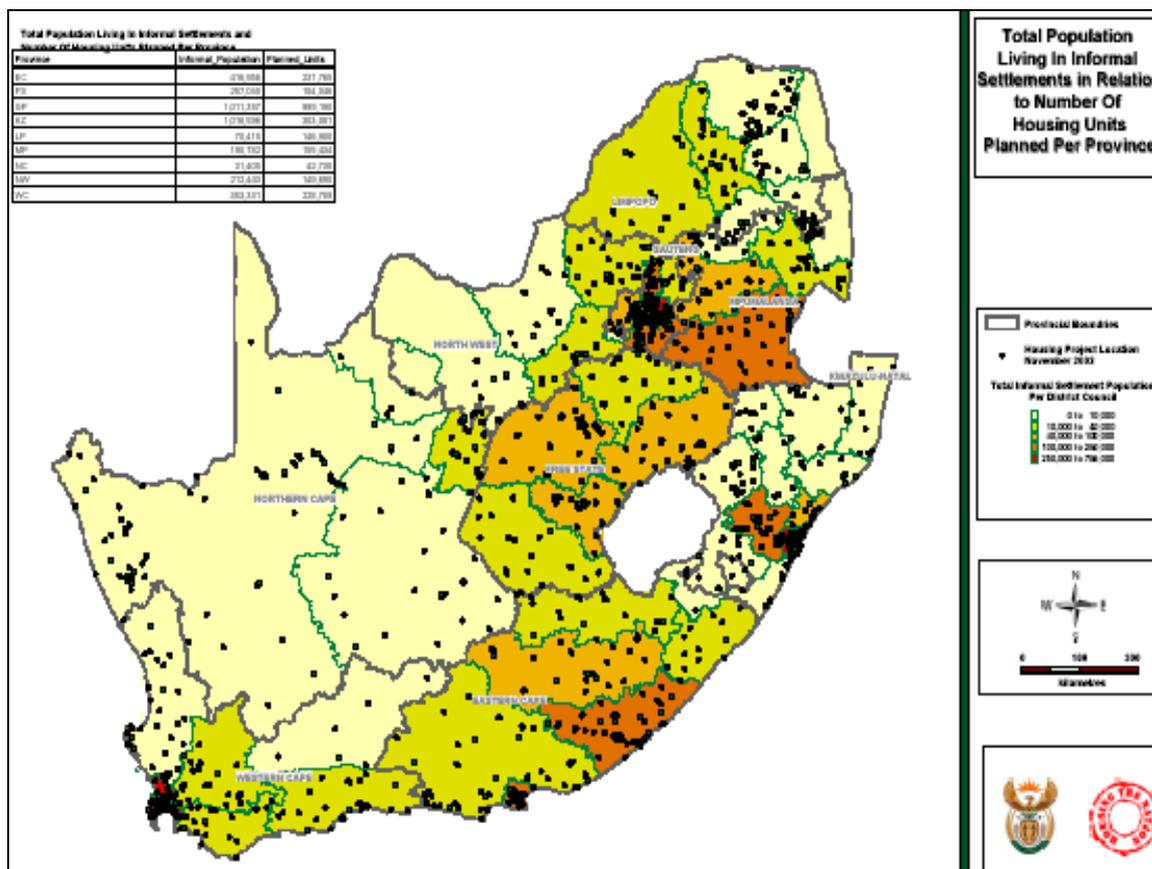


Figure 5: Map displaying informal settlements in SA circa 2004 (UNCHS, 2004).

2.4.2 Demand in Numbers

i. Formal versus informal housing across the EC

Given the dynamics mentioned above in terms of demographics, social growth and economic development, the EC has come up with its own figures around the current demand in the province. The EC puts its housing backlog at just under 800 000 houses, but as De Nobrega (2007) points out, there is uncertainty as to whether this figure refers to people or houses. It is generally taken that the figures refer to houses, and according to the Strategic Plan the backlog is comprised as follows: traditional dwellings (68%)², backyard shacks (6%) and informal settlements (26%). The EC estimates that there are 205 informal settlements located in the rural areas and on the periphery of industrialised urban centres (see Figure 5). The district with the highest percentage of informal housing is Nelson Mandela Metro (23%). In contrast, OR Tambo and Alfred Nzo have very low levels of informal housing (3% and 2%, respectively). At the local municipality level, Maletswai and Buffalo City are the municipalities with the highest percentages of informal housing (30% and 29%). However, more than 80% of households live in formal housing - Inxuba Yethemba, Ikwezi, Baviaans, Camdeboo, Blue Crane Route, Inkwanca, Kou-Kamma and Gariep (Kwelita, 2007). The table below indicates the number of units that are needed in each of the district municipalities.

² The figure given for traditional dwellings (547 881) is a Census 2001 figure extrapolated to 2006 (a reduction of 1% due to urban migration to East London, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Johannesburg)

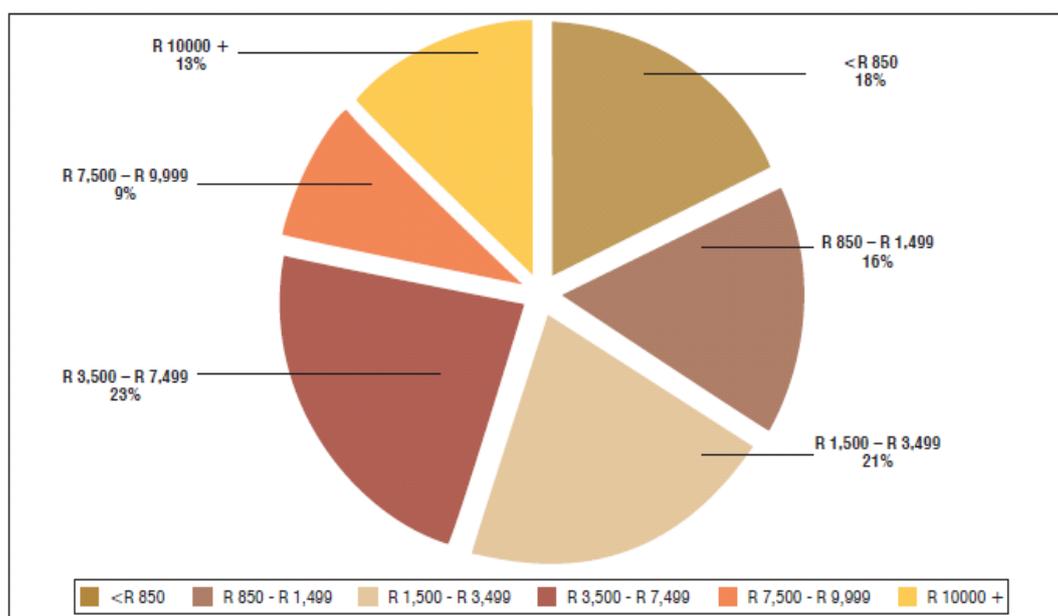
Table 4: Housing demand per District in the EC (ECDoH, 2007:20).

District	Informal dwellings	Backyard Shacks	Traditional Dwellings	Total
Cacadu	13 500	4 954	9 772	28 226
ADM	82 350	20 067	128 861	231 278
Chris Hani	9 464	2 778	76 317	88 559
Ukhahlamba	7 291	1 592	26 658	35 541
OR Tambo	10 128	3 904	219 531	233 563
Alfred Nzo	2 556	1 760	82 888	87 204
NMBM	77 868	11 839	3 854	93 561
TOTAL	203 157	46 894	547 881	797 932

The Strategic Framework does, however, make the following comment about the housing backlog figures: "It should be noted that the inclusion of all traditional dwellings as part of the backlog presupposes that all housing types in rural areas are, in fact, inadequate, whereas a significant proportion of traditional housing is well constructed using appropriate indigenous technology with good thermal insulation characteristics. Nonetheless, basic services such as water supply, sanitation and access roads are generally inadequate within the rural/traditional areas" (ECDoH, 2007:20).

ii. Rental housing demand in the EC

Rental housing demand has a particular spatial dimension whereby the Amathole District Council has the highest number of rented dwellings in the province. The district has over 65 000 rented dwellings. It is, however, Cacadu that has the highest percentage of rental dwellings - its 20 265 households that rent constitutes 20% of all dwellings in the district. The average throughout the province at the district level is about 10% (SHF, 2009).



Source: Income and Expenditure Survey (2005/2006)

Figure 6: Distribution of the rental market by monthly household income in the Eastern Cape (SHF, 2009:10).

iii. *Backyard dwellers in the EC*

Backyard dwellers (also known as backyarders) of whom little has been written, are a further subset of households who require improved housing and services. Unfortunately, even though they constitute between 30% and 50% of township populations, their needs have not been a primary feature of the national housing programme (Bank, 2005). There is a view that the housing policy has until very recently, focused on free-standing shack dwellers, and backyarders have, to a large extent, been sidelined. Bank (2005) argues that the reason for the lack of attention has been due to a certain type of logic which understood that backyarders would be dealt with through the RDP programme, and thus would not be seen as a distinct demand group. There has also been a sense that they are less prominent in the thinking of municipalities and by way of demonstration, there are reports in the EC of victims of fires and other disasters, who have been living in free-standing shacks, 'jumping the housing queue' on the waiting list and getting houses before backyard dwellers, who have been waiting for equal, if not longer, periods of time (Bank, 2005).

When trying to understand backyarders and their housing needs, it is important not to homogenise them with the larger free-standing shack dwellers or the other townships residents. They do stand as a separate group with a stable and self-defined identity. Bank (2005:4) also states that "One of the defining features of backyard shack relationships in East London is that they have never effectively been controlled by the state. They have always been managed and regulated from *within* the township and have, to a large extent, been shaped by local, community-based understandings of property, rights and access." Bank argues that historically, the landlords of the 1950s had strict control over their tenants and what happened in their yards. This is a situation that now seems to be significantly different from the 1980s, when the paternalistic relationship was transformed by a sense of unity as landlords and tenants perceived themselves to be comrades in arms fighting against the apartheid state. Currently Bank (2005) and Finmark Trust have revealed that the landlord/backyarder relationship is often a system of mutual support.

Landlords are often older, generally female and retired or unemployed (Finmark, 2006). They generally utilise their own savings to build rooms, either formal or informal, in the yards of the primary units and rent out these rooms to earn additional income. The relationship between tenants and landlords is, however, considered to be good and landlords and tenants often negotiate around when rent is paid, and other services such as cleaning and maintenance also add to the overall contribution that a tenant may make to his/her landlord (Finmark, 2006). Many of the tenants are young men who have moved to the city and need cheap rental accommodation that is close to work opportunities. The Finmark study found that most of the male tenants were employed and shared some cultural/kin commonalities with the landlords. Bank's (2005) study also found that single mothers were also very keen on backyard accommodation as it is perceived as being safer than free-standing shacks and a better place to raise children than the informal settlements. The supportive environment that the yards offer to many of the women who share food, domestic activities and even childcare are further features that attract young single mothers to backyard units.

Although some of the dynamics in terms of demand have been uncovered by both Finmark and Bank's work, the actual numbers of backyarders and their demand for accommodation remain opaque. The figure of 30-50% of all township households is a useful place to start and does certainly point to a high demand for very low, flexible rental units that are secure for single men and women either with or without children.

2.4.3 Informal settlement typologies and quality of life

The actual numbers of what constitutes the demand in the EC is just one aspect of housing demand. The second and equally important aspect is that of qualitative differentiation in the various settlements. Not all informal settlements are the same and part of what the study intends to clarify are the differences between the various settlements. At present, there is scant information as to the differences in the quality of life between and within the various settlements. As such, the literature will attempt to demonstrate the various models that can be used to analyse the differences in the informal settlements, as well as the various factors that

can contribute to an understanding of the quality of life in the settlements. Both of these will be used in the actual study.

i. Informal settlement typologies

Part of getting to grips with the nature of demand in the EC is to understand the varying informal settlement typologies that exist and providing appropriate and heterogeneous responses to the various kinds of settlements. There are a number of different systems of categorisation that are available for use. The CSIR has come up with a very detailed settlement analysis (CSIR, 2002), which examines all manner of settlements across SA. Tipple (2000), Hindson and McCarthy (1994) and Mabagunje (1999) also all come up with ways of categorising and understanding informal settlements but it is Napier (2002) who brings the various categorisations together to construct a useful and clear schema of informal settlements.

Napier (2002) identifies five types of informal settlements:

- i. Informal settlements with traditional tenure (informal housing on customary land);
- ii. Freestanding informal settlements (informal housing on urban land without legal tenure);
- iii. Backyard shacks in formal areas (informal housing amongst formal housing);
- iv. Informal housing on serviced land (sites and services where housing is still inadequate);
- v. Indoor informal settlements (illegal occupation of buildings).

Napier (2002) also identified a series of variations, which should be overlaid onto this typology, which include:

- The location of the settlements, whether in the urban core, on the urban fringes, or just beyond the formal urban boundary;
- The levels of servicing, which relates also to the level of recognition by authorities, and therefore the likelihood of a response in the form of services or broader regularisation processes which give legal tenure.
- The materials used to build the various structures

As can be seen, the above schema forms a useful set of characterisations for a province such as the EC where there are a large number of informal settlements, with a number of heterogeneous characteristics, and which located in both rural and urban contexts across the province. The schema will allow the researchers to examine the various informal settlements according to this framework and to categorise the settlements accordingly.

ii. Quality of life models

Quality of life models and measures become important as they are, according to Møller (1998) and Veenhoven (1995) measures of the success of policy in the public sector. Their logic is that if policy is implemented correctly, improved policy leads to an improved quality of life. Thus, measuring quality of life in the informal settlements provides for two distinct outcomes: the first is a baseline to measure the affect of any improvements or interventions, and the second is to guide the types of interventions that are put in place. The trouble is that there is no standard definition of what constitutes quality of life (International Well-Being Group, 2006) but there are many different ways of measuring the quality of life. Essentially, there is a single item, and then there are multi-item measures for cases such as informal settlements, where there are a large number of factors to deal with. Richards *et al*, (2007:376), identifies this as, "A lack of infrastructure and effective governance [which] are two key areas that were identified as being in need of improvement. Informal dwellings are deficient mostly in water, sanitation, electricity, ventilation, food preparation and storage and such conditions are associated with a range of health risks including diarrhoeal and respiratory diseases". As such, a multi-item approach is considered more appropriate. There are two main approaches to the multi-item methodology, namely, the Single Construct Scale, exemplified by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin's (1985) satisfaction with life scale. In this approach the various items are meaningless, unless combined together. The second multi-item methodology, known as the Life Domain Scale, works by analysing individual items, which refer to particular 'life domains (life aspects)'. In this case, the scores from each one

are averaged in order to construct a measure of subjective well-being. The personal well-being index is the methodology that this study uses.

The Personal Wellbeing Index was developed from the Comprehensive Quality of Life Scale by Cummins, McCabe, Romeo, and Gullone in 1994 (a and b) and is considered useful in this context as it can measure quality of life across a range of cultures, but is at the same time, extremely economical as a small and clearly defined data set can be used to gain the necessary results (International Well-Being Group, 2006). In this particular study, four specific life domains or life areas were used, namely:

- Everyday problems, such as health, substance abuse, domestic violence
- Services, housing and physical infrastructure
- General environment, including work opportunities, crime and safety
- Community cohesion and social networks

The following sections provide a bit more detail about each one of the life domains and also offer examples and exemplars from the various informal settlements, demonstrating the various issues and how they relate specifically to household's and individual's quality of life.

- Everyday problems

These are issues, which are experienced on a regular basis by the residents of the communities under discussion, and refer to issues and circumstances that personally affect a specific family or household or family unit. Issues of household members' health and the frequency of acute and chronic conditions is an important factor in the quality of life of the individual. Further issues at the household level include those of domestic violence or poor intra-household relations, as well as issues of substance abuse that have both health and relationship implications. Psychological well-being and access to physical and psychological help, become important factors when dealing with the daily hardships that life in an informal settlement brings.

Joe Slovo Informal settlement, which is situated along the highway between Uitenhage and PE, has 4000 residents in 1200 units but the everyday conditions are dire, as Sherwood, (2003:42) describes: "Ninety percent of the adult population is unemployed, and 20% is HIV-positive. Until February, there was no public school in Joe Slovo, and children had to cross the highway to get the nearest school, 5 km away. In three years, 46 people were hit dodging traffic to get an education". In Duncan Village, Bank (2005:11) reveals that domestic violence in the backyards is considered 'something normal, rather than shocking and unusual' and 'people [backyard dwellers] would say that violence was often a result of the fact that people 'loved each other too much'.' There is no question that such conditions can only affect the quality of everyday life for the residents of the settlement.

- Services, housing and physical infrastructure

The actual conditions in which people are forced to live also affect the daily experiences of one's life. As such, access to potable water, sanitation, roads, refuse removal, electricity and housing all constitute the basic requirements of any household. The level of service that is provided is highly variable. Richards *et al* (2007) report that the informal settlements in and around Buffalo City experience very low levels of services across the board.

Conditions in informal settlements vary a great deal but within the EC, most settlements lack basic amenities. Airportville in Walmer, for example, houses 1500 households but they have no services, sanitation, water or roads, and, as such, have no access to emergency services, and ambulances and fire engines cannot enter the settlement when needed (Masondo, 2004). A quote from a woman who had been relocated from an informal settlement to a bare piece of land by the municipality describes the lack of services:

We thought at least there would be toilets or taps nearby and maybe electricity when we came here. Instead, we only found taps and they are far away. We have the bucket system but the municipality doesn't come to empty them (quoted in Timse, 2008).

The lack of services can prove to pose a danger to the residents and in the case of Duncan Village, where electricity is scarce and few households are connected, most households use fossil fuels for cooking and heating purposes. Some of the fuels can be dangerous and the prevalence of paraffin-related fires and deaths led one Duncan Village informal dweller to state that, "We live in paraffin and we burn in it" (Napier and Rubin, 2002:14). The difference in the quality of life that services and houses provide can be summed up by the comment from a previous Orange Grove Informal Settlement dweller who said that life in a shack had been tough, "On rainy days I used to sweep water from the leaking roof. It was not a good life at all...Now that I have a house I am happy even if it is very small" (Daily Dispatch, 2004:1).

- General environment

These factors refer to the general economic, social and political environment in which households operate. The factors, investigated under this heading, include: the amount of employment in and around the area, or that households have access to, crime and the level of security in a community, including violent crime as well as political violence, prejudice, xenophobia and gendered crimes. Another element that needs to be considered is that of general safety, whereby an area may be located in an unsafe environment e.g. on a floodplain or on unstable and undermined land etc. Thus, disasters may become a common feature of household's lives, which reduces their quality of life and their ability to cope. Public space that is safe and can be used for leisure activities is also a vital component of people's lives and allows households to engage with the world around them. Public transport that allows for secure and cheap travel is also an important component in the way that life is led.

Within the EC, various informal settlements have varying experiences of their general environment: in Walmer's Airportville settlement, informal dwellers are living on a disused rubbish tip. The site, although no longer actively used as a rubbish dump, still contains a number of toxins in the soil and there are suspicions that the remaining chemicals are causing heart and lung problems in the residents (Masondo, 2004). Similarly, households in Stofwolk, Hankey live on a floodplain, which has the dual problem of being mosquito infested and flooding during the rainy season. The floods destroy the informal dwellings and cause a number of health problems for the residents (Masondo, 2006). Duncan Village, as mentioned earlier, is not electrified and it has been estimated that the settlement experiences a fire on average every 10 days (Napier and Rubin, 2002). Each event destroys an average of 8.4 shacks, which means that somewhere in the region of 50-60 people are affected by an unsafe environment and forced to move and resettle, every 10 days.

Employment and income is also a key factor and in a Quality of life Study completed in Buffalo City, it was found that the average household income was less than R3500 per month. It was found, too, that the informal settlements and traditional areas also have the highest percentages of households with one or more members who are unemployed. The study thus recorded that 88% of people living in informal settlements and 87.1% of people living in rural or tribal* areas are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their income (Buffalo City Municipality, 2007).

- Community cohesion and social networks

There is evidence to suggest that social networks and community cohesion have an effect on the quality of life of individuals living in informal settlements. Having individuals, neighbours and groups that can help in a time of need and be relied upon for support in general, seems to be a vital component to anyone's experience. Informal dwellers are often members of soccer clubs, sports groups, churches and religious groups, as well as savings organisations such as funeral societies and *stokvels*. Good relationships with neighbours, tenants, kin and extended kin also provide access to child care, support, care and, when needed, money and food. At the psycho-social level, having access and being able to make use of these social networks provides households with a sense of belonging to a group and a community which, by all accounts, improves the quality of people's lives.

A good example of how community cohesion and social networks operate and their importance can be found in the media reports of the flooding of a Hankey informal settlement. The settlement was flooded due to heavy rains and the dangerous location of the settlement on the floodplain, which destroyed a number of people's homes. As a result, 350 residents

were left homeless. Fortunately, due to the nature of the relationships within the settlement, most of the households were able to move in with friends and neighbours to wait out the storm and find some relief until the municipality was able to intervene (Masondo, 2006). A further report of a flood in Booyesen's Park in PE tells of Memka Danster, who was forced to leave her shack when the rain started in order to search for materials to stop the leak: "When I came back the shack was flooded. I didn't know what to do so I went to a neighbour's house, who said she would lend me a shack" (Maleke, 2008:5). The rest of the community was forced to stay in the community centre and it was the local Somali spaza owners who provided the traumatised community with food when their shacks had been washed away and most their stores destroyed (Maleke, 2007).

Joe Slovo Informal Settlement is a community that has capitalised on its social networks and community cohesion, According to Sherwood (2003:42),

"[The Joe Slovo community] believe in community-initiated social change. They have squatted on this land since 1996, legally acquired it in 1998, and are now fighting for housing subsidies with the help of the South African Homeless People's Federation. They plotted the village lots with extra space to make room for gardens and children and dogs. They put picket fences around their shacks. They participate in choirs and boxing matches and town meetings. There is a body-building club and several churches. Birthday parties are all-day affairs. With diligence and persistence, the people of Joe Slovo pressured the South African government to build an official school in the community. The new school, which sits on a hill above the sea of shacks, opened its doors in February and is a source of great pride for the residents."

The Joe Slovo case gives an indication of how a unified community can not only help in times of stress, but also become a force that pushes social and environmental transformation in order to make life better for all residents.

2.4.4 A Review of Demand

The above data point to the fact that demand needs to be disaggregated in terms of housing typology and tenure, and services across the province. It is clear that informality is greatest in the urban areas and around the larger towns, whereas the rural towns have a large amount of traditional housing. As such, formalisation and regularisation, as well as improved tenure security are, at this preliminary stage of the study, indicated as basic needs for the informal communities. As for the rural areas, there is a great deal of debate around the demand for housing and whether traditional units are considered inadequate and in need of replacement or not. There is also the question of whether informal dwellers require better services or housing or tenure security if their quality of life is to be made better, or if the supply of housing units is sufficient to make the changes and improvements envisaged by the provincial strategies.

It is also clear that full tenure and ownership of housing units is probably not an appropriate strategy as circular migration, although having slowed down, is still evident. As such, rental or alternative tenure options, and different kinds of service provision are clearly in demand in the rural areas, whereas improved services seem to be required in the traditional and rural areas rather than formal RDP housing with full title deeds. This is because tenure security seems to be less of an issue in these areas and housing can be self-initiated and supplied, but access to basic services seems to be an issue facing many of the rural communities. Thus, the demand data indicates that housing and service provision needs to be disaggregated according to the specific needs of the communities in question, and a blanket approach to housing in which RDP/BNG units are simply rolled out, is not a sufficient strategy to meet demand or ensure an improved quality of life.

2.5. Supply Overview

As with demand, there are a number of aspects to supply and to the obstacles that challenge delivery. This section looks at who has been supplying housing and how it has been done, the main policies that have been put in place and the main challenges to delivery.

2.5.1 Supply figures – a dispute

Delivery figures in the EC are deeply controversial - according to some studies and reports, the province has built 268 754 houses since 1994, a figure that includes houses that are still under construction (De Nobrega, 2007). The 2007 Strategic Framework seems to disagree and states that the province has, in fact, completed 182 231. Similarly, there is some dispute over the number of housing projects that are underway, and the figure is reported as anything between 200 and 314 (see *Table 5*). The rate of housing delivery is apparently increasing; in 2007, 12 684 units were built, whereas in 2008, 18 424 units were constructed (Mabandla, 2008). Of the 200 projects, 44 were still stalled by 2007, but progress was being made and in 2007, three projects in the Amathole District were unblocked, two of which were in Ngqushwa. However, the Peddie 500 project, which originally had 500 planned units, still has 105 units to be built. The Peddie PHP has 710 units outstanding of an original total of 1420 subsidies.

Table 5: Housing delivery in EC from 1996-2005 (ECDoH, 2007:15)

No of Projects Approved 1995 -2006	No of Projects Complete	No of Projects under Construction	Total Subsidies Approved 1995 -2006	House Built 1995 -2006	Services/Houses Under Construction
471	157	314	249 216	182 231	115 443

Discrepancies also exist between the figures presented by the Strategic Framework and the Project Management Programme (PMP), and those available in the Status Report, prepared by the provincial Department of Housing, Local Government and Traditional Affairs. *Table 6* and *Figure 7* below indicate some of the key discrepancies, with the first table supplied by the ECDoH Strategic Framework stating that by 2006, 36 809 units had been built in NMMM. However, Bank *et al* (2006), who reconciled the PMP figures and the EC Status Report figures, state that over the same period, 31 887 units were built. Similar differences appear for each of the districts.

Table 6: Delivery figures by EC District for the period 1996-2006 (ECDoH, 2007:17)

District	No of subsidies approved	Houses completed as at 30 September 06	Total Expenditure	Unspent Funds as at 30 September 2006
NMBM	52 158	36 809	R1,014B	R 211M
CACADU	36 706	28 093	R 750M	R 109M
BCM	31 074	17 931	R 485M	R 229M
ADM	28 167	17 990	R 493M	R 209M
CH	37 204	27 335	R 732M	R 127M
UKHAHLAMBA	13 678	12 089	R 310M	R 28M
OR TAMBO	18 552	10 531	R 305M	R 150M
ALFRED NZO	4 521	4 297	R 93M	R 15M

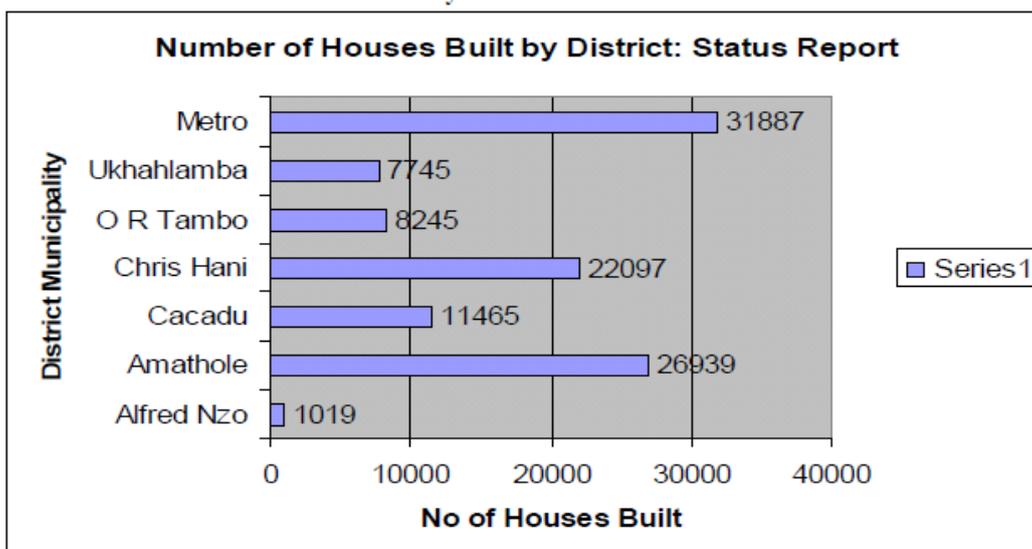


Figure 7: Delivery figures by EC District for the period, 1996-2006 (Bank, et al, 2007: 222).

At last year's report to the parliamentary committee on housing and local government, the committee expressed concern over the fact that the EC had underspent its budget by over 85% (PMG, 2008). *Table 6* (above) also indicates the districts with the worst underspending in the province and shows that Alfred Nzo, Buffalo City Municipality and Amathole have spent less than half of their allocated budgets. Treasury had allocated over R1 billion for the period 2007/8 and a further R1.2 billion for the following year; therefore, the lack of housing delivery in the province is not due to a lack of funding. The following sections look at the dynamics of delivery in the province in terms of challenges and existing delivery mechanism.

2.5.2 Challenges to delivery

There are some key issues affecting housing delivery in the province, these include:

- Inadequate capacity of implementing agents
- Lack of well-located and suitable land for housing
- Lack of suitable data on size and nature of backlog
- Inadequate project management and monitoring capability
- Disjunctures in the planning and implementation of infrastructure programmes
- Lack of construction materials and equipment (ECDHLG&TA, 2007).

Some of the key issues will be discussed in greater depth below.

i. More house for less money

The EC took the decision to deliver larger houses in the province and thus builds 40m² houses rather than the 30m² expected by the state. Although a laudable goal, i.e. to provide EC beneficiaries with larger homes, it has been a very difficult policy to implement as there is a 10m² unfounded mandate. The extra meterage has been particularly problematic for emerging contractors, but overall has meant that developers who are already using extremely low margins are now forced to squeeze even more out of the money that the state provides. The end result has been poor workmanship, use of shoddy materials and ultimately a slow-down in delivery as fewer units have been built with the allotted funding.

ii. Emerging contractors

There is some concern over the use of emerging contractors, i.e. vulnerable groups, for example women, youth and the disabled, as part and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) companies, to deliver housing in the EC. In many cases, emerging contractors lack the infrastructure (literally, telephone lines and computers) and the cash flow to be able to carry out state housing projects. In addition, these contractors tend to build more

slowly than their more experienced counterparts, resulting in delayed projects and final products that are often not as good as those of their more experienced colleagues. The rising building costs and the lack of flexible funding mechanisms from the state mean that fewer emerging contractors have been able to enter and sustain their position in the low-income housing sector.

In 2006, the EC launched Operation Thunderstorm, to try and lure established contractors back to the low-cost housing sector. The programme is an attempt to get established and emerging contractors to work together, possibly through sub-contracting. Since the programme has been going for less than a year, it is difficult to observe its impact. In addition, part of Operation Thunderstorm involves redefining the contractual relationship between municipalities and the province in order to increase delivery. There is also, however, a somewhat unclear response to the overall issue of the emerging contractors. The *Daily Dispatch* reports that in August 2009, the EC's housing MEC, Nombulelo Mabandla, "vowed to blacklist incompetent builders and recover funds from them where necessary. But she said her department would never forsake emerging contractors and would do all they could to mentor them in future". So it seems that, on the one hand, emerging contractors will be penalised for poor performance, and yet will still be used by the EC province to provide housing.

iii. Capacity and skills

One of the issues that continually comes up in the literature is the issue of capacity to deliver housing. There are two main areas of concern relating to capacity; the first is around staff, their numbers and their skills, and the second relates to the resources available to them to complete their jobs.

Staff: The province currently has between 200 and 400 active housing projects but has a serious lack of capacity at all levels. The provincial housing department has been experiencing severe staff and skills shortages for some time (see *Figure 8*). The figure was recently put at 710 in terms of vacant posts in the department (Du Plessis, 2009). Specifically, the department has only 20 per cent of its required engineers, less than two per cent of its town planners and 28 per cent of its control technicians. The provincial vacancy rates are exacerbated by the municipal vacancies where there is a 67% vacancy rate in respect of technical staff, and 60% vacancy in terms of general staff. This means that about 10% of all municipalities are actually able to carry out their mandates (Bank, *et al*, 2006). The end result of this capacity shortage is a serious lack of housing delivery and a sense of resentment between the provincial and municipal departments. The municipalities feel that they have been forced to take on the role of the preferred developer by the province, despite having neither the resources nor the skills to undertake such work. The province, which is already overstretched, feels that it has to take on not only its work, of which there is already too much, but the municipalities' as well.

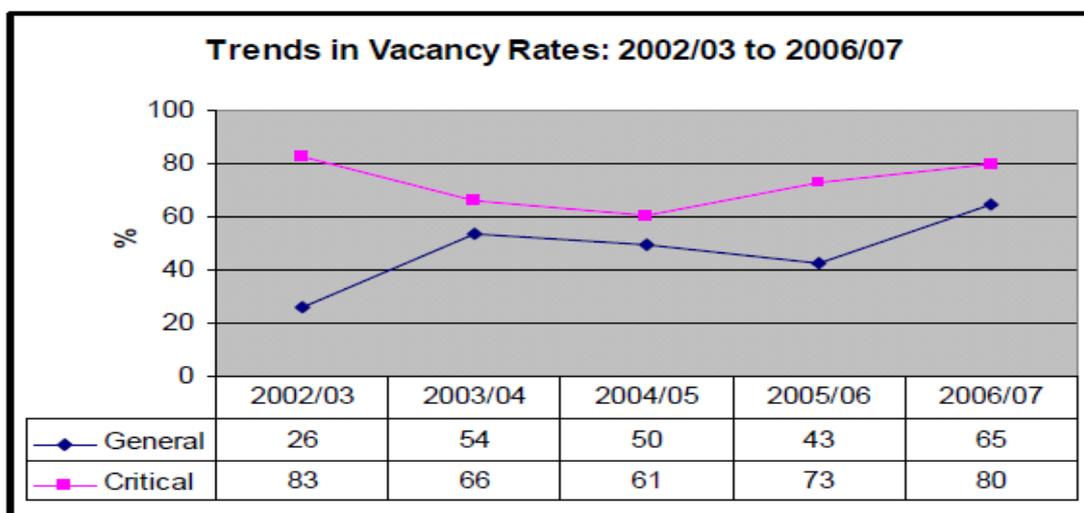


Figure 8: The vacancy rates in provincial government over 2002-2007 period (De Nobrega, 2007: 19)

Resources: The large number of projects also requires substantial resources in terms of needing equipment to undertake the required work. De Nobrega (2007) points out that decision-making, especially around budget allocations and human resource policies, is centralised and the necessary resources are not always available for things like laptops, which housing staff need for data capturing purposes when they are out in the field. In addition, the province does not realise the large distances in the province, and under-capacitated local authorities are designated to look after areas and report back in unreasonable timeframes.

iv. *Land availability*

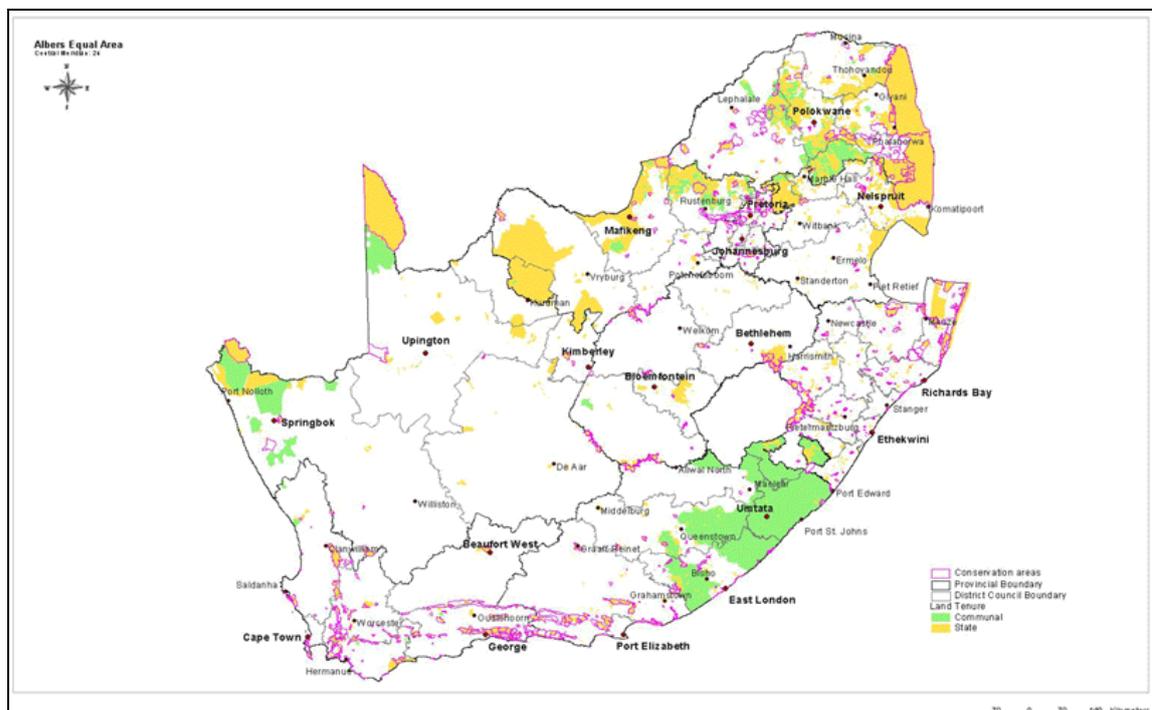


Figure 9: Land supply potential in SA

A key issue that has constantly been raised in the provision of housing in the province is the shortage of available and affordable land. The figure above indicates that land within the province is mostly held under communal/traditional tenure or is commercial farmland. At this point, the Eastern Cape Department of Housing is looking for land for 67 500 units in the short term but eventually will need land for a total of 80 000 units (Pringle, 2009). In addition, the land has to meet certain requirements: it must be a minimum of 20 acres, be close to areas of economic activity, must offer employment opportunities and social amenities, and provide access to bulk services, such as electricity, water and sewerage. At this point, land is particularly in demand in the Amathole and Alfred Nzo districts as well as the NMMM.

v. *Slow delivery rates and lack of take up*

One of the issues facing state delivery is the long lead time between the time a household applies for a unit and the time it they receive it. This often means that households find other housing options in the meantime and the designated unit has to be assigned to someone else. In Tarakastad, 600 units are standing empty as the intended beneficiaries have either moved on or live elsewhere for much of the year. There is a similar situation in Seymour, where units have been provided for a community that only returns home during the Christmas break, and thus the units stand empty and open to vandals for much of the year (*Daily Dispatch*, 2009). Much of the housing has also not been appropriate for the local context, and issues include housing being located far from schools and lack of basic amenities, or in areas with a declining population. In addition, housing has been provided in urban areas, which does not allow for support of rural livelihoods and lifestyles. There has been a lack of participation and involvement of local communities with housing developers and architects. As

a result, much of the housing that has been developed is not useful or desirable to the people for whom it is intended (Balindlela, 2008).

vi. *Rectification programme*

The NDoH and the various provincial and local departments of housing have recognised the issues of quality that exist with many of the RDP units built over the last few years. As such, they have taken steps to ameliorate the unacceptable conditions through the Rectification Programme. By 2006/07, the EC recognised that 19 000 houses in 60 projects required rectification. It has since realised, however, that this does not reflect the total need and is once again gathering data on the number of houses, which need to be targeted. The *Daily Dispatch*, in its expose of housing in the province, put the figure at 20 000 units and the total cost at R360 million. Rectification can mean either the knocking down and rebuilding of a unit while the beneficiaries are accommodated elsewhere, or fixing a particular issue or problem while the residents remain in their homes (ECDoH, 2009). In some cases, such as that of Burgersdorp, residents have been forced out of their homes, which have been knocked down, and have no option but to reside in poor quality, temporary accommodation until their new units can be built (*Daily Dispatch*, 2009).

