



EXPLORING THE USE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN ACCESSING HOUSING: A
FOCUS ON THE BACK-YARD DWELLERS OF HANOVER PARK, CAPE TOWN

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By

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Declaration

I, Giselle Olivia Rustin, hereby declare that this master’s Thesis, entitled “Exploring the use of Social Networks in Accessing Housing: A focus on the Back Yard Dwellers of Hanover Park, Cape Town”, is my own work, and that I have received no other assistance than the stated sources and citations.

Giselle Olivia Rustin

October 2022

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Signed



Acknowledgement

This thesis is dedicated to the people of Hanover Park, The Backyard Dwellers. The disenfranchised, the marginalized and vulnerable. Thank you for trusting me with your story. To my loved ones eternally grateful for your guidance, belief in me and continual support.

Being confident of this, that He who began a good work in you will carry it to completion.



ABSTRACT

This study explored social capital and social networks within the affordable housing arena. Although Apartheid officially ended in 1994 with the first non-racial democratic elections, the current housing spatial planning is still along racially discriminatory lines with little change to the current housing typography experienced in South Africa. The housing market and development lends to discriminatory behaviour, by categorizing certain racial groups and steering these marginalised groups back to housing choices in social and economically deficient areas. This engineered selection process perpetuates racial and economic inequality. This study aims to explore why these groups of people, without any social capital or networks, struggle to access resources. This study also aims to show the correlation between ill-equipped housing and health outcomes.

In a bid to ensure a sustainable procurement approach to housing via social capital, three main aspects of social capital come into play, namely relational, structural and cognitive. The relational aspect relates to relationships that are developed in both nature and quality over time. This evidence is seen in exhibited behaviour such as trustworthiness and shared group norms, and these behavioural dynamics also act as a catalyst to stimulate further group collaboration. Individuals, furthermore, themselves become a knowledge source by the collective information they have gathered. Hence, Backyard Dwellers who are more knowledgeable about the housing dynamics in public housing development and townships, are those who have experienced the bureaucratic processes and red tape, related to the local municipality's housing by-laws and processes to access resources. These resources and processes are, for example, application to be on the housing waiting list, or enquiring about permission to build their own dwelling in the backyard of another dwelling, within a specific municipality or public housing development. As a result of this interaction with municipal officials these Backyard Dwellers acquire and accumulate valuable knowledge, and information regarding the rules, processes and by-laws related to erecting a backyard dwelling in another Council tenant's yard.

The structural aspect emphasizes the importance of networking. Because housing is a commercial commodity in demand, those who have access to information wield a certain amount of power and can negatively affect those whom they need to service. Role players in strategic positions with access to knowledge could limit the flow and sharing of accumulated knowledge and information. Hence, these gatekeepers of knowledge discourage the building of healthy information networks whereby a mix of stakeholders can be informed.

The cognitive aspect, deals with shared meanings collectively understood by the group. The use of government standards concerning housing, and the normative processes can be used to establish set group standards, especially amongst groups due to diverse motives of the individuals in the group. This approach is best suited for a steady and sustainable working operationalization of social capital. Through the lack of Social Capital and community networks the majority of poor working-class people will remain suspended between accessing decent housing and continually living in poverty as a result of unemployment and structural inequalities.

Key words: Back Yard Dwellers, Housing, Youth, Collective Action, Civic Engagement, Self-Efficacy, Collective Self-Efficacy, Social Change, Hanover Park, Cape Town.



Abbreviations and Acronyms

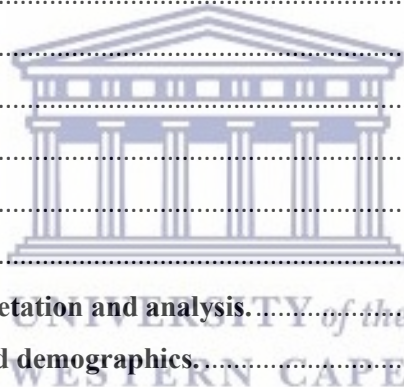
ANC	African National Congress
GHS	General Household Survey
NDP	National Development Plan
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development
QLFS	Quarterly Labour Force Survey
RDP	Reconstruction & Development Plan
SALDRU	South African Development Research Unit
UN	United Nations



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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and contextualization

The well-being of humans, economic progress and social stability is highly dependent on the expansion of the supply of housing in the low- and middle-income countries. Some of the obvious provisions of decent housing includes, but are not limited to, a place for personal development and studying, a physical structure affording privacy and dignity, protection against the elements, equity for families to invest in, as well as a place for social interaction and leisure activities. Housing can afford owners valuable economic options, provide access to beneficial public and private leisure facilities, as well as social infrastructure. The spatial layout, density and form arrangement of housing matters heavily for the functional mobility and efficiency of families, therefore affecting the social integration and economic growth (World Bank, 2006). Jobs and livelihoods that manifests as a result of the construction of houses, demand for household goods, building material and the demand for artisan's skills are all directly linked to housing provision (Tibajuka, 2013).

It is a challenge for most low- and middle-income cities in various countries to make sure that there is adequate provision of suitable housing in acceptable locations (UN-Habitat, 2015). Meeting the housing needs of low-income groups remains a problem, because land and property markets remain inefficient and slow to develop (Buckley et al., 2005). The limited provision of affordable housing is many times due to the supply side issues such as high construction costs, expensive purchase price of available land and the absence or limited financial institutions that offer cheap finance deals (Collier & Venables, 2017). Further challenges are inappropriate government planning and building standards imposed by Government regulations that stifles private investment in low-cost housing, and limits poorer families from acquiring and constructing a formal dwelling that adheres to these standards (UN-Habitat, 2015; World Bank, 2013).