The trouble with the rectification is not that the programme is not necessary, but rather that it slows delivery as time, human capital and funding is diverted to the rectification of older units as opposed to the delivery of new units. The figure below (*Figure 10*) indicates the scale of rectification necessary in the province and the costs associated with the programme. The municipalities, according to De Nobrega (2007), intend to approach the housing MEC and request that the department scales back delivery because of the Rectification Programme and the lack of capacity at all levels to deal with new building and rectification.

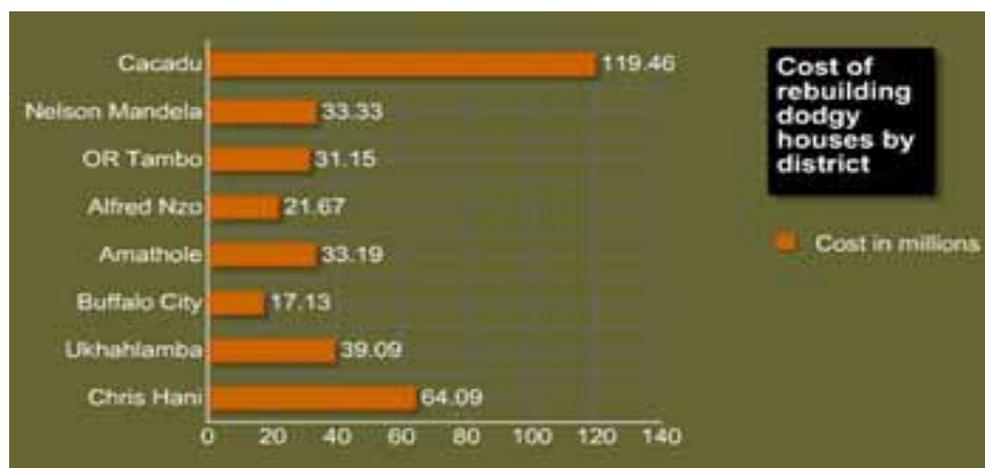


Figure 10: Costs of rectification per district in the EC (*Daily Dispatch*, 2009).

vii. *Rental housing supply*

The trend data indicates that there has been a significant increase in the rental sector in the EC (see Figure 11) and the report indicates that there has been an overall growth of 38% in the number of rental units in the period 2006-2007. Rented shacks have also increased over the same period and the study shows that the number jumped from 14 000 to 19 000 households. However, what is not clear is whether the number of backyard informal dwellers who are renting, has increased or not.

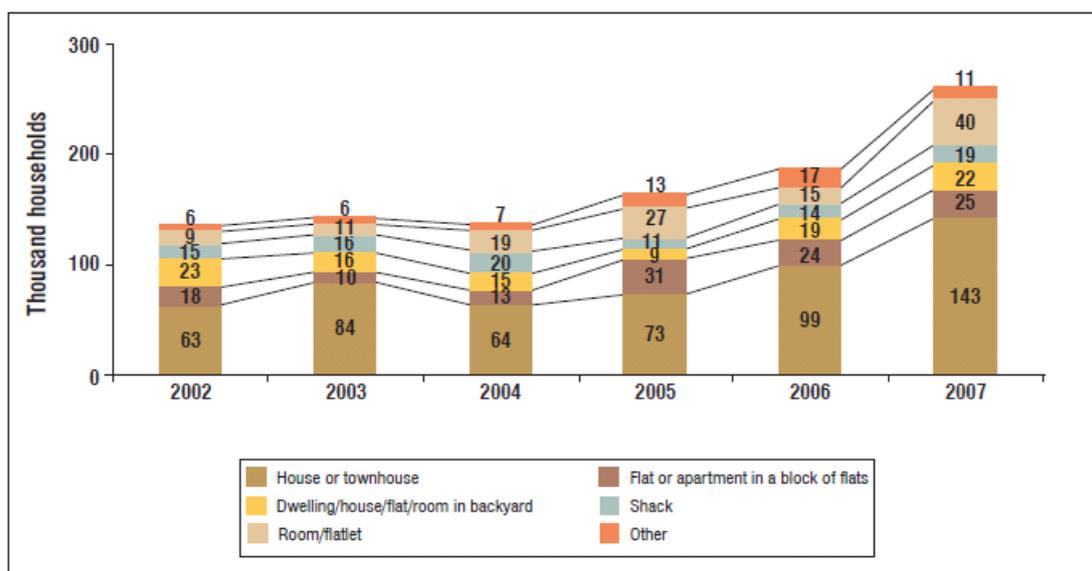


Figure 11: Number of rented dwellings over time in the EC

2.6. Policies, Programmes and Projects in the EC

The EC province has a number of policies, programmes and plans in place to deliver housing as quickly and as efficiently as possible. These policies link vertically into national legislation and strategies, as well as horizontally into other priorities and programmes from sister provincial departments. The section below gives an overview of the main policies as well as some of the key programmes and plans that are in place in the province.

2.6.1 National primary and secondary legislation

The Annual report identifies both primary and secondary legislation that is related to housing and the development of sustainable human settlements. The overview of national legislation also contextualises the provincial context and indicates the vertical alignment between the EC and the NDoH.

Table 7: Primary Legislation related to Housing Delivery in the EC

Legislation	Brief Description of the Act
a) Constitution, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) Section 26 Schedule 4	The Constitution guarantees the right of citizens to access to adequate housing. It enjoins the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.
b) The Housing Act, 1997 (Act No. 107 of 1997)	This act creates the provision for the granting of housing subsidies for low-income earners.
c) Prevention of Illegal Eviction from Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, 1998	The key characteristic of this act is for a fair and equitable process to be followed when evicting people who have unlawfully invaded land, from their homes.
d) The Housing Consumer Protection Measures Act, 1998	Provides for the establishment of a statutory regulating body for homebuilders. The National Home Builders Registration Council registers and accredits builders and regulates the home building industry by formulating and enforcing a code of conduct.
e) The Rental Housing Act, 1999	The Rental Housing Act creates mechanisms to promote the provision of rental housing and the proper functioning of the rental housing market.
f) Home Loan and Mortgage Disclosure Act, 2000	This act provides for the establishment of the Office of Disclosure and the monitoring of financial institutions serving the housing credit needs of communities

The ECDOH identifies the following as relevant secondary legislation that should be considered when thinking about housing delivery in the province:

- Promotion of Access to Information Act
- Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, No. 53 of 2003
- Control of Access to Public Premises Act
- Division of Revenue Act
- General Recognised Accounting Practice Act
- Inter-governmental Relations Framework, 2005
- Minimum Information on Security Act
- Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act, No. 5 of 2000
- Public Finance Management Act
- Treasury Regulation
- National Treasury Practice Notes
- White Paper on *Batho Pele*
- White Paper on Transforming the Civil Service

i. Breaking New Ground (BNG)

The provincial department of housing has followed national priorities by identifying the new programme on housing as its apex document. The BNG emphasises meaningful participation of other sector departments especially those in the built environment, and demonstrates and moves away from a supply-centred model to a demand-centred model. In addition, there is a shift towards building integrated sustainable human settlements, with access to a range of facilities and amenities.

The four strategic thrust pillars of BNG:

a. Financial interventions

- Subsidy instruments
- State asset management
- Rectification of RDP stock - 1994 to 2002
- Social and economic amenities
- Accreditation of municipalities
- Unblocking of blocked projects

b. Incremental Housing Programmes

- . New phased approach
- . Peoples housing process
- . Informal settlement upgrading
- . Emergency housing assistance

c. Social and rental housing programmes

- Social housing
- . Rental housing
- . State rental housing
- Backyard rental programme
- HIV/Aids

c. Rural housing programme

- Farm worker housing assistance
- . Rural subsidy

During the 2006/07 period, the BNG programme piloted a series of projects across the province, which are intended to deliver 51 000 units. The projects are located in Buffalo City (Duncan Village), Mbashe (Elliotdale), Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality (Zanemvula), King Sabatha Dalindyebo (Ngangelizwe), Mquma (Butterworth, Siyanda), Ndlambe (Thornhill) and Maletswai (Kwelita, 2007). The projects have had some success but are facing serious challenges in terms of the lack of funding for bulk infrastructure and project and development management shortcomings.

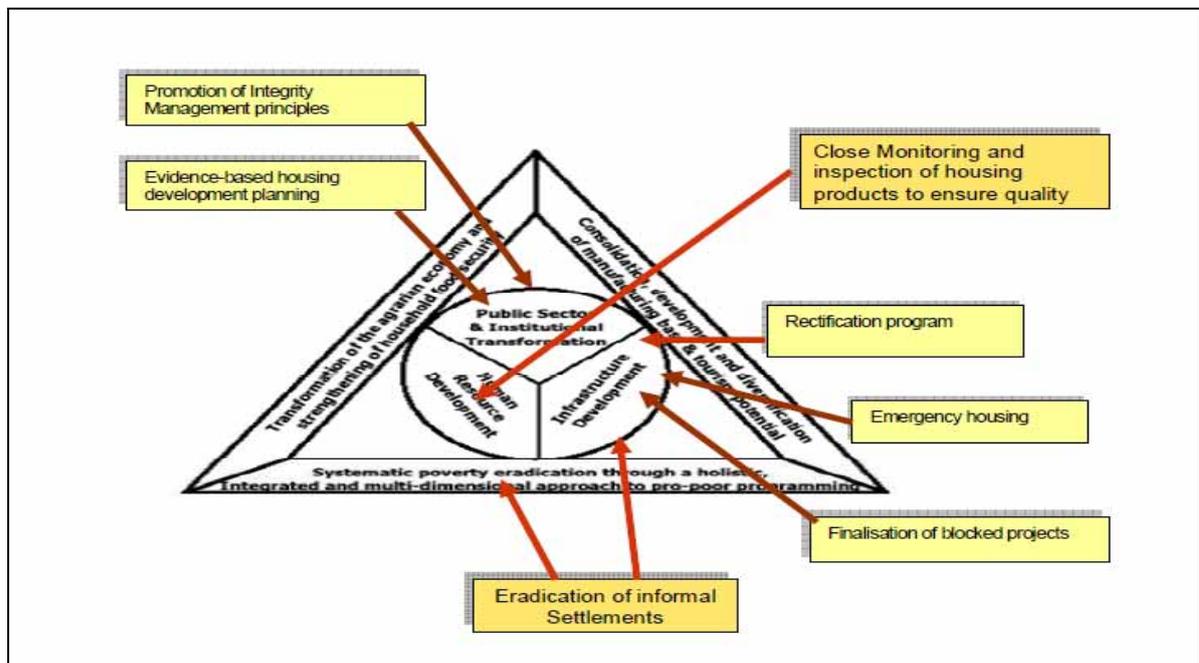


Figure 12: Diagrammatic representation of the EC Housing Policy Priorities (DHLGTA, 2004:33)

2.6.2 Strategic provincial policies and priorities

The EC government in its 2007-2010 revised strategic plan has identified the following as its strategic goals, which are three of the three of the fourteen provincial priority program interventions:

- Integrated infrastructure development program with a particular emphasis on rural infrastructure and job creation (details on targeted groups) and on the promotion of input purchase and service provision from local small and medium enterprise suppliers (Expanded Public Works Program to be part and parcel of this process).
- A program of phased decentralisation of service provision and facilitation of economic growth from provincial government departments to district and local municipalities, paying attention to the integration of the delegation of powers and functions, the capacity building of municipalities, and the targeting and management of fiscal resources.
- Develop an effective regulatory framework for land use management in rural areas.

In addition the strategic objectives of housing development in the province will consist of:

- Facilitate and support the creation of integrated and sustainable human settlements in all areas of the province.
- Coordinate and facilitate Housing Development Planning informed by research and municipal support.
- Improvement of Housing Performance through:
 - Provision of individual subsidies and housing opportunities to beneficiaries in accordance with the housing policy
 - Rendering of housing administration support services and sound integrity management principles and,
 - Facilitation of the development of economically viable, socially equitable and environmentally sustainable human settlements.
- Render housing project management and quality assurance services.
- Facilitate, co-ordinate and manage the implementation of rental, social housing programs and land facilitation for housing development matters.

It should be noted that according to Bank *et al* (2006), there is no legislative (policy) basis for the province's delivery of housing, in spite of it being mentioned as a key objective in the Strategic Plan 2004-2007. Apparently, such policy is under development by consultants and should result in the enactment of the first EC housing act.

i. Eastern Cape Provincial Growth and Development Plan: 2004-2014

One of the key strategies affecting housing delivery plans is the Eastern Cape Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP). The PGDP identifies housing delivery as a fundamental input in the poverty eradication plans of the province. The report notes that the province has serious spatial disparities in terms of housing and service delivery, and seeks to provide equitable and integrated growth throughout the province. To this end, the PGDP has identified six strategic objectives:

- a) Systematic eradication of poverty.
- b) Agrarian transformation and strengthening of household food security
- c) Consolidation, development and diversification of the manufacturing base and tourism potential
- d) Infrastructure development
- e) Human resource development
- f) Public sector and institutional transformation

The PGDP notes that the housing programme pursues the following objectives:

- Systematic elimination of the housing backlog in the province.
- Monitoring and evaluation of delivery of quality housing products.
- Facilitation of housing development and management capacity in municipalities.
- Co-ordination of housing asset management.
- Job creation and skills development.
- Strengthening of the provincial economy (i.e. reduction of poverty).

These areas are aligned with the larger PGDP goals, and add the specification that these objectives should be pursued in highly spatialised ways, such that the housing backlog in areas of high population growth and development and sites of demographic shifts should be acknowledged and accommodated within the larger housing programme.

ii. Provincial Strategic Housing Plan 2008/9-2010/11

The Provincial Housing Development Plan (PHDP) is a five-year provincial housing plan, which focuses on aligning the provincial housing development plan with the national, provincial and local government priorities. According to the Plan it 'informed the electoral mandate of the ruling party and changes in global and domestic conditions which were then translated by government into the Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) to define a new development path and focus us on the critical things that need to be done to forge a new path of development'. Accordingly, the strategic plan needs to align with these strategies. In particular, the Strategic Plan is intended to align with the key strategic priorities of the BNG, which include:

1. Eradication of informal settlements by 2014 (which numbers some 205 informal settlements within the province).
2. Unblocking and finalisation of blocked projects by March 2008.
3. Provision of emergency housing as required due to disasters.
4. Rectification of poorly maintained and poorly built government-provided housing, and
5. Improvement of housing quality through improved quality monitoring systems

When the various goals are distilled into a set of provincial goals, they include:

- Policy and programme implementation, in particular rural housing and eradication of informal settlements
- Restoring integrity in housing delivery,
- Improving service delivery through integrated governance and housing partnerships
- Building and consolidating an accountable and transparent department while jerking capability to deliver.
- Strengthening performance through monitoring and evaluation, quality control and assurance

iii. Strategic Framework for the Development of Human Settlements in the Eastern Cape 2007-2014

The Sustainable Human Settlements Strategic Framework intended to outline key initiatives, which have been identified to accelerate housing delivery and development of sustainable human settlements within the province. The Strategic Framework was a long time in development and was informed by a range of discussions within four separate commissions during the Eastern Cape Housing Indaba held on 23-25 October 2006. In addition, the Strategic Framework also captures some of the crucial ideas regarding fast tracking rural housing delivery, which were part of the National Rural Housing Conference discussions in May 2007 in East London.

The Strategic Framework 2007-2014 provides a detailed implementation strategy and specifies actions, which are set down in summary within the departmental EC DHLGTA Strategic Plan 2007-2010. The Strategic Framework is intended to be a 'living document' and that the strategy will be reviewed annually by the senior management and enhanced as the various programmes are implemented, and lessons learnt are fed back into the plan.

2.6.3 Provincial Housing Policies

The above section detailed the strategic thinking that is in place at a provincial level regarding housing, human settlements, services and spatial development. The next section briefly summarises some of the key policies that have been put in place within the EC. The list includes:

a. Rural housing: The Rural Housing Subsidies Programme was introduced at the national level in November 1999 for implementation by the nine provinces, and the BNG has recently re-emphasised the importance of rural housing. The main aim was to realise the right of access to housing for rural people who qualified for the subsidy, but had been excluded from access on the basis of 'informal land rights'. Since the publication of these measures, a number of rural housing projects have been approved in the EC, some of them on a pilot basis. There is currently some concern over the nature of state-housing delivery in the rural areas as many rural dwellers do not want their homes transformed into RDP townships.

b. Farm worker housing assistance programme: The EC and the national government have recognised the need for a national farm worker housing assistance programme, but note that there are a number of challenges to getting such a programme started. These include:

- The need for new or adjusted subsidy mechanisms to accommodate the needs of farm worker accommodation
- The provision of basic public services on privately owned land
- The extremely low wages of farm workers and occupiers, which may not be sufficient to sustain the cost of housing and associated rates and service charges
- The capacity of understaffed municipalities, within rural contexts, to manage complex planning and service provision.

c. Rapid Land Development Programme: The Rapid Land Development Programme was originally called the Rapid Land Release Programme but both consist of programmes for the delivery of serviced sites. The Rapid Land Release Programme was able to build some 23 000 units in the 2000/1 period and the Rapid Land Development Programme has been implemented in order to fast track the servicing of approximately 60 000 sites. Further details on the programme have been extremely difficult to find.

d. The People's Housing Process (PHP): The PHP provides opportunities for low-income families to add to their subsidies from their own resources and take decisions on the design, method of construction and materials of their houses. The EC has made a great deal of use of the PHP due to the fact that the programme requires lower financial inputs from the state. The programme has also been successful due to the strong culture of self-building and incremental housing within the province. It has also proven to be an extremely flexible

instrument for housing delivery in a province that is both poor and highly heterogeneous. It has been stated that 101 153 units have been delivered using PHP in the EC.

e. Middle-income housing finance: The EC, like the rest of SA, has recognised that there is a gap market that is not served by the subsidy mechanisms and nor traditionally by the private banking institutions. The state entered into a Financial Services Charter agreement with private banking institutions. These institutions have partnered with government and states to help administer housing loans for households earning between R3501 and R7000 per month. The idea is to create situations in which both the state and the banks provide a combined financial tool to allow households to access housing. The project is fairly recent but the EC government has already provided R3.6 million to assist with deposits for about 1200 families (Kwelita, 2007).

f. HIV/Aids policy: The EC government has developed its own policy on housing and HIV/Aids in line with national policy guidelines. The EC policy covers a range of HIV affected and infected people including: AIDS orphans, high-risk children, child-headed households, HIV/AIDS affected households and victims. The policy recognises that the HIV crisis affects the provision of housing in fundamental ways and attempts to respond to the need for housing for HIV/AIDS orphans and victims in the EC province. It outlines the scope of applicability, institutional standards, determination and payment of subsidies, role and responsibilities of stakeholders, obligation of the institution, and termination of facility, partnership, and accessibility of services.

g. Emergency housing: The intention of this policy is to respond to provincial emergency housing needs as posed by unforeseen circumstances, where people find themselves in an emergency-housing situation. The policy utilises national guidelines but has adapted many of the principles to ensure that they are relevant to the EC, in particular the province's current housing situation and the extreme weather that the EC faces on an annual basis. The main objective of this policy is to facilitate programmes that will ensure provision of temporary housing relief to people in urban and rural areas within the EC province, who find themselves in emergency situations. The EC has currently undertaken a series of pilot programmes in order to test the efficacy of the policy.

h. Social housing: The EC has had some social rental housing delivery over the last 15 years - in total there are seven SHIs in the province which have delivered some 13 522 units. Some of the local authorities have also put urban development zones (UDZs) in place to encourage the development of social housing in inner city regeneration. Since the advent of the BNG, the idea of social housing has become understood in the EC to accommodate a range of housing product designs to meet spatial and affordability requirements. Social housing products may, accordingly, include multi-level flat or apartment options for higher income groups (incorporating beneficiary mixes to support the principle of integration and cross-subsidisation); co-operative group housing; transitional housing for destitute households; communal housing with a combination of family and single-room accommodation with shared facilities and hostels. Given the extended understanding of social housing, the EC is looking to produce 110 000 units over the next four years. It realises that in order to achieve such a goal, it must reconfigure its funding and subsidy mechanisms.

i. Indigent policies: EC province has not developed a provincial indigent policy but it should be mentioned that the large metros of NMMM and BCM have both developed free basic water, sanitation and electricity policies for their indigent residents. Thought is being given as to how to expand these policies province-wide.

2.7. International Lessons on Slums Upgrading and Eradication

The issue of slum eradication is highly controversial and much has been written about what constitutes the best approach for improving the living conditions of slum and informal dwellers and ensuring their dignity. The original approach stems from one of the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which has the stated goal of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. The tag line for this approach is "Cities without Slums" and is seen as an incremental approach in which the improvement of the lives of slum dwellers is a step on the road towards cities without slums (Huchzermeyer, 2008). South Africa in the shape of the

previous Minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu took the commitment a step further and stated that SA would eradicate all slums by 2014. Effectively this would mean that SA would have to deliver more than 400 000 units a year at a cost of between R345- and R548-billion.

Concerns over this approach have been raised in a number of quarter quarters and around a range of different issues: the first has been the ability of the housing community to deliver 400 000 units per year given the demands on building materials and the scarcity of land that are features of housing delivery in the country, particularly in light of the competition with the private sector for the same materials and the large infrastructure projects which are also currently underway. The second is a more radical concern over the usage of the language of eradication, which seems to have set up an antagonistic relationship between the state and informal dwellers (Huchzermeyer, 2008). Supporters of this position argue that these words “conjure up repressive measures of the past”. A further concern is articulated as an anxiety that the drive towards eradication has established non-participatory approaches to upgrading, which is designed around swift delivery and does not seem to be designed to listen to the needs of housing beneficiaries. A further issue is that the drive towards eradication and halting informal settlement results in repressive policy such as the KZN Slums Act, which effectively criminalized informal occupation of land. Furthermore some theorists argue that the eradication terminology has created a situation of over zealous evictions, which have made life for the poorest and most vulnerable even more difficult (Ballard, 2009).

The examples below provide some case studies as to best practise around how some countries and contexts have dealt with their slums and informal settlements, both initial upgrading programmes and what has been done to ensure that the quality of life for the various citizens is maintained and sustained over time. The Case studies have been chosen according to a series of criteria, which include their comparability with the South African context, the availability of information and their ability to expose issues of urban integration, re-emergence, and process.

2.7.1 Case Study 1: Kenya, Nairobi, Korogocho Slum

The Kenyan example provides insight into a best practise that takes a long-term participatory view of slum upgrading with the intention of ensuring that slums do not re-emerge through the provision of economic development of the slum dwellers. Korogocho is Nairobi’s fourth largest slum of some 120 000 people and has severe social and economic problems, whereby 70% of the population is under the age of 30 and most are unemployed. There are large numbers of street children in the slum and criminality and violence are rife. Social amenities are few with just two schools servicing 8 000 children.

The Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme is a partnership between the Kenyan and Italian government as well as a host of government ministries and CBOs, NGOs, and FBOs who work on the ground in the community. The project involves a series of activities in a host of different thematic areas such as: the physical (land, housing, planning and infrastructure), social (health, education, recreation, vulnerable groups, safety and security), economic (employment and income generation), and institutional, which involve capacity building of all partners. The last thematic area is environment, which looks at the solid waste disposal and overall waste management (Radice, 2008)

What is relevant for this literature review is the focus on security of tenure, which will be attained through the Community Land Trust (CLT) method, the focus on long-lines of preparation and the fact that the project is intended to be in line with the Millennium Development Goals. The project has a ten year timeline and the first two years are intended to establish the building blocks of the project. Above all the initial phases will build capacity of the community and stakeholders to sustainably improve the overall conditions of those living and working in Korogocho into the future and to demonstrate that this approach can be replicated in other slums. The major output of the programme will be the Sustainable Integrated Upgrading Plan.

The programme relies on the implementation of improvements and provision of services through a consultative process involving the community, Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Faith based Organizations (FBOs). It combines technical assistance, community

mobilization and organization as well as capital investment and ensures partnerships between the community, the government and the private sector. The programme has a number of objectives and outcomes, which include:

Objective 1: To have a detailed appreciation of Korogocho

Outputs:

- General socio-economic study for Korogocho and enumerate residents
- Maps for Korogocho and mapping the existing physical situation of the slum
- Situation analysis of Korogocho and sensitizing the community to the project and the project to the needs of the community

Objective 2: To prepare an Advisory Physical Plan for Korogocho

Outputs:

- Advisory Physical Plan
- Field reconnaissance
- Hold stakeholder meetings
- Drawing of plan

Objective 3: To build capacity of various actors/Institutions

Outputs:

- Capacity needs assessment with the community in a consultative fashion
- Capacity building plan
- Implemented capacity building plan
- Korogocho residents are informed on slum upgrading approaches in Kenya

Objective 4: To prepare a Sustainable Integrated Plan for upgrading Korogocho

Outputs:

- Consensus on services and improvements to be decided with the community in a series of meetings
- Layout designs and services will be decided in consultation
- Financing plan
- Action plan will be discussed and finalized with the community

Objective 5: To provide collective security of tenure to the residents of Korogocho

Output:

- Alternative land tenure system(s) decided through a series of workshops on the alternatives that are available within the Kenyan system of law and consensus was reached between the authorities and the community.
- Submission of agreed land tenure system for scrutiny and approval by CCN and CoL

Objective 6: To implement concrete improvement to assure visible impact

Output:

- Concrete work delivered
- Prepare project delivery schedule and tender documents
- Award, monitor and complete tenders

The programme relies heavily on inputs from the community and a working partnership from all stakeholders in order to operate and to ensure that the project is sustainable after the various agencies have left (Un-Habitat: KSUP, n.d.). It is useful to note from this example the long lead times and emphasis given to preparation for the project and the consistent engagement and interaction with the community and the beneficiaries in a wide variety of forums.

2.7.2 Case Study 2: Brazil, Santo Andre

According to Huchzermeyer (2004: 4) "The Integrated Social Inclusion Programme in Santo Andre, Brazil, is based on the principles of integrating marginalised informal settlement communities into the city, The participation of the residents, and coordination across the social, economic and infrastructural sectors". The case study of Santo Andre and the upgrading and slum eradication is considered to be a UN-Habitat example of best practice

(Daniel, 2001). Interestingly the project was oriented in terms of social exclusion rather than either housing or poverty as the authorities and stakeholders felt that the idea of social exclusion meant that the whole array of economic, social and cultural issues could be addressed to ensure sustainable solutions for the slums and the stakeholders argued that “Social exclusion and inclusion are multidimensional concepts. The economic dimension – income and employment – is without any doubt decisive” (Daniel, 2001: 2).

The project was undertaken in the City of Santo Andre in the South Eastern part of Brazil. It is a city of almost 650 000 people that has seen swift deindustrialization over the last few years and an increased concentration of tertiary sector activities. Although there is a reasonable standard of living for some, 16% of the population are living in slums. In order to combat some of the poor living conditions the Integrated Programme of Social Inclusion was initiated in 4 slums in the city. The project has two main phases, the last one includes an ongoing element to ensure sustainability.

First Phase (1997-2000): The first phase was targeted at some 16 000 people who constitute 20% of the slum population and consisted of a set of integrated actions, which included:

- The economic dimension such as a business incubator for cooperatives, entrepreneurs, micro-credit systems, vocational training and the minimum income program.
- Slum upgraded in terms of infrastructure and services
- Community based waste collection.
- Social programs such as the literacy campaigns for adults and family health program
- Child-Citizen programme aimed at street children and adolescents

The intention was to turn the slums into suburbs and neighbourhoods that were integrated into the urban fabric.

Methodology: The way in which these programmes were achieved is extremely interesting and useful for the SA context. In order to overcome the traditional sectoral approach, in which different departments act in silos each focused on their own areas, a general coordination committee was created for the program, which was composed of all the municipal departments involved in the program. A technical coordination unit was also created, and it too had an intersectoral character. Finally, for each of the four slum areas, field teams were constructed in order to manage and facilitate work on the ground. These teams undertook a number of tasks including:

- Social Exclusion Index map, which showed areas of the highest inclusion and exclusion and how they were spatialised across the city. The index was based on a set of variables that incorporated the multidimensional nature of poverty and exclusion. The Index provided a way of deciding on where the inputs needed to be targeted as well as a baseline from which improvements could be monitored. The process was also highly participatory and gave the community members a way of discussing their living conditions and their impressions of the changes.
- Community participation and inclusive urban governance are important aspects of local government in Brazil and the local practice of participatory budgeting is seen as a fundamental aspect of good governance. The budgeting process, however, was not the only form of community participation and other direct channels of participation were created for each of the slums. Meetings with the community were held on a regular basis and all programmes were carried out with community agents who had been elected by the communities in question.
- Strong partnerships between the various groups were also seen as playing an important part in the project's success. In this project there were 14 partners (local, national and international), these included the European Commission, Un-Habitat, NGOs, the Brazilian Institute for Municipal Administration, the University of Sao Paulo and the Movement in Defence of Slum dwellers. As well as various government departments. All of which had specific roles to play, which were clearly identified and monitored.

So far basic infrastructure has been put in place (leveling, sewerage, water and drainage) and 180 plots for families have been laid out and are ready for construction, 24 business units

have been constructed for employment and income generation. The slum densities have been decreased through negotiated discussion and co-ordination with communities and community structures. The relocations have been participatory, transparent and democratic. The government sector gained a great deal by working in an intersectoral manner as community agents began to go beyond their thematic areas to cover gaps and needs within the community.

Second Phase (2000 – present): The second phase is underway and seeks to maintain and sustain the gains that the earlier phase made, whilst also making steady improvements into other geographical and thematic areas. These include:

- Social Exclusion index Amendments: the index is too static and not able to easily accommodate change or to take other dimensions such as gender or violence into consideration. Thus the Index is being slightly re-worked.
- Extending the project to all slum areas and excluded households in the city. This is an ambitious task and will take several years to initiate and plan for. The basic premise, however, is not a one-size fits all approach but rather a series of differentiated approaches that are decided in conjunction with the communities and could include; land tenure options, full slum upgrades or regularization.
- Continuous institutional presence of local government in areas that have been upgraded is seen as imperative. The programme believes that the interventions cannot simply be once off capital investment but must be seen as long-term engagements with the various communities with inputs from all stakeholders in order to maintain and sustain the gains that have been made. They argue that the only way to ensure that slums do not re-emerge is through constant state-citizen interactions.

This case study offers a great deal to the SA example particularly in light of its commitment to participatory mechanisms, intersectoral planning and implementation and delivery and the understanding of sustained relationships between all partners over the long term. The Institutional model and Exclusion Index are certainly elements that could be useful in the Eastern Cape.

2.7.3 Case Study 3: India, Mumbai

The Mumbai example has also been identified by UN-Habitat as a best practice and offers some significant lessons for the SA context even though the scale and densities of Indian and South African cities are vastly different. Mumbai is effectively a city of almost 18 million people when including its suburbs, and suffers from serious urban sprawl and lack of amenities or services, which are particularly concerning when the density of 27 348 people per square kilometre is considered. Similarly to other large cities under discussion Mumbai has experienced important changes in its economy as the city has transformed from mainly a manufacturing hub to a more tertiary orientated and service sector economy. As a result many of the unskilled citizens who were previously employed in the factories now find themselves without work.

The city faces immense challenges around housing and out of the 2.51 million households almost half of the populations lives in slums, in dilapidated buildings, on the streets or in shacks and inadequate housing (Cities Alliance, 2008). According to the Cities Alliance report “The main hurdles in housing are the lack of affordable housing, insufficient land for housing development, outdated land policies, and inefficient and restrictive building regulations” (Cities Alliance, 2008: 43). Mumbai has gone through a number of phases in its slum upgrading policies over the years, including the slum demolition policies of the early 1970s, the very slightly more progressive policies of the late 1970s in which the Maharashtra Slum Area (Improvement, Clearance, & Redevelopment) Act passed in 1971. Then in 1976, the First Census of Hutments was carried out, and identity cards were issued to families living in slum. Neither of these Acts had any real material impact on the slum conditions in the City. In the 1980s a slum-upgrading programme with instituted with the help of the World Bank, this aimed to give some slum dwellers secure tenure but was only marginally successful.

The current slum eradication policy is based on the 1995-1996 programme, which has several interesting features that include;

- Every slum structure existing as of January 1, 1995, is eligible for rehabilitation.
- Slum dwellers get a self-contained, 225-square foot carpeted tenement free of cost.
- Underlying land is the resource for the scheme.
- The consent of 70 percent of the eligible slum dwellers is required for implementing the slum rehabilitation scheme.
- The cost of constructing the rehab tenements is cross-subsidized from the sale of free-sale tenements in the open market.
- The government is not financially involved
- Land is the scarcest resource in the city, and the local government is extremely strict in allocating land to needy residents. As such allocation of land for residents is possible only through the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme, in which the land is transferred to a society of the residents, instead of to individual persons. So while the individuals
- become owners of the flats, the land underneath remains in the name of society.

Under the current policy, around 100,000 houses have been constructed so far, and an equal number is under construction. But providing free houses and the dependency on the real estate rates are big constraints. The policy has proved useful in cases where rehabilitation was necessitated by implementation of vital infrastructure projects.

The Indian case study provides different kinds of lessons to the other examples as much can be learnt about what not to do as well as what to do. The option of leaving the decision of slum eradication up to a vote of 70% of the residents has meant that in some cases residents who are more marginal and less able to afford the housing options have been ignored, shouted down or bullied by “stronger tenants”. This points to the idea that what is needed is a sensitised approach to communities, so that different voices and the most marginalized are able to contribute. The state has also left development totally in the hands of the private sector, which has often meant that low income residents are relocated to the peripheries of the cities, creating situations of intense spatial marginalisation. On the other hand the Indian’s ability to deal with density and scarce land is useful and South African housing authorities should consider the notion of co-operatively owned land and privately owned higher density housing units in response to the need for infill and more efficient cities.

2.7.4 Case Study 4: Philippines, Manila

The Philippines has seen rapid urbanization over the last two decades and no where is this more true than the megacity of Metro Manila, which is a metropolitan area comprised of 17 cities and municipalities. The Metro’s population increased from nearly 2.5 million in 1964 to over 12 million in 2000 and now has a growth rate of approximately 2.36% per year. The city has grown extremely quickly with much of the growth being uncatered for and uncontrolled. As a result over 20% of Metro Manila’s population is either under or near the poverty line and 35 % reside in informal “slum” settlements (Cities alliance, 2008).

According to the Asian Development Bank (2000), The people who live in these sprawling, largely unplanned communities “must contend with poor quality housing, overcrowding, inadequate access to basic services and lack of security of tenure, which result in decreases in health, increased environmental degradation and an appalling in the quality of life”. The local government argues that sustainable, long-term upgrading and urban development solutions must be holistic and multi-disciplinary, and intersectoral and look at the connection between livelihoods and the physical lived environment and argue that interventions cannot be sustainable unless both are in place.

The city has two different approaches to slum upgrading depending on the nature, location and circumstances of the community: (i) for established communities that have access to the land upon which their community resides, on-site upgrading to include regularization of the land, introduction of basic services such as water supply and sanitation, and provision of other infrastructure and community facilities; and (ii) for vulnerable squatter communities sited in danger zones, relocation to appropriate serviced land and the provision of integrated urban development solutions with an emphasis on livelihood opportunities. (Asian Development Bank, 2000)

In line with this thinking the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council, which is in charge of slum eradication in the city has a number of programmes and policies that are in line with the abovementioned approaches, these include:

- **The asset reform program**, which tries to redistribute resource endowments by awarding a form of tenure to target beneficiaries that provides them with ownership or security of tenure. This programme is being implemented through the following:
 - The Resettlement Program, which is a beneficiary-led approach that ensures informal settlers are relocated in a just and humane manner and that those who are relocated are given appropriate assistance in keeping with their needs. This programme includes implementing in-city/in-town relocation to minimize dislocation; providing basic services, such as schools, potable water, and electricity, as well as livelihood opportunities for resettled families; and institutionalising Local Inter-Agency Committees (LIACs), composed of interested and affected parties and all stakeholders who are then responsible for the formulation of implementing rules and regulations that will govern the relocation activities.
 - Regularisation of tenure through issuance of presidential proclamations. These proclamations effectively declare vacant and unused government lands acceptable for the occupation of informal settlers and qualified beneficiaries.
- **Provision of secure tenure** through the Community Mortgage Program, which gives community associations in informal settlements access to financing to acquire the private land they occupy, develop the site, and construct or improve housing units. The loans are payable within 30 years, with a 6 percent interest rate.
- **Increasing social housing stock** through the Urban Development and Housing Act (Republic Act 7279), which requires developers of subdivisions to set aside 20 percent of the area, or the cost, for social housing. Compliance to this housing requirement may be in the form of construction of units, joint ventures with the local government or housing agencies or development of resettlement sites, or upgrading or improving housing units within the sites. In many ways it is a more sophisticated version of the SA Inclusionary Housing Policy.
- **Foreign-assisted projects** aimed at providing secure tenure and building capacities of stakeholders were implemented, and while it is recognized that these projects are not focused on solving the housing problems in Metro Manila, they have led to adopting the following policies or programmes,
 - Approval of a housing micro-finance product manual allowing the use of rights-based instruments for obtaining loans. The manual also allows the use of rights-based instruments, such as interim land titles, as collateral in banking loan transactions.
 - Assisted with getting the acceptance of innovative tenure arrangements, such as public rental, lease/purchase and shared ownership, rent-to-own, usufruct, and long-term lease.
 - Streamlining processes in securing necessary permits, licenses, certifications, and clearances for residential and subdivision development by creating a one-stop shop processing centre and imposing deadlines on concerned government agencies for processing of applications.

An important lesson that the Philippine experience has shown is that secure tenure through freehold has high transaction costs, which are often passed on to the state and make the process of securing tenure for beneficiaries extremely expensive. The Philippines have also benefited enormously from bringing in the help of various sectors including other departments, NGOs, grassroot movements, academics, research institutions and multi-lateral organization, who have helped to drive new ways of understanding housing issues and approaches and ensuring their acceptance at community and state level.

2.7.5 Key lessons to be learnt

1. An intersectoral committee led by a strong co-ordinating team is absolutely essential to the creation of integrated human settlements.
2. Planning and base line work such socio-economic surveys, social exclusion indices etc is necessary to put the appropriate building blocks in place to ensure that projects are stable and sustainable. As such long lead times and real interaction need to be considered in the planning phase of the project.

3. One size fits all approaches are not helpful and the individual context and environment needs to be considered so that appropriate mechanisms for housing and services are used.
4. Continuous engagements with all stakeholders in real and effective participatory mechanisms are necessary to ensure that the appropriate approach is being utilised that can accurately respond to the needs of the individuals and communities. The approach also needs to be sufficiently nuanced to include the most vulnerable and marginalized and not just those with the loudest voices.
5. Access to various types of finance can be extremely useful in encouraging local beneficiaries to take some responsibility for their own housing provision.
6. The state needs to recognise that it is in a good position to bargain with financial institutions, large developers and material suppliers to buy in bulk, negotiate rates and bring down costs for housing and infrastructure provision.
7. The projects should not be seen as once off interventions but rather as long term engagements and relationships between citizens and state that consistently mean that both parties are able to get what they need from the relationship, i.e. citizens receive good services and the state has fee paying active citizens who are law and by-law abiding. This does, however, mean that the local government needs to devise methods of continuous engagement.
8. The connection between livelihood strategies and sustainable human settlements and the ability to ensure that slums do not re-emerge is key. The logic is simply that if people can afford to help maintain their environment (with some support from the state) then the likelihood of shacks emerging as an income generating activity or the area becoming dilapidated because beneficiaries are unable to afford the maintenance of their properties will decrease significantly.
9. Local governments also do not have to undergo these exercises on their own and there is evidence that strong partner support with multi-lateral or bilateral organizations, NGOs, CBOs, grassroot organizations, and tertiary institutions can significantly enhance the success of local projects. The trick is to ensure that the local government leads and co-ordinates these projects rather than being dictated to by other parties.

3. FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS REPORT: QUANTITATIVE SECTION

3.1 *Extent of Informal Housing in the Eastern Cape*

Various methods were utilised to enumerate the informal dwellings in the province. Our initial source was the estimates provided by Statistics South Africa's 2007 Community Survey. The survey selected representative samples of households for interviews across all municipalities in the country. On that basis, it was estimated that there were a total of 127 511 informal dwellings in the Eastern Cape. The proportions varied widely between municipalities. In the two largest urban centres, the CS 2007 estimated that 24,5% of all households in Buffalo City were informal dwellings, as were 13,7% of households in Nelson Mandela Metro. This implied that the majority (69,8%) of such dwellings were concentrated in the two cities. Elsewhere, a few municipalities stood out as having relatively high proportions or concentrations of informal dwellings. These were Kouga, Mnquma, Amahlathi, Lukhanji, Maletswai and King Sabata Dalinyebo local municipalities.

Our second methodology comprised a scoping exercise comprising trips to various areas across the province to verify the CS 2007 estimates. In the two large cities, it was relatively easy to verify huge concentrations and densities of informal dwellings and backyard shacks. Our visits to many of the big city settlements found numerous shacks, which confirmed the overall distribution determined by the CS 2007. In Buffalo City, the numbers counted by our fieldworker teams totalled 25,944 in just the areas³ that we visited. In Nelson Mandela, our counts came to 9,203 in just the areas⁴ we covered. In the rest of the smaller municipalities, we found that some had fewer informal dwellings than estimated by the CS 2007 and some had more. Those with fewer than expected were the local municipalities of Makana, Mbhashe, Mhlontlo and Matatiele⁵. Conversely, the municipalities with more shacks than expected included Ndlambe, Kouga, Mnquma, Lukanji, Engcobo, Maletswai, Port St Johns, King Sabata Dalinyebo and Umzimvubu⁶.

Our third methodology was verification with municipal officials. This was particularly important in Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela. We compared our counted totals with their statistics for the areas where we had counted, and found them to be very similar. On this basis we were able confidently to accept their figures for all settlements and backyard shacks within their jurisdiction. These figures far exceeded the CS 2007. In both cities the totals were 80,000 informal dwellings and backyard shacks, in comparison with the CS 2007's estimates of 51,055 (Buffalo) and 37,933 (NMM). Similarly, King Sabata Dalinyebo had far more shacks than the CS 2007 estimate. In the less populated local municipalities, some discrepancies occurred but these were nowhere near the magnitude of those in the two large cities.

Overall, therefore, it appears that the Eastern Cape accommodates approximately 225,000 informal dwellings and backyard shacks, with the greatest concentrations being in Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Metro, where about 36% are located in each case. The remaining 28%

³ The settlements in Buffalo City yielded dwelling counts as follows: Mdantsane (Lonwabo, Velwano, Dakawa & Nondula) 1072; Orange Grove 1238; Duncan Village C-Sections 1-21 5289; Duncan Village Floodline 806; Reeston; 798.

⁴ The Nelson Mandela Metro settlements that were counted were: Dongweni 1000; Nontshinga 850; Mandela Village 66; Silvertown 100; Masakhane 68; Powerline 570; NU10 Motherwell 1800; Hlalani 95; Ndlovini 90; NU29 Motherwell 495; Clare Park 110; Thabong 75; Noxolo 158; Soweto-on-sea 2300; Chris Hani 150; Peace Village 110; Gunguluza 750; Khayamnandi 350; Wesville 4000; Joe Slovo 460.

⁵ The counts were: Mbhashe (Idutywa) 190; Umzimvubu (Mount Ayliff, Mount Frere Bantubonke) 574; Mhlontlo (Qumbu Riverside 1 & 2,) 236; Matatiele 150; Ndlambe (Port Alfred) 1645; Ingquza (Katilumla) 800.

⁶ The counts were: Mnquma (Bhungeni, Siyanda, New Rest, Pumlani, Zizamele, Madiba, Kwaseven, Khayelitsha, Simunye, Smuts Ngonyama) 11478; Lukanji (Queenstown) 4074; King Sabata Dalinyebo (Tiphini, Phola Park, Ngangelizwe) 3330; Port St Johns (Green's Farm, Nonyevu, Mpanu) 1055; Makana (Hlalani, Zolani, Ext 7, Mnandi) 1000; Ngcobo (Masonwabenathi, Apile, Golfini, Kwanqonqo) 2850; Maletswai (Chris Hani Village, Mandela Village, Block H1, Block H2, Soul City, Phola Park) 5950; Kouga (Ocean View, Tokyo Sexwale, Mandela Bay, Sucusukuma, Phola Park, Golf Course, Gxotiwe Street) 5710.

of informal dwellings are widely distributed across the smaller local municipalities as indicated in the table of estimates that follows.

Table 8: Informal Housing, Eastern Cape: CS 2007 & Baseline 2009/10 Estimates

MUNICIPALITY	CS 2007 estimated proportion informal	CS 2007 estimated number of informal households	2009 scoping count	2009/2010 best estimate
DC10: Cacadu				
EC101: Camdeboo Local Municipality	0.020	180	--	180
EC102: Blue Crane Route Local Municipality	0.111	1072	--	1072
EC103: Ikwezi Local Municipality	0.019	49	--	49
EC104: Makana Local Municipality	0.073	1377	1000	1000
EC105: Ndlambe Local Municipality	0.048	707	1645	1645
EC106: Sunday's River Valley Local Municipality	0.035	346	--	346
EC107: Baviaans Local Municipality	0.000		--	0
EC108: Kouga Local Municipality	0.131	2500	5710	5710
EC109: Kou-Kamma Local Municipality	0.062	643	--	643
ECDMA10: Cacadu	0.039	76	--	76
DC12: Amatole	0.140			
EC121: Mbhashe Local Municipality	0.006	358	190	190
EC122: Mquma Local Municipality	0.089	6711	11478	11478
EC123: Great Kei Local Municipality	0.101	1208	--	1208
EC124: Amahlathi Local Municipality	0.083	3020	300	300
EC125: Buffalo City Local Municipality	0.245	51055	25944*	80000
EC126: Ngqushwa Local Municipality	0.034	869	--	869
EC127: Nkonkobe Local Municipality	0.009	314	--	314
EC128: Nxuba Local Municipality	0.088	552	--	552
DC13: Chris Hani				
EC131: Inxuba Yethemba Local Municipality	0.006	87	--	87
EC132: Tsolwana Local Municipality	0.005	40	--	40
EC133: Inkwanca Local Municipality	0.011	58	--	58
EC134: Lukanji Local Municipality	0.061	3030	4074	4074
EC135: Intsika Yethu Local Municipality	0.013	566	--	566
EC136: Emalahleni Local Municipality	0.005	156	--	156
EC137: Engcobo Local Municipality	0.007	246	2850	2850
EC138: Sakhisizwe Local Municipality	0.052	813	--	813
ECDMA13: Chris Hani	0.000		--	
DC14: Ukhahlamba				
EC141: Elundini Local Municipality	0.010	356	--	356
EC142: Senqu Local Municipality	0.047	1650	--	1650
EC143: Maletswai Local Municipality	0.218	2495	5950	5950
EC144: Gariiep Local Municipality	0.038	312	--	312
DC15: O.R. Tambo				
EC151: Mbizana Local Municipality	0.006	290	--	290
EC152: Ntabankulu Local Municipality	0.026	726	--	726
EC153: Qaukeni Local Municipality	0.018	877	4000	877
EC154: Port St Johns Local Municipality	0.002	62	1055	1055
EC155: Nyandeni Local Municipality	0.006	341	--	341
EC156: Mhlonlto Local Municipality	0.037	1845	236	236
EC157: King Sabata Dalindyebo Local Municipality	0.032	2988	3330	15000
DC44: Alfred Nzo				
EC442: Umzimvubu Local Municipality	0.012	574	3100	3100
EC441: Matatiele Local Municipality	0.019	1030	150	150
NMA: Nelson Mandela Bay Metro			--	
NMA: Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan	0.137	37933	9203*	80000
EASTERN CAPE TOTAL		127512	80215	224319

* These were partial counts, see explanation in text.

3.2 Who Lives in the Settlements?

The study sought to not only provide a numerical sense of the number of households living in informal settlements but also supplied data on the people who are living in these settlements, as such details of age, household size, gender, relationships with others in the household, income and employment.

3.2.1 Age Groups

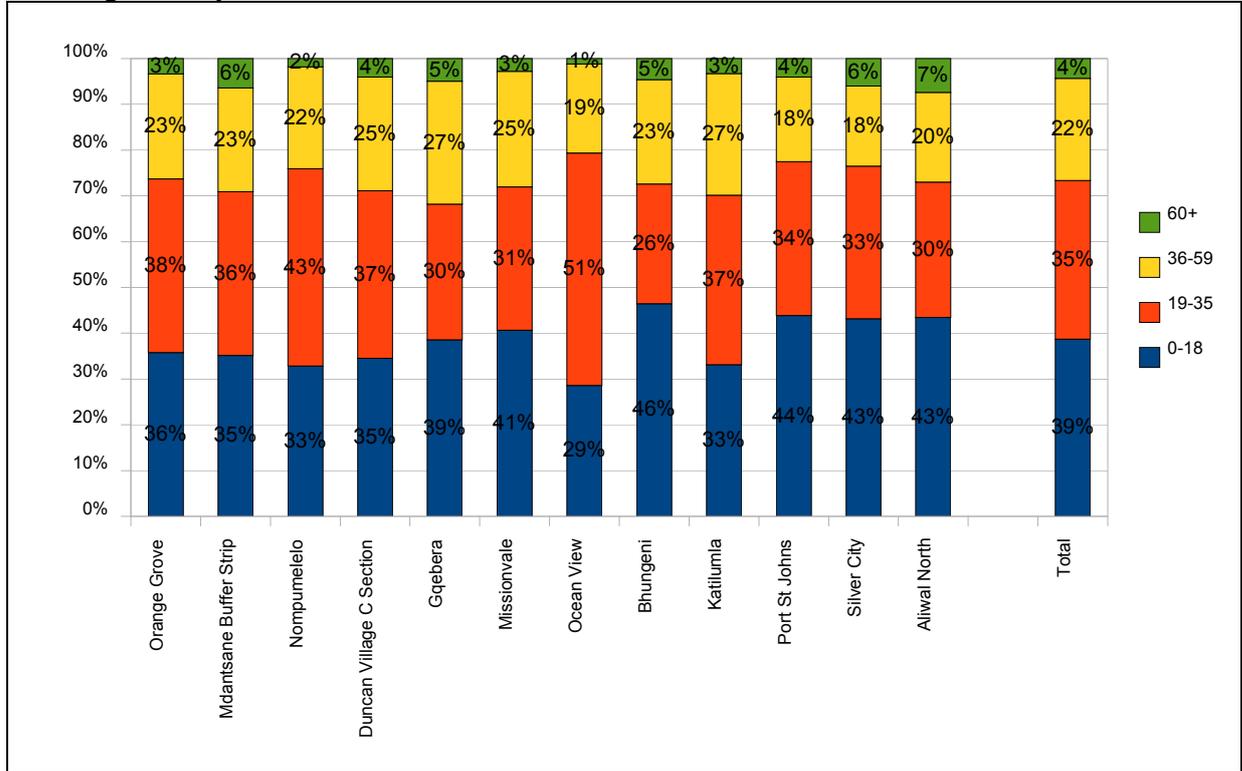


Figure 13: Age cohorts of people living in the surveyed settlements

Table 9: Breakdown in percentages of the age cohorts in each surveyed settlement

Settlement	Percentage in each age category							Mean age
	0-5	6-12	13-17	18-29	30-45	46-60	61+	
Gqebera	10.5%	14.2%	10.0%	25.6%	22.8%	12.3%	4.6%	27.1
Duncan Village C Section	11.9%	11.0%	9.1%	29.3%	24.2%	11.2%	3.2%	26.7
Katilumla	13.6%	12.7%	3.9%	27.9%	25.0%	13.6%	3.2%	27.1
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	14.0%	8.5%	10.5%	27.2%	21.0%	12.4%	6.3%	27.7
Aliwal North	14.1%	17.7%	9.7%	22.5%	18.1%	11.1%	6.8%	25.7
Silver City	14.5%	14.7%	10.2%	29.1%	16.8%	9.6%	5.2%	24.8
Ocean View	14.6%	8.8%	4.9%	33.7%	32.3%	4.6%	1.2%	24.9
Port St Johns	14.9%	15.0%	11.2%	25.2%	20.5%	9.5%	3.7%	24.0
Nompumelelo	15.6%	9.8%	5.5%	31.3%	27.2%	8.9%	1.6%	25.0
Bhungeni	15.8%	14.7%	13.5%	20.8%	19.0%	11.9%	4.3%	24.8
Missionvale	16.0%	12.2%	10.7%	23.1%	26.0%	9.7%	2.4%	24.7
Orange Grove	17.1%	8.7%	7.3%	27.1%	27.6%	9.2%	3.1%	25.6
MEAN	14.4%	12.3%	8.9%	26.9%	23.4%	10.3%	3.8%	25.7

More than a third (35.6%) of the residents of informal settlements is aged less than 18 years. At the other end of the spectrum, 3.8% are in the over 60 years category. This leaves a balance of just less than three-fifths (60.6%) in the economically active age group of 18 to 60 year olds. The distribution varies between settlements, with the highest proportions of children

living in Bhungeni, Port St Johns, Aliwal North and Silver City (all around 40% or more). In three of these settlements the mean⁷ age of residents is less than 25 years old and in Aliwal North it is 25,7 years. Conversely, the urban settlements at Ocean View and Katilumla have about 30% or fewer in the under-18 category. The older than 60 year olds form the largest proportions (over 6%) in Aliwal North and Mdantsane Buffer Strip, the latter having the highest mean age of 27,7 years. Working age people are most prevalent in Ocean View (70,6%), Nompumelelo (67,4%) and Katilumla (66,6%).

3.2.2 Household Size

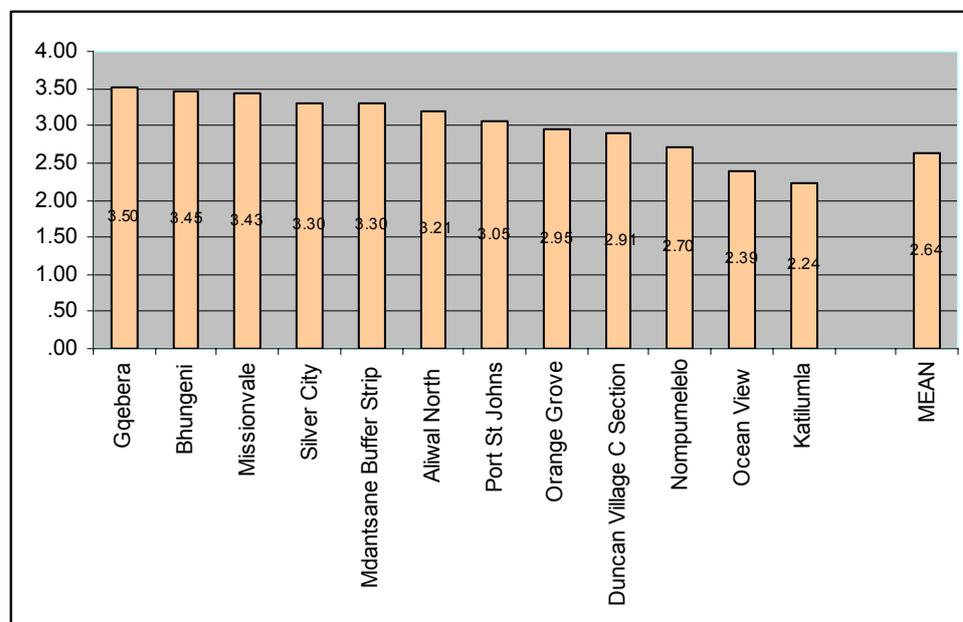


Figure 14: Average Household size in the surveyed settlements

Table 10; Average Household size in the surveyed settlements with means and standard deviations

Settlement	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Gqebera	3.50	2.067	1	10
Bhungeni	3.45	2.181	1	10
Missionvale	3.43	1.717	1	9
Silver City	3.30	2.441	1	14
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	3.30	1.973	1	10
Aliwal North	3.21	1.831	1	10
Port St Johns	3.05	2.571	1	15
Orange Grove	2.95	1.706	1	10
Duncan Village C Section	2.91	1.762	1	8
Nompumelelo	2.70	1.617	1	10
Ocean View	2.39	1.496	1	8
Katilumla	2.24	1.920	1	10
MEAN	3.04	.327	1	15

The mean household size across the twelve settlements is 3,04 people. The size ranges from single-person households, which form just over a quarter (25,7%) of households (highest in

⁷ The terms ‘mean’ and ‘median’ are used throughout the report, mean refers to the is the mathematical average of all the terms, whereas the median can be described as the numeric value separating the higher half of a sample, a population, or a probability distribution, from the lower half and can be referred to as the mid-point.

Katilumla 50,7%, Port St Johns 39,1% and Ocean View 36,1%) to the 3,8% of households with eight or more members (highest in Port St Johns and Silver City, both over 8%).

3.2.3 Gender

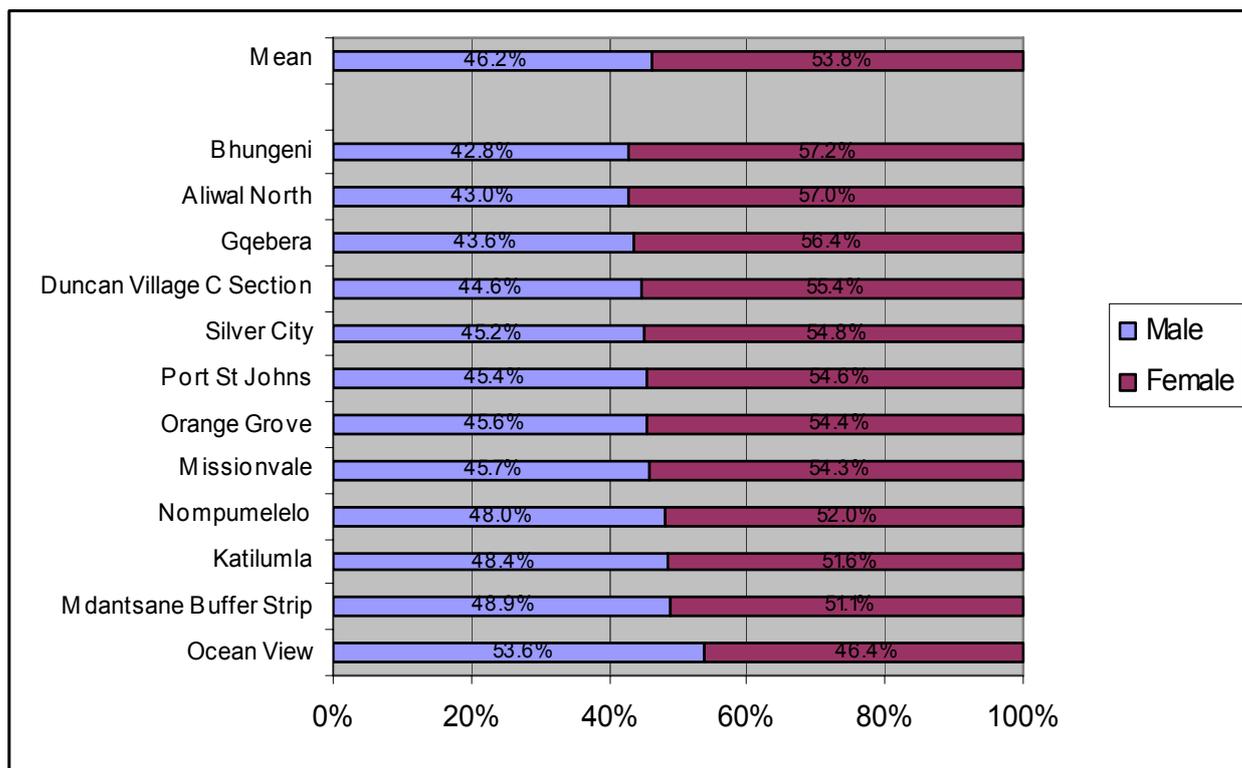


Figure 15: Gender ratios per settlement

Females comprise the majority of residents in eleven of the twelve settlements, the only exception being Ocean View, where 53,6% are males. The proportion of females is highest in Bhungeni, Aliwal North and Gqebera (all >56%). These statistics generally reflect the higher than average proportion of females overall in the Eastern Cape, namely 53,8%⁸, resulting from male labour migration to other provinces.

3.2.4 Relationships of members in respondent households

Table 11: Relationships and marital status of the heads of households

	Married	Living together	Widow/widower	Divorced/separated	Never married
Orange Grove	23.2%	18.3%	3.8%	6.8%	47.9%
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	31.7%	11.1%	9.9%	6.6%	40.7%
Nompumelelo	23.4%	25.4%	3.6%	8.5%	39.1%
Duncan Village C Section	25.7%	14.8%	4.6%	5.5%	49.4%
Gqebera	29.5%	12.6%	10.2%	5.1%	42.5%
Missionvale	33.9%	13.5%	6.4%	4.4%	41.8%
Ocean View	26.2%	23.8%	2.5%	3.3%	44.3%
Bhungeni	23.9%	14.7%	10.5%	8.4%	42.4%
Katilumla	15.8%	11.5%	6.5%	2.9%	63.3%
Port St Johns	14.9%	11.8%	14.1%	5.9%	53.3%
Silver City	19.6%	17.4%	11.5%	7.7%	43.8%
Aliwal North	15.9%	20.3%	11.6%	5.6%	46.6%
Mean	23.7%	16.3%	7.9%	5.9%	46.3%

⁸ The national ratio is 47,8% male and 52,2% female (Statistics South Africa, Census in Brief Report 03-02-03, 2003)

Almost half (46,3%) of the heads of households in the twelve settlements have never been married and 23,7% are currently married. The rest are living together with a partner (16,3%), widowed (7,9%) or divorced/separated (5,9%). This means that on average, more than half of the households interviewed were single or single-parent units. The settlements with the highest proportion never married are Katilumla (63,3%) and Port St Johns (53,3%).

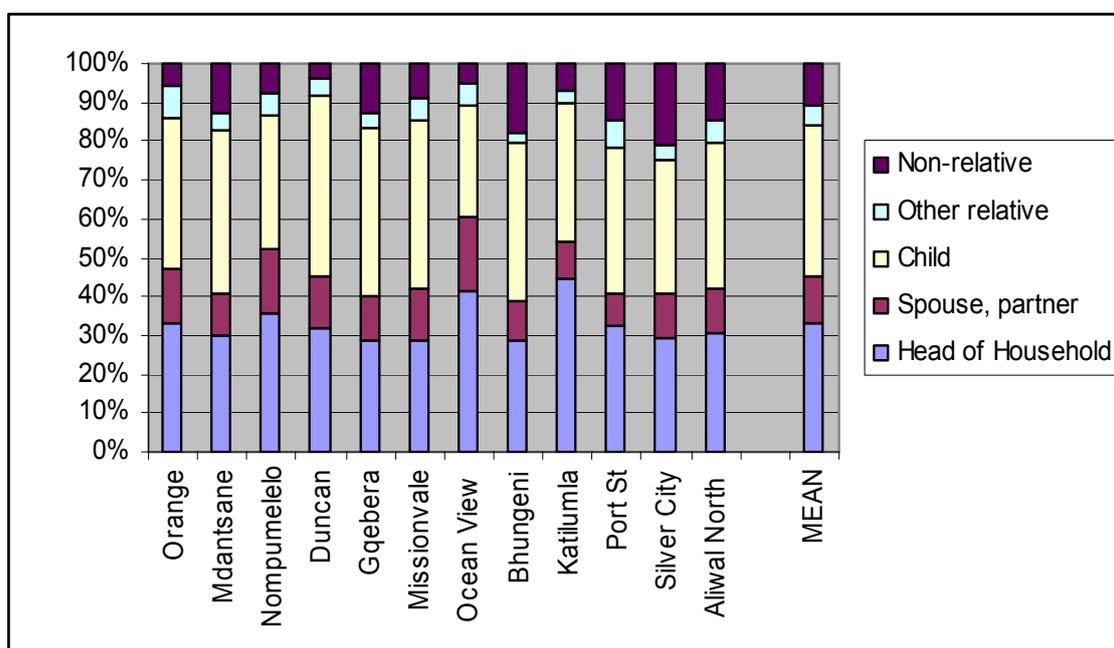


Figure 16: Living arrangements of households in the surveyed settlements

Table 12: Living arrangements of households in percentages in the surveyed settlements

	Head of Household	Spouse, partner	Child	Other relative	Non-relative/other
Orange Grove	32.9%	14.0%	39.0%	8.2%	6.0%
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	29.7%	11.2%	41.8%	4.4%	12.9%
Nompumelelo	35.6%	16.9%	33.8%	5.8%	7.9%
Duncan Village C Section	31.8%	13.4%	46.5%	4.3%	3.9%
Gqebera	28.4%	11.8%	43.5%	3.3%	12.9%
Missionvale	28.9%	13.4%	42.8%	6.0%	9.0%
Ocean View	41.5%	19.0%	28.4%	5.7%	5.4%
Bhungeni	28.6%	10.0%	41.0%	2.7%	17.8%
Katilumla	44.5%	9.7%	35.4%	3.2%	7.1%
Port St Johns	32.6%	8.0%	38.0%	6.5%	14.9%
Silver City	29.3%	11.5%	34.5%	3.6%	21.1%
Aliwal North	30.8%	11.4%	37.4%	5.9%	14.5%
MEAN	32.9%	12.5%	38.5%	5.0%	11.1%

Across the twelve settlements, just under one-third (32,9%) of residents are heads of their households, this proportion being highest in Katilumla and Ocean View, (where because household sizes are the smallest, the chances of being a head of household are greater than in the other settlements). In Ocean View, heads of household are the most likely to live with their spouse or partner (19,0%) and in Port St Johns, least likely (8,0%). The proportion of child residents is highest in Duncan Village C-Section (46,5%) and the proportion of non-related household members is highest in Silver City (21,1%). As more than one-third (38,5%) of residents are children of household heads, it implies that most households have at least one child living with them. Also, it emerges that one in nine (11,1%) residents is not related to the head of household in which he/she lives, this may indicate a person paying rent or some more distant kin or clan relationship.

3.2.5 Language and citizenship

The majority (94,7%) of settlement residents speak isiXhosa at home. Only in two settlements are there other sizeable language groups, namely Sesotho (29,1% in Aliwal North, which borders the Free State) and Afrikaans (9,1% in Missionvale). Almost all (99,1%) residents are South African citizens, ranging from 98,0% in Nompumelelo to 99,7% in Port St Johns and Katilumla.

3.2.6 Literacy and education levels

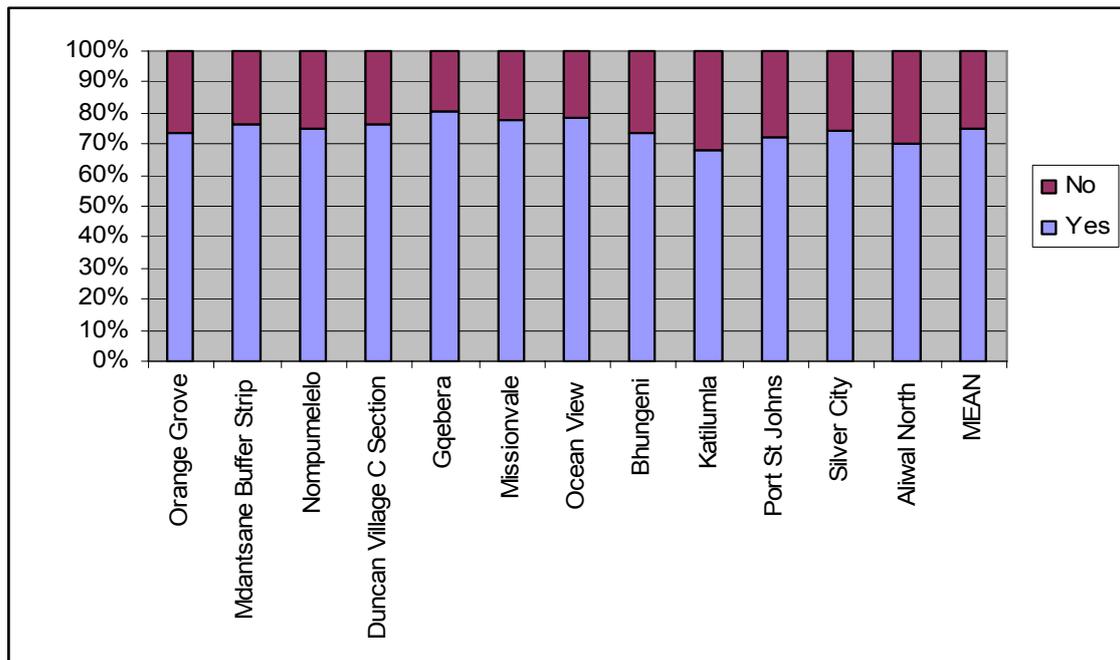


Figure 17: Literacy levels of respondents in surveyed settlements

Asked whether they were able to read or write in any language, it was reported that 74,7% of residents were literate and 25,3% not. The literacy rate ranged from 68,3% in Katilumla to 80,3% in Gqebera. Amongst adults only (i.e. residents aged above 20 years old), the literacy rate was 88,4%, ranging from 79,1% in Katilumla to 91,7% in Orange Grove.

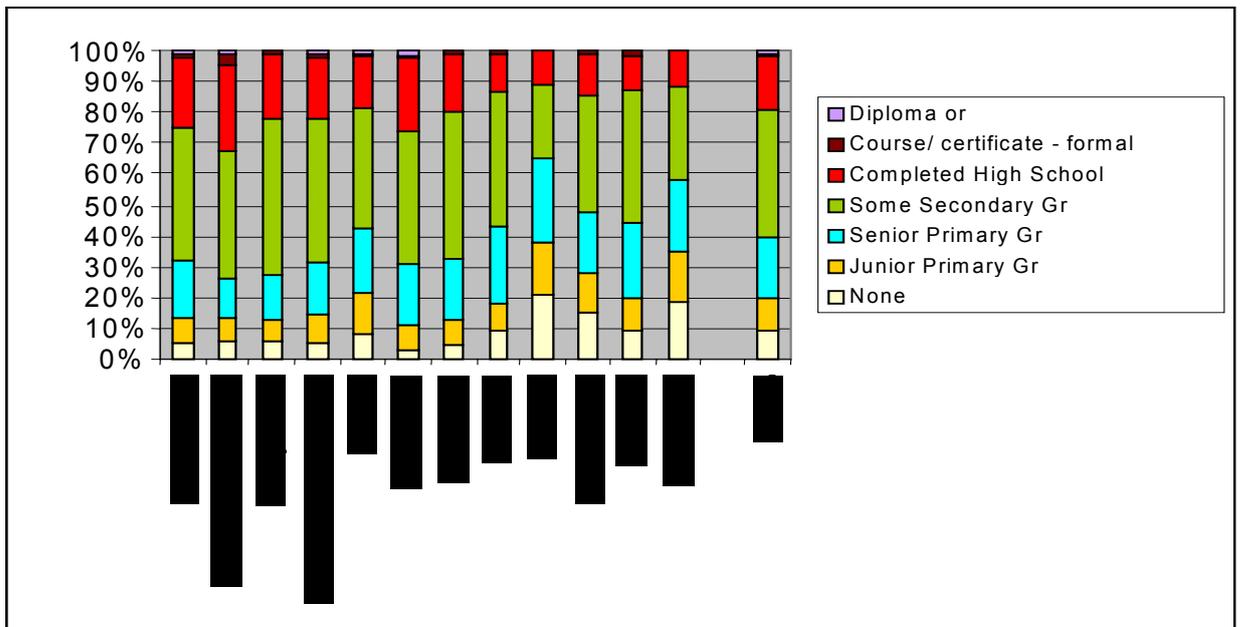


Figure 18: Educational levels achieved by respondents in surveyed settlements

Looked at from another perspective, one-fifth of adults aged over 20 years had achieved a pass in Grade 12 or higher, a further 41% had some level of secondary education, the rest having achieved primary school or less. The best-educated population was in Mdantsane Buffer Strip, where 32% of adults had achieved matric or higher, followed by Missionvale and Orange Grove, where about one-quarter had achieved this level. Education levels were lowest in the five settlements furthestmost away from the main urban centres, namely Bhungeni, Port St Johns, Silver City, Aliwal North and Katilumla (all less than 15% Grade 12 or more education), suggesting that better educated people are more likely to live in or migrate to larger cities.