The rapid increase in urban populations in most cities in developing countries presents a huge challenge for governments to keep up with the demand for decent housing for low- and middle-income families. As a result of the above factors, the response for affordable housing and shelter, especially among the low-income groups in societies has been radical. In many Third

World cities and regions there are rapid and ongoing construction, expansion, growth and mushrooming of informal dwellings. These dwellings are mostly made of make-shift materials (shacks) and are found in crowded squatter camps also known as informal settlements. These dwellings and settlements are usually on land occupied illegally, with no basic services or bulk infrastructure and exposed to hazardous environmental conditions (Landman & Napier, 2010; UN-Habitat, 2015). This type of response of low income and impoverished families constructing informal housing settlements in cities can have unwanted results for the well-being and safety of communities (Hunter & Posel, 2012; Statistics SA, 2010; Sverdluk, 2011; UN-Habitat, 2015).

South Africa's developmental challenges such as rapid urbanization, a growing population and a dire need for housing similarly mirrors that of many developing countries. Much of the recent informal housing growth seen in South Africa is mostly due to an increase in the form of backyard structures -shacks- that is placed within traditional townships, other than free-standing informal structures -shacks- in established squatter settlements (Crankshaw et al., 2000; Lemanski, 2009). These informal structures made of make-shift material could be built by the homeowner, or the occupier, with many similar structures built on the same property. The rental agreements between landlord and renter have its own rules and arrangements. Generally, the rental payable to the landlord, or owner of the property, usually includes the sharing of costs for services such as electricity, sanitation, water and refuse collection. The built integrity of the erected dwellings is usually not very stable, since it is built with wood and zinc/iron that are attached to wooden structures. These structures are not insulated and provide no protection against heat or cold, with the occupants exposed to all the elements of nature. Most of these erected dwellings are single rooms where the entire family must live and execute all their daily functions.

The democratic government of the African National Congress lacks data and reliable information of these dwellings in backyards. According to the South African General Household Survey (2020), 84% of South Africans live in formal dwellings, this an increase to the GHS of 80.1% recorded in 2017. This data confirms that the Western Cape and Gauteng still bear high figures of housing informality with over a 1/5 of dwelling structures still being informal within these provinces. Both Lemanski (2009) and Rubin and Gardner (2020) articulates that the current government overlooked this important issue which obviously has critical developmental challenges. Even though South Africa has a dire housing shortage and crisis for the low-income groups, the Government was critical of these dwellings. The

Government articulated this criticism in a 2009 National Housing Code documented in the Presidential Delivery Agreement for Sustainable Human Settlements, when it acknowledged the informal rental as a housing tenure but due to its illegality cannot be considered a value input to the Housing document or recognised on policy.

1.1 Rationale of the Study

Historically only small scale, localized studies were done on the issue and effects of Backyard Dwellers. Few formal studies exist about back-yard dwellers in the housing system, including the reason and dynamics for their increase, compared to the growth and numbers of free-standing shacks and informal structures. In order to formulate a proper policy response to the Backyard Dwellers issue, a solid research, analysis and reliable data is needed. Bradlow et al., (2011) and Fitchett (2014) asserts that there is considerable ambiguity regarding government policy toward all types of informal dwellings. This is possibly due to the interpretation referring to the “right to adequate housing” in the RSA constitution (2005) as a translation of formal home ownership. This particular notion has been pursued through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) – a South African government housing subsidy, where free houses are given to low-income households, in addition to relocating some informal dwellings, with the hope to prevent further land occupation (Huchzermeyer, 2009, 2011; Lemanski, 2011).

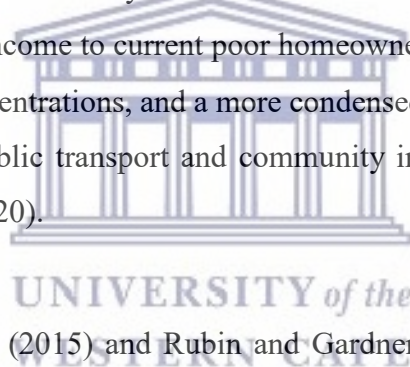


According to the South African National Treasury, the South African government built and funded about 2.8 million RDP houses. This translates into housing accommodation of one in 5 citizens of South Africa (National Treasury, 2013; The Presidency, 2014). This is a remarkable accomplishment contributing to the improvement of the material circumstance, social well-being and dignity of low-income families in South Africa. However, this delivery of RDP houses over the past two and half decades was not without its challenges, criticisms and problems like inflated costs, poor quality construction, and a falling rate of delivery and allegations of corruption. In 2014, the official housing backlog was 23 million homes with increasing dissent at community level over the slow delivery of affordable housing for low-income earners. (The Presidency, 2014; Turok, 2014). Bradlow et al., (2011) and Harrison and Davis (2001) similarly highlight major challenges impacting the RDP delivery such as the peripheral locations of RDP housing estates and developments, joblessness of recipients, and

the subsequent inability of people to upkeep and pay for associated maintenance services. This is in addition, to the fiscal viability of building millions more homes. The policy of government to provide free housing has also discouraged the private sector to make any investment into the low-income housing sector (Kerman et al., 2021). The crux of the matter is that the response to the housing challenge has been the physical provision of a product with insufficient thought given to the economic implications and deeper social issues. Given the challenges related to RDP housing, observers are articulating a more supportive stance for Backyard Dwellers since they offer a longer-term sustainable solution to the broader needs of poor households.

Furthermore, the backyards of existing dwellings have a number of advantages:

- They provide a more malleable place to rent
- Gives far better admission to required essential services
- Gives greater closeness to economic prospects than historic dormitory townships
- Provides better safety and security than informal settlements
- Is a regular source of income to current poor homeowners who are acting as landlords
- Higher residential concentrations, and a more condensed urban form of helping with a more cost-effective public transport and community infrastructure (Morange, 2002; Rubin and Gardner, 2020).



Some experts like Felix et al., (2015) and Rubin and Gardner (2020) asserts that backyard dwellings may grant South Africa a way of escape in dealing with the current housing crisis and is not just a short-term solution or stop-gap alternative. Some municipalities have extended limited municipal services to certain categories of Backyard Dwellers, since it stimulates local economic activity (via landlords getting paid through rental income). Backyard Dwellers also relieves many municipalities from providing additional low-cost housing to the residents in their locale. It is within the above context that the overall aim of this research focuses on social networks and social capital and how it is used to access housing in Hanover Park, Cape Town, especially for those amongst backyard dwellers.

1.2 Problem statement

Over the last few years' experts like Felix (2015) and Rubin and Gardner (2020) noted that within South Africa there has been a huge outcry for affordable housing amongst poor communities. This puts an enormous burden on local communities and the South African government. Affordable housing is a key service which the national and local governments in South Africa must deliver to the residents, especially those in the poor communities, under their administration. This research identifies social networks and mechanisms of social capital that enables families and individuals to access or are limited in accessing affordable housing residing in Hanover Park on the Cape Flats.

1.3 Research Objectives

The following research objectives were established based on the identified research problem:

- Establish the number of Backyard Dwellers living in Hanover Park
- Sketch the conditions within the case study area
- Determine how people gain access to back-yards to erect a structure
- Look at factors that limit families to access affordable housing

1.4 Research Hypothesis

The hypothesis of the research is that without a strong social network or social capital it is much more difficult to access someone's backyard to erect a structure to live in.

1.5 Case study area

Since 1948 A legislative structure and structural legal pattern, marked by racial discrimination and oppression called Apartheid, characterized South Africa. Apartheid was characterized by an authoritarian political culture based on white authoritarian rule, which ensured that South Africa was dominated politically, socially, and economically by the nation's minority white population. According to this system of social stratification, white citizens had the highest status, followed by Asian and Coloured, then black Africans. The economic legacy and social effects of apartheid continue to the present day.

Figure 1.1: Map of South Africa

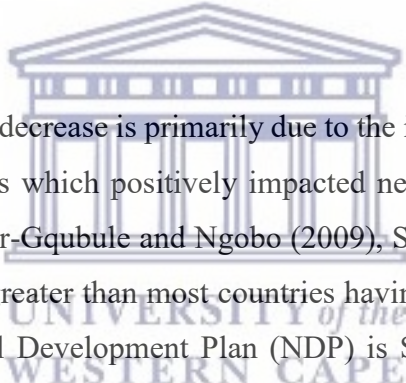


Source: http://www.southafrica.info/about/geography/provinces.htm#.VofR__197IU

This legal framework gave the white population more economic and societal benefits individually and collectively than the majority non-white population. Three things must be considered when reflecting on South African history. The first issue is that of unequal power and unfree labour patterns. The second issue is the massive land deprivation of Africans living in South Africa (Terre blanche & Durrheim, 1999). The current stagnation of the South African

economy together with unemployment and equal inequality have further exasperated conditions for many ordinary South Africans of all economic classes, but particularly low income and poor non-whites (Potgieter-Gqubule & Ngobo, 2009).

South Africa has a no specific details on an official poverty line, therefore making it difficult to obtain updated poverty and inequality data (Lucas, 2011). This is mainly due to the unavailability of up-to-date and relevant data. This issue is further complicated since researchers and economists researching the issues related to poverty and inequality use different criteria, points of departure and analytical tools when investigating the former. The most recent data indicate an increase in poverty and inequality gaps between the periods 1995-2000 (Lucas, 2021). The Quarterly Labour Force Survey (Quarter 3: 2022) indicated an increase of unemployment in South Africa from 26.7% recorded in 2016 to the current 32.9% unemployment statistics. The South African government disagree that poverty and inequality is increasing and indicate a considerable decrease in poverty and inequality levels.