3.2.7 Disability

The level of disability amongst residents stood at 5,2%, ranging from 3,1% in Aliwal North to 7,8% in Mdantsane Buffer Strip. There was a small but significant correlation between disability and age (Pearson's $R=0,122$, $sig.=0,000$), Mdantsane Buffer Strip having the oldest mean age (27,7 years) of all twelve settlements.

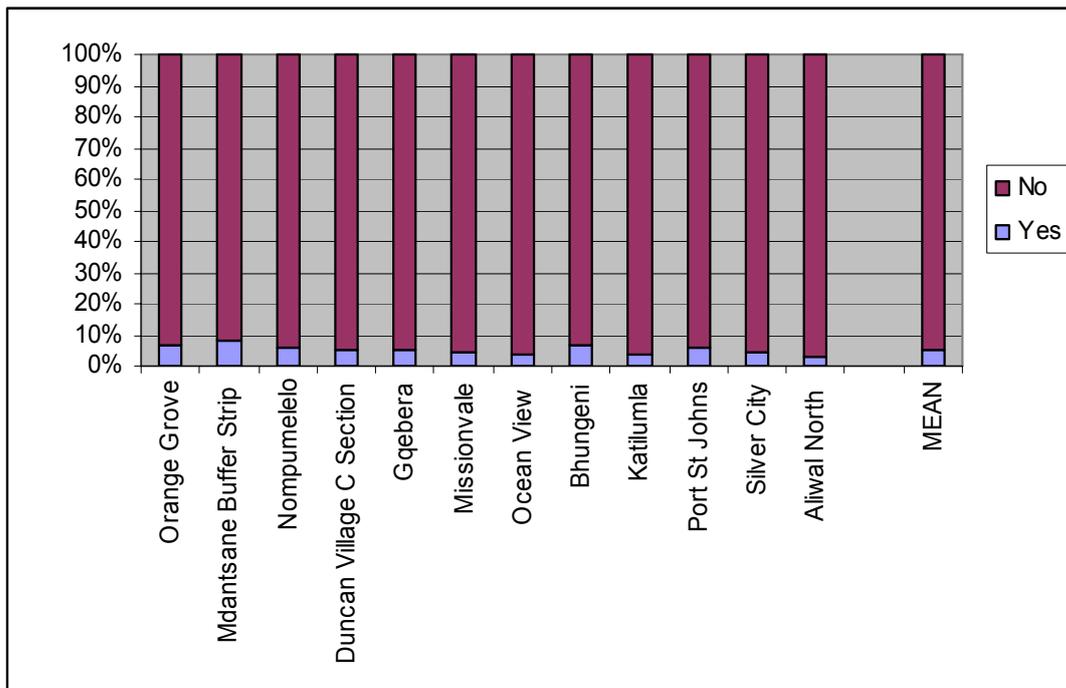


Figure 19: Respondents indicating disability (yes) or not (no) across the surveyed settlements

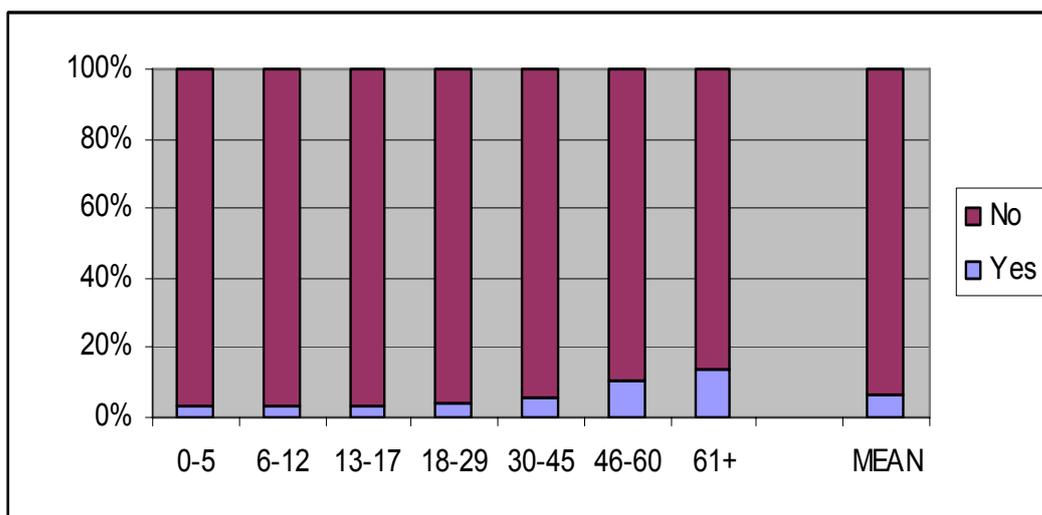


Figure 20: Respondents indicating disability (yes) or not (no) by age cohort

3.2.8 Employment

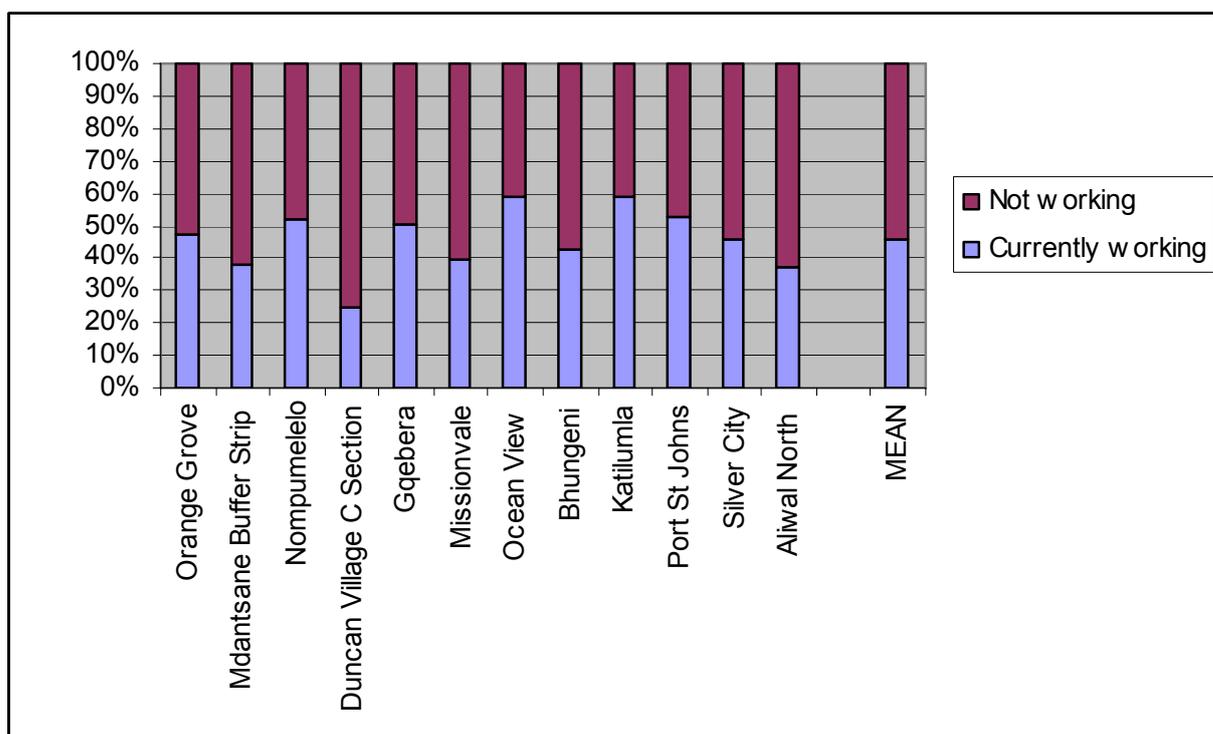


Figure 21: Indications of respondents who are currently working or not working across surveyed settlements

Amongst people aged from 20 to 60 years, the percentage that had jobs at the time of the survey was 45,7%, those without work, 54,3%. The level of employment amongst this age category ranged significantly ($X^2=164,179$, $df=11$, $sig.=0,000$) between settlements, the highest was in Katilumla and Ocean View (both 59%) and the lowest in Duncan Village C-Section (24,8%). Gender differences in employment rates were highly significant ($X^2=171,469$; $df=1$; $sig.=0,000$), with 55,6% of males aged 21 to 59 years indicating that they were working at the time of the survey, as opposed to 36,6% of females in the same age category.

Amongst those aged from 21 to 59 years who were not working, the major reason for not working was that they could not find any work (61,6%; males 58,4%, females 63,5%). This reason was most mentioned (by over 70%) in Katilumla, Port St Johns and Aliwal North, and least (by 51%) in Mdantsane Buffer Strip and Nompumelelo. Other reasons for not working included: that they were sick or in some way disabled (10,7%; males 11,2%, females 10,3%); they were full-time students (6,4%; males 7,7%, females 5,6%); or that they could not find any suitable work (4,5% - no gender difference).

Amongst those with jobs, the median distance to the workplace was only two kilometres. This varied from 1 km in Silver City, Katilumla and Port St Johns to 7 km in Mdantsane Buffer Strip. The majority (67,3%) of working residents of the twelve settlements lived within three kilometres of their workplaces. A further 17,5% lived 4 or 5 kilometres from work; 8,4% were 6 to 10 kilometres from work; 4,8% had to travel 11 to 20 kilometres; and the remaining 1,9% were working somewhere more than 20 kilometres from their homes.

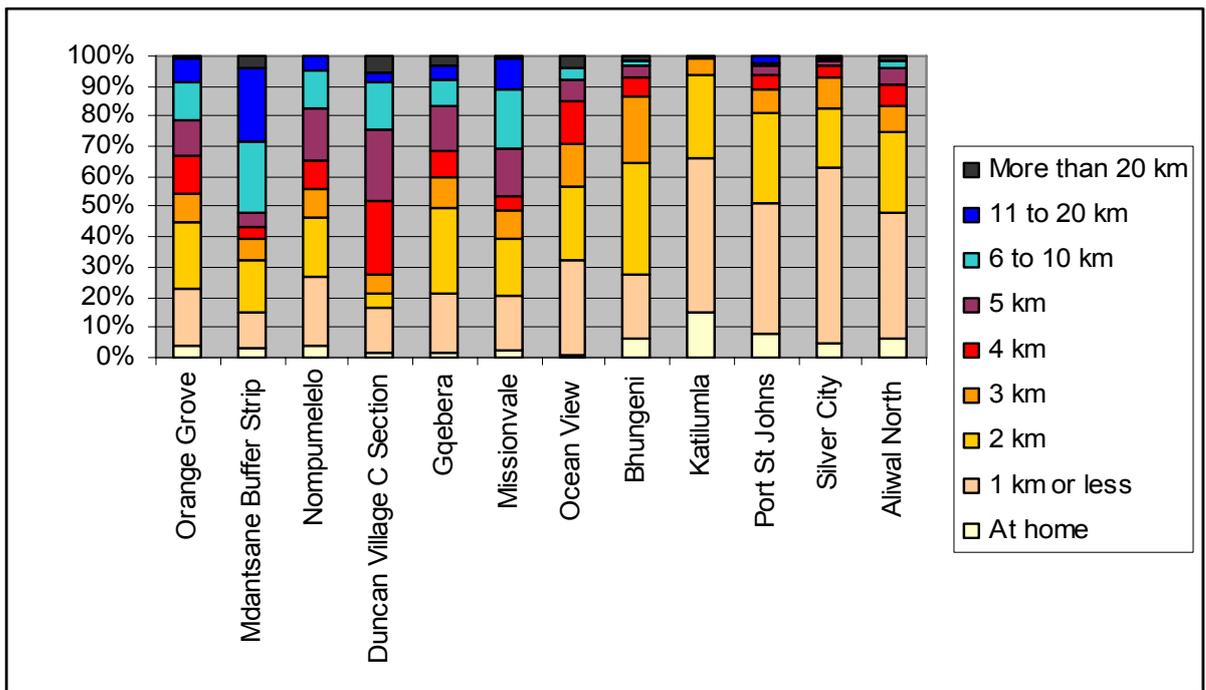


Figure 22: Distance to work by surveyed settlement

3.2.9 Income

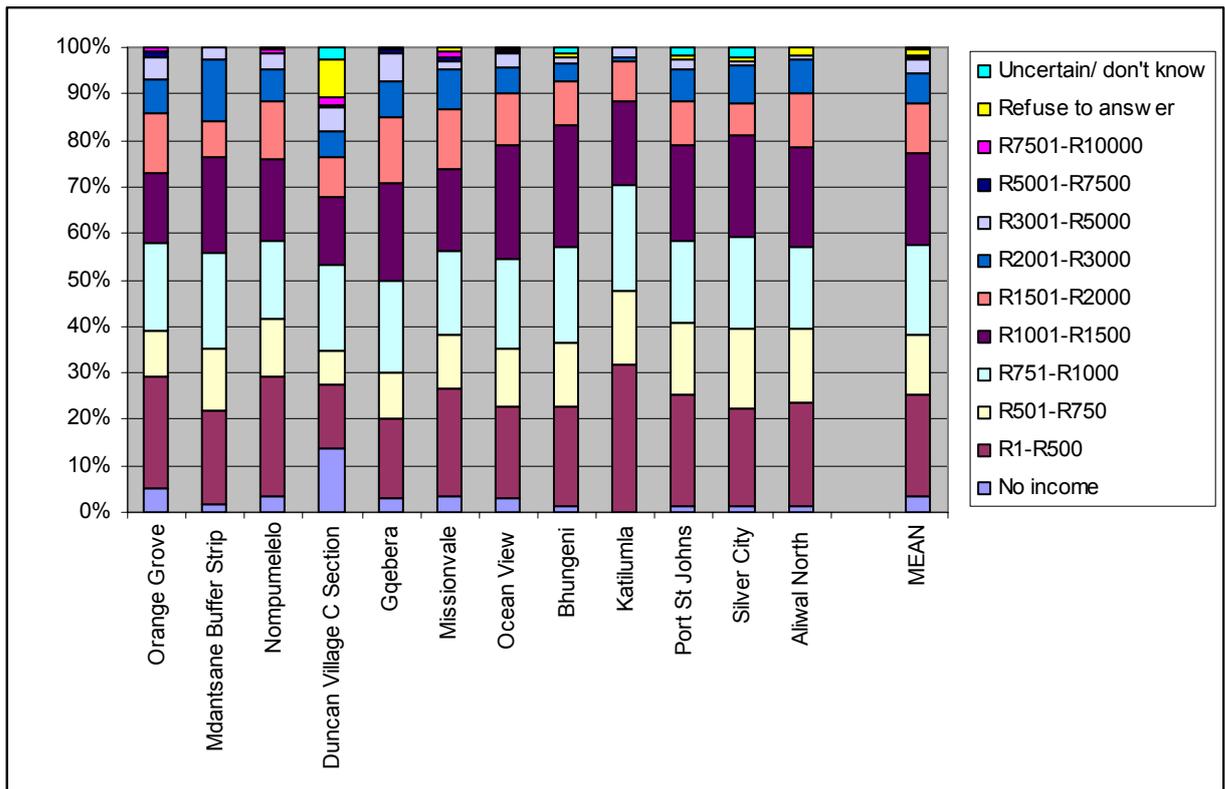


Figure 23: Household income per surveyed settlement

The median monthly income category across the twelve settlements was R751 to R1000. Whereas 3,5% of households indicated that they had zero income at the one extreme, 0,4% said their income exceeded R7500. The vast majority (87,8%) of households had an income of less than R2000 per month. The differences between settlements in this regard were significant ($X^2=405,031$; $df=121$; $sig.=0.000$). In the six settlements situated in or around the

two large cities, East London and Port Elizabeth, more than 11% of households had an income in excess of R2000 per month. In the other six, less than 10% had an income exceeding R2000. Mdantsane Buffer strip was the settlement with the highest proportion (16%) of households with a monthly income of more than R2000, while Katilumla has the smallest proportion (2,9%) in that category.

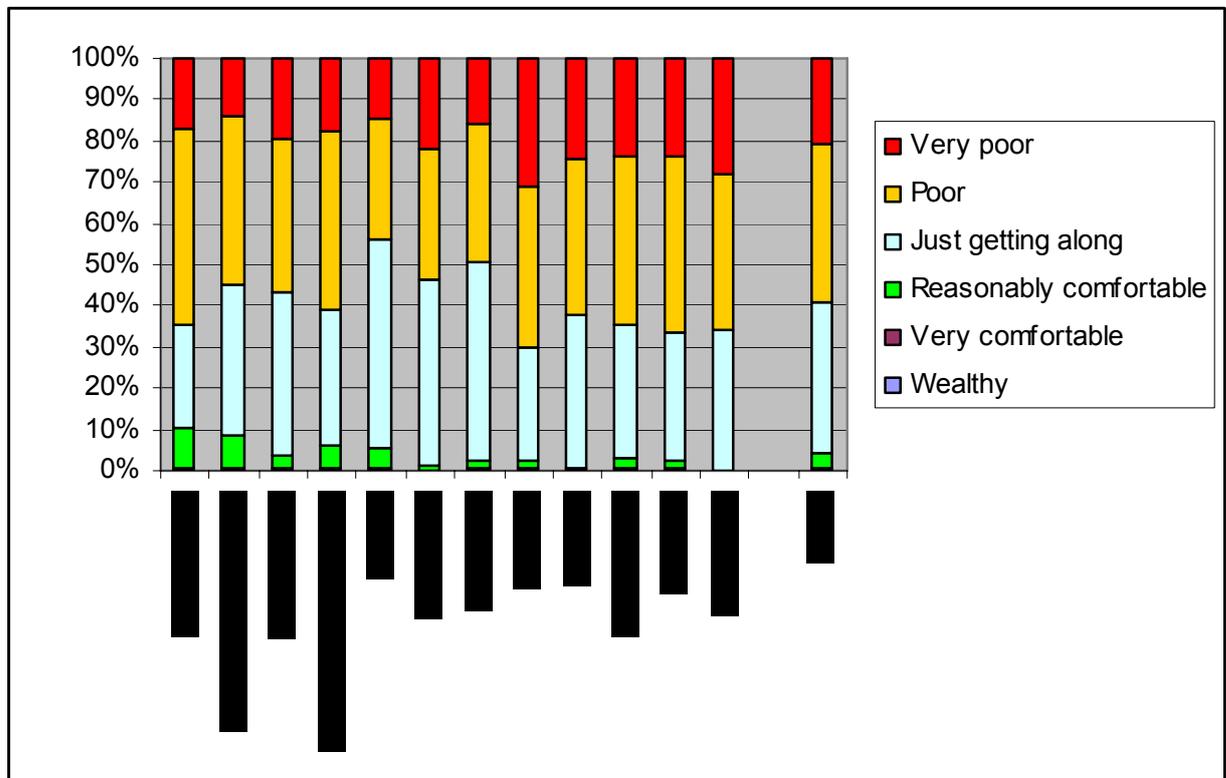


Figure 24: Self-assessed wealth status of households across surveyed settlements

In terms of self-assessed wealth status, most households considered themselves to be very poor (20,9%), poor (38,5%) or “just getting along” (36,8%). A very small proportion overall said that they were “very comfortable” (0,3%) or “wealthy” (0,2%). Bhungeni had the highest proportion (31,8%) of self-designated “very poor”. Conversely, Orange Grove had the most in the “reasonably comfortable” or better categories (10,1%). This correlates quite strongly with the income findings and seems to indicate that sense of deprivation and actual monetary deprivation are unquestionably linked.

3.2.10 Health

Just over one-fifth (22,9%) of residents of the twelve settlements had been sick during the three months prior to the survey. A small proportion (2,1%) reported having had more than one form of illness during this time. The most frequently reported illness was a bad cough, cold or flu (9,4%), followed by high blood pressure (3,9%) and asthma (2,9%). Less frequent were HIV/AIDS (1,5%), tuberculosis (1,5%), diarrhoea (1,0%), injury (1,0%), diabetes mellitus (1,0%), stroke or heart disease (0,9%), other sexually-transmitted diseases (STDs) (0,3%). A further 1,9% reported having had “other illnesses”, the most common of these being arthritis, various other pains (head, back), stress, epilepsy or ulcers. Two settlements stand out from the rest in that they reported much higher than average incidence of specific illnesses. Katilumla had a much higher incidence than the average of tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, diarrhoea, bad coughs and colds, as well as other illnesses. Bhungeni reported much higher than average incidence of asthma, high blood pressure, strokes and heart disease, and other illnesses.

Specific types of illness tended to be much more common amongst specific age categories. Thus bad coughs and colds occurred most amongst the over 60s and the 0 to 5 year olds; as did asthma, diabetes mellitus, high blood pressure, and strokes and heart disease amongst those aged 46 years or older. Tuberculosis and injury affected the 46 to 60 age group more than other age groups. HIV/AIDS was most common amongst 30 to 45 year olds; other STDs amongst the 18 to 29 year age group; diarrhoea amongst the 0 to 5 year olds; and other types of illness amongst those aged over 60.

An index of health status was computed for each individual in the survey. For each of the eleven categories of illness listed in the survey, an individual scored 1. The index was recalculated as a value out of 10. The lower the value the less healthy the individual during the three month period prior to the survey. Differences between settlements were significant (df=11; F=5,671; sig.=0,000). The settlements with the highest mean indices were Katilumla, Orange Grove and Port St Johns, the lowest occurring in Nompumelelo. By age group, differences were also significant (df=6; F=160,089; sig.=0,000), lowest amongst 13 to 17 year olds (0,08) with a mini-peak amongst 0 to 5 year olds (0,16) and a major peak in the 61+ years group (0,69).

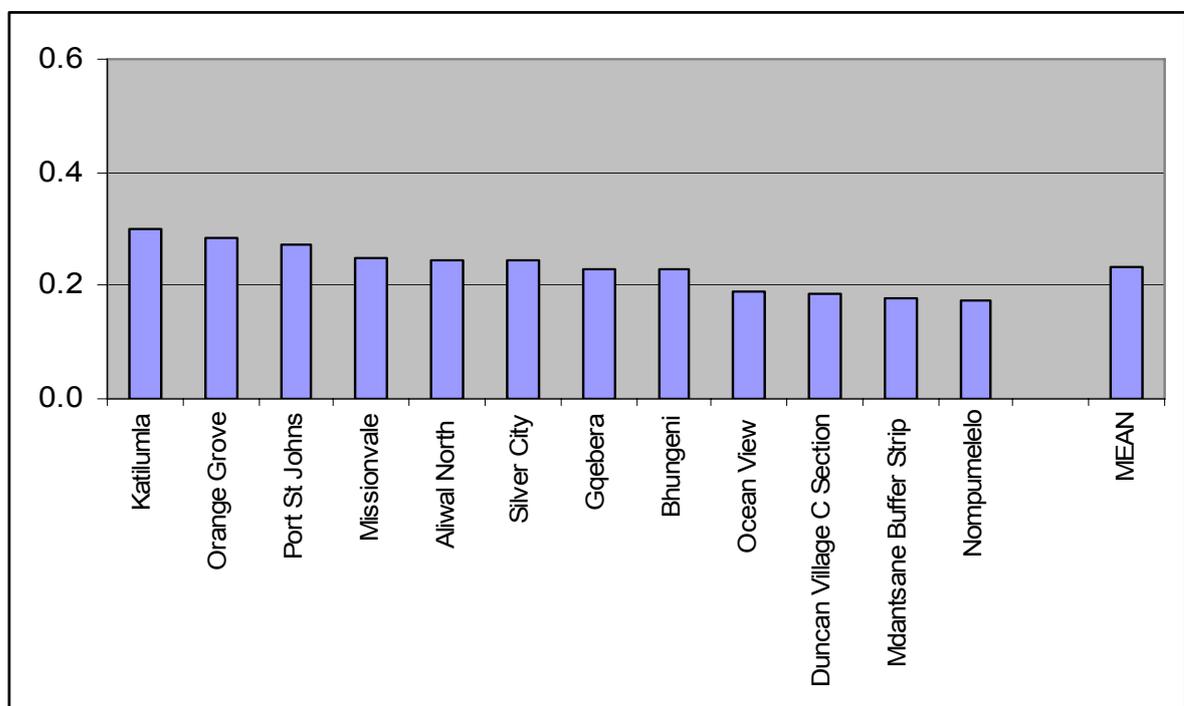


Figure 25: Health Index per individual across the surveyed settlements

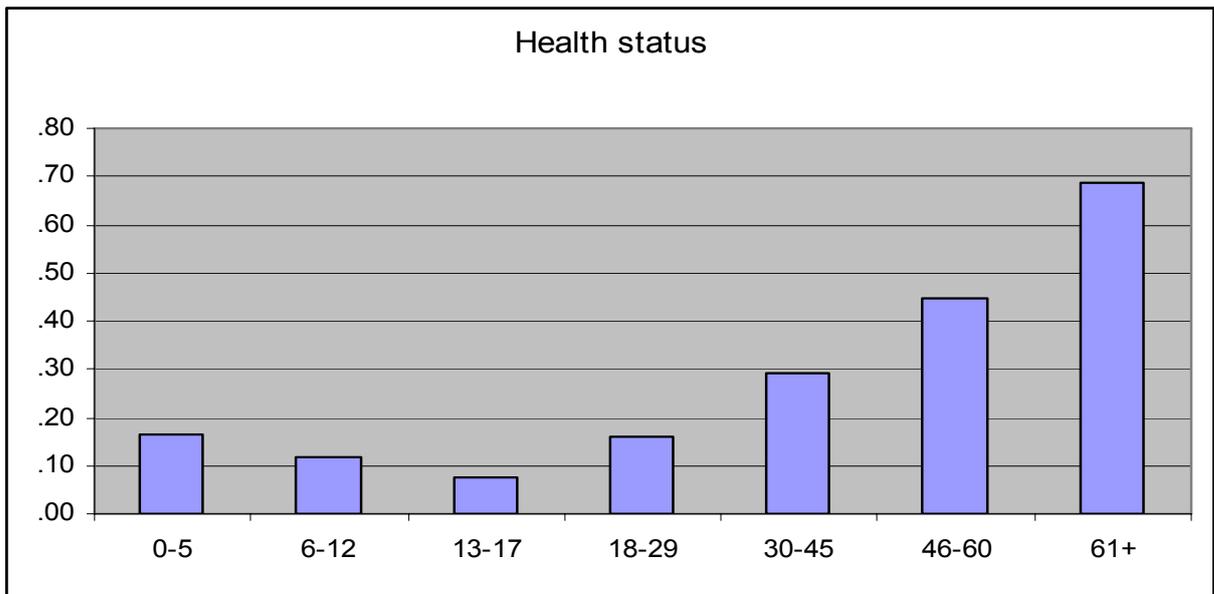


Figure 26: Health index per individual according to age cohort

3.2.11 Human Capital Index

A consolidated Human Capital Index (HCI) sums literacy, level of education and employment status to yield a value out of 10⁹. The higher the value of the HCI, the better the capacity of the individual to earn a living under the difficult circumstances of being a resident of an informal settlement or backyard shack. For the economically active age group (20 to 60 years), the HCI variation between settlements was small but statistically significant (df=11; F=10,265; sig.=0,000), ranging from 4,49 in Duncan Village C-Section to 5,79 in Ocean View. The mean value was 5,14 out of a maximum of 10.

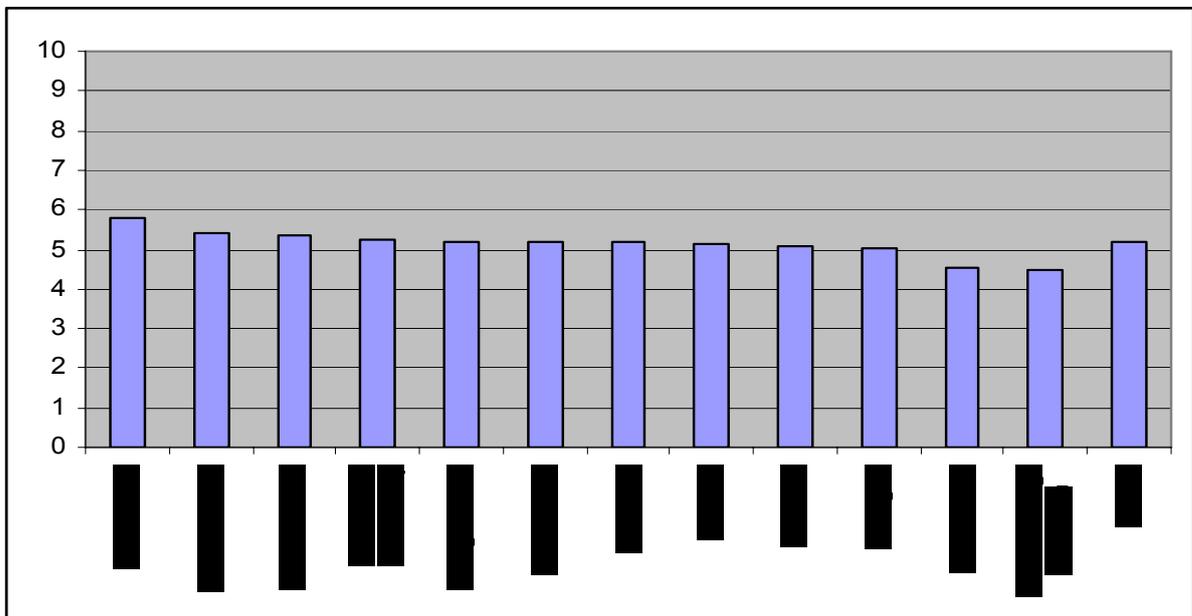


Figure 27: Consolidated HCI per individual per surveyed settlement

⁹ The HCI is incremented by 1 for literacy, by 5 for having a job and by a value from 1 to 7 for zero to post-matric education. The sum is multiplied by 10/13 to obtain an index with a maximum value of 10.

3.3: Geographical Linkages

This section examines the nature of movement migration, and dependency and looks specifically at issues of where and how people are moving, the reasons for the move, the rural-urban linkages that exist and the nature of remittances and flows of capital that move between households and places within the Eastern Cape.

3.3.1 Duration of residence in settlements

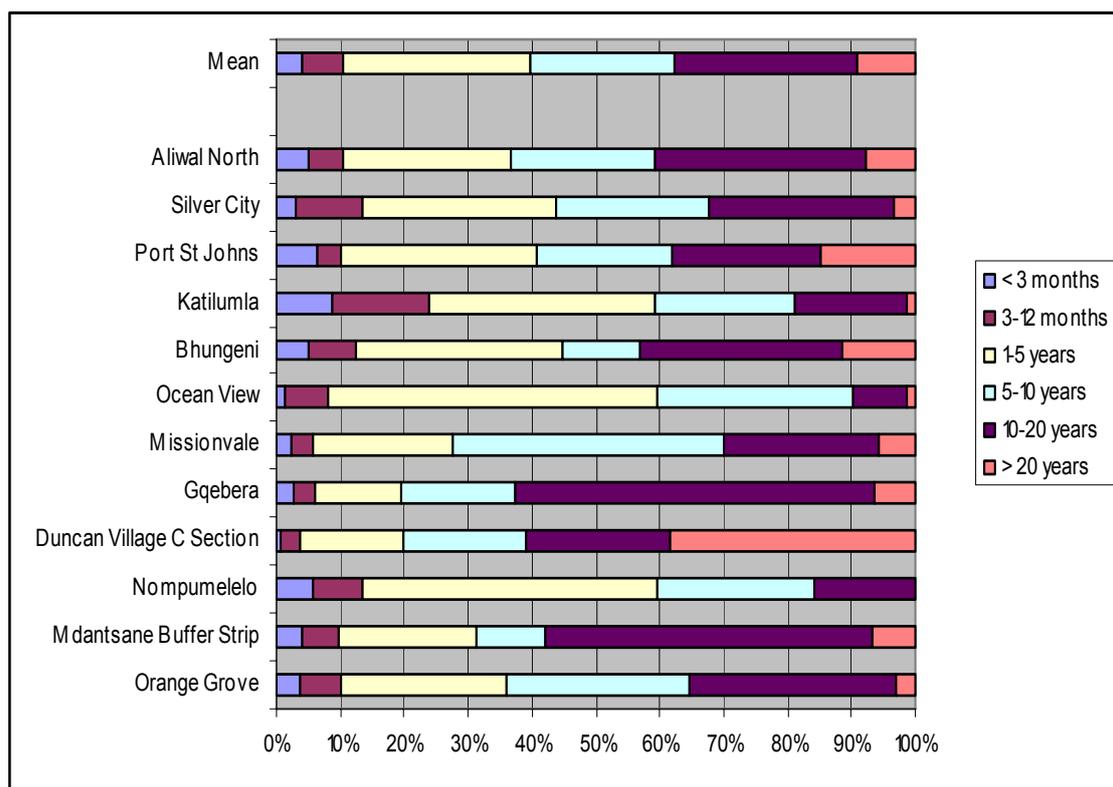


Figure 28: Duration of residence of households in surveyed settlements

Table 13: Duration of residence of households per surveyed settlement in percentages

Settlement	< 3 months	3-12 months	1-5 years	5-10 years	10-20 years	> 20 years
Orange Grove	3.8%	6.5%	25.9%	28.5%	32.3%	3.0%
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	4.1%	5.8%	21.4%	10.7%	51.4%	6.6%
Nompumelelo	5.7%	7.7%	46.3%	24.4%	15.9%	0.0%
Duncan Village C Section	.8%	2.9%	16.0%	19.3%	22.7%	38.2%
Gqebera	2.8%	3.1%	13.8%	17.7%	56.3%	6.3%
Missionvale	2.4%	3.2%	22.0%	42.4%	24.4%	5.6%
Ocean View	1.2%	6.9%	51.4%	30.6%	8.6%	1.2%
Bhungeni	5.1%	7.3%	32.5%	12.0%	31.6%	11.5%
Katilumla	8.7%	15.2%	35.5%	21.7%	17.4%	1.4%
Port St Johns	6.3%	3.9%	30.6%	21.2%	23.1%	14.9%
Silver City	3.0%	10.5%	30.4%	23.6%	29.1%	3.4%
Aliwal North	5.2%	5.2%	26.4%	22.4%	33.2%	7.6%
Mean	4.1%	6.5%	29.3%	22.9%	28.8%	9.1%

In nine of the twelve settlements, more than half of the households have been living there for in excess of five years. It is also worth noting that when looking at the mean 28.8% of households had been living in their settlements for between 10-20 years, pointing to a high degree of stability. This was more the case in Mdantsane (51.4%) and Gqebera (56.3%) than Ocean View and Nompumelelo. This signals the fact that some areas are able to provide more satisfactory living conditions than others allowing people to stay in these areas for longer. Noteworthy are Duncan Village C-Section, Gqebera and Mdantsane Buffer Strip, where more than 60% have been living there for over ten years. The three settlements where residents have generally been in residence for less than five years are Nompumelelo, Ocean View and Katilumla. It should also be noted that more than ten percent of households in the Orange Grove, Bhungeni, Port St Johns, Silver City and Aliwal North settlements had been there for less than twelve months at the time of the survey in 2009.

3.3.2 Previous place of residence

Each respondent was asked where their household had been living prior to moving to this particular settlement. Three-fifths had come from somewhere within the same local or district municipality.