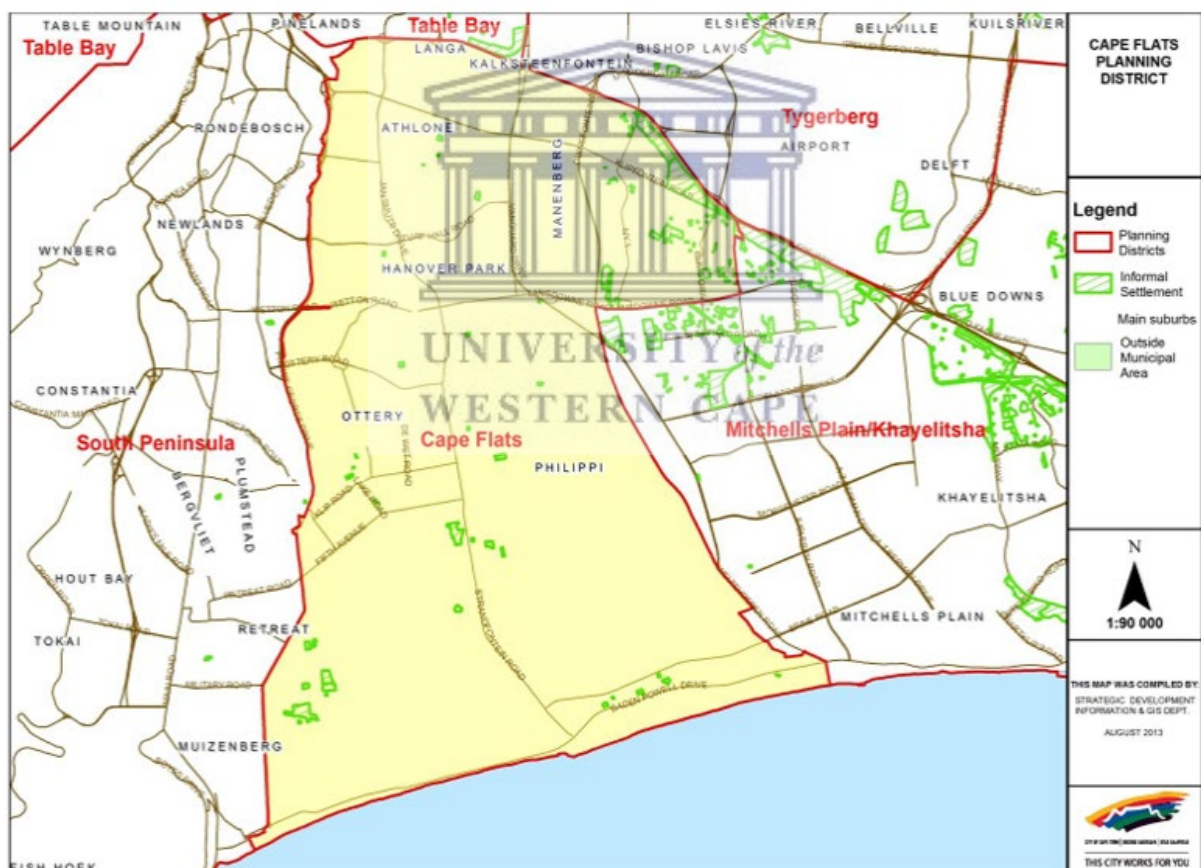


Government maintains that this decrease is primarily due to the introduction of social grants to millions of poor South Africans which positively impacted nearly 8 million ordinary South Africans. According to Potgieter-Gqubule and Ngobo (2009), South Africa's level of poverty and inequality is considerably greater than most countries having similar economic dynamics and development. The National Development Plan (NDP) is South Africa's policy plan for addressing poverty and inequality, and enable ordinary South Africans to live better lives by the Year 2030. The aim of the NDP has a strong focus to make the South African constitutional democracy a bit more tangible via strong economic growth and bettering the socio-economic conditions so that the welfare of the general population is positively affected. To this end the commitment by the South African government is to build about one million new homes from 2010 and with future commitments to continue this trend. However, the number of houses needed is much more given the huge demand.

1.6 Case study area – Cape Flats, Cape Town

The Cape Flats constitutes the geographical areas east of the Southern and Northern suburbs of Cape Town. Table Mountain and Devil's peak form the Western boundary of the Cape Flats area. Even though this is a very iconic and scenic view from the Cape Flats, this mountain still remains accessible to only a few people residing in Cape Town. The western side of Table Mountain bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, is seldom accessed by the people living on the Cape Flats. Visitors to Cape Town driving along the N2 highway when entering the Cape metropolitan area experience the beauty of what Cape Town has to offer and this is seldom experienced by the inhabitants residing on the Cape Flats

Figure 1.2: Map of Cape Flats



Source: City of Cape Town (2013)

Most of the better areas in Cape Town that are close to the Central Business District (CBD) and identified by the Apartheid white City planners, were declared for white South Africans, as per the Group Areas Act legislation. All non-white races were removed from those areas identified and earmarked by the white controlled City Council officials to the periphery of the Central Business District, which is today better known as the Cape Flats, in Cape Town. In most cases, this was also near industrial areas with light and medium industry, which meant a convenient located supply of skilled and semi-skilled workforce.

With the enactment of the Group Areas Act and removal of tens of thousands of non-whites from suburbs now declared “whites only”, the Apartheid controlled City of Cape Town embarked on an extensive housing building development in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s. This was to house primarily the lower and lower-middle income non- white racial groups, who were primarily from the Coloured community. Many of the new suburbs where the uprooted coloured people were relocated, were areas far from employment opportunities. Hence, many of these dislocated apartheid victims, would spent nearly 40% of their income on transport to get to the city centre and other commercial and industrial centres where the work opportunities are found (City of Cape Town, 2009).

This particular area is made up in population predominantly by 59% Coloured and 34% Black African (City of Cape Town, 2011). The Cape Flats is renowned for being a poverty stricken area, common social issues being high unemployment and high degree of gang related and criminal activity. It is estimated that approximately one million people live on the Cape Flats which is about 18% of the city of Cape Town's entire population (Lucas, 2021). During Apartheid - a system of institutionalised racial segregation existed in South Africa and South West Africa from 1948 until the early 1990s. The Group Areas Act was a key piece of legislation to maintain this racist ideology of the then Apartheid government. Apartheid’s main goal was the segregation of race groups, as a result limiting mixed and interconnected neighbourhoods and ensuring strictly segregated communities. Under Apartheid, implemented by the National Party, all races were forced to live in racially segregated neighbourhoods and as a result, many neighbourhoods in Cape Town, and across South Africa developed along racial lines (South African Institute for Race Relations, 1950).

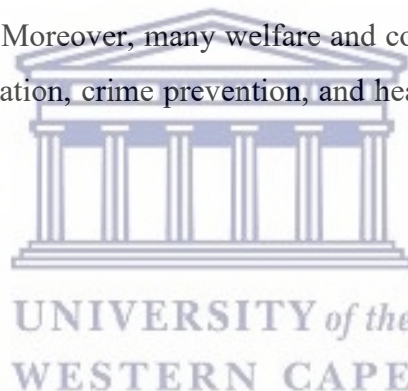
The exposure to poor socio-economic conditions on the Cape Flats makes tuberculosis and other contagious diseases easily transmissible in the region (Tadokera, 2020). During the apartheid era, the white apartheid City officials saw it fit to remove Coloured communities from areas like Claremont, the City Bowl, District 6, the Atlantic seaboard and Constantia. These areas were deemed as white areas and no person of colour was allowed to own property there. Black Africans were prevented from moving freely in white areas without an identity document that was called a “dompass”. This document was like an identity document, which allowed black Africans to move freely in this exclusive new white group areas.

The development of Bantustans, which was a partially self-governing area set aside during the period of apartheid, for a particular indigenous African people. This, the so called homeland - was another key Apartheid policy. Hence black Africans, which were mostly from the Xhosa ethnic tribe in the Eastern Cape Province, were ‘persona non grata’, in Western Cape region. Africans required a “dompass” to be in the province and were jailed and harassed if not in possession of it. However, during apartheid, mostly Xhosa speakers “illegally” migrated to Cape city from the Eastern Province in search of work. This Eastern Province was economically underdeveloped, with limited job opportunities. Since the Western Cape Province was declared a “Coloured Labour Preferential”, area Black Africans were now illegals in the region and had no access to housing. These people had to live illegally in informal settlements or squatter camps, close to other established African townships such as Gugulethu and Nyanga. According to Landman and Napier (2010), this led to a massive increase in illegal structures and dwellings in these areas. These structures were in most cases constructed of tin, wood, cardboard and iron sheets and were to enable them to withstand the cold Cape winters. The current figures for the housing shortage in Cape Town are about 600,000 houses that would be needed vs the 50,000 that was needed 25 years ago, this is in comparison to the housing shortfall of 2.6 million houses needed nationally, to meet this growing need (GHS, 2020).

Since the abolition of apartheid all the inhabitants, irrespective of race, of Cape Town could choose where to live, but were still hamstrung and heavily affected by the housing history economics, spatial planning and other socio-economic factors plaguing the country. According to a South African Development Research Unit (SALDRU) (2008) report, most black people in the Western Cape live in a suburb called Khayelitsha and speak Xhosa. A large percent of

coloured people residing in Cape Town, live in an Apartheid-planned town called Mitchell's Plain and speak mostly Afrikaans and English. With apartheid gone post-1994, many non-whites have moved from the historically black townships to the Coloured and white areas (Nieftagodien & Van Der Berg, 2007). While the Groups Areas Act was abolished, and South Africans of all race group, living wherever they can afford, the reality is that in most non-white township's unemployment, poverty and spatial and social degradation are still a stark reality. The current ANC government including the Apartheid racist regime, has not done enough to deal with the structural and systemic challenges that the people on the Cape Flats face (Pinnock, 1998). This is evident in the amount of homeless people, crimes committed, drug dealing and abuse, gangsterism, the number of young people unemployed, and the immense housing shortage experienced on the Cape Flats.

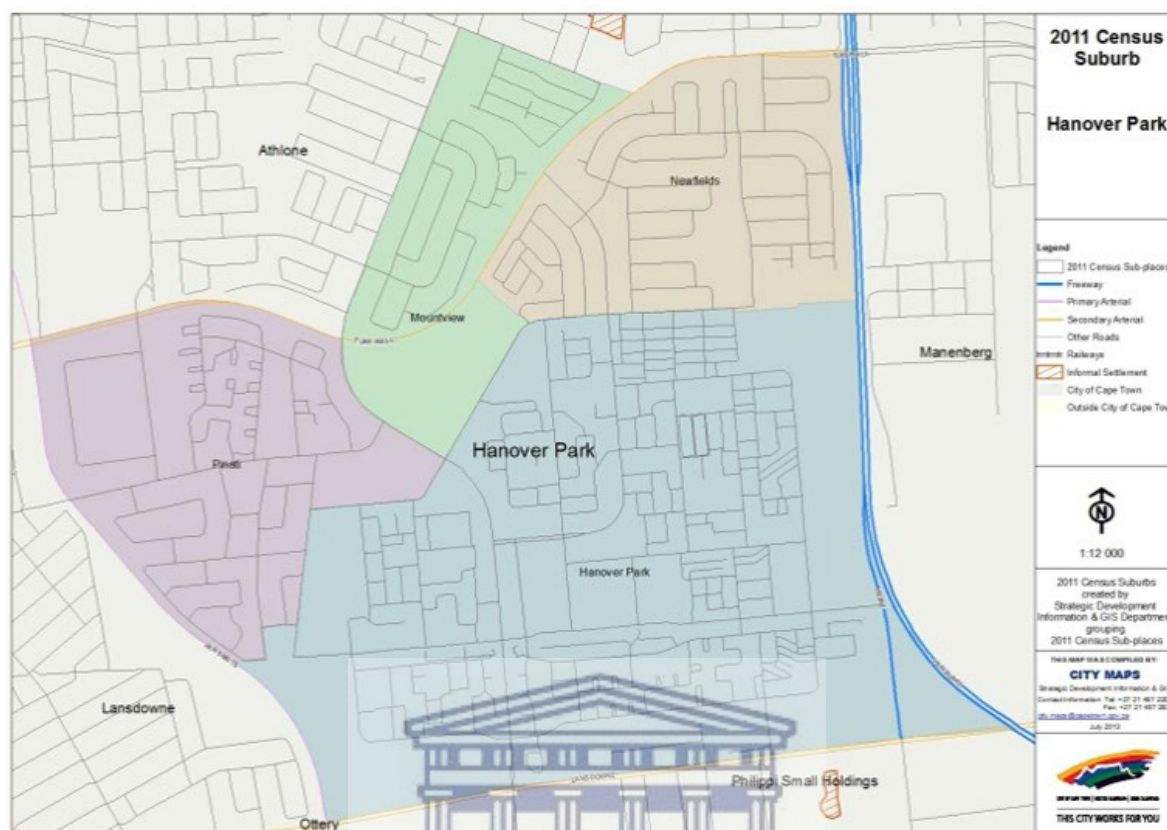
Beside programs by the Cape Town municipal authorities focused on uplifting the people living on the Cape Flats, there are similar initiatives by many in civil society, and community based and non-governmental groups. Moreover, many welfare and community organisations on the Cape Flats focus on sport education, crime prevention, and health care (Nieftagodien & Van Der Berg, 2007).