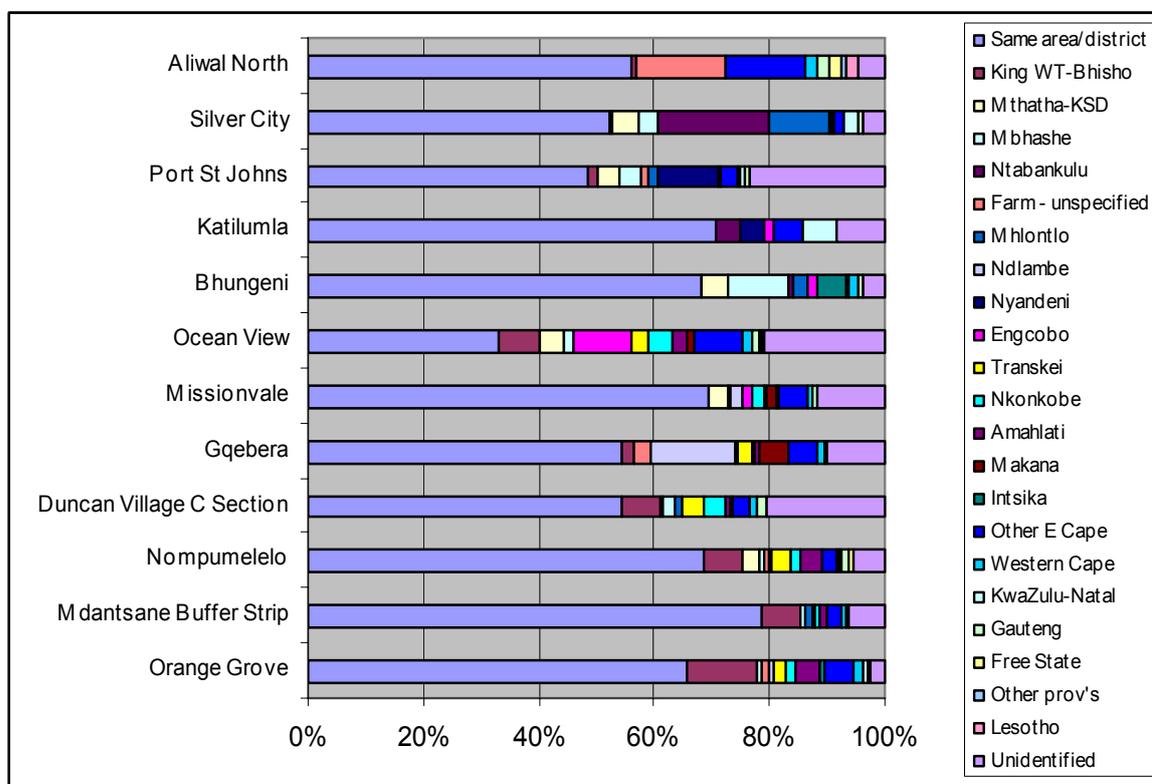


Figure 29: Indication of where people had lived before their current residence by surveyed settlement

Table 14: Indication of where people had lived before their current residence in percentages

	Orange Grove	Mdantsane Buffer Strip	Nompumelelo	Duncan Village C Section	Gqebera	Missionvale	Ocean View	Bhungeni	Katilumla	Port St Johns	Silver City	Aliwal North
Same area/district	65.7%	78.5%	68.5%	54.2%	54.5%	69.5%	33.2%	68.0%	70.8%	48.7%	52.1%	56.1%
King WT-Bhisho	12.2%	7.0%	6.8%	7.0%	1.8%	0.0%	7.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	0.5%	1.0%
Mthatha-KSD	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.4%	0.0%	3.3%	4.4%	4.6%	0.0%	3.7%	4.6%	0.0%
Mbhashe	0.8%	0.9%	0.9%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	10.8%	0.0%	3.7%	3.6%	0.0%
Ntabankulu	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	4.2%	0.0%	19.1%	0.0%
Farm – unspecified	1.2%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	15.1%
Mhlonlo	0.0%	0.9%	0.4%	1.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	1.6%	10.3%	0.0%
Ndlambe	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.7%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Nyandeni	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%	10.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Engcobo	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	1.7%	10.0%	1.5%	1.7%	0.5%	0.5%	0.0%
Transkei	2.0%	0.4%	3.4%	4.0%	2.2%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Nkonkobe	1.6%	0.9%	1.7%	3.5%	0.4%	2.1%	4.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%
Amahlati	4.1%	1.3%	3.4%	0.9%	0.9%	0.4%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Makana	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.9%	1.7%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Intsika	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other E Cape	5.3%	2.6%	2.6%	3.1%	5.4%	5.0%	8.3%	0.5%	5.0%	2.7%	1.5%	14.1%
Western Cape	1.6%	0.9%	0.4%	1.3%	0.9%	0.8%	1.7%	1.5%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	2.0%

KwaZulu-Natal	0.8%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.8%	1.0%	2.5%	0.0%
Gauteng	0.4%	0.0%	1.3%	1.3%	0.0%	0.8%	1.3%	1.0%	0.0%	0.5%	1.0%	2.0%
Free State	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%
Other prov's	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Lesotho	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%
Unidentified	2.5%	6.2%	5.5%	20.7%	10.2%	11.7%	20.9%	3.7%	8.4%	23.5%	3.7%	4.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

It is important to note that three-fifths (60,0%) of households moved to their present homes from somewhere else within the same municipality or district. This local movement was most prevalent in the cases of Mdantsane Buffer Strip and Katilumla (both over 70%). Conversely, movement from the local area was least evident amongst households in Ocean View (33,2%), although the places from which 20,9% had moved could not be identified. This indicates that the need to improve one's life or livelihood could be satisfied through relatively small migrations within the province rather than far-reaching relocations. Such a finding is also important for human settlements provisions as it provides a sense of where housing should be located and why.

Table 15: Reasons for moving to current settlement in percentages and per surveyed settlement

	Access to jobs	Own place/ independence	Family reasons	Forced/ evicted	Financial	Close to town	Relationship	Education	Health	Other
Orange Grove	76.1%	2.7%	7.1%	2.0%	0.4%	3.5%	2.0%	0.8%	0.8%	4.7%
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	35.1%	24.3%	14.6%	6.3%	5.4%	1.3%	0.8%	1.7%	0.0%	10.5%
Nompumelelo	65.0%	9.3%	4.5%	7.7%	2.8%	1.2%	2.0%	4.1%		3.3%
Duncan Village C Section	57.2%	7.6%	11.0%	6.4%	2.1%	2.1%	4.2%	3.4%	1.3%	4.7%
Gqebera	46.3%	18.7%	11.0%	9.8%	3.3%	0.4%	2.0%	2.0%	0.4%	6.1%
Missionvale	29.2%	35.6%	12.6%	6.7%	5.9%	0.4%	2.0%	0.4%	0.0%	7.1%
Ocean View	71.3%	9.4%	4.1%	9.8%	1.6%	0.4%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%
Bhungeni	37.4%	6.3%	11.8%	21.4%	11.8%	1.7%	2.5%	1.7%	0.8%	4.6%
Katilumla	72.5%	3.6%	7.2%	0.0%	2.2%	5.8%	0.7%	3.6%	0.0%	4.3%
Port St Johns	62.5%	6.3%	9.4%	3.5%	2.7%	9.4%	1.2%	1.6%	0.8%	2.7%
Silver City	54.0%	4.2%	8.9%	4.2%	4.6%	14.8%	1.3%	2.5%	0.0%	5.5%
Aliwal North	28.0%	26.8%	8.4%	13.2%	7.2%	4.0%	2.8%	1.2%	0.4%	8.0%
Mean	52.9%	12.9%	9.2%	7.6%	4.2%	3.7%	1.9%	1.9%	0.4%	5.3%

The main reason (52,9%) for moving to their settlements was in order to have access to job opportunities. This reason was most prominent in the Orange Grove, Katilumla and Ocean View settlements (all > 70%). This reason was somewhat more likely (58,4%) amongst households, which had been settled there for less than five years than amongst those who had been there for more than five years (48,3%).

Next most frequent was to have their own place or to be independent, reasons given by about one in eight (12,9%) households, most notably in Missionvale, Mdantsane Buffer Strip and Aliwal North (all > 25%). Family reasons, such as wanting to live with or close to other members of their family were mentioned by 9,2% (highest in Mdantsane Buffer Strip 14,6%) and having been forced or evicted from a previous home by 7,6% (but especially so in Bhungeni where this had affected 21,4% of households).

3.3.3 Migrant workers

Almost three-fifths (59,6%) of households indicated that members of their household or extended family live away from the household. This proportion varied significantly ($\chi^2 =$

279,429; df=11; sig.=0,000) across the settlements. Households in Bhungeni (86,0%) and Katilumla (81,6%) were most likely and those in Gqebera (44,9%) and Duncan Village Section C (39,7%) were least likely to have absentee migrants. This correlates with the section above and shows that many migrants have probably left home in order to access job opportunities in other areas.

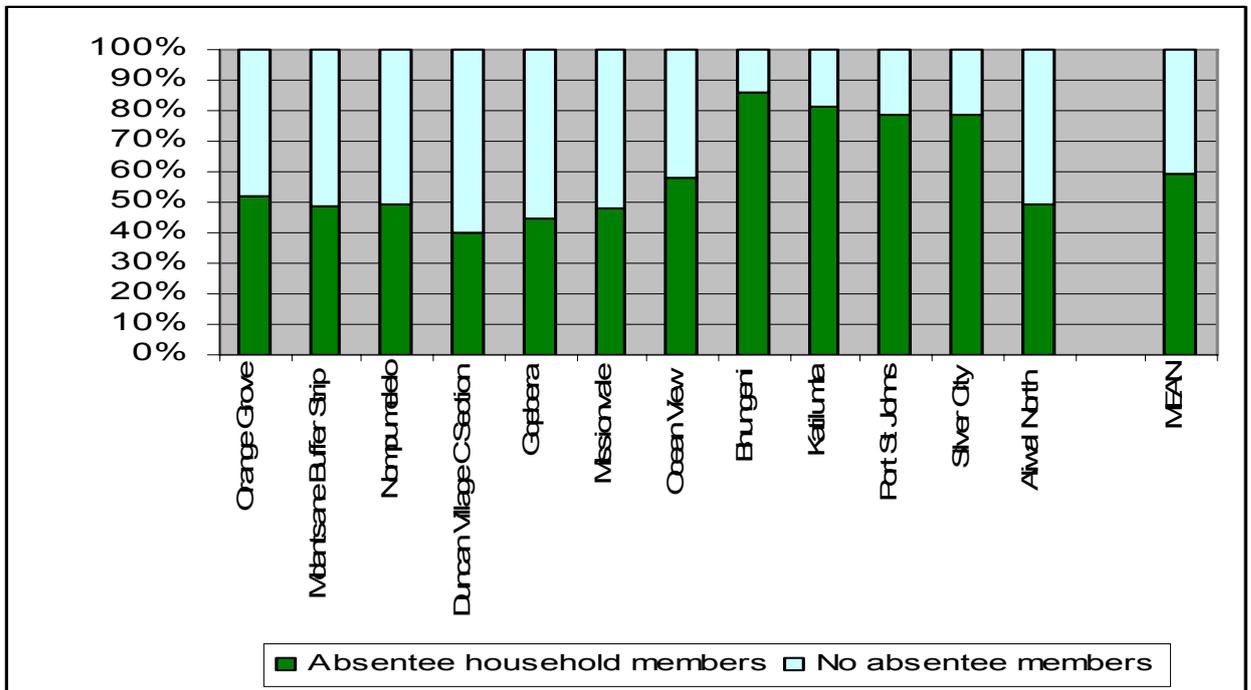


Figure 30: Households with migrants per surveyed settlement

In most cases, if a household had members living elsewhere, it was one (39,1%) or two (30,3%) members. A further 18,8% had 3 or 4 members living away and the other 11,6% had more than 4 members living elsewhere. Although Gqebera had below the average proportion of households with members living away from home, the settlement stood out as having the largest proportion of households that had more than two absentee members living elsewhere. In this instance, 55,7% of the 44,9% of households with absentee members, had more than two such members.

Just over one-fifth (22,4%) of the absentee members were reported to be sending money back to the household. This varied between settlements from over one-third of the Silver City, Aliwal North and Bhungeni households to only 12,2% of Missionvale households, although the variation was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 18,892$; df=11; sig.=0,063). The remittance by absentee households was reported to occur mainly every month (50,7%) or every few months (42,9%), with the remaining 6,2% sending money home about once a year. The most common arrangements were less than R500 every few months (16,2%), more than R3000 every month (15,7%); R1000 to R3000 every month (13,6%); or R500 to R1000 every month (12,0%).

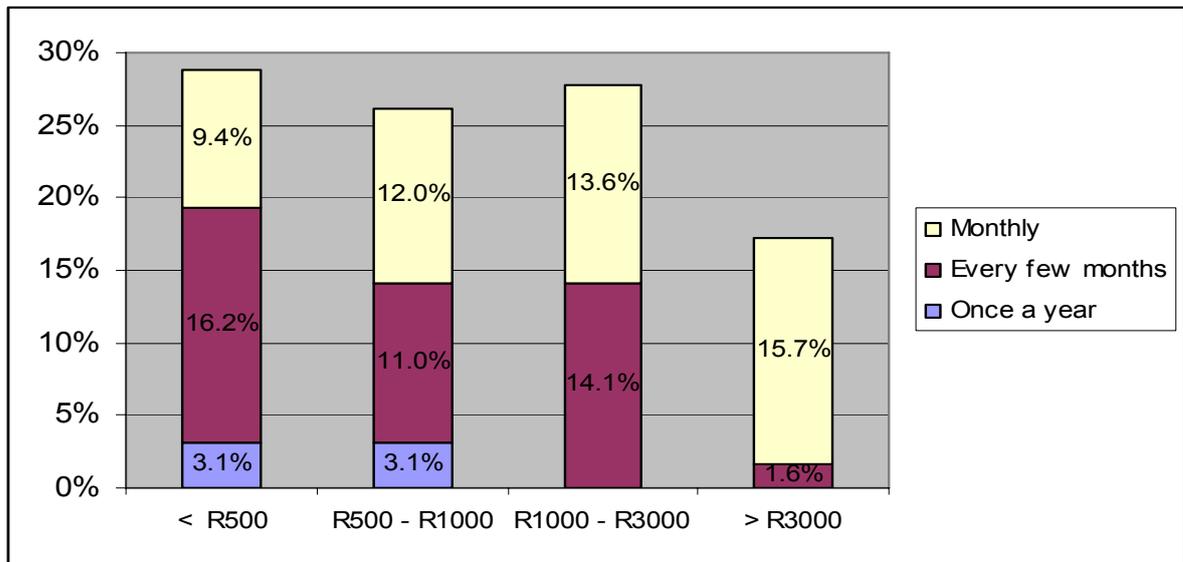


Figure 31: Amount and Regularity of remittances sent home

3.3.4 Absentee dependants

On the other hand, just less than a quarter (23,1%) of households supported members or extended family members who live elsewhere. This was most common amongst households in Ocean View, Katilumla and Orange Grove, where one-third or more of the households reported that they support family members elsewhere. It was least common in Aliwal North, where only 4,1% of households indicated that they support household or extended family members who live elsewhere.

About one-third (32,9%) of the households that support members or extended family elsewhere do so for a single member; 23,9% do so for two people; and the remaining 44% support more than two people. While there could be various reasons for this physical separation/split within families, Napier (2005) have already noted and related this tendency to the splitting of extended families in order to access housing. Thus, the above finding should not come as a surprise given the fact that even when asked what they thought was the “most important thing that the government should do to help households” in their area, about 82,8% of respondents mentioned the provision of housing. Of the households that did say they support people not living with them, one-quarter or more of those in Orange Grove, Katilumla and Duncan Village C Section supported more than two people.

This support took the form of cash remittances at various rates of frequency and quantity. The most common arrangements were remittances of less than R500 every few months (18,2%); less than R500 every month (17,2%); R500-R1000 every few months (12,6%); R500-R1000 every month (12,6%); R1000-R3000 every few months (12,4%); or R1000-R3000 on a monthly basis (9,5%).

3.3.5 Intended permanent residence in current area

More than seven out of ten (70,2%) of households across the twelve settlements indicated that they intend to remain permanently in the areas where they currently lived. This ranged from almost 90% in Aliwal North and Gqebera to lows of 51,0% in Orange Grove and 41,5% in Duncan Village. Amongst the quarter (27,7%) who indicated that they do not intend to remain in their current areas of residence, the most frequently mentioned place where they intended to move permanently was somewhere in the close vicinity of their current house (38,9%). A further 35,3% specified another place, not necessarily close to where they were living. The rest were less specific: 17,6% said anywhere with a decent house; 6,3% said “anywhere”; 0,8% said that it would depend on where they had a job and 1,1% said that they did not know.

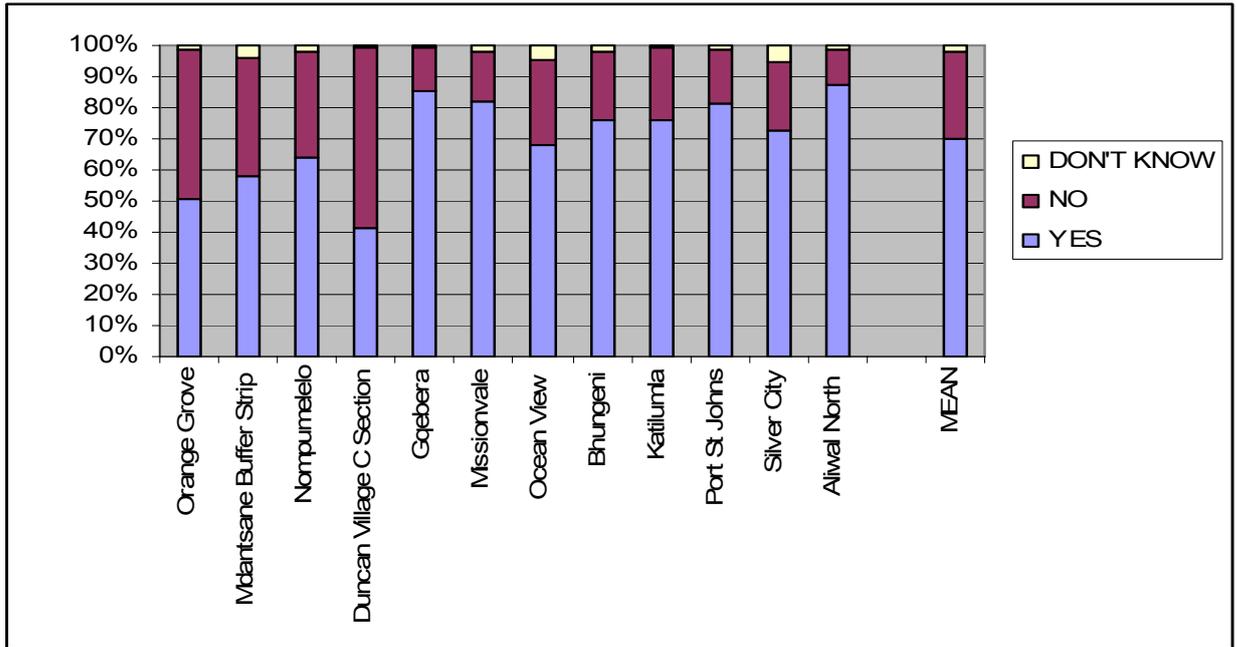


Figure 32: Intention to stay in current area or settlement (yes) or not (no) by surveyed settlement

3.4: Community Dynamics and Social Capital

Households were asked a series of questions to try and establish their perceptions of the settlements, service delivery and the nature of social capital or social cohesion within their settlements.

3.4.1 Perceptions of the “best” and “worst” things in each settlement

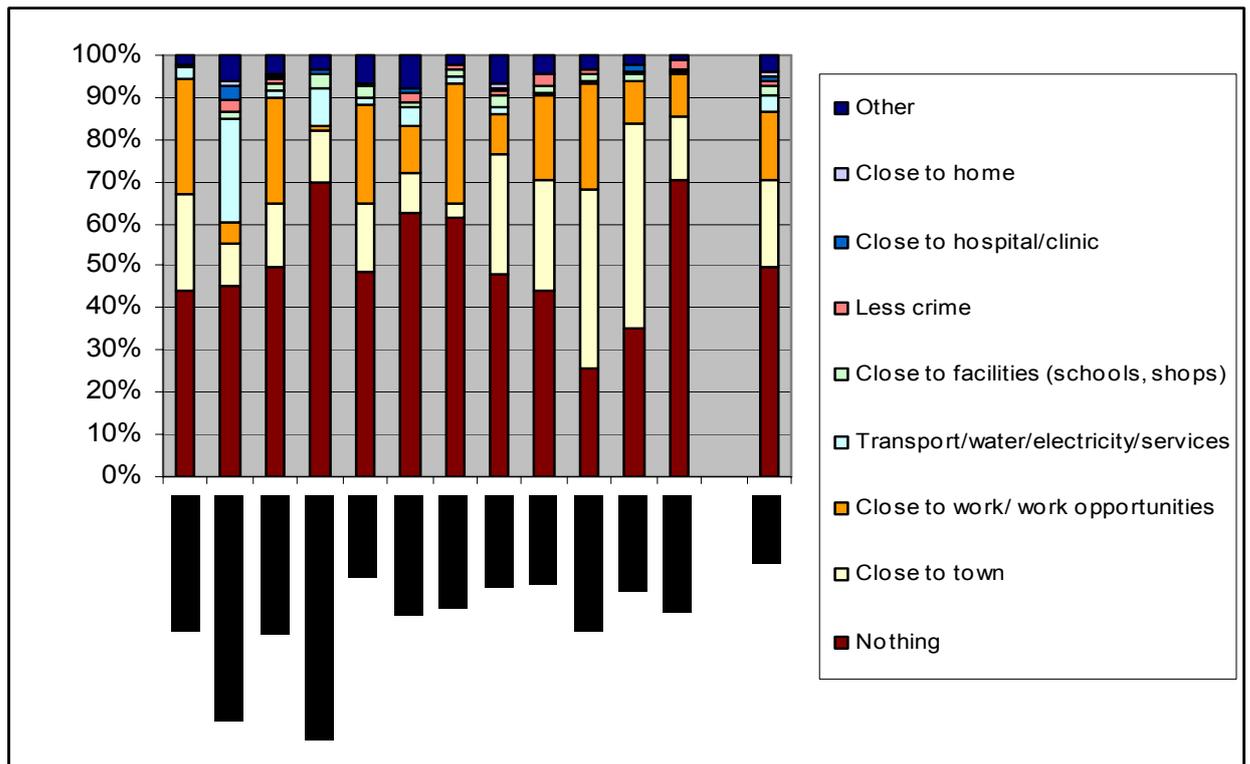


Figure 33: Community perceptions of the "best thing" about their surveyed settlement

Households were asked what they thought were the “best thing” and the “worst thing” about the community in which they lived. Almost everyone had something to say. Half of the households (50,6%) were of the opinion that “nothing” could be described as the best thing in their community, indicative of a high degree of dissatisfaction and unhappiness. This sentiment was most frequent in Aliwal North and Duncan Village C-Section (about 70%). Geography emerged as the most frequently mentioned “best thing” about the community. Just over one fifth (20,6%) said that that the settlement was “close to town” (this was most mentioned in Silver City, Port St Johns, Bhungeni and Katilumla). A further 16,5% that it was “close to jobs or work opportunities”, a special appeal to residents of Ocean View, Orange Grove, Port St Johns, Nompumelelo and Gqebera (all of which have above average levels of employment). Other “best things” mentioned were the good access to transport, water, electricity, roads or other services (4,3%) (most notably in Mdantsane Buffer Strip, where almost a quarter of households mentioned this aspect); proximity to facilities such as a school or a shop (1,7%); closeness to a clinic or a hospital (0,7%); or closeness to home (0,2%). The other 4,2% mentioned a range of other aspects that made for a better life (friendly neighbours, space for cultivation, access to the beach or sea, quietness, no rent to be paid).

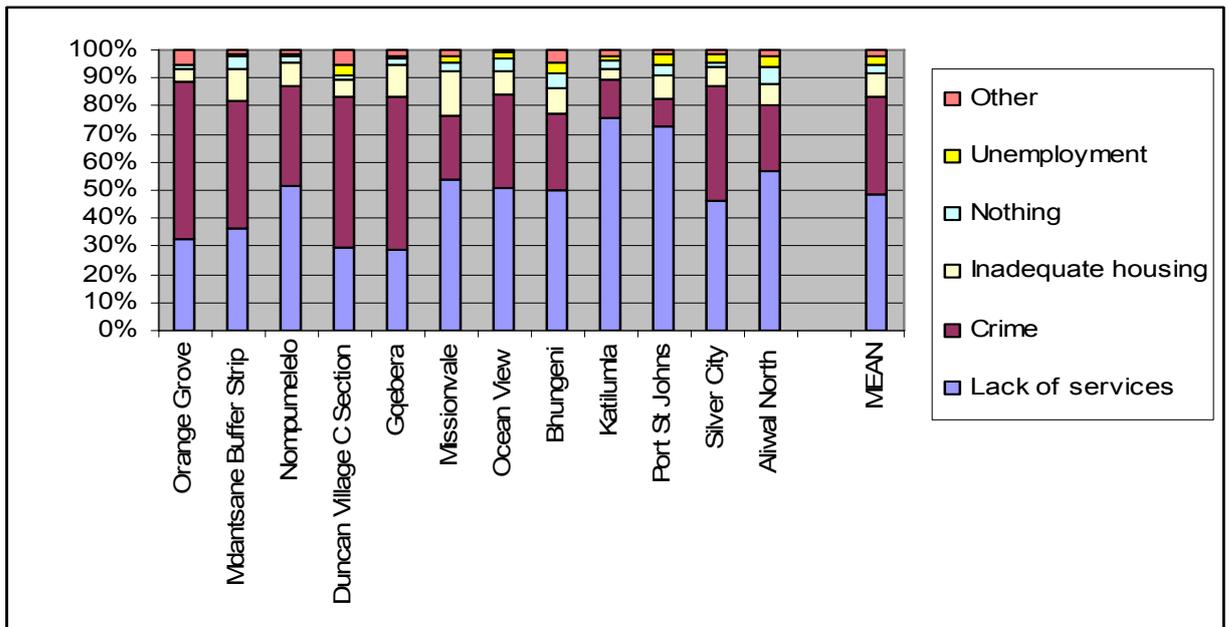


Figure 34: Community perceptions of the "worst thing" about their surveyed settlement

The "worst thing" about their communities was very clear. Almost half (47,9%) mentioned the lack of services such as tapped water, electricity, rubbish removal, toilets. This was most evident in Katilumla and Port St Johns, where about three-quarters of households had this particular complaint. Just over a third (35,5%) mentioned the high rate of crime. More than half of the households living in Gqebera, Orange Grove and Duncan Village C-Section mentioned crime as the "worst" thing in their community. Some of these households mentioned domestic violence, corruption and drunkenness in relation to crime. Other "worst" things were the poor quality of housing (8,6%) (Missionvale residents were double the average in this respect); the lack of employment (2,2%); or other aspects (2,5%). A small proportion (3,3%) said that there was "nothing" they could identify as being "worst" in their community.

3.4.2 Perceptions and feelings of safety and security

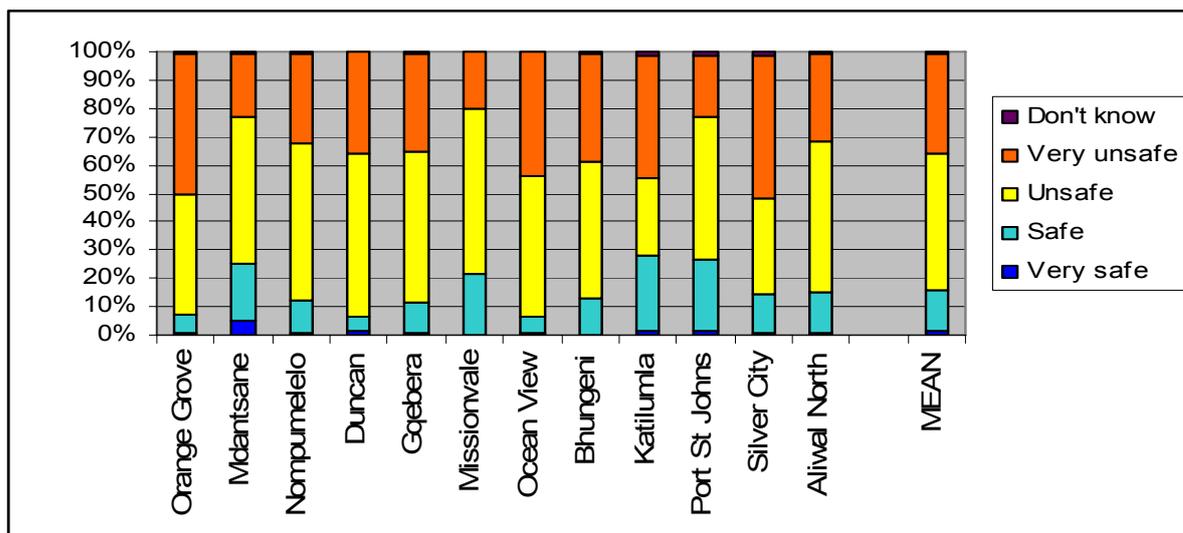


Figure 35: Community perceptions of safety in surveyed settlements

Only about one in six households stated that they feel safe in their communities. This low level of comfort is even less than 8 percent in three settlements: Orange Grove, Duncan Village Section-C and Ocean View. The settlements perceived to be safest are Katilumla, Port St Johns and Mdantsane Buffer Strip, although even there, the proportions are less than 30%.

3.4.3 Community Capital

In order to assess the supportiveness of communities, each surveyed household was asked how they cope if they have to go hungry, as an indicator of the relationship and social network that exists within the various settlements. Most (72,2%) indicated that that would ask their neighbours, family or relatives for assistance. Almost a third (31,9%) would borrow money to purchase food; 13% would find another source of income; 12,4% would work for payment in kind; 5,3% would depend on charity or welfare, excluding a social grant from the government; and 1,5% would sell household assets in order to access cash for food. Only 0,5% indicated that they would take their children out of school in order to cope with food expenses.

Reinforcing the above, almost half (49,6%) of households said that they rely mostly on their neighbours in difficult times. A further 27,6% rely on relatives or family members who live in the area; and 9,7% rely on relatives or family that live elsewhere. Only 0,8% rely on church (although the high membership of more than two-thirds indicates that many neighbours would comprise the church in any event; and 10,9% rely on someone else (notably bosses, work colleagues, the bank or money lenders). The assistance provided mainly takes the form of money (53%) or food (43,4%). Smaller proportions are assisted by means of counselling (1,2%); childcare (0,2%) or some other way (2%).

People living in the neighbourhoods surveyed were perceived to be “very friendly” by 15,8% of residents and “friendly” by 65% of residents. Conversely, 14,9% perceive the people living in the neighbourhoods to be “neither friendly nor unfriendly”; 3,5% see them as “unfriendly”; and 0,5% said that their neighbours were “very unfriendly”. The high degree of social coherence signalled by these indicators demonstrates how careful human settlement and housing programmes need to be when considering relocation and de-densification programmes. As breaking down these social networks would have severe impacts on poor households living in these areas.

Leadership was much more recognised in some communities than in others. Asked whom they considered to be the leaders of their community, more than two-thirds (69%) mentioned the name of somebody. A small proportion (2,8%) said that there was not a leader or that there was no leadership (this occurred especially in Ocean View, where 18,1% said there was no leader); and 18,3% said that they did not know. Just less than one in ten (9,9%) did not

respond to the survey question. The “don’t know” response was most frequent in Mdantsane Buffer Strip (29,8%); Nompumelelo (27,3%) and Ocean View (26,2%).

The settlements in which a local leader was most mentioned were Duncan Village C-Section (64,3% mentioned Nozandile) and Orange Grove (58,2% mentioned Kaizer Nojozi). In some settlements, small proportions (less than 10 respondents) mentioned a wide range of names, especially in Mdantsane Buffer Strip, Gqebera and Port St Johns, where more than 36% did not mention any dominant leader, but many different names.

In the other settlements, the most mentioned leaders were Silver City (36,3% Mrhamba and 13,1% Mazulu); Missionvale (25,7% Phumla); Bhungeni (24,8% Nomawethu, 19,3% Maradebe and 13,4% Nomakhaya); Nompumelelo (20,9% Thanda); Katilumla (20,9% Mambhele and 16,5% Nyawuse); Ocean View (19,0% Veza); Aliwal North (17,5% Thobeka, 12,3% Ziqu, 11,1% Zolani and 10,7% Matsela); Port St Johns (15,6% Mhlabeni); Gqebera (11,3% Ndesi); and Mdantsane Buffer Strip (9,8% Ndinisa). The impact or importance of leadership or lack thereof is important when the various departments seek help, assistance and community buy-in when developing housing projects, without clear leadership, community interaction and facilitation becomes extremely difficult.

Table 16: Social Capital Index by surveyed area

Settlement	Social Capital Index
Orange Grove	4.53
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	4.96
Nompumelelo	4.63
Duncan Village C Section	5.64
Gqebera	4.82
Missionvale	4.80
Ocean View	4.54
Bhungeni	4.82
Katilumla	4.97
Port St Johns	5.01
Silver City	4.75
Aliwal North	4.76
MEAN	4.85

In order to quantify the extent to which people felt a part of their local community and were integrated and involved in its activities, a Social Capital Index (SCI) was computed for each household. This comprised scores for perceptions about safety in the settlement, neighbourhood support and friendliness, membership and participation in local organisations such as churches, sports clubs and women’s organisations; and the perceived effectiveness of local politics. The mean score on the Social Capital Index) was only 4,85 out of a maximum of 10, indicative of relatively poor social capital. Differences in levels of social capital between the settlements were small but significant ($F=36,397$; $df=11$; $sig.=0,000$), highest in Duncan Village C-Section (5,64) and lowest in Orange Grove (4,53).

3.5: Dwelling Type and Quality

Most of the households surveyed were freestanding shacks (96,4%). A small proportion were backyard shacks (3,4%) or were described as “other” (0,2%). The backyard shacks were most prevalent in Mdantsane Buffer Strip, Duncan Village C-Section, Orange Grove and Aliwal North.

The mean number of rooms per dwelling across the different settlements was 2,03, ranging from one (38,6%), two (34,8%), three (15,6%) to four or more rooms (10,8%). The largest houses had seven rooms, three such being encountered in this survey. The vast majority of dwellings had roof made of corrugated iron (96,1%). A few had wooden (1,4%), plastic (1%), asbestos (0,9%), cement block/concrete (0,3%) or cardboard (0,2%) roofs. Walls of the informal dwellings were primarily constructed of corrugated iron (43,2%) or wood (35,1%).

The rest had walls made of mud (17,7%), cardboard (1,6%), a mixture of mud and cement (0,8%), plastic (0,8%), wattle and daub (0,3%), cement blocks and concrete (0,2%), bricks (0,1%) or asbestos (0,1%).

Asked what form of tenure that had on their dwelling, more than four-fifths (80,7%) indicated that they owned the dwelling and had paid it off in full. Another 8,9% said that they rented the dwelling. A further 3,1% said that they had rent-free access to the dwelling as part of the employment contract of one of the members of their family, while 3,1% indicated that they were “squatting” in the dwelling. Only 0,2% said they owned but had not yet paid off the dwelling and the remaining 2,4% had some “other” tenure arrangement.

The main problems experienced with dwellings were leaking (70%). This was most mentioned in Missionvale (82,2%) and Aliwal North (77,0%). Other problems mentioned were that the house was too cold (11%) (Especially Missionvale 18,6%); that there were structural problems (8,8%) such as being unstable in windy or wet weather (especially Silver City and Mdantsane Buffer Strip, both over 13%); that the house was too small for their requirements (6,1%) (Notably Aliwal North, where 11,5% of households had this complaint); that there were very poor or no municipal services (1,9%); and that there was inadequate security (0,2%). About one in seven (13,4%) households said that they had no problems with their houses. In Silver City, the highest incidence of “no problems” occurred (19,0%).

On a scale of 1 to 5 (very satisfied to very dissatisfied), the most common sentiments of households about their houses were “dissatisfied” (45,7%) or “very dissatisfied” (38,3%). A mere 9,4% were fence-sitters (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) and only 6,6% said they were “satisfied” with their houses. This indicates that 85% of over 8000 people are dissatisfied in some measure with their current housing, which when generalised to the province means that there are some 180,000 households which need to be considered by the human settlements authorities.

3.6: Municipal Services

Most households (92%) obtained their drinking water from a public tap. Only a small proportion (4,4%) had the luxury of piped tap water on the site of their dwelling. Another 2,2% had to collect water from a stream or river (this was the case with 23,2% of Katilumla households, and a further 15,2% in that settlement use a stagnant dam or pool to obtain drinking water). The vast majority (97%) did not pay for water. Only in Mdantsane did a significant proportion (13,5%) say that they paid for water.

Only 3,2% of households received free electricity from the government, as opposed to the 75,5% who do not and the 21,2% who do not know whether they receive free electricity or not. Uncertainty in this respect was highest (over 60%) in Buffalo City’s settlements of Orange Grove, Nompumelelo and Mdantsane Buffer Strip. Of the relatively few with electricity, two-thirds (66,7%) indicated that the supply is cut off at least once a month. This problem was most serious in Duncan Village C-Section and Port St Johns.

A desperate situation emerges across most of the settlements in that of the households surveyed 45% did not have their own toilet. This was especially serious in Nompumelelo and Katilumla, where only one in ten households had a toilet, and in Port St Johns, Bhungeni, Mdantsane Buffer Strip and Orange Grove, where 60% or more of households did not have a toilet. The toilets that did exist were predominantly pits without ventilation pipes (especially in Missionvale and Bhungeni); the bucket system (especially in Gqebera and Ocean View) or flush toilets (mainly Duncan Village C-Section).