1.6.1 Hanover Park

The research area focus of this case study is Hanover Park, a township on the Cape Flats, about 17km from Cape Town Central business district. During the 1960s and early 1970's the Nationalist government forcefully removed thousands of coloured families from certain suburbs, not proclaimed for whites only, and located them to the Cape Flats. People were violently and inhumanely removed from more affluent areas from Cape Town suburbs and resettled and segregated into African and coloured residential areas on the Cape Flats. These suburbs consisted of middle, lower middle- and working-class income groups, with the African areas predominantly housing working class families. The Nationalist government through their segregation policies changed the social and a physical makeup of Cape Town. Even though 60% of metropolitan Cape Town is located on the Cape Flats, work opportunities are limited within this geographic location (Lucas, 2021).

Figure 1.3: Map of Hanover Park



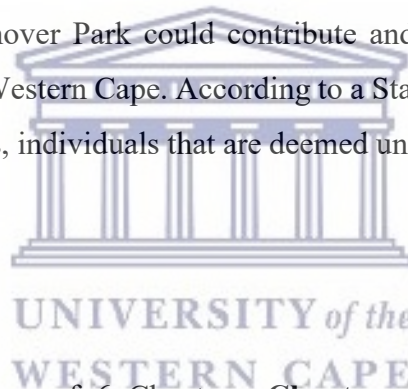
Source: City of Cape Town (2011)

With a population size of 46000 people, Hanover Park is made up of predominantly Coloured population group. Although 64% of this population is employed, 58% of those employed earn less than R3200 per month (City of Cape Town, 2011). Unfortunately, these communities face daily physical, geographical and social limitations. These include, but are not limited, to high infant mortality rates, inadequate transport infrastructure including limited education opportunities for young people. Excessive crime, and poor service delivery and provision of municipal services, limited public open spaces and weak management of municipal by-laws, all contribute to the challenges faced by those living on the Cape Flats.

In mainstream Cape Town, media narrates the area of Hanover Park as synonymous with violence and gangsterism, unemployment and poverty. People residing in this township are daily affected by gang violence, poor living conditions, and poverty. Liam Benjamin (2000) described Hanover Park as a poor working-class area located on the periphery of Cape Town,

and characterized by drugs, low levels of education, teenage pregnancies, and various forms of sexual, physical and emotional violence. These communities witness daily acts of violence, either directly or indirectly. Furthermore, learners at primary and high schools in the area are in many cases subject to these criminal incidents. Learners are as a result, emotionally traumatized due to the high level of gang and criminal activity (Sandel et al., 2016).

Poor education levels are common in Hanover Park, with levels ranging from individuals with no education, and with some residents holding a PhD. According to a Stats SA (2019) there are about 76% of the residents that have successfully completed grade 9 or higher with nearly 48% of them having successfully completed their national senior certificate (matric level). Unemployment for this area is around 44%, which is consistent with the national averages. This figure includes the non-economically active, discouraged work-seekers and the unemployed. The age category 19-59 comprises about 19,000 individuals that could still be economically active, if they found suitable employment. This effectively means that more than 60% of the inhabitants of Hanover Park could contribute and become economically active citizens in the province of the Western Cape. According to a Stats SA (2019) report, the rest of the figures comprise pensioners, individuals that are deemed unfit to work and minor children.



1.7 Structure of the thesis

This research study is made up of 6 Chapters. **Chapter one** introduces the study, the background, research rationale and case study area.

Chapter two focuses on the literature reviewed pertaining to housing challenges. The subheadings direct to the characteristics that make up the backyard dwelling housing phenomena, deriving from its origin, analyses and potential housing option to the State.

Chapter three covers the Theoretical Framework of Social Capital which has been applied to this study. This theory was analysed with this study in order to facilitate an understanding to the research problem.

Chapter four details the research methodology employed in the undertaking of this study. This chapter explains the chosen mixed methods approach with the chosen data collection tools used to form the building blocks which support the parameters of the study.

Chapter five covers the data analysis to the study. The details of the findings of the research as well as the data derived is discussed and presented.

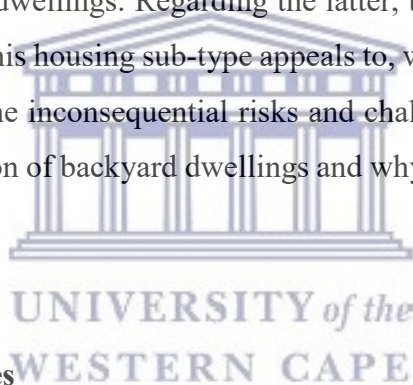
Chapter six details the conclusion as well as provides recommendations to this study, based on the findings of the current study.



Chapter 2: Literature Review

2. Introduction

This chapter presents the available literature on backyard dwellings as a housing alternative to low-income families. The review begins by providing the greater ambit of the housing challenge faced globally and how the lack of adequate housing has led to exacerbated stress to provide adequate shelter. This will be followed by a synopsis of the current housing situation in South Africa. A chronological review of the housing history and the legislative policies which shaped the current housing situation, will also be discussed. The literature reviewed will then describe the societal challenges in which the need for adequate housing becomes paramount to better living conditions for all citizens in South Africa. The research will then present the findings within the literature, on an alternative housing solution for low-income families, namely the backyard dwellings. Regarding the latter, the following will be covered: the market, the type of people this housing sub-type appeals to, what this dwelling type is, how these dwellings evolved, and the inconsequential risks and challenges faced by those staying in these dwellings. The evolution of backyard dwellings and why this is a warranted study will also be outlined.



2.1 Global Housing Challenges

Housing affordability is at an all-time low globally, with low- and middle-income households occupying a variety of tenures with increased housing pressure. According to Arman et. al (2009), it is difficult to create a sustainable housing solution within a market driven economy, as the onus lies on a chain of social obligation in order to ensure the benefit for future generations. Government policies and actions taken presently, will not be able to reap the immediate benefits either in fiscal or a manner of alleviated social stress. The results of housing interventions that are being actioned now, will not show an immediate result for organisations working to bring a solution, or to eradicate large scale poverty for the affected poor.

Economic growth is not evenly paced with household or population growth. MacLennan and O'Sullivan (2011) point out that the housing market is driven by basic push and pull factors of

supply and demand. The housing market is primarily shaped by the fiscal and monetary policy of a country. Owning a house for a household is the costliest form of expenditure, the household's most valued asset and motive for holding debt. Access to adequate, safe and affordable housing, basic services and upgrading slums by 2030 is a determined target of the Sustainable Development Goals issued by the United Nations. King et al. (2017) argues that the global figure of slum dwellers can be underestimated by virtue of different housing definitions. The pattern and consequence of a lack of adequate housing, however, universally yields standard results, and poor insecure housing, results in limited access to basic services, high social costs and limited livelihood possibilities.

Entry into an affordable housing market is crucial to the well-being of citizens and the effective running of national and global economies. Yet cities are struggling with the increasing demand for affordable housing, and this struggle is a double-edged sword in the provision of affordable housing, to the poorest of the city's inhabitants. This is the case for both the developing and the advanced economies of the world. It is estimated that about 330 million urban households live in substandard housing or are under immense pressure due to the high costs of housing, with about 200 million people in the developing nations living in squalor. The report further indicates, based on projection, that by 2025 about 440 million urban households, would be living in crowded unsafe and inadequate structures. One percent of global GDP, or 650 billion dollars, summarizes the need to fill the affordability housing gap including about nine trillion dollars to plug the dire need for affordable housing by 2025 (King et al., 2017).

New approaches are needed to deal with the affordable housing gap. Those in charge of cities must start thinking about housing that includes citizens of all income categories. This includes connecting poor people with employment opportunities, whilst giving them access to entry level housing opportunities.

2.2 Housing in South Africa

South Africa has a housing challenge. The General Household Survey report released in 2017, revealed that the current population living in informal dwellings is 13.6%, with those occupying formal dwellings at 53.5% (Stats SA, 2019). Figures in the Western Cape reveal that informal dwellings are at a high of 19% versus those occupied in formal dwellings at 78%. Cape Town is an economic node, so not only does natural population growth need

consideration, but migrants from other provinces in search of livelihood opportunities, also need to be catered for as part of the attraction to metropolitan areas and dually considered in population growth forecasts. According to Stats SA (2019), within the formal housing market, there has been a decrease in ownership and a sharp increase in rental tenure from 2002 to 2017 by more than 5%. The affordability of housing relies not only on being able to afford a dwelling, or qualify for a bond, but also being able to manage the associated costs incurred, maintenance, utilities, services, and the like in order to live.

There is an array of housing typologies in South Africa. These range from formal housing, flats, private rental and social housing to Reconstruction and Development (RDP) housing, informal settlements and shacks, where most are developed and built on public owned land, and in some cases on private land. Many of these RDP, informal settlement and shacks dwellings are in many instances adjacent to, or near, formal housing. Tissington (2010) believes that households should have a choice in consideration of selected housing dwelling. The types and housing needs per household, and the associated dynamics are location, space, size of household, affordability, physical and tenure security. These are all relative and conducive to attaining access to affordable housing.

2.3 Legislation on Housing in South Africa

Since 1948 up until the first democratic elections in 1994, the racist ideology of Apartheid mandated racial segregation into law. Apartheid affected all aspects of life for the people of all race groups in South Africa, this included housing. Newton and Schuurmans (2013) believe that the challenges with regards to housing, spatial planning and urban development is primarily attributed to the Group Areas Act during Apartheid. The Group Areas Act was instituted from 1950 and repealed in 1991. This law meant that people were racially assigned to areas and discrimination was in favour of white South Africans, living in better developed and serviced housing and land spaces. The Act furthermore was a cornerstone of Apartheid, where the white urban planners, segregated and planned the suburbs into racially exclusive areas for designated racial groups. People who were of the non-white population grouping, had to move to the areas allocated to their colour designation, as prime areas and property were reserved for whites only.

Within Cape Town the coloured community being the largest population group, was thus the most affected by these forced removals. The Black African population on the other hand, had to have a special identity document commonly known as a 'dompass', to work or reside in the city and the Western Cape Province. The current socio-economic realities, high crime, housing shortage and spatial planning and related problems, such as high transport costs for working class residents, prevailed in the townships and the Cape Flats and are directly linked primarily to the Group Areas Act instituted by the Apartheid regime.

The current post-apartheid democratic government initiated several policies to restructure apartheid era policies and to address the legacy of racist apartheid and colonial development. In the field of housing, the new regime initiated several policies to address the housing legacy. The South African Constitution explicitly mentions the right to adequate housing (RSA, 2005), with onus on the State for implementing this a human right, via laws and policies. The African National Congress government's official housing policy, the Housing White Paper (1994), in conjunction with the Reconstruction and Development Programme, provided the policy framework for the post-apartheid housing development. The government's main agenda with this policy was addressing a backlog of informal housing, and providing formal housing, also known as the RDP housing. The emphasis was on delivery, with the ambition of building 1 million low-cost houses over the period of 5 years, according to Newton and Schuermans (2013).