Households were requested to indicate their level of satisfaction with the municipal services and not surprisingly, huge proportions were “very dissatisfied” (57,7%) or “dissatisfied” (36,4%). The level of dissatisfaction with municipal services was most extreme in Katilumla, Bhungeni and Aliwal North, where more than 70% said that they were “very dissatisfied”.

3.7: Locational Suitability

Respondents were asked whether their dwellings were located within a 30 minute (two kilometres) walk of a range of seventeen different amenities:

- Primary school
- Secondary school
- Traditional healer
- Clinic
- Hospital
- Shop where basic foodstuffs can be bought
- Police station
- Post Office
- Home Affairs office
- State grant collection point (e.g. pension)
- Train station
- Bus stop
- Minibus taxi pick-up point
- Street market to buy goods and food
- Municipal office
- Library
- Internet access

Additionally, they were asked to express an opinion on whether a range of eight different problems existed in their areas:

- Air pollution
- Water pollution
- Noise pollution
- Uncleared rubbish dumps
- Leaking water pipes
- Flooding
- Fires
- Poor roads

Responses across the twelve settlements indicate that a shop selling basic foodstuffs, a minibus taxi rank and a primary school were generally situated within two kilometres of more than three-quarters of residents. Also, approximately 60% of residents said that they were located within two kilometres of a clinic and a secondary school, the exceptions being Aliwal North where only about half indicated their proximity to these amenities and Silver City, where only half lived within two kilometres of a secondary school. However, less than 60% of households generally lived within two kilometres of most of the other facilities, including a train station, social grants pay point, Home Affairs office, Post Office, police station, hospital, traditional healer, bus stop, street market, municipal office, library or access to the internet.

Asked about the different environmental issues, a high proportion indicated that air pollution (62,1%) was a serious or very serious problem in their area. This was similarly high for poor roads (74,7%); noise pollution (73,9%); uncleared rubbish dumps (73,5%); and fires (63,9%). It was slightly less mentioned, but nevertheless significant in respect of flooding (56,7%); leaking water pipes (48,7%); and water pollution (48,2%). The problems emerged as most extreme (well above average proportions saying it was a serious or very serious problem) in Katilumla with regard to air pollution; Aliwal North for water pollution, leaking water pipes and flooding; Ocean View for noise pollution; Duncan Village C-Section for fires; and Duncan Village C-Section and Bhungeni for uncleared rubbish dumps.

A Place Quality Index (PQI) was computed for each household on the basis of responses to questions about accessibility to a range of seventeen facilities and the prevalence of a range of eight environmental problems. The value of the index was computed to range between -10

and +10. An index of -10 would result if the household was located more than two kilometres or 30 minutes away from all seventeen of the specified facilities and if the household experienced each of the eight environmental problems in a serious way. Vice-versa, if the household lived within two kilometres of each of the facilities and if none of the environmental issues was a problem to them, the score would be +10. On balance, the mean PQI ranged from a low of -2,97 in Nompumelelo to +0,30 in Katilumla. The differences between settlements were statistically significant (F=35,291; df=11 ; sig=0,000).

Table 17: Place Quality Index for each of the surveyed areas

Settlement	Mean Place Quality Index (PQI)
Orange Grove	-.86
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	-.50
Nompumelelo	-2.97
Duncan Village C Section	-2.80
Gqebera	-1.24
Missionvale	-2.07
Ocean View	-2.80
Bhungeni	-2.32
Katilumla	.30
Port St Johns	-.35
Silver City	.07
Aliwal North	-1.26
MEAN	-1.40

3.8: Access to Formal Housing

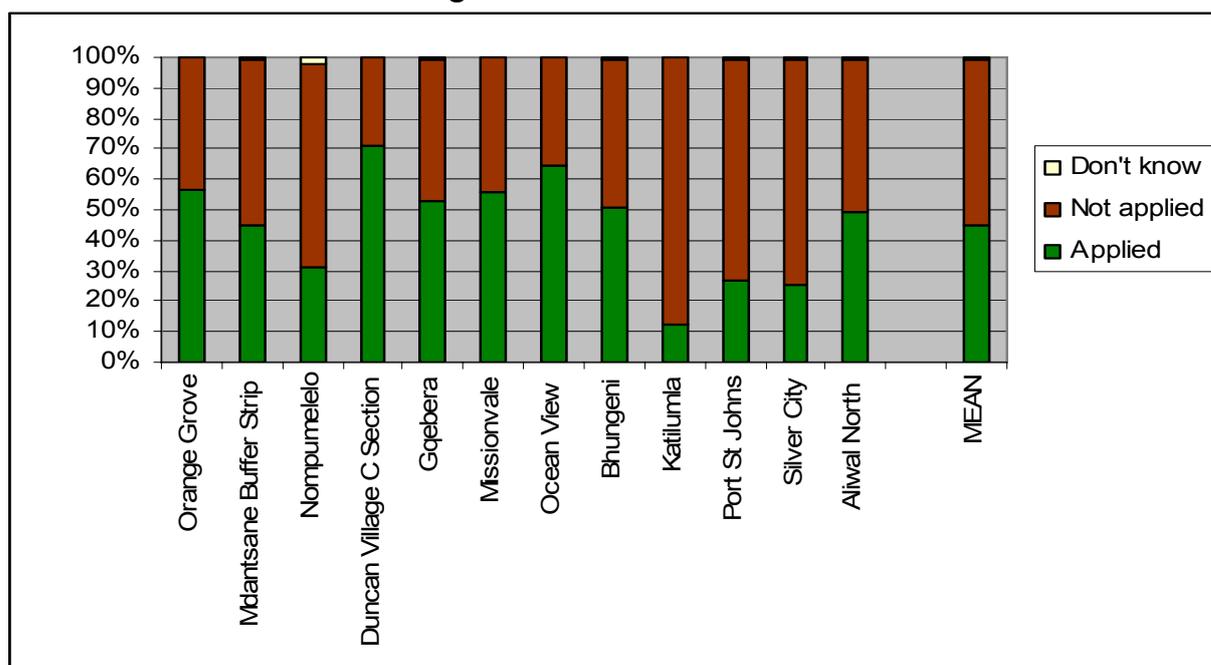


Figure 36: Households indicating they had or had not applied for government housing by surveyed settlement

Less than half (45,2%) of the households surveyed had applied for a housing subsidy in the areas where they live. This proportion varied widely by area. In Duncan Village C-Section, Ocean View, Orange Grove, Missionvale, Gqebera and Bhungeni, more than half of the households have applied. In contrast, less than one-third have applied in Nompumelelo, Silver City, Port St Johns or Katilumla. These differences are significant ($X^2=299,784$; df=22; sig.=0,000). The rate of application also differed significantly by household income ($X^2=55,054$; df=22; sig.=0,000), with households earning more than R3000 per month much more likely to have applied than their counterparts with lower incomes.

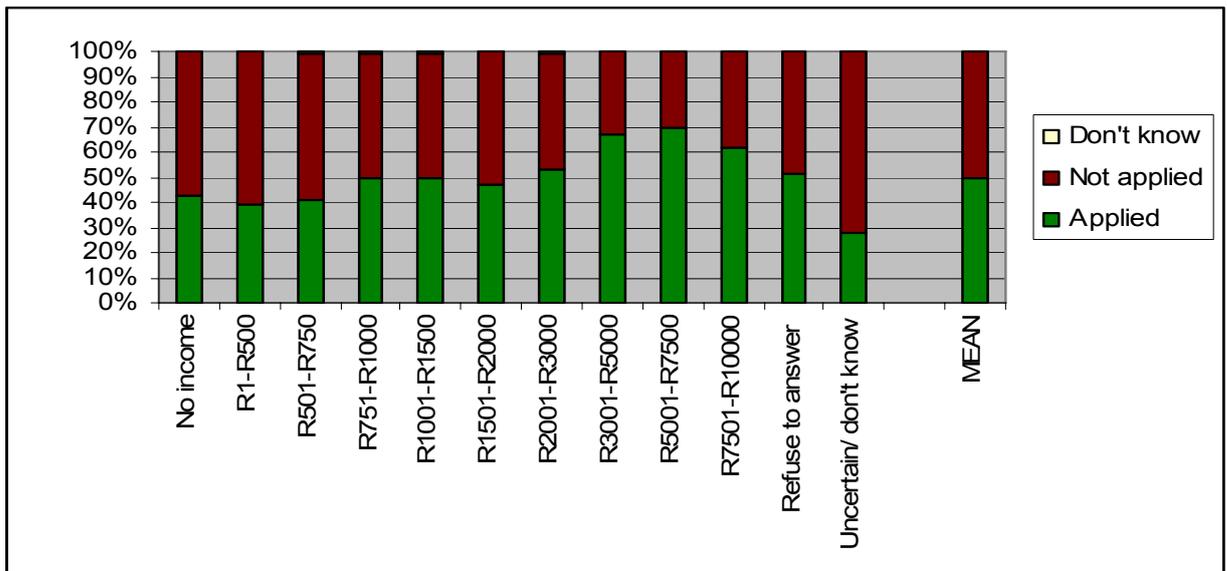


Figure 37: Households indicating they had or had not applied for government housing by income group

Amongst those who have applied for a subsidy, almost half (44,8%) did so more than three years ago, i.e. before 2007. A further 11,1% applied in 2007, 26,6% in 2008 and 17,6% in 2009. Date of application varies significantly by settlement ($X^2=571,058$; $df=55$; $sig.=0,000$), with the largest proportions of recent (2009) applicants being in Ocean View (47,3%) and to a lesser extent in Aliwal North, Katilumla and Mdantsane Buffer Strip (all more than 25%). Conversely, the largest proportions that applied before 2002, i.e. that had been waiting more than eight years since their applications, were in Silver City, Port St Johns, Mdantsane Buffer Strip and Duncan Village C-Section (all more than a third of households).

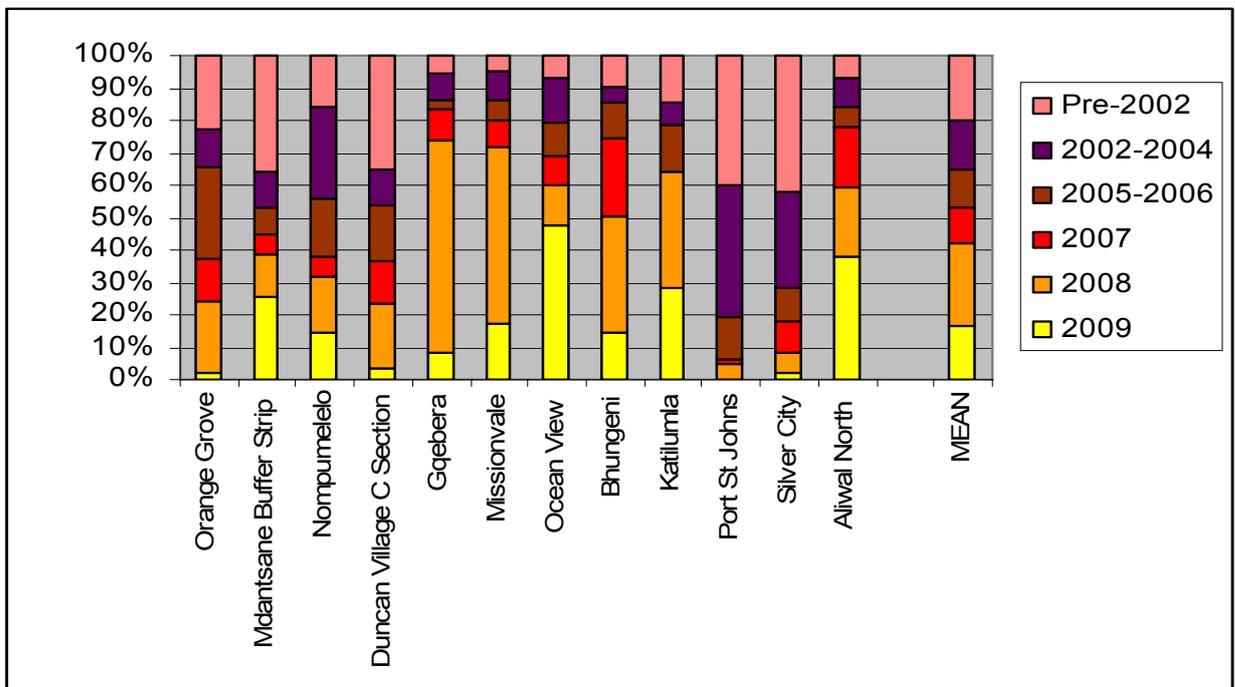


Figure 38: Date on which households applied for subsidy by surveyed settlement

More than three-quarters (79%) of the applicants said that they had received assistance in the application process. In most instances this assistance was received from a local committee (42,3%) or from the municipality (32,3%). In some cases, the local councillor (14,3%)

provided help. About one in ten (9,1%) received help from other people or groups and 2,2% were unable to say from whom they received help in the application process. Most (79,8%) indicated that they have not received any feedback since applying for a housing subsidy. This was particularly severe in Katilumla, Aliwal North and Silver City, where more than 90% had received zero feedback. About one in eight (12,3%) of applicants had received some sort of feedback (not specified), especially in Mdantsane Buffer Strip, Orange Grove and Gqebera (about 25% in each case). Small proportions said that promises about housing had been made (3,3%) or that they had been told they were on a waiting list (3,2%) but a mere 1,1% were able to offer concrete evidence that their house was being or had been built. A few (0,5%) were given negative feedback such as that their application had been lost; they would have to re-apply or that because the applicant did not have a child, she would not get a house. More than half (58%) indicated a preparedness to relocate temporarily during the time that their new house was under construction. Opposition to this possibility was highest amongst applicants in Port St Johns (57,4%) and Duncan Village C-Section (50,9%), although differences between applicants in these areas and Bhungeni and Orange Grove where opposition was lowest (less than 33% in both cases), were not very significant statistically ($X^2=43,15$; $df=22$; $sig.=0,005$).

Overall, only just over one-fifth (21,9%) of households in the twelve settlements, when asked explicitly, said that they were on the official waiting list for housing. If only those who had applied for a housing subsidy are taken into account, this proportion was just less than half (47,9%), varying significantly ($X^2=111,205$; $df=22$; $sig.=0,000$) between 63% in Mdantsane Buffer Strip and 9% in Port St Johns. The figure, however remains un-verified, which means that these figures indicate a perception or belief that they are on the housing waiting list.

Of the more than half of households (53,1%), which have not applied for a housing subsidy in their areas, the vast majority (93%) said that they did not know how or where to apply for such a subsidy. Asked whether they might have applied for a subsidy in another area, only 2,5% of households said that they had done so.

Just over one-fifth (20,4%) indicated interest in the renting of a formal dwelling. This interest was highest amongst households living at Mdantsane Buffer Strip (41,2%), Orange Grove (32,7%) and Katilumla (29,7%) and lowest in Aliwal North (2,8%). Also, households that intend to remain permanently in the area were far less likely (17,5%) to be interested in renting than were those that did not intend to stay (28,5%) ($X^2= 44,889$; $df=4$; $sig.=0,000$). Another finding was that households which had been in their settlements for less than one year or for more than eight years, were more likely to want to rent accommodation (probably for different reasons) than were other households. The average amount that households indicated they could afford to pay for monthly rental of a formal dwelling was R112.10, ranging from R77.52 in Missionvale to R154.38 in Duncan Village C-Section. The median category was R76 to R100.

According to data supplied by the ECDoHS¹⁰ some of these dynamics have already been picked up and there are Community Residential Units, which are rental accommodation projects aimed at low-income rentals currently underway or in the planning stage at:

- Lukhanji, Queenstown area,
- Intsika Yethu, Cofimvaba area,
- Camdeboo, Graaff-Reinet area,
- NMMM, Port Elizabeth
- KSD, Umtata area,
- Sakhisizwe, Queenstown area,
- Ndlambe: Port Alfred area,
- Kouga, Jeffreys Bay area,
- Tsolwana: Tarkastad area

¹⁰ Information was gratefully supplied by Shaun B. Kepeyi, Assistant Manager: Social & Rental Housing, ECDoHS

The data above indicates other areas where rental housing interventions would be in demand.

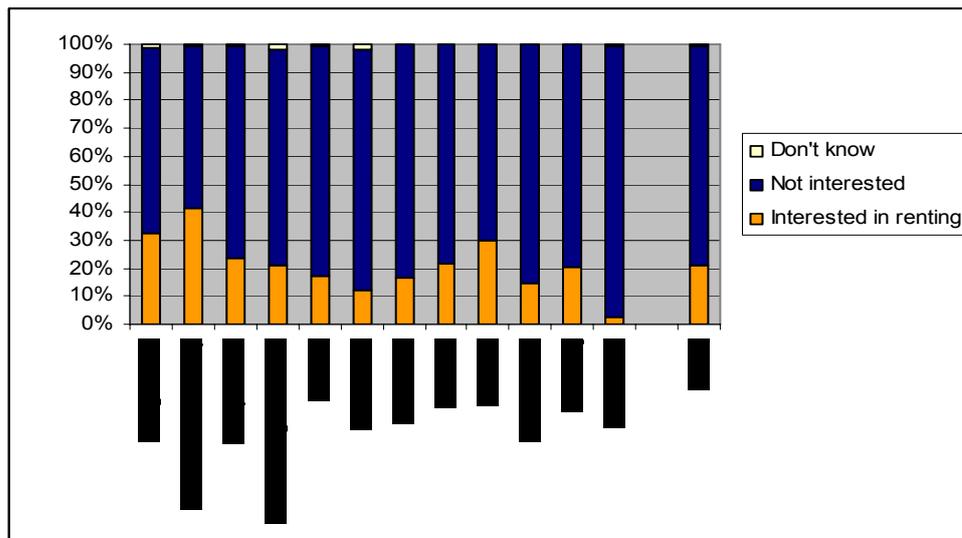


Figure 39: Indications in interest in renting per surveyed settlement

Table 18: Indications of rental affordability per surveyed settlement

Settlement	Mean rental	N
Orange Grove	R137.54	81
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	R114.21	95
Nompumelelo	R137.32	56
Duncan Village C	R154.38	48
Gqebera	R131.43	42
Missionvale	R77.52	31
Ocean View	R110.38	40
Bhungeni	R103.30	50
Katilumla	R96.15	41
Port St Johns	R114.05	37
Silver City	R95.42	48
Aliwal North	R73.57	7
Total	R112.10	576

3.9: Specific Details of Backyarders

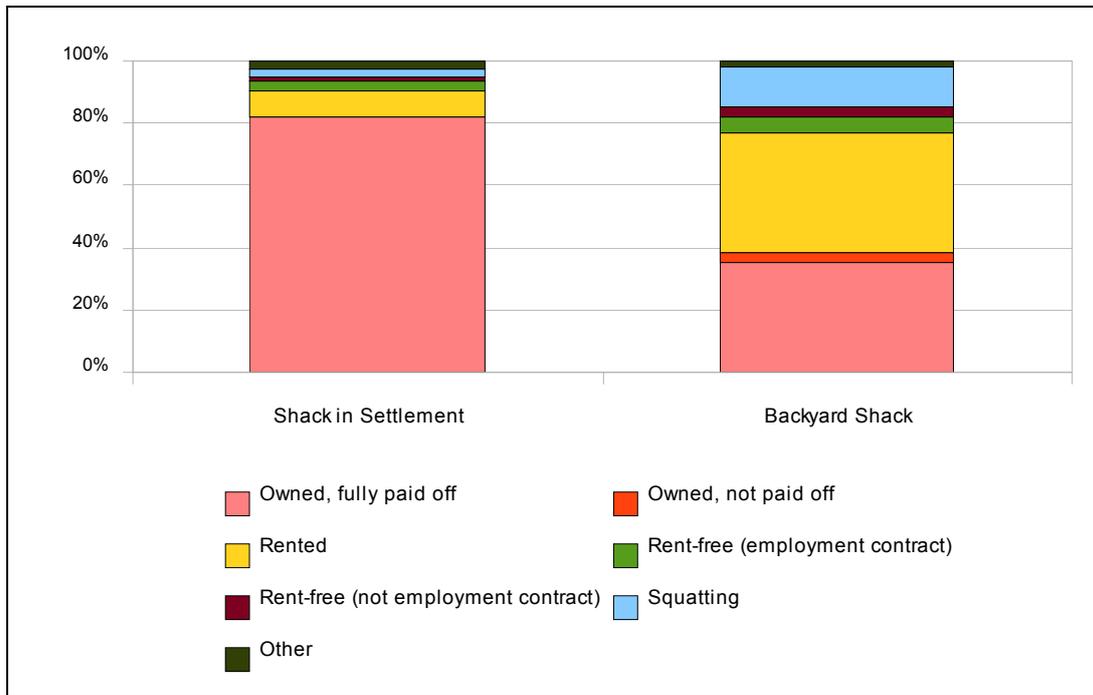


Figure 40: Tenure form for backyard dwellers

Specific information was garnered about backyard dwellers in the various sites. Primarily backyard dwellers share significant commonalities with informal settlement dwellers and have similar income patterns demonstrating that they are not a poorer subset of informal dwellers. The main differences between backyard dwellers and informal settlement dwellers included the much higher proportion of renters in the backyarders sample, with far fewer respondents stating that they own the properties in which they live. In addition households were on average smaller than in the rest of the province and registered only 2.5 people per household as opposed to the 3.05 found elsewhere. In addition 55% of the heads of households stated that they had never married whereas on average 46% of respondents had never married. Perhaps most importantly though, the majority of heads of households living in backyards were female.

3.10 Concluding Perceptions

There were significant differences between settlements and the progress that they had made in housing delivery. Overall only one in ten respondents (10,5%) said that there had been progress, 86,4% said there was no progress and 3,7% did not know. The most positive sentiment occurred in Ocean View, where more than a quarter (26,5%) said there had been progress. In contrast, less than 6% of households perceived any housing delivery progress in Port St Johns, Missionvale, Nompumelelo or Katilumla.

Table 19: Perceptions of progress in housing delivery per surveyed settlement

	PROGRE	NO	DON'T
Orange Grove	12.5%	84.7%	2.7%
Mdantsane Buffer Strip	7.3%	87.6%	5.2%
Nompumelelo	4.9%	91.4%	3.7%
Duncan Village C	11.2%	76.8%	12.0%
Gqebera	15.8%	82.2%	2.1%
Missionvale	5.2%	88.9%	6.0%
Ocean View	26.5%	73.1%	.4%
Bhungeni	6.3%	91.6%	2.1%
Katilumla	0.0%	98.6%	1.4%
Port St Johns	5.5%	93.3%	1.2%
Silver City	8.9%	88.2%	3.0%
Aliwal North	11.2%	85.3%	3.6%
MEAN	10.5%	86.4%	3.7%

Residents were asked what they thought was the “most important thing that government should do to help households” in their area. Most households mentioned several issues, only 3,3% did not indicate a priority for government. The most frequent response was the provision of housing (82,8%), which was understandably the major concern of the vast majority. Next in frequency were electricity (40%), job opportunities (23,6%) and water (14,5%). Other services in general (including toilets) were mentioned as a priority by almost one-third (31,3%) of households. Other issues were mentioned by a further 10,4%.

Differences between the settlements were that households in Duncan Village C-Section were far more likely (49,6%) than others to mention the need for jobs, this reflecting the far higher than average rate of unemployment in that settlement than elsewhere. Electricity was mentioned by more than 50% of households in Bhungeni, Silver City and Katilumla; as was water by more than 20% in Port St Johns and Katilumla.

In terms of overall life satisfaction (response to the question “How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?”), this was generally not high across the settlements. Almost half (49,3%) expressed themselves as “very dissatisfied” and 37,8% were “dissatisfied”. A mere 7,5% were “satisfied” and 0,2% “very satisfied”. By settlement, the highest level of dissatisfaction occurred in Aliwal North, where almost everybody (98,8%) said they were either very dissatisfied or dissatisfied “with their life in general these days”. In only five settlements, slightly more than one in ten households were satisfied, or in a few cases, very satisfied. These were Silver City, Port St Johns, Katilumla, Orange Grove and Bhungeni.

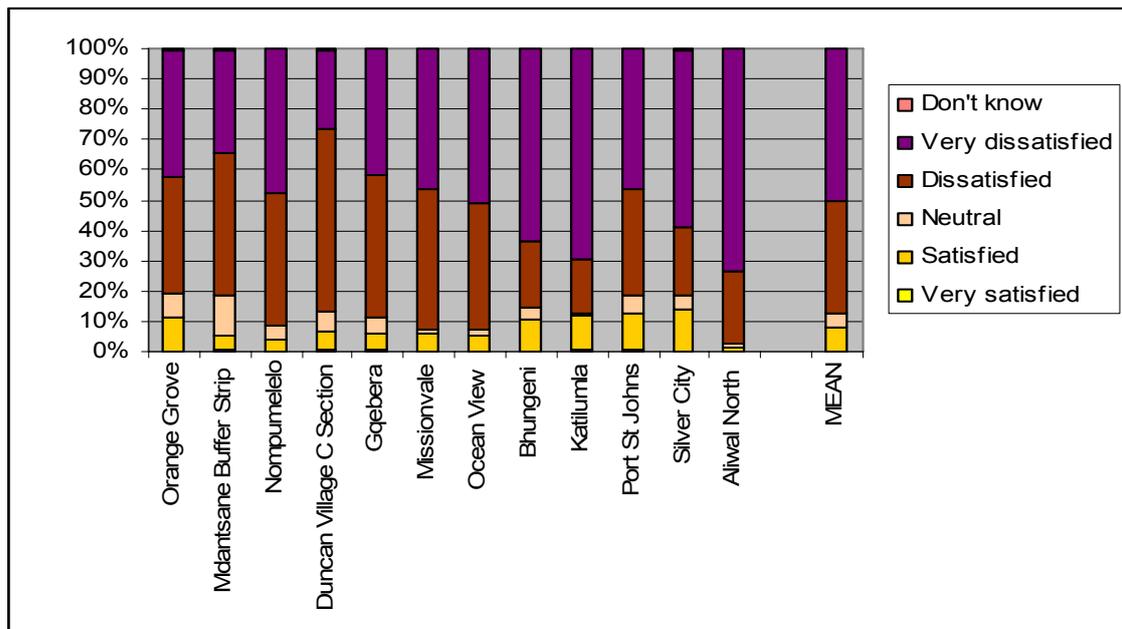


Figure 41: Indications of satisfaction of households per surveyed settlement

4. FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS REPORT: QUALITATIVE SECTION

This section attempts to provide as fair an account as possible of the factors that contribute to the performance of all agents involved in housing delivery in the province, thus the sections, follow the logic of looking at internal factors such as issues around staffing, retention and capacity. The next section questions and assesses the process of target setting within the province, as it is often the lack of meeting these targets that tarnishes the reputations of the various delivery agents and claims that they are under-performing. The report also looks at the experience that the various spheres have of legislation and regulation, in terms of alignment or lack of alignment, as well as, the nature of the vertical and horizontal relations between the various spheres of government and the different departments. This is followed by a section that looks at the most pragmatic and every day problems that housing delivery experiences. The penultimate section explores best practise in the province and pulls out the factors or constellation of factors that contribute to best practise and efficient housing delivery in the province. The last section looks at the various challenges that have been identified throughout the report and utilising the comments made by the various respondents as well as the specialist knowledge of the consulting team to provide a series of recommendations, which can be implemented to improve housing delivery in the province.

4.1 Internal/Departmental Functions

The literature review revealed that there were a number of issues around capacity, skills and staff retention at all levels and most particularly within the professional fields. The Literature report quoting Du Plessis' 2009 figures indicated that there were 710 vacant posts in the various housing departments across the province (Du Plessis, 2009). Specifically, Du Plessis maintained that the various departments only have 20 per cent of their required engineers, less than two per cent of the necessary town planners and 28 per cent of their desired control technicians. The provincial vacancy rates are exacerbated by the municipal vacancies where there is a 67% vacancy rate in respect of technical staff, and 60% vacancy in terms of general staff (Bank, *et al*, 2006). It was interesting and necessary to interrogate some of the claims that these earlier reports made.

In order to understand the internal workings of various departments and units, it was also necessary to understand how they have been designed and what issues are currently facing hiring, retention, capacity issues (indicated by outsourcing) as well as staff management and discipline.

4.1.1 Organisational design and finding the required staff

One of the areas of enquiry was to see how positions were defined and created in order to understand if the function of the various units was being matched with appropriately skilled employees. Overall it would seem that the design of the various departments and units is handled through an iterative process whereby:

- i. Line managers inform the HR what their needs are,
- ii. These positions are then circulated throughout the department for comment,
- iii. Most HR units then have a dedicated unit who develops an overall structure for the unit/section/department.
- iv. The structure is then circulated to all stakeholders: unions, Department of Labour, other affected municipalities etc
- v. The structure is then presented to Council by the Municipal Manager and council makes comment and when satisfied approves the structure.

There are, however some variations of this overall process and one of the large metros has experienced a situation whereby the responsibility for the internal organisational design has been taken away from the municipal manager and now sits in the hands of council. The Council can thus defines positions and job descriptions with specific political allies in mind rather than looking at the needs of a specific unit/department or programme. A second variation, which actually sounds quite positive, is completed by a district municipality who holds an end of year strategic session with top management (i.e. full-time councillors, mayor,

and senior officials) in which all service deliver challenges are unpacked. One of the factors that is considered, is that of capacity and if it is a lack of capacity that is found to be one of the driving factors that are influencing delivery then a post (where necessary) and a job description developed are developed. It is a useful system that is responsive to the on-the-ground demands of the district; however it does put some of the decision-making into the hands of people who are not corporate service specialists. It also may not provide a unified or overall design for the relevant departments.

Once the design of the unit has been approved then the hiring process can begin. It would seem that hiring is directed by line managers and supported by the corporate services unit who are engaged with the technicalities of advertising posts, hiring and firing. The ability to get the appropriate staff is highly variable, which is reflected by the great variances in vacancies in different units. By way of illustration: in Gariep it was reported that there was a 27% vacancy rate, Buffalo City reported what appears to be a large number of vacancies 426 but in reality constitutes less than 10%. Although the metro's housing unit reported that there are some 22 vacancies, which means that they are functioning with just less than half (46%) of the required people. Key provincial units reported that they had between 38%-50% vacancy rates.

It should be noted that some of the vacancies are now unfunded positions and cannot just be considered vacant since there is no funding to fill them. In BCM for example according to their organogram there are some 8900 posts but only about 5000 are actually funded – as such there is now a move to get rid of the unfunded posts from the organograms as it is making it look as if there are more vacancies than there actually are.

On average funded positions seem to have been vacant for approximately 2 years and vacancies appear at almost all levels. In one of the district municipalities, outsource as have not been able to fill certain positions i.e. land management, settlement manager and senior office been vacant since 2006, can't get people to take positions as salaries too low. In other departments certain positions have never been filled i.e. town-planning position in district municipality. Positions that were found to be difficult to fill can be seen in Table 20 and are at almost all levels but the majority of skills that were reported as being in short supply included: technical skills, planning and community facilitation.

An issue that was mentioned in two of the larger metros has been the downgrading of positions and the requirements so that some technical positions have been downgraded from professional to more administrative or less technical jobs. A further problem that was identified was one in which there is political interference in the hiring of staff. Since council approves the employment of senior management, there is the chance that the choices are approved at a political not only functional level. This has consequences for the more junior and middle management, who may be picked by senior management at the direction of political influences to whom they in turn owe their jobs and allegiance.

Table 20: Scarce and outsourced skills comparative table

Scarce Skills		Outsourced Work
- Architects		- Architects
- Capacity building specialists		- Capacity Building: staff training
- Disaster management		- Housing developers and contractors
- Financial management		- EIA specialists
- GIS		- Engineers: specifically civils
- Handymen and artisans		- Geotechnical investigators
- Housing consumer education experts		- Housing researchers
- Housing Policy specialists		- Housing Policy specialists
- Inspectors		- IDP specialists
- IT skills		
- Labour relations office		
- Land valuers		- Land valuers
		- Legal Skills: Conveyancing
- Planning skills		- Planning skills: land use management, layout design, surveying
- Policy development officials		- Social and Community Facilitators
- Project managers		- Public Participation Facilitators
- Records management		
- Secretarial support		
- Senior Administrators		Senior Administrators: Beneficiary Administrators
- Senior managers		

A number of departments and units have also undertaken skills audits in order to evaluate just what has been in short supply. This is a very positive step towards addressing issues within the various departments.

4.1.2 Outsourced Work

It is also worth noting how much and what types of work was outsourced and Table 20 makes a comparison between the scarce skills that the various respondents identified and the skills that can and are outsourced. In a few cases, such as that of architects, planners, housing policy specialists, and land valuers the needs of the departments seem to be met by external organisations. There are, however numerous cases where it seems that the units cannot get the skills that they need and cannot outsource them, most worryingly the basic levels of administration and secretarial support seem to be in short supply.

Respondents were also asked how much of their unit's/programme's/department's work was outsourced. The data below is a not as clear as hoped as some of the respondents would only answer for their specific unit, others could only answer for their department and some did not know or were not able to quantify it into a percentage, as such Table 21 presents findings that cannot be statistically manipulated but are nevertheless very interesting and highly indicative.

Table 21: Perception of percentage of work outsourced

Government Dept	Perception of work outsourced
Local	
Umzimbuvu	10%
Umzimbuvu	Very little
Umzimbuvu	100%
Maletswai	0%
Gariep	30%
Gariep	10%
Port St Johns	95%
Port St Johns	60-70%
Aliwal North	30%
Lukanji	2%
District Municipality	
Amatole	20%
Amatole	0%
Amatole	40%
Amatole	Na
Nelson Mandela	70%
Cacadu	15%
Cacadu	40%
Cacadu	Na
Chris Hani	Na
O R Tambo	80%
Buffalo City	56%
Buffalo City	0%
Buffalo City	Very little
Buffalo City	Very little
Provincial	
ECDOH	Na
ECDOH	40%
ECDoH	40%
ECDoH	Na

At the two ends of the spectrum we have a councillor in Port St John's said that they thought that the municipality was outsourcing 95% of its work and only handled waste management and road maintenance. Further evidence from an official in the same local municipality said that they outsource 100% of their work as they have no internal capacity at all. By comparison and at the other end of the spectrum, a Maletswai Municipal official stated that the reason they did not outsource was simply that they did not need to, as the provincial department acts as the developer so there is no need to outsource. Cacadu stated that they outsource when the scale of a housing project is too big to handle internally and have outsourced projects where need specific expertise e.g. Area Based Land Availability Audit or Roads Hierarchy study. BCM argued that they outsourced work that it was not logical for unit to carry such as specialist services e.g. civil engineers. However, Nelson Mandela notes a 70% outsourcing statistic due to lack of technical skills and the respondent commented that there is just not enough capacity, with just 1 architect and 2 draftsmen for the entire metro. ECDoH argued that they were outsourcing some 40% of their work due to a lack of internal capacity.

There is also some reliance in the province on the professional technical teams who are paid for by province and in municipalities like Chris Hani seem to be doing a great deal of the work, including: beneficiary administration, EIAs, social facilitation, engineering, geo-technical evaluations, and perhaps most disturbingly helping to certify work and signing it off as well as assisting with tenders. Port St John's echoed that sentiment and due to the very small size of the housing unit, much of the work is outsourced but problematically so is quality control and monitoring!

An important distinction should be made about outsourced work. The first is the issue of whether these functions should be internal, and with specialisations like conveyancing and geo-technical evaluations and housing construction/development the answer would seem to

be no. To employ a fulltime conveyancer would seem to be outside of the role of the state. It could be argued that as budget is set aside and the work can be effectively managed and monitored and budgeted for, it is not necessary. There are also cases such as in Aliwal North where the outsourcing of certain function is no doubt a very positive activity whereby certain functions i.e. beneficiary assistance to make sure people have necessary documents to apply for housing are outsourced to local community members who are unemployed. Interestingly one of the respondents from a large metro mentioned that the consultants who are used, mainly town planners and technical people are used due to internal capacity issues but also because they seem to be able to get things done faster than the officials and get better response from other departments.

4.1.3 Staff Retention

One of the most interesting findings of the report is that of the 29 people, most indicated that there was a large degree of stability in terms of people staying in their jobs for sustained periods of time. At the municipal level many of the respondents reported that they had been in their current position for more than 5 years and in fact indicated that their units had very low turn over rates (see Table 22). There does not seem to have been any research completed in SA looking at the average amount of time people stay in their jobs but the international literature offers accounts where people have between 5-7 jobs over their lifetime (MacKay 2006) whereas another study indicates that people have 10.8 different employers between the ages of 18 and 42 (Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2008). This means that in the US people are staying jobs for less than 3 years and internationally for just over 4 years. As such the turn over seen at municipal and district levels indicated by this table seems to actually demonstrate an above level of retention for the respondents.

Table 22: Time in Current Position

Government Dept	Time in current job
Local	
Umzimbuvu	4 years
Umzimbuvu	8 years
Umzimbuvu	8 years
Maletswai	3 years
Gariep	2 years
Gariep	5 years
Port St Johns	3 years
Port St Johns	8 months
Aliwal North	7 months
Lukanji	8 years
District Municipality	
Amatole	5 months
Amatole	5 months
Amatole	4 years
Amatole	2 years
Nelson Mandela	6 years
Cacadu	2 months
Cacadu	6 years
Cacadu	2 years
Chris Hani	1 year
O R Tambo	1.5 years
Buffalo City	7 years
Buffalo City	3.5 years
Buffalo City	9 years
Buffalo City	2 years
Provincial	
ECDOH	2 years
ECDOH	1.5 years
ECDoh	2 years
ECDoh	2 years

Although it was mentioned that the ability to retain staff has been an area of focus for district municipalities and districts like Cacadu have paid special attention to the paying staff market-related salaries. Nelson Mandela have a similar scarce skills programme in place but note that there are limits to the funds that are available. BCM stated that although many of the technical staff stay for 3-4 years and use the Metro as a training ground to get their project management experience and then get poached by the private sector. BCM mentioned that they too have had problems with retaining planners and land valuers who have been “head hunted and poached”. On the other hand, some of small rural municipalities such as Umzimbuvu local municipality and Gariiep local municipality have indicated a twofold challenge. First, is their inability to raise enough funding to recruit the skilled professionals, and secondly by virtue of being remote rural areas, very few professionals usually show interest in applying even if they advertise their vacant posts.

4.1.4 Capacity Building, Performance Management and KPIs

When corporate services officials were asked about capacity building policies, it became clear that there are generic policies for the entire municipality, district or province rather than housing specific policies. Although one of the smaller municipalities mentioned that although they apparently had a policy the corporate service person who was interviewed had apparently never actually seen it. A further local municipality and a district mentioned that they were in the process of developing a capacity building policy. It was also mentioned that generic training was coordinated by the premier’s office. Respondents mentioned that they or the people that they managed had, for the most part attended some form of training over the last year and that the training had been helpful. It was more common for more junior members of staff to have attended training than their senior colleagues. Training on policy changes and its implications was also often reported and was well received, as was training on supply chain management, project management and conflict resolution. An important comment that a housing official made was to suggest that there is a lack of career planning in government departments, which makes planning for training and capacitation difficult and performance longer term career paths should be investigated and developed as part of retention and capacitation strategies.

4.1.5 Performance reviews

Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) seemed to be well understood and well-defined there also seemed to be for most of the respondents, a clear sense of how the various KPIs fitted together to create an overall goal that needed to be achieved. Some of the departments and units had done away with performance management systems and balanced scorecards (only one district reported using the balanced scorecard methodology) and were now using their IDPs and quarterly reports to council as their method of consistently monitoring performance. Although a small local municipality mentioned that the performance areas from the KPIs were “a thumb suck every time”. Reviews by line managers were also commonly reported and many of the units reported weekly meetings with line managers and consistent monitoring of the underlings through regular meetings, written reports and consistent review of allocated tasks. More senior officials reported that they had quarterly reviews with their line managers, heads of departments and municipal managers and councillors seemed to be reviewed by their peers at council meetings where performance was discussed and advice and support offered to improve performance. The most comprehensive and interesting performance management techniques was described in the Cacadu District Municipality where every year the Director of the housing unit presents him/herself and to a panel of performance experts. The panel is drawn from neighbouring municipalities (municipal managers), members of the audit committee, the Cacadu Municipal Manager and the Portfolio councillor, all of whom evaluate the director and the department’s performance. A councillor from the same municipality also argued for a close relationship between portfolio councillors and senior managers, and thought that these relationships should be healthy discussions in which the views of each was challenged and defended in order to strengthen decision-making in the district.

A senior official mentioned that it has become very difficult to perform due to two important factors, the first is the amount of time that the respondent spends in meetings, which was estimated at almost 40%, whilst a further 20% of the day was spent trying to satisfy work

outside of the defined scope and commonly made up of requests from various councillors. In comparison a councillor from the same small local authority who argued that the IDP KPIs were not particularly useful, mentioned that they had not been performance could not be properly monitored as they had no systems in place and any form of monitoring and evaluation and any attempt at management were considered to be “curiosity and interference”. One of the other small municipalities also reported that they had never had any performance reviews in the 8 years they had been there, and had no one way of monitoring the performance of those people who reported to them. Another district municipality mentioned that it was hard to monitor performance as had very limited internal capacity but really did not have the people for it.

It would thus seem that the majority of respondents perceive a satisfactory level of capacity building and performance review, and are able to monitor the conduct of those who report to them. It would also seem that junior staff members benefit more from capacity building than more senior officials but both would benefit from defined career development trajectories, which could help to retain staff and to ensure a consistent increase in skill and growth within the unit. It would also seem that monitoring and review is more possible in larger municipalities and small local authorities have difficulty in both tasks. Although it should be noted that this is the experience of two municipalities and would need further research in order to be borne out.

4.2 Processes and procedures regarding housing: Constructing and Meeting targets

4.2.1 Target setting and achievability

There has been a great deal of criticism of departments and units not meeting their set targets, and questions are logically raised about how targets are set and by whom? The respondents both politicians and officials were requested to comment on whether they felt the targets were or were not reasonable and achievable. There were mixed results in how targets were set and by whom, which can be divided into 6 models, these include:

- i. Council in consultation with stakeholders:
- ii. The Mayor and council: which appears to be a very “top-down” approach that lacks any real consultation.
- iii. District Municipalities have their targets informed by the Housing Sector Plans of the various municipalities
- iv. There is an IDP process, to which stakeholders contribute through IDP workshops, or in one case a district road show and which is then supposed to be approved by council: although it was also stated that by a district official that there are problems with this process. The first being a sense of general apathy by which local authorities do not contribute as they should and the second is that there is not a clear understanding of what planning or the IDP are and how they should operate. As a result it is actually the HoD who sets the targets for the department.
- v. A further process of developing targets worked on an internal evaluation process, by which the unit works out what is needed and what can be produced and then sets targets accordingly. Each project is assessed individually and once that has been done, it becomes a target with a timeline and budget attached. These projects are then approved by council.
- vi. Some of the very small local authorities and one of the districts said that they simply set their own targets internally, as did one of the provincial units who said that they made recommendations to top management who took the comments on board and utilised them to set targets.

It should also be specifically mentioned that when respondents were asked how they set targets around informal settlements and backyard dwellers, and most responded that they took their lead from the National department of Housing’s injunction to eradicate informality by 2014 and had plans in place to try and respond to that deadline. Although there was a sense from the respondents that the nationally set targets could not be achieved as national had not provided any or sufficient additional funding in order to ensure their achievement. A local

municipal official also stated on the subject of informal settlement target setting that the province and national were “too bossy” and just told the municipalities what they should achieve without consulting them.

Most respondents said that they felt the targets were achievable, in some cases this seems to have been because in reality the targets were set internally. One respondent stated that the targets are achievable at the technical level, but what confuses the matter is political interference, which tries to push some projects out of sequence or to force earlier delivery dates. This puts enormous pressure on a department that is doing its best.

4.2.2 Causes for Meeting or not meeting targets

The majority of respondents commented that they had achieved their targets or had at least achieved most of them. Targets that had not been met seem to have had some clear cut causes, most of which will be explored in detail in the next few sections, but will be mentioned here:

- i. In a cross-cutting theme, a district complained that in cases, which relied on local authorities and their cooperation the targets were not met. They argued that due to a lack of timely funding from DPLG and a lack of understanding of the planning process, there is a real issue with ensuring projects that rely on both district and local authority actors actually being implemented.
- ii. MIG funding is considered insufficient to build the necessary infrastructure and as a result housing delivery is delayed.
- iii. Procurement problems and once the materials have been built and put on site, the ability of the municipality to protect them from theft.
- iv. A further problem that has hampered the meeting of deliverable has been the production of poor quality units, which have had to be rectified.
- v. One of the districts mentioned that due to the time it took for a project to come to fruition, the subsidy that was paid was no longer able to cover the price escalation in building costs, which seriously hampered delivery.
- vi. Capacity and the movement of staff around the department was stated by a few of the respondents as a cause for lack of delivery but was not as commonly raised as would have been expected.
- vii. Several small municipalities which usually comprise of rural villages mentioned topography and poor infrastructure (roads, water) and how these issues makes some of these rural areas inaccessible to developers and material suppliers

Interestingly only two respondents, both from small local municipalities, stated that they could not meet their allotted target and cited the main reason as lack of sufficient budget. One of the departments argued that the lack of sufficient budget could be traced to the manner in which DORA is calculated and said that it was due to StatsSA utilising outdated data to calculate the division of revenue and the appropriate equitable share that the various departments should receive. A provincial official also mentioned that her unit had had to cut down their activities to the bare minimum due to lack of funding and argued that was the case across the municipality.

4.2.3 Demand Databases and Housing Delivery

One of the key sources of information about the demand for housing and about targets sits in the housing waiting lists and demand databases. As such the qualitative survey asked a subset of respondents (15 out of 23 housing officials) about the demand database and the process by which individuals and households were able to get on to the database. The findings were very interesting and in some cases showed stark contrasts against the quantitative surveys, which show differences in councillors, officials and beneficiaries' perceptions.

From the earlier quantitative survey it was shown that a large number of respondents (a mean figure of 20% of respondents) had applied for housing before 2002 and had not yet received housing. Findings from the demand databases further confirmed that on average applicants have been on both municipal and provincial waiting lists for between 4-6 years. In addition, of

the more than half of households (53,1%), which have not applied for a housing subsidy in their areas, the vast majority (93%) said that they did not know how or where to apply for such a subsidy. Both local also expressed similar concerns on lack of knowledge and understanding amongst the potential beneficiaries regarding the application process and district officials during the demand database interviews. Officials attributed the problem to two main issues. First, they cited high illiteracy rate amongst the potential beneficiaries, which contributed to a lack of understanding of the process. This was supported by one of the respondents who categorically stated that "No [they do not understand the application process]. Applicants are generally poor, being unemployed and illiterate. They also fall prey to the so-called "sharks" that victimize them out of their RDP dwelling. Consumer / Policy education is desperately needed in this regard".

Secondly, officials cited lack of training on consumer education in particular amongst local housing officials by the province. Supporting such a claim, one local housing official mentioned that "If I personally don't understand the process, how do you then expect a poor and illiterate community member to understand it? Until such time the province thoroughly train us, application process for housing subsidy will remain a challenge for the homeless in this province".

The official of application according to the National Department of Human Settlements requires the following:

'No housing subsidy will be approved unless the applicant correctly completes the application form, which must then be submitted to the relevant Provincial Housing Department or Municipality.

The following documents, where applicable, must accompany the application form:

- A Certified Copy of:
 - the page of the bar-coded R.S.A. identity document containing photograph of applicant and that of his/her spouse;
 - the page of the bar-coded Permanent Residence Permit containing the photograph of the applicant and that of his/her spouse;
 - a marriage certificate (if applicable);
 - a spouse's death certificate (if applicable);
 - a divorce settlement (if applicable);
 - birth certificates of all dependants (if applicable); and
 - most recent pay slip [applicant and spouse].
- Agreement of Sale.
- Building Contract and Approved Building Plan.
- Sale of Land and House Building Support agreement i.r.o. People's Housing Process (PHP) (if applicable).
- Proof of Disability (where applicable).
- Proof of loan granted by lender (if applicable)
- Application for exemption for capital contribution (if applicable)' (NDOHS, 2010)

Once the application form has been correctly filled in, it is submitted to the municipality who compile a list and send it on to province who create a master list of housing demand.

However the reality is quite different and from the side of the various officials and councillors the means by which households are able to apply for housing seems to vary: in some instances the ward councillor seems to be the most integral individual, and it is he/she that gets people to apply and compiles a list for the municipality; alternatively local residents apply at the local municipal offices and deal directly with the local housing official who constructs and then sends the list on; alternatively a project could be occurring within a specific area and as such local residents are registered and encouraged to make application. It should be mentioned that all of these systems are open to corruption as the individuals in charge of application and registration do not seem to be monitored or checked.

Once the local municipality has the details and the required documentation, which includes; names, gender, age, number of dependents, ID documents, housing preference, and

information on where they currently stay, the information is uploaded onto the system. At the municipal level housing officials create their own local demand database designed according to the national/provincial criteria on requirements for subsidy application. Once completed, the applications and supporting documents are then sent to the province where the information of applicants is first verified and then captured into a system/program called Housing Subsidy Scheme (HSS) by officials in the relevant unit/section.

For verification process, the province normally appoints a service provider who is required to check and confirm the validity of each applicant's information and whether in the light of stipulated requirements in the national/provincial guidelines on application for subsidies (subsidy basics) such applicants qualify. Amongst issues to be verified is, to see if the applicants have applied and received housing elsewhere and to check the veracity of their documentation. Once this process has been completed the province is supposed to come back to the municipality and let them know about the progress of the application. At which point the Province claims that they let the relevant local authority within a week and the local municipalities argue that it is closer to a month, whilst many of those on the ground 79,8% of those who were surveyed and had applied indicated that they have not received any feedback since applying for a housing subsidy. There is thus a huge breakdown in communication at some point of the proceedings with councillors and officials arguing that regular community meetings and the use of loud hailers were effective means of communication for beneficiaries, it would seem that beneficiaries do not agree.

There also seems to be a further issue with the housing list/demand database such as a degree of opacity regarding the provincial process and a lack of understanding as to the precise nature of the allocation process. This means that the officials cannot pass on adequate information to the beneficiaries about the process. The actual database management also seems to be inadequately managed by officials who cite lack of capacity as a cause. A provincial official mentioned that there is a shortage of competent local housing officials who could play a crucial role in ensuring that certain basics in compilation of demand databases are being met at local level. According to the province properly completed applications with all of the necessary housing documentation could help to eliminate unnecessary delays at provincial level usually caused by submission of application forms with incorrect information and at times incomplete forms. To support this, a provincial official mentioned that "the challenge for the province regarding demand database is to get the right people at municipal level to assist with submission of properly completed subsidy application forms". On the other hand, local and district officials complained about lack of flow of effective communication and training by the province for local housing officials in particular. They mentioned that at times they would only for the first time discover that certain requirements for subsidy applications are being changed when they get feedback or enquire about the progress of their submission. One local official mentioned that "We are being given a 'Housing Bible' that we never been adequately trained or had a proper workshop on, most of us are not clear about housing processes".

Overall in terms of utilising the demand databases or the housing waiting lists as tools for target setting, they seem to be somewhat lacking as not everyone who needs a house applies (see earlier quantitative section) and due to the fact that some areas are ear-marked for housing projects, whilst others are not, not everyone who needs a house lands up on the system. Furthermore, whilst the demand databases have some potential to be able to disaggregate demand, currently only one housing options exists, nullifying the usefulness of this aspect. There is also a great deal of opacity about the way in which the demand database functions for both beneficiaries and officials and the current system seems very open to abuse.

4.3 Lack of Alignment in Policy, Legislation and Regulation

Housing and Human Settlements are in many ways a cross cutting area that requires input from a host of other realms and is effected by a range of other legislation, including environmental laws and regulations, planning law and land use management as well as supply-chain management. Housing delivery is also affected by some issues and challenges within existing housing legislation.

- i. Environmental legislation and in particular the EIA process was identified as an area in which there is a clear lack of alignment. One of the officials in a large metro put this down to a difference in intention and motivation. Whereby the motivation behind the EIA is to ensure environmental protection and consideration, whereas human settlements are motivated by a need for development. As such, some respondents felt that the EIAs significantly slowed down housing delivery or unnecessarily called for greater inspections where none was needed. In addition there is a discrepancy in the approval times of EIAs, which are only valid for 6 months and the housing process, which can take much longer and can be interfered with by the lapsing of an EIA. Even applying for an exemption is problematic as it costs just under R10 000 to get a consultant to apply for an exemption. A further issue around the EIAs was the reliance on consultants who say that they have completed the EIAs and submitted to DEAT when they have not but due to the lack of monitoring and control they can get away with it.
- ii. There are a number of issues surrounding supply-chain management, which include:
 - Emerging contractors and BEE strategies are failing the municipality as they are based on the supposition that newly emerging contractors are up to the task. The Departments are forced to utilise these companies, but many of these contractors have not yet had the opportunity to gain the necessary experience and as such delay delivery or simply cannot deliver on their contractual commitments.
 - Hiring and contracting service providers can take up to 4 months.
 - The process of firing non-performing contractors can also take up to three months if the full regulations are followed, which has serious implications for delivery and for deadlines.
 - Tendering process is generally considered to be far too complex and needlessly tedious.
- iii. The injunction that each sphere of government should develop an IDP and use it for planning and targeting purposes is not universally approved of and there is a sense that IDPs are completed purely as a bureaucratic process and are not really used for implementation.
- iv. There is also a problem in the housing policy, which is being applied nationally and at all spheres but is not applicable to all situations and locations. There is a further issue with housing policy being too rigid to respond to the specific needs of areas and thus there are no tools to deal with issues of higher density or alternative building materials.
- v. There was a complaint regarding how the township establishment regulations, zoning conditions and land use management have housing standards that are neither necessary nor applicable to what is needed.
- vi. There are also local regulations and rules such as the use officials' private vehicles and the car allowance that they are given, which the officials say does not actually pay for the wear and tear on the cars and they cannot change the policy to increase the amount or get vehicles for the unit. This makes travelling to monitor sites extremely difficult.
- vii. There is a sense that due to the high rate of bureaucratic compliance that is needed in order to meet all of the state required obligations, officials are spending large amounts of their time filing reports and filling out reports rather than doing their jobs.

4.4 Intergovernmental Relations

Intergovernmental relations emerged as a common theme in interviews with officials and councillors. Challenges posed to effective delivery by poor intergovernmental relations primarily related to perceived lack of delivery by other government units, uncertainty around and contestation over the different mandates of the three spheres of government, a perceived lack of consultation with municipalities on the part of provincial government, and district level frustrations with local government capacity.

4.4.1 Perceptions of lack of delivery by national and provincial departments

Respondents in local and district municipalities expressed frustration at bottlenecks and lack of delivery by other government units, which hampered their efforts at housing delivery. The Department of Land Affairs (DLA), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), the Deeds Office and the Eastern Cape Province were specifically mentioned.

- Where municipalities have to secure land from a government department of parastatal – long delays in transfer are common (in contrast to the acquisition of land from the private sector). According to the Director of Estates in one of the local municipalities, province can take up to five years in transferring public land for development. A City Planner in Buffalo City commented that, “The state is not owning up to the fact that it is a major land owner and one of the most difficult entities to get land from”.
- The (then) Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism came under fire for their interpretation and administration of EIAs, which slowed down the delivery of housing. An official in Buffalo City noted, “We need to work more closely with DEAT so that they don’t throw the book at every project. [We] also need to get DEAT to be more constructive in their approach, not just criticise but engage actively with the housing and land problems”.
- A councillor commented that the Cacadu District municipality felt that lack of delivery by the (then) Department of Land Affairs was exacerbating the rate at which ex-farm labourers and their families were migrating off commercial farms into smaller towns – increasing the housing backlog.
- The Deeds Office can take three to six months to transfer a title deed.
- An official in the Buffalo City Housing unit listed failure by provincial government to timeously release funding to municipalities as a major challenge to delivery.
- Provincial Departments were also said to be slow in paying contractors for work completed.
- Another official pointed to slow housing approval processes on the part of the province. However, the official noted that the “problem lay with the centralised housing subsidy system”.

Provincial department officials in turn expressed frustration that capacity at local government was lacking and that “no one is able to issue instructions”. A head of department noted however that capacity at local government level varied greatly. Essentially, the agendas and priorities of departments are not necessarily aligned, and lack of capacity in one department has major knock-on effects for service delivery at the local level.

4.4.2 Perceptions of lack of consultation by provincial government

Perhaps the most common theme amongst municipal officials and councillors was that of weak communication and strained relations between the municipalities and provincial government. Most respondent felt that the blame lay with provincial government who at best did not take the input from municipalities sufficiently seriously and at worst actively marginalised municipalities in the decision making processes (around housing target setting and a range of delivery issues). Planning on the part of the province around housing provision and related services thus did not take into account local priorities and challenges (as laid out by IDPs for example). Local authorities also felt that they were forced to use emerging contractors when the local authorities knew that they were not up to the task. Yet, an official pointed out, it is local municipalities who are left to deal with community dissatisfaction at lack of service delivery. Lack of co-ordination between the provincial housing departments and municipalities was frequently mentioned as a contributing factor in worse case scenarios of housing delivery cited by respondents.

The Head of the Planning Department in a district municipality felt that provincial departments were not taking into account future development needs of the province and aligning them with capital expenditure forecasts when developing their SDFs – which would have implications for budget allocations and planning at local government level. Furthermore a councillor noted that his district municipality “would like to be developers ourselves, [and] not rely on Bisho”. Contestation over authority for planning, target setting, and delivery is, in turn, also evident in the relations between district and local municipalities.

4.4.3 Relations between district and local municipalities

Whilst the legislation encourages co-operation between district and local municipality, relations between local and district municipalities in some areas were strained. This is exacerbated by the fact that the legislation outlining the respective competencies and mandate of local versus district municipalities is somewhat ambiguous. An official in the Cacadu District municipality commented that, "There is a lack of certainty about what a district municipality is supposed to do".

A couple of respondents at district level commented that local municipalities lacked clear IDPs, as well as general planning and management systems, yet would not accept assistance from the district and the districts do not "have the teeth" to intervene. A further planning issue according to a district official, local municipalities do not necessarily "understand the planning process", making decisions about budget allocations "on a whim", and lack the capacity to implement service delivery. In addition the official felt that despite lack of capacity, local municipalities hold on tightly to certain functions for "political reasons". Another official noted that local municipalities required more funding to appoint people with the requisite skills.

4.4.4 Budget allocation

The majority of respondents at local and district level felt that the targets were achievable within the allocated budgets – but that a host of operational, political and external environmental factors posed challenges to housing delivery. However, some officials felt that budget allocations were not sufficient from provincial government to meet the targets for housing delivery that province itself had often set.

Provincial government in turn expressed frustration with National Treasury for not being firmly in touch with the housing delivery process and thus not allocating sufficient funding to provincial housing.

4.5 Challenges related to external socio-economic and environmental factors

4.5.1 Challenges to physical delivery and upkeep: topography and infrastructure

Much of the rural Eastern Cape terrain is difficult to service. Existing rural homesteads are widely dispersed across the hillside, presenting challenges for the delivery of basic services such as water. Pump stations are needed in many of the rural villages. The often steep hilly topography presents particular challenges for housing delivery. Officials and ward councillors described material suppliers and building contractors having to halt construction because the area was simply inaccessible by truck. In some cases, however, the issue seems less related to topography than to lack of appropriate road infrastructure.

Water scarcity and insufficient infrastructure for water supply to some rural areas means that basic building activities associated with "modern construction" such as mixing mortar (as apposed to traditional building practices) are hampered. Lack of water supply was an issue raised by a number of respondents and appears to be a growing concern. The harsh coastal weather conditions require additional plastering to housing units, roofs which can withstand strong winds and so on, but a Project Manager at Chris Hani noted that their allocated budget did not allow for the building of quality units to withstand these conditions.

4.5.2 Input constraints and costs

A Senior Official noted that housing delivery in on of the districts was hampered by a scarcity of available land. In this case the official did not mean that the department could not access land, but rather that there was a lack of appropriate land within the area. Unscrupulous contractors and the supply of sub-standard building materials has lead to poor quality units being build – in some cases with enormous costs for the municipality where units have had to be scrapped. An official in the provincial housing department noted that government needed

to be able to test the quality of building supplies prior to procurement. There appears to be a dearth of quality material suppliers in the province – as well as a lack of supply of certain building materials such as timber. Escalating material costs also place pressure on housing budgets.

4.5.3 Lack of understanding and buy-in from community

A key factor in the majority of best case scenarios painted by respondents (see below) was community buy-in and understanding of the housing delivery process. However, as city planner at Buffalo City noted, “It is difficult to educate people about land use management and township establishment as the language is extremely technical”. He added that, “We need to find ways to simplify it”.

A number of respondents mentioned theft of building materials as a reason for not delivering houses on time. Materials theft by community members is also costly for the municipality. While theft of building material is common in South Africa, and linked to more general levels of crime, where community buy-in and support from a range of community members has been achieved, the possibility of theft appears to decrease.

Linked to lack of consumer education, but also to a host of other social issues (not least of which is desperation to access scarce resources), is the challenge presented by community members invading land as soon as they get wind of the housing project. Removing the individuals from the land in order to develop it is costly, time consuming and can damage relationships between the municipality and the community.

4.5.4 Tracing beneficiaries

Long delivery times, caused by a range of issues listed above, exacerbate difficulties in tracking down intended beneficiaries of the housing units once they have been built. Beneficiaries may die or move location after the initial housing application was made. A housing co-ordinator also mentioned that some residents simply abandon their unit when they retire to the former homeland areas, making the transfer of title deeds to a new potential resident very difficult. One such municipality, which seemed to have been hit hard by high rate of non-occupancy of completed housing units is Gariiep local municipality. Housing officials in this municipality indicated that one of their “... biggest challenges is young adults who once find a good job elsewhere abandoned their subsidy houses to deteriorate and eventually collapse....in Burgersdorp we have about close to 50% of completed units not being occupied for many years”. Not only is it costly for the municipality to attempt to trace beneficiaries, but unoccupied houses are vulnerable to vandalism and unlawful occupation. In addition, housing projects have been halted mid-way as the municipality realises that some of the applicants have housing subsidies elsewhere, and new beneficiaries need to be identified.

4.6 Key factors in successful delivery

Despite the range of challenges outlined above, the majority of officials interviewed were able to provide examples of where their respective departments or wards were able to deliver housing and other services as planned. (Most examples of best practice referenced the delivery of housing, but a number focused on other service delivery and have been included where they have relevance for cross cutting challenges and opportunities).

4.6.1 Community buy-in

Whilst not an issue which stood out as a challenge to service delivery (see section above), community buy-in and commitment was arguably the most commonly mentioned theme when respondent reflected on successful projects. By “community”, respondents were referring to both intended beneficiaries and the wider community in which housing is delivered. By contrast, lack of community buy in can lead to theft of building materials, land invasions when people hear about housing projects, provision of services not in line with the needs of the community and so on.

What appears key to gaining community support and co-operation is:

- Strong and clear political leadership for whom the delivery of housing remains the primary commitment (rather than attempting to intercede in the procurement process for political or economic gain, or where delivery becomes an arena for playing out party and other local politics). Ward councillors that were able to assist the community in identifying a clear set of priorities and beneficiaries ensured that projects were not derailed once delivery began.
- Clear communication from the ward councillor to the community once delivery was in progress
- A community which understands the basics of the housing delivery process, aided in turn by strong and non-partisan political leadership and / or the provision of “consumer education” prior to the commencement of delivery.

Regarding an example of sanitation provision, a respondent commented that the active engagement of community members in the delivery of VIP sanitation (a “self-help” approach) was key to the success of the project. Community members were required to dig their own pits for the installation of the VIP latrine. Where more skilled forms of labour are required for service delivery however, the scope for the self-help approach is more limited.

4.6.2 Stakeholder commitment

Almost all examples cited of successful and timely housing provision involved the commitment and buy-in from the range of parties responsible for housing delivery – across government units and spheres, on the part of political leadership, as well as on the part of private sector contractors. Respondents spoke of officials who “made [delivery] a priority”.

Stakeholder commitment appears to be facilitated by a strong steering committee, clear up-front planning and budgeting, and strong project management (see section below). In addition, “working well” with appointed professional consultants and building contractors” was also seen as key. In turn, contractor committed appears to be aided by timeous payment by the contracting government unit.

4.6.3 Requisite managerial and technical capacity

Another common theme in explaining the success of both housing and non-housing service delivery was the appointment of competent and experienced building contractors. The tension between a commitment to encouraging the development of local emerging contractors and the lack of supply of sufficiently experienced local emerging contractors in small rural towns was evident in interviews with housing officials. In response to this, an official commented that a model he felt would work well was for the municipality to hire established contractors who then sub-contracted to emerging contractors, assisting in developing the capacity of emerging contractors on site, and ensuring that quality and timeous delivery of housing units. However, this model was not encouraged by procurement policies.

Tight contracts, clear up-front assessment of the budget needed for external consultants and contractors, and the linking of payment with regular monitoring of the quality of service provision by contractors also assisted in timeous and quality housing delivery.¹¹

A City Planner in Buffalo City felt that the success of service delivery by his unit was enabled by access to a number of competent and professional external service providers, in the context of a lack of in-house expertise. This option however, is not necessarily available to civil servants in smaller rural towns with a dearth of professional and technical skills.

¹¹ A housing project manager provided an example where an established contractor was hired who unscrupulously withheld payment to his sub-contractors, who then refused to continue delivering their services. The provincial department made regular payments to the contractor before realising that no houses had been delivered.

4.6.4 Planning and risk assessment

A number of worse case scenarios provided by respondents referred to initially unidentified financial costs and logistical constraints, which halted housing delivery. These ranged from contractors attempting to reach site only to find that poor road infrastructure prevented access to site, to contractors requiring additional budgets mid way through the project.

Whilst not the words of respondents themselves, there appears to be benefit in a clear risk assessment of housing projects prior to commencement of delivery. Where the risks have been identified and correctly planned and budgeted for ahead of the commencement of either basic infrastructure provision or top structure, housing delivery within reasonable time scales is more realistic. This appears to be particularly relevant to the provision of housing in largely unserviced rural areas in the Eastern Cape. Upfront risk assessment and related planning and budget allocation is an essential component of good project management, which as mentioned above, was seen as key to many of the success stories.

BOX 1: It worked by chance

The majority of respondents noted that they did not have many examples of projects, which had been successfully delivered to choose from. While a number of examples of best practice can be extracted from the analysis above, what is also clear, is that projects that are successful are the ones that are able to capitalise on a window of opportunity where political interference *happens* to be low, stakeholder priorities and agenda *happen* to coincide, committed and honest contractors *happen* to be hired, land *happens* to be easy to develop and so on. The focus needs to be on an *enabling environment* for housing delivery – making success stories an increasingly probable outcome.

4.6.5 Monitoring

Successful delivery, and particular delivery of quality housing units, must be based on regular monitoring of the delivery of contractors on site. A number of examples cited consistent and close monitoring of service-provider delivery as key to success. This is aided by co-operation and communication between stakeholders involved. Political leadership with an ear to the ground alerts the technical team to lack of delivery, technical monitoring of delivery alerts the relevant financial department responsible for processing payment and so on.

4.6.6 Lack of political interference: “Getting the job done”

A ward councillor expressed frustration at the lack of “visionary leadership” displayed by local councillors in his party and the “deployment of cadres” which negatively affected service delivery. A very successful employment generating project in his local municipality (which won the town an award) was attributed to good planning and a lack of political interference. A number of officials noted that successful delivery could be achieved if politics at local government were prepared “to put politics aside”.

BOX 2: A constellation of factors that lead to Success

All success stories were based on range of factors, which came together to ensure timeous delivery of services, which the community was generally pleased with.

An official in the provincial department noted that a successful housing project worked because there were requisite technical skill within the relevant Metro, Metro provided addition budget to get the project completed, their was overall good management, and logistical matters worked in their favour – with the area under development being easy to access.

A project manager in the Chris Hani municipality outlines the reasons for successful housing delivery as follows:

- Basic services and infrastructure services (roads, sanitation and so on) were in place before building of housing units commenced
- An experienced contractor was appointed, who was open and “helpful”

- The municipality worked closely with the contractor, conducting weekly site visits, and monthly meetings between the steering committee and contractors
- Officials worked closely with the executive and the mayor was very supportive
- As soon as problems were identified, urgent meetings were called to rectify bottlenecks
- Housing construction was a greenfields site, with no obstacles to the land use proposed on the site
- There was community support and agreement
- Contractors were paid on time

4.6.7 Good Governance and transparent supply-chain management

One of the factors that seemed to be extremely detrimental to the success of contracts was that of corruption. Corruption, in the form of awarding tenders to contractors who were not able to deliver decent standard units, was related as a key factor in two worse case scenarios of housing delivery. This involved lack of compliance with procurement regulations, followed by lack of monitoring of delivery and linking payment to successful delivery. There is no question that proper supply-chain management protocols and consistent monitoring are necessary in order to achieve consistent and good quality housing and human settlements.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study tried to analyse a range of factors, which have attempted to verify the number of informal settlements and dwellers across the province and the quality of the services and housing that they have received. The qualitative report has tried to analyse the perceptions of key respondents in terms of the challenges and obstacles that are facing housing delivery in the province as well as the factors that are contributing to the success of various projects. The study has turned up some interesting results, which are briefly summarised below:

5.1 Housing Delivery and Housing Demand in the Eastern Cape

One of the most important findings of the research was the mismatch between population growth and housing supply in the province. Table 23¹² below depicts the growth in the population of the province since 2003 (taken as a figure of 1.13% from UNISA's 2007 population growth report) against the number of houses completed in the province over the same period. It is clear and the following section of 4.3 will make it even more so, that the increase in the sheer numbers of people in the province are far out-stripping the ability of the province to deliver housing within the area. The figure does have to be slightly modified as household size is estimated at 3.04 people per household thus it is not a simple ratio of an increase of an increase in one person, corresponding to the need for one house. Equally so, the loss of people from the population through death and migration also does not necessarily mean the decrease in demand as households may remain after the death or movement of one of its members. As such Table 8, which shows the number of households in each municipality living in informal conditions, is a far more accurate representation of demand within the province than the use of large-scale demographics and population growth.

Table 23: Population growth versus housing delivery¹³ in the Eastern Cape

	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009
Houses Built	27 714	26 684	24 757	14 458	7 209	18 424
Population	6583055.75	6657444.28	6732673.40	6808752.61	6885691.52	6963499.83

5.2 Location and Housing Policy

The figure indicates the various kinds of responses to the question of where people would want to live if they chose not to stay in their current location. The data has also been further divided according to the settlements that were surveyed and it should be remembered when looking at the data that even when the percentages look quite large the actual number of people in this sample is in reality only a small percentage of those interviewed. The information is particularly useful as it allows the ECDoS to be able to pin-point precisely what types of policy interventions would be appropriate in what areas, i.e. over 30% of respondents in Duncan Village C Section were prepared to move to anywhere that had a decent house, whereas in Port St.Johns and Katilumla the vast majority of people said that they had a specific place in mind that they would like to move to. This suggests that further disaggregation and nuance needs to be applied to the housing demand in each of the areas, so that the appropriate housing is built in the areas that the beneficiaries need. Although Mdantsane, Orange Grove and Nomphumelelo could clearly have housing built within the local and that would satisfy a great many potential beneficiaries.

¹² An attempt was made to graph the population growth against the number of houses completed but effectively the graph was not able to depict the necessary discrepancy due to the large variance in numbers.

¹³ Questions have been raised around these figures and it should be noted that the figures are an aggregation of delivery and do not differentiate between units that are part of the rectification programme, new units and units that have not yet been transferred. The reason for the aggregation was simply due to the fact that this was the only information available.

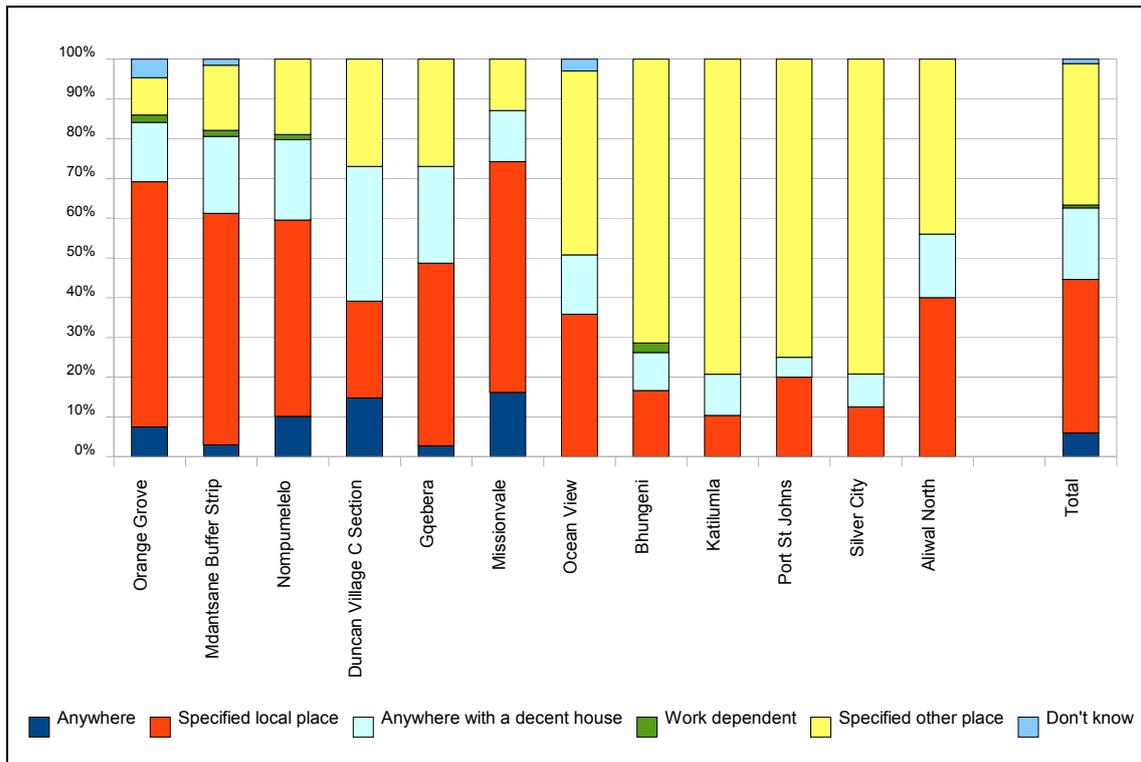


Figure 42: Location and Housing Policy

5.3 A Recommended Checklist for Best Practise

- i. Communities need to be brought into all projects from the beginning in order to ensure buy-in and support.
- ii. There is a need for political buy-in from ward councillors, mayors as well as government officials.
- iii. There is a need to recognise a lead department or unit for each project and then let them get on with the job with full commitment, other departments and units should not be allowed to interfere.
- iv. Land-use and zoning issues must be dealt with upfront so that there are no nasty surprises later on. This also means that the relevant authorities must actually go to the site rather than relying on maps and aerial photos.
- v. There needs to be strengthened monitoring and evaluation abilities and greater hands on management of projects. Site visits and constant interaction between all parties and the stakeholders are imperative.
- vi. Basic services and infrastructure services (roads, sanitation and so on) were in place before building of housing units commenced and can be used as an interim measure to improve households quality of life.
- vii. There is a need to appoint an experienced contractor, who can take the lead on a project and then train/mentor an emerging contractor who has also tendered for the project.
- viii. Problems and bottlenecks must be identified quickly and dealt with immediately by the designated authority. If they are not able then they must communicate the issue with the Province.
- ix. Contractors must be paid on time by the province.
- x. Money must be held back (which must be written into the agreement with the service provider) until such time as the beneficiaries are satisfied with their units and any issues have been rectified.

5.4 Factors affecting future Demand and the Backlog

	Conclusion	Implication	Recommendation
i.	The number of informal and backyard shacks in the Eastern Cape stands at approximately 224 319 , which means there are some 680 000 individuals who need to be housed.	This means that the Eastern Cape needs to deliver 56 000 units a year just to match current housing demands, does not even consider future demands.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The National Department of Housing needs to provide greater support if it expects its 2014 informal settlement eradication goal to be met. - There needs to be a reconsideration of some of the standards of existing policy i.e. EIAs and their necessity, land use management, infrastructure and building standards, which may not be appropriate and may not be helpful in the human settlement delivery process.
ii.	Findings indicate that people have been on housing (local and provincial) waiting lists for an average of 4 years.	The current backlog should not only be considered in terms of numbers but also in terms of time as many people have now been waiting for more than half a decade.	The current delivery housing process is simply too slow and the provincial government does seem to be responsible for many of the delays that the other spheres are dealing with and an internal assessment of processes and procedures is no doubt necessary in order to put the provincial "house in order".
iii.	It was found that over a third 35.6% of people in the informal settlements that were surveyed were below the age of 18.	This means that this group has yet to have children or strike out into their own households, which will effectively create a greater demand for housing than currently exists.	There is a need to try and plan for the housing needs of what is effectively a third more of people who will probably join the housing demand within the next five to ten years.
iv.	The average size of the households in the surveyed settlements is 3.04 and 13% of people indicated that they had left home/moved to another place in order to get their own place or gain independence.	Means that one of the team's original assumptions about the increased number of households rather than people has played an important role in increasing the demand and backlog in housing in the province.	May need to look at projections and predictions around further household fragmentation or the precise rate of household fragmentation in order to start to plan for these households.
v.	A range of between 8%-20% of all adults over 20 were illiterate in any language and almost 40% of those surveyed only had a primary school or less education.	Given the low levels of education the ability of many of the households to improve their lot and increase their education is very low. As a result the likelihood of these households to be able to get sufficiently high enough paying jobs to be able house themselves is extremely slim.	Effectively the demand for housing will be huge within the province and alternative options such as transitional and communal housing as well as traditional RDP units need to be investigated and delivery stepped up in order to try and meet the demand.
vi.	Over half (54.3%) of the respondents who are considered to be	Over half cannot pay and seems that far more women would be unable to access	May need to focus more on women as a priority in order to ensure that they access

	potentially economically active were unemployed at the time of the survey: there was a gender distinction such that 55,6% of males aged 21 to 59 years were employed but only 36,6% of females in the same age category.	other housing options than those supplied by the state.	formal/safe housing.
vii.	It would appear that of those surveyed an estimated 13% earn more than R2000 a month.	This means (if projected) some 87% of informal dwellers will not be able to access any other housing options aside from those provided by the state.	There is thus currently a need for housing for 150 000 households in the province.
viii.	Over 20% of people said that they were keen on formal rental. It would seem that of those households with income of more than R2000 a month are more likely to want to rent than those with lower incomes.	There is thus clearly a market for rental in the province and units seem to be in demand for between R77.52 in Missionvale to R154.38 in Duncan Village C-Section. This may mean that there is a market of people who would very much like to rental accommodation but who cannot find such accommodation in their price-range.	Communal and shared rental accommodation options need to be more seriously explored within the province and specifically in Mdantsane Buffer Strip, Orange Grove and Katilumla. The amounts are also well within range of current transitional and communal rental housing options in the rest of the country.
ix.	According to data supplied by the ECDoHS CRUs are now available in a number of areas in the province.	It would seem that the CRU programme is taking seriously its responsibility to supply low-income rental accommodation; the issue is that the CRU is a reactive programme, which restructures hostels and farms for low income rentals.	As above more steps need to be taken to be proactive in the rental market and the new provisions of the Housing Code make that possible.
x.	People who applied more than 8 years ago are far more likely than others to be interested in renting.	The implication seems to be that they have given up on actually ever being able to access a house and now would happily settle for any kind of safe housing with secure tenure.	Given that there is a group who would happily take on rental accommodation, it would seem that the ECDoHS needs to seriously reconsider its social housing options and put greater emphasis on alternative housing options.
xi.	Just less than a third of people who have been living in a settlement for less than a year are interested in rental. Ocean View construction etc	This follows the normal pattern of in-migrants who would prefer to be able to rent when they first arrive in a place as they are uncertain as to how their prospects are going to pan out.	ECDoHS needs to investigate the options of short-stay rental accommodation, which can act as a form of reception housing until migrants are on their feet and to ensure that they don't have to stay in informal settlements.
xii.	Officials say that the targets that have been set are appropriate and achievable so long as there is no political or	There is a sense that politicians and politics are obstructing delivery and creating bias and	Systems need to be put in place that are able to decrease political influence and pressure in order to ensure that officials' do not have too much of their

other interference to be dealt with.		time wasted and to ensure that allocation processes and housing projects take place in an unbiased manner.
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5.5 Factors affecting Location of Housing projects

	Conclusion	Implication	Recommendation
i.	Amongst those with jobs, the median distance to the workplace was only two kilometres and many people (an estimated half) were thus able to walk to work saving time and money.	The choice of where to locate oneself clearly has some relationship to access and proximity to labour.	When deciding on the location of greenfields developments, it is worth looking at existing transport and movement patterns within the province to guide the location of developments. The location of existing informal settlements can also be used as a key indicator of where settlements should be developed or upgraded.
ii.	In Mdantsane (51.4%), Duncan Village Section C (61%) and in Gqebera (56.3%) have been living in these settlements for 10 years or more.	It would seem that residents in these settlements have slightly higher incomes than people in other settlements but age, distance to work, and employment levels do not seem to play any role in the stability of the community.	It would seem that in areas where communities have higher earnings they are more willing and more able to stay and to establish dense social networks. These need to be considered when thinking about where to locate housing in the province.
iii.	It is important to note that of the people who had moved, 60% had moved within the same area or district.	This internal migration within the province demonstrates that people are not moving very far in order to satisfy their needs, but it still indicates that they do need to move.	Since almost 53% of respondents said that it was due to the need to access job opportunities then the ECDoHS needs to start to provide housing within areas that have higher rates of employment and potential job opportunities.
iv.	59,6% of households indicated that members of their household or extended family live away from the household. Households in Bhungeni (86,0%) and Katilumla (81,6%) were most likely and those in Gqebera (44,9%) and Duncan Village Section C (39,7%) were least likely to have absentee migrants.	Since most people indicated that they moved to access work opportunities, it would seem likely that the fragmentation of households and migration can be directly correlated with settlements where people feel that they cannot find employment.	Settlements need to be disaggregated and understood in terms of those with stable populations and are receiving remittances and those which are growing concerns and are internally sustainable.
v.	On average 70% of people indicated that they wanted to stay in their current settlement permanently.	This statistic is extremely important and should be taken seriously, especially in cases like Aliwal North where the figure was closer to 90% and in Gqebera,	Policy needs to examine just where and how long people are staying in their settlements, this means that tenure needs to be responsive allowing for long terms leases and rentals as well

		Duncan Village Section C and Mdantsane Buffer Strip where more than half the population had been living in these areas for more than a decade and some for more than two decades.	as ownership and for building practices that ensure sustainable construction of units, which can be easily maintained and added to over time.
vi.	Of the quarter of respondents who said that they would settle elsewhere almost 40% said that it would be in the same area.	The desire to stay within the same area demonstrates once again that migration for many people is permanent and that once a large move has been made only smaller moves and migrations follow.	As above
vii.	Interestingly 17,6% of those who said that they would not stay in their current settlements permanently mentioned that they would settle permanently "anywhere with a decent house".	The implication is that there is quite a large minority who are flexible and would be happy with just receiving a unit.	The advantage of knowledge of such a group of people is that they seem to be open to relocation and re-housing. Although it must be cautioned that people should be able to state this as a preference when applying for housing, rather than the officials assuming that this should be the case.
viii.	The importance of geography, location and proximity came out strongly for those surveyed and 20,6% said that that the best thing about the settlement was that it was "close to town" and 16,5% said that it was "close to jobs or work opportunities".	This means that for 37% of the population location and geography are important and it cannot be coincidence that more than 60% of respondents were located within 2 kilometres of a clinic, a spaza shop and a secondary school.	Policy and projects need to consistently respond to issues of proximity and location, if the settlements are to be sustainable and dignified.

5.6 Factors effecting Quality of life

	Conclusion	Implication	Recommendation
i.	Although interestingly the "worst things" that were identified by respondents were not lack of housing, but lack of services (47,9%) and unhappiness with high rates of crime and violence (35.5%).	Given the poor quality of housing in these settlements it is surprising that the housing wasn't considered to be the worst thing by the majority. It would thus seem that services are at the forefront of people's minds and need a more immediate response.	The implication is that informal dwellers may have their lives substantially improved by the provision of services, which Chapter 13 of the Housing Code provides for and then subsequently the construction of a top structure, which seems to be of slightly less concern. Although it should be noted that MIG is not considered sufficient to achieve infrastructure within the province and alternative funding strategies need to be discussed with national and provincial treasury as well as the DBSA and World Bank.
ii.	Over 70% of people stated that their	The high degree of social coherence signalled by these	There needs to be a reconsideration of the housing

neighbours were friendly or very friendly, and half stated that in times of need they can rely on their neighbours for assistance (generally money).	indicators demonstrates how careful human settlement and housing programmes need to be when considering relocation and de-densification programmes. As breaking down these social networks would have severe impacts on poor households living in these areas.	allocation process so that entire neighbourhoods, settlements or areas are upgraded <i>in situ</i> (where possible) or that people from the same settlement are relocated or housed in the same developments.
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5.7 Communication and Community Liaison

	Conclusion	Implication	Recommendation
i.	Less than half of those interviewed had applied for a housing subsidy and people in the slightly higher income brackets of earning R3000 or more a month were more likely to have applied for housing than their poorer counterparts.	The majority (93%) of people who did not apply cited the argument that they did not know how to apply. Clearly a higher income possibly indicating better education makes information on housing more accessible.	The local and provincial departments of human settlements need to improve their housing education and assistance programmes. Communication about the right to housing and how to access that right is not being adequately communicated to SA citizens.
ii.	More than three-quarters (79%) of the applicants said that they had received assistance in the application process.	This means that the application process is complex and opaque and potential beneficiaries required assistance in order to navigate the application process.	More housing officers at the local level need to be trained and circulated throughout the province to ensure that assistance is available for beneficiaries and some consideration needs to be taken about simplifying the housing the process in order to make it more accessible for those who need it.
iii.	The majority of applicants (almost 80%) indicated that they have not received any feedback since applying for a housing subsidy and only just over 20% could state categorically that they were on the housing waiting list and a further 86,4% said that they did not think that there had been any housing progress in their area.	The implication is that people are simply left hanging, with no idea of where they are on the waiting list and thus unable to make plans regarding their futures for fear of moving and losing their opportunities but by staying may forego others. It also means that the ECDoS and its local departments are not communicating sufficiently with their communities about the progress of the housing programme.	There is a definite need for improved communication strategies between beneficiaries and the state. Households must be kept informed as to the status of their application and when they can expect to receive a unit.
iv.	All spheres of government responsible for housing delivery in the province are	There is a poor external perception of the various departments and their internal dynamics.	Better communication is needed regarding what the provincial department does and how it does it. Currently there is a lack of awareness of what the

	more functional than would have been assumed and the organisational design of most units and departments is benefiting from engagement between line managers, senior officials and the corporate services departments.		province is doing and what it has achieved. It is recommended that a marketing and communication process is undertaken to change negative perceptions about the ECDoHS.
v.	There are discrepancies in the time lines between what the local municipalities expect and what the province is able to deliver. In addition there are a large number of complaints regarding the province acting without consulting the local authorities or not providing the necessary training and information.	The relationship between the provincial department of human settlements and the local and district department is not good at present, which is making the working relationship difficult and is exacerbating inefficiencies and problems that each sphere currently faces.	There is no question that there needs to be better communication between the various spheres of government in order to resolve some of the resentment that district and local municipalities are feeling towards provincial and national government.

5.8 Employment and Human Resource Issues

	Conclusion	Implication	Recommendation
i.	There is some concern about political interference in the employment process, which is perceived to be affecting all levels of government.	There are a number of problems, which result from the political interference, these include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People without sufficient qualifications being put into positions that they are not competent to deal with. - Political decisions affecting bureaucratic processes. - Bias in administrative processes 	The hiring, firing and retention of staff must be beyond reproach in order to ensure that the "right" people for the job are hired and thus that the system is efficient. The integrity and independence of the bureaucracy also needs to be maintained in order to ensure fair and transparent practise. Thus a HR company specialising in these aspects needs to be consulted and brought in to put systems in place.
ii.	Retention in certain positions is good and although there is some throughput it is not perceived to be as bad as has been reported in other studies. There seems to be generally a great deal of satisfaction with performance management and	The retention of certain positions is good but certain professions are not attracted to government employment or do not stay long in state – employ.	The civil service needs to be seen as a long term career and as such officials need to be guided as to their potential career path and be supported in terms of their development towards their end goal. In addition students and learners need to be informed of what state-employment can offer and marketing and promotion strategies should be

	capacitation strategies.		considered.
iii	Internal capacity is limited and there are issues with being able to employ specialist services and certain kinds of professionals, although it should be noted that in many cases the units are making provisions for these problems and are outsourcing skills or are utilising the provincial technical teams.	There is insufficient skill within the various departments to be able to deliver housing at the pace and quality that is required.	There was a great deal of approval for the professional teams and many local officials felt that they made a significant difference. More provision should be made for these professional teams with the proviso that they ensure capacitation and skills transfer to the government officials.
iv	Bureaucracy is taking up a great deal of officials' time and ensuring that housing delivery is delayed.	Housing provision is being curtailed due to the requirements of what some officials called a "compliance-led" state rather than a developmental state.	There is the need to re-evaluate the required report writing and other forms of red tape that officials need to deal with as it is hampering delivery.

5.9 Further Research

The study was extremely interesting and fascinating for the researchers and there is no question that the study has yielded some interesting and useful findings, however a survey like this always conjures up a range of further questions and issues that bear further investigation, these include:

- i. Mining the existing dataset and examining further and more complex multi-variant analyses would be helpful in understanding some of the complexities of migration, the profiles of the informal dwellers and the interactions between quality of life and housing demand.
- ii. Looking in further detail at the rate of fragmentation of households within the province in order to understand how the increased number of households may affect the demand for housing in the province.
- iii. There is certainly more work to be done in order to understand the commuter patterns within the province in order to get a sense of how and where people are moving to and working on a daily, weekly, monthly and annual basis. This will also provide an indication of the type and tenure of housing that would be needed in each area.
- iv. The use of IDPs and other planning tools is quite controversial and bears further scrutiny.
- v. SDFs and their use is a further area of planning that bears scrutiny and unpacking.
- vi. Further research is required into methods that would ensure better attraction and retention strategies for certain professionals in all spheres of government.
- vii. There is a serious issue around the ability of local authorities to administer and manage their waiting lists and demand databases. It would be useful to conduct specific case studies on municipalities in order to identify what the problems are and how they can be addressed.

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Appendix I

Survey of Eastern Cape Informal Housing 2009



Settlement name: _____

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Questionnaire number:

Good (morning/afternoon/evening), my name is _____ from the HSRC. We are conducting a survey of people living in informal houses in the Eastern Cape. We would like to hear about your life in this area, your community and the quality of the services you receive. To obtain reliable, scientific information we request that you answer our questions as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. Your opinion is important in this research. This area you yourself have been selected randomly for the survey. The information you give to us will be kept confidential. Your household will not be identified in the report that will be written.

PARTICULARS OF VISITS

	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	TIME STARTED	TIME COMPLETED	RESPONSE
First visit			2009			
Second visit			2009			
Third visit			2009			

Name of Interviewer

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Code

	Name	Comments	Date
Checked by			
Back-checking/ QC			

ADDRESS OF RESPONDENT:	
CELL OR TELEPHONE NUMBER:	

[FIELDWORKER: Select the *Head or the Acting head of the household*, (this is the person who makes most decisions on household expenditures)]

Supervisor signature _____ Date _____

7 = Diploma or degree	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
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	1..... HEAD	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6.....	7.....	8.....	9.....	10.....
1.9 Is the person currently working for cash or in-kind income?										
Yes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
No	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1.10 Where is this person working? (specify employer & address)										
1.11 How far is the place of work from home (km)?										
1.12 How does this person get to the place of work? 1 walk 2 taxi 3 bus 4 train 5 private car/vehicle 6 bicycle 7 other										
1.13 How long does it take to get to the place of work (minutes)?										
1.14 If not currently working, why not? (one response)										
01 = Has found a job, but starting at a definite date in the future	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01
02 = Scholar or student and prefers not to work	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02
03 = Housewife/homemaker and prefers not to work	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03
04 = Retired and prefers not to seek formal work	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04
05 = Sick, disabled or unable to work	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05
06 = Too young or too old to work	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06
07 = Seasonal worker, e.g. fruit picker, wool-shearer	07	07	07	07	07	07	07	07	07	07
08 = Lack of skills or qualifications for available jobs	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08
09 = Cannot find any work	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09
10 = Cannot find suitable work	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
11 = Contract worker, e.g. mine worker who is resting	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
12 = Retrenched	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
13 = Other reason	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
1.15 In the past 3 months, has person been sick with Tuberculosis (TB)	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01
1.16 HIV/AIDS	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02
1.17 Other Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs)	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03
1.18 Diarrhoea	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04
1.19 Bad coughs / cold / flu (throat, sinus infection)	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05
1.20 Asthma	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06
1.21 Diabetes mellitus	07	07	07	07	07	07	07	07	07	07
1.22 High blood pressure	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08
1.23 Stroke or heart disease	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09

1.24 Injury	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
1.25 Other, specify	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

SECTION 2: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

2.1 How long has the household been living in this area?

Less than 3 months	1	Between 1 and 5 years	3	Between 10 and 20 years	5
Between 3 months and 1 year	2	Between 5 and 10 years	4	More than 20 years	6

Where was your household living before coming to this settlement?		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.2	Where was your household before moving to this particular this particular settlement?	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.3	Why did you move to this particular settlement?	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.4	Where did your household originate?	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.5	Why did you move to this region or area?	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

2.6 What is the marital status of the household head?

Married	1	Living together	2	Widow/widower	3	Divorced/separated	4	Never	5
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2.7 What language do you speak mostly at home?

Sesotho	Setswana	Sepedi	siSwati	isiNdebele	isiXhosa	isiZulu	Xitsonga
Tshivenda	Afrikaans	English	Other, specify				

Migrant workers [People who are absent from home for more than a month per year to work for someone or for themselves or to seek work.]

2.8	Do you have any household or extended family members who live away from the household?	1 = Yes	2 = No (→ 2.14)
2.9	If yes, where? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY	A	Somewhere else in this town/city – Specify
		B	In another close town/city – Specify
		C	In another area of Eastern Cape – Specify
		D	In another province – Specify
		E	In a neighbouring country – Specify
		F	In a distant country – Specify
2.10	How many household/family members are working away from home?		
2.11	Do they send back money to the households?	1 = Yes	2 = No (→ 2.14)
2.12	If YES, how often do they send money?	1	Once a year
		2	Every few months
		3	Monthly
2.13	How much did this household receive from remittances in the last year?	1	< R500
		2	R500 to R1.000
		3	R1.000 to R3.000
		4	More than R3.000
2.14	Do you support any household or extended family members who live somewhere else?	1 = Yes	2 = No (→ 2.19)
2.15	If yes, where?	A	Somewhere else in this town/city – Specify
		B	In another close town/city – Specify

		C	In another area of Eastern Cape – Specify
		D	In another province – Specify
		E	In a neighbouring country – Specify
		F	In a distant country – Specify
2.16	How many household/family members?		
2.17	How often do you send them money or goods?	1	Once a year
		2	Every few months
		3	Monthly
2.18	What is the value of the money or goods that you sent them during the last 12 months?	1	< R500
		2	R500 to R1,000
		3	R1,000 to R3,000
		4	More than R3,000

Yes	1	No	2	Don't know	3
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2.19 Do you intend to remain in this area permanently?

2.20f not, where do you intend or where would you like to move permanently?

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Does this household, or a household member, have any of the following financial assets?

	Financial asset	Yes	No	Don't know
2.21	Money in a savings account at a bank/ post office	1	2	3
2.22	Burial insurance	1	2	3
2.23	Other savings, specify	1	2	3

SECTION 3: COMMUNITY DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

3.1 When did this community occupy this piece of land? (month & year) _____

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3.2 From where did this community move originally? _____

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3.3 What do you think is the best thing about this community?

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3.4 What do you think is the worst thing about this community?

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3.5 How safe do you feel in your community?

Very safe	1	Safe	2	Unsafe	3	Very unsafe	4	Don't know	5
-----------	---	------	---	--------	---	-------------	---	------------	---

3.6 If your household has to go hungry, how does your household cope with this?

	1. Asks neighbours/ family relatives for help	2. Finds other income sources	3. Borrows money for food	4. Sells household assets	5. Depends on charity/ welfare (excl Social Grants)	6. Works for payment in kind	7. Takes children out of school
Yes	1	1	1			1	1
No	2	2	2			2	2

Neighbours	Relatives/ family in area	Relatives/ family elsewhere	Church	Other (Specify).....
1	2	3	4	5

3.7 On whom do your household members rely mostly in difficult times? (circle one only)

3.8 How do they mainly provide help? (circle one only)

Food	Money	Counselling	Childcare	Other (Specify).....
1	2	3	4	5

3.9 How friendly or supportive are the people in your neighbourhood?

Very friendly	Friendly	Neither friendly nor unfriendly	Unfriendly	Very unfriendly
1	2	3	4	5

3.10 Who do you consider to be the leaders of this community? (specify names & positions)

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Are you or any members of your household active members of...?

Type of institution	Not a member	Member	Very Active Member
3.11 Church or religious organisation	1	2	3
3.12 Political party / grouping	1	2	3
3.13 Trade union	1	2	3
3.14 Women's organisation	1	2	3
3.15 Community organisation	1	2	3
3.16 Sports association / club	1	2	3
3.17 Youth group	1	2	3

3.18 If you belong to a religious organisation, please specify which one

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3.19 Apart from weddings, funerals & baptisms, how often do you or members of your household attend religious services or meetings?

Once a week or	Once in two weeks	Once a month	At least twice a year	At least once a year
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more 1	2	3	4	5
Less than once a year 6	Never / almost never 7	Refused / unwilling to answer 8		Not applicable 9

3.20 Who is your local councillor? (name)

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
3.21	The local councillor is very involved and helpful in our ward	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.22	The local political constituency office is very effective	1	2	3	4	5	6

SECTION 4: DWELLING TYPE AND QUALITY

4.1 In what type of dwelling do you live?

Freestanding shack	1	Backyard shack	2	Other	3
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4.2 How many rooms does your house have?

What is the main material used for the roof and the walls of the main dwelling? [one code per column]

Type of dwelling	4.3 Roof	4.4 Walls
Bricks		01
Cement block/concrete	02	02
Corrugated iron/zinc	03	03
Wood	04	04
Plastic	05	05
Cardboard	06	06
Mixture of mud and cement		07
Wattle and daub	08	08
Tile	09	
Mud		10
Thatching	11	11
Asbestos	12	12

4.5 Is the dwelling?

Owned and fully paid off	1
Owned, but not yet fully paid off (e.g. government housing scheme with a mortgage)	2
Rented	3
Rent-free as part of employment contract of family member	4
Rent-free not as part of employment contract of family member	5

Squatting	6
Other, specify	7

4.6 If not owned, to whom do you pay rental? _____

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4.7 How did you obtain this house?

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4.8 What are the main problems with your house?

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4.9 How satisfied are you with your house?

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	6

SECTION 5: MUNICIPAL SERVICES

5.1 What is this household's main source of drinking water?

Piped tap water in dwelling	1	Borehole	5
Piped tap water on site or in yard	2	Rain-water tank	6
Public tap	3	Flowing water/Stream/River	7
Water-Carrier/Tanker	4	Dam/Pool/Stagnant water	8

5.2 Does the household pay for water?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't know	3
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5.3 Does the household receive any free electricity?

Yes, from government	1	Yes, from neighbours	2	No	3	Don't know	4
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5.4 How often is the electricity supply cut off?

Not applicable, no electricity	1
Never	2
Every week	3
Once a month	4
4 times a year or less often	5

5.5 What type of toilet facility is available for this household?

Toilet facility	In dwelling	On site	Off site
Flush toilet	11	21	31
Chemical toilet		22	32

Pit latrine with ventilation pipe		23	33
Pit latrine without ventilation pipe		24	34
Bucket toilet		25	35
None			36
Other			37

5.6 How satisfied are you with the municipal services that you receive?

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	6

SECTION 6: LOCATIONAL SUITABILITY

Are any of the following facilities within a 30-minute (2 km) walk of this dwelling?

Facility	Yes	No	Do not know
6.1 Primary school	1	2	3
6.2 Secondary school	1	2	3
6.3 Traditional healer	1	2	3
6.4 Clinic	1	2	3
6.5 Hospital	1	2	3
6.6 Shop where basic foodstuffs can be bought	1	2	3
6.7 Police station	1	2	3
6.8 Post Office	1	2	3
6.9 Home Affairs office	1	2	3
6.10 State grant collection point (e.g. pension)	1	2	3
6.11 Train station	1	2	3
6.12 Bus stop	1	2	3
6.13 Minibus taxi pick-up point	1	2	3
6.14 Street market to buy goods and food	1	2	3
6.15 Municipal office	1	2	3
6.16 Library	1	2	3
6.17 Internet access	1	2	3

Does this area have any of the following problems?

	Not at all	Not a serious problem	Serious problem	Very serious problem
6.18 Air pollution	1	2	3	4
6.19 Water pollution	1	2	3	4
6.20 Noise pollution	1	2	3	4
6.21 Uncleared rubbish dumps	1	2	3	4
6.22 Leaking water pipes	1	2	3	4
6.23 Flooding	1	2	3	4
6.24 Fires	1	2	3	4
6.25 Poor roads	1	2	3	4

SECTION 7: ACCESS TO FORMAL HOUSING

7.1 Has your household applied for a housing subsidy in this area?

Yes	1	No [go to 7.12]	2	Don't know [go to 7.12]	3
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7.2 When did you apply?

Month				Year			
-------	--	--	--	------	--	--	--

7.3 Did you receive assistance in the application process?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't know	3
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7.4 From whom did you receive assistance?

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7.5 Where do you want your new house to be located?

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7.6 Is your household willing to relocate temporarily during construction of your new house?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't know	3
-----	---	----	---	------------	---

7.7 Since applying what feedback have you received?

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7.8 Is your household on the official waiting list for housing?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't know	3
-----	---	----	---	------------	---

7.9 When your house is ready, for what purpose will you use it?

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7.10 How much can you afford to pay for water, electricity & sanitation at your new house? R

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7.11 In which other area has your household applied for a housing subsidy?

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 [go to 7.14]

7.12 Do you know how to apply?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

7.13 Why have you not applied?

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7.14 Is your household interested in renting a formal dwelling?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't know	3
-----	---	----	---	------------	---

7.15 How much could your household afford to pay for monthly rental? R

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7.16 Is there progress in the delivery of housing in this area?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't know	3
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SECTION 8: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

What would you say is the average income of your household per month? And your personal income?

		8.1 Household	8.2 Personal
	No income	01	01
A	R1 – R500	02	02
B	R501 –R750	03	03
C	R751 – R1 000	04	04
D	R1 001-R1 500	05	05
E	R1 501 – R2 000	06	06
F	R2 001 – R3 000	07	07
G	R3 001 – R5 000	08	08
H	R5 001 – R7 500	09	09
I	R7 501 – R10 000	10	10
J	R10 001 – R15 000	11	11
K	R15 001 – R20 000	12	12
L	R20 001 – R30 000	13	13
M	R30 000 +	14	14
	(Refuse to answer)	97	97
	(Uncertain/Don't know)	98	98

8.3 Would you say that you and your family are....*[Fieldworker: Read out options]*

Wealthy	Very comfortable	Reasonably comfortable	Just getting along	Poor	Very poor
1	2	3	4	5	6

In the last 30 DAYS did you spend any money on the following items for household consumption?

Expenditure item	Estimated expenditure in RAND during 30 days
8.4 Food	
8.5 Transport	
8.6 Fuel for cooking or heating (wood, paraffin, etc.)	
8.7 Water & Electricity	
8.8 Rent	
8.9 Loan repayments	
8.19 Cellphone	
8.11 Personal items	
8.12 Entertainment	
8.13 Other	

In the last SIX MONTHS did you spend any money on the following items for household consumption?

Expenditure item	Expenditure during	Expenditure item	Expenditure during
8.14 Medical expenses, health care		8.19 Other debt repayment (e.g. mashonisa)	
8.15 Clothing, shoes		8.20 Education, school fees, uniforms, etc.	
8.16 Equipment, tools, seeds, animals		8.21 Celebrations, social events	
8.17 Construction, house repair		8.21 Funerals	
8.18 Hiring labour			

SECTION 9: CONCLUSION

What do you think is the most important thing that government should do to help households in this area?

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9.1

9.2

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9.3 How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	6

End of the interview. Thank the respondent for his/her co-operation.

Appendix II:

Survey of Eastern Cape Informal Housing Qualitative Questionnaire: Housing Officials



SECTION A: Personal Information

1. Name	
2. Position	
3. Department/council/ ward committee	
4. Location	
5. Length of time in position	
6. Main responsibilities/ job description	
7. Mandate/function of department/council/ ward committee	

SECTION B: Department/Unit Information

8. What is the structure of your department/Council/ ward committee? (will take organogram with and ask individual's to go through it with me)	
9. What is the structure of your unit?	
10a. Are you fully staffed?	
10b. If not, how many vacancies are there?	
10c. How long have these positions been vacant?	
11. Do you know how long have most people been working here? Or in their positions?	-
12a. Do you outsource work?	-
12b. If so, to whom? And under what circumstances?	
12c. What type of work do	

you generally outsource?	
12d. How much of the Department's work is outsourced?	
12e. Is there budget assigned to outsourced work?	
12f. If not how is it paid for?	

SECTION C: Performance of Department/unit

13a. What are the targets/intentions of the department/council/ ward committee	-
13b. Who set the targets for your department/council?	
13c. Did/do you think that the targets were achievable?	
13d. Where does your funding come from?	-
13e. How much is it per year?	
13f. Do you think it is sufficient?	
14a. Has your dept/unit/council met its targets over the last year? If so, which ones?	
14b. What targets hasn't it met?	
14c. Why do think that is?	
15. Do you know:	
a. How many informal settlements there are in your areas?	
b. Where are they located?	
c. How many people are	

living in these settlements?	
d. How many households are in these settlements?	
e. How many people are living in backyard accommodation?	
f. How many households?	
g. Where are the backyarders mainly located?	
116a. Do you have targets set around informal settlement and backyard shack eradication?	
16b. If so, who has set them?	
16c. What are the targets?	
16d. How do you plan to achieve them? (policy, plan, programme?)	
16e. What has been achieved so far? (also confirm period)	
16f. Do you have a set of KPIs? What are they?	
17a. How often do you have performance reviews?	
17b. Who conducts the reviews?	
18a. How often have you gone on training during the course of your employment?	
18b. Have you found it helpful?	-

19a. Are you able to monitor your department's/council's/ward committee's performance?	-
19b. If yes, how? If no, why not?	

SECTION D: Obstacles/Challenges

20. What are the main problems facing your department/council/ward committee in terms of delivery? Please list them.	-
21.What do you think could be done to improve:	
a. your performance,	
b. your unit's performance	
c. your Department's/Council/ward committee's performance?	

SECTION E: Case study: Best case scenario

22. Can you out line a case where delivery/ the function of the department/council/ward committee went exactly or as close to, how it should have. (need to probe) If not, please go to Question 23.	
22a. Do you have many examples to choose from?	
22b.What was the programme/plan?	
22c. When was this?	
22d. What was supposed to happen?	
22d. Where was this?	

22e. What did happen?	
22f. What was achieved at the end?	
22g. Why do you think it worked so well?	
22h. What were the main contributing factors?	
22i. Who were the main departments/units/political actors involved in this project?	
22j. What could have been done to make the project even better?	
23a. Have you had experiences of parts of a projects going as they should? (need to probe)	
23b. What were they?	
23c. Why do you think they worked when the rest of the project did not?	

SECTION D: Case study: Worst case scenario

Please out line a case where delivery/the function of the department/council/ward committee did not go, as it should have?	
24a. Do you have many examples to choose from?	
24b. What was the programme/plan?	
24c. When was this?	

24d. What was supposed to happen?	
24e. Where was this?	
24f. What did happen?	
24g. What was achieved at the end?	
24h. Why do you think it did not go as well as you and your department had hoped?	
24i. What were the main contributing factors?	
24j. Who were the main departments/units/political actors involved in this project?	
24k. What could have been done to make the project work better?	

Thank you for your time!

Appendix III:

Survey of Eastern Cape Informal Housing Qualitative Questionnaire: HR Officials
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1. Name	
2. Position	
3. Department	
4. Location	
5. Length of time in position	
6. Length of time working for department	
7. Main responsibilities/ job description	
8. Mandate/function of department	
9. Targets/intentions of the department	

SECTION A: Personal Information

SECTION D: Department/Unit Information

10a. What is the structure of your entire department i.e. can you supply us with organograms	
10b. Are there any differences between the accepted organogram and what is actually in existence? If so what are they?	
11. What is the structure of your unit? (Compare organogram to reality)	
12a. Are you fully staffed?	
12b. How many vacancies are there across the department?	
12c. At what levels are the majority of your vacancies?	

13a. What skills are in short supply in your unit?	-
13b. What skills are in short supply across the department?	-
14. Do you have an overall HR policy for the Department? May we have a copy?	-
15. Do you have a housing HR strategy? May we have a copy of it?	
16a. Who defines the departmental structures?	
16b. How are positions decided?	
16c. How are job descriptions designed?	
17a. Do you have a training and capacitation policy? If so, may we have a copy?	-
17b. How has it been designed?	
17c. By whom?	
17d. In terms of housing is it influenced by your housing policy? (If so, how?)	
18a. Do you have a policy on outsourcing? May we have a copy?	
18b. How much of the department's work is outsourced?	
18c. How is that budgeted for?	

SECTION C: Obstacles and challenges

19a. What would you say are your main challenges? Please list them.	
19b. What would you say your main challenges are in terms of your housing department? Please list them	-

20a. Is it difficult to find the appropriate staff?	
20b. And for housing specifically?	
20c. Why do you say that?	
21a. Do you have retention strategies?	
21b. What are they?	-
22. How long do people stay in the department?	
23a. Do you have a performance management policy? If so may we have a copy of it?	-
23b. How does it operate?	
24. How would you rate current performance?	
25. What could be done to improve the situation?	-