Furthermore, the Housing Act 107 of 1997 provided the legislative framework for a sustainable housing development process. Tomlinson (2011) confers that the three tiers of government were clearly defined within this Act, so that accountability for provision of sustainable housing, was the responsibility of national, provincial and local government. Tomlinson (2011) further argued that local government was not part of the original consideration as a role player when the initial housing policy was instituted in 1994. The original premise was for private sector to be the driver for delivering the building and development of housing. Private sector involvement would give the new government an opportunity to gain experience transitioning during the early democratic years, and focus on other key challenges such as dealing with potential destabilizing political forces. Due to the failures of the housing unit outcomes, by the private sector in terms of size, quality and location, it was then moved back to the public sector to implement and manage. The Housing Act of 107 of 1997 stipulated and mandated municipalities to ensure services, such as housing and other basic services, like the provision of water, for people within their geographic jurisdictions.

Another important policy related to the housing sector was addressing the issue of the rental housing market. In 1999, the ANC government acknowledged the reality of a growing rental housing market, and therefore enacted the Rental Housing Act 50 of 1999, which was issued to regulate the relationship between landlord and tenant, across all rental platforms. This was followed by the National Housing Code in 2000, re-emphasizing the Government's housing goal of increasing housing delivery, in both the urban and rural areas of South Africa, on a sustainable basis.

The Breaking New Ground policy development in 2004, was the effort of the Department of Human Settlements to answer growing problems related to the first ten years of housing delivery. The latter issues were all unintended consequences of the efforts to redress the initial housing and spatial inequality post-apartheid. The ANC government learned that the RDP houses that were built were not considered valuable assets for its owners, as they were situated on the periphery of urban areas, and had minimal integration into the well-established towns and cities within its proximity. Moreover, the recipients of these subsidized housing units could not afford taxes or municipal services, given that many of the former were unemployed, underemployed, and lived in poverty, and hence were deemed liabilities by the municipalities.

Another important housing related policy passed by the ANC administration was the Social Housing Policy legislated in 2005. This legislation addressed the governance, needs and laws related to low-income households, which involved rental or mutual assistance (Department of Housing, 2003). This Social Housing Policy established institutionalized management, accountability and governance for accredited housing institutions and managing public funds or housing projects in designated zones. Accountable bodies are institutionalized to manage the process and development of the housing projects. The ambition created by the Social Housing policy was to reduce poverty by creating mixed income communities. The idea was for low-income households to gain benefit from the economic, social and educational opportunities created by these mixed communities.

Given the negative socio-economic, educational and cultural impact apartheid had on all race groups in South Africa, the ANC's challenge was nation building, and key in this policy was integration of the population. Hence one of the key elements of the governments housing policy, focused on inclusivity and integration. To this end, the Department of Housing officially changed its name to that of the Department of Human Settlements, communicating and projecting a more inclusive developmental focus. The view was that housing is not only

about a roof over a person's head, but emphasizes how people choose to live and carry out their daily functioning, ultimately improving the quality of their lives.

2.4 Housing Delivery and Backlog since 1994

The first democratically elected government in 1994 inherited a backlog of more than 1.5 million units already on informal land (Newton & Schuermans, 2013). From the original 1.5 million backlog in housing units in 1994, this figure has grown to approximately 2.1 million households' still needing housing. Migration, in addition to population growth, needs to be considered when tackling the reduction of housing backlog. Shackleton, et al (2014) believe that diverse housing policies and programmes are needed to match the equally diverse local context, in terms of land use and planning of new housing and infrastructure developments, for a sustainable and liveable urban infrastructure. As of 1999, a total backlog of 3.7 million units was reported by the Department of Housing. Despite the provision of housing during this period, the rate that the backlog has increased has been exponential (Newton & Schuermans 2013).

The demand for housing is due to an array of factors. Tissington (2010) relates these factors to increased urbanization, migration, structural unemployment, lack of opportunities in rural areas, and more households having less access to housing, due to them falling into the subsidy income bands, are all contributing factors. Similarly, the housing backlog is also directly related to the country's services backlog in terms of access to water, sanitation, electricity and weekly refuse removal (Newton & Schuermans 2013). The South African government's view of the housing opportunity no longer only includes a formal house, but rather it is a mix of an available housing subsidy option. The Government offers its housing opportunities in the form of a formal house, or a grant or subsidy based on the qualifying criteria needing to be met for the application. The benefits of a formal house being offered is unquestionable and does offer greater quality of life in services and socio-economic conditions.

2.5 Backyard Dwellings: An Alternative Housing Solution

2.5.1 Characterizing Backyard Dwellings

Backyard dwellings are makeshift houses, without structural approval from the municipal authorities, built on the same plot of a formal dwelling (Charlton & Shapurjee, 2013). The

South African colloquial terms for this dwelling type are interchangeably used as Wendy houses, “Hokkies” or Shacks (Lemanski, 2009). Not recognized as formal housing units, backyard dwellings are substandard housing fixtures constructed from informal materials ranging from iron, metal, plastic, and wood (Marais & Cloete, 2014). The distinguishing feature of this dwelling type, is that the dwelling occupies the same space of land, within the same plot, as the formal house. Camouflaged within neighbourhoods, backyard dwellers are neighbours with those who have formal tenure rights.

Backyard dwellings are erected to either accommodate family members who cannot find appropriate accommodation elsewhere, or as an income generator for non-family tenants. The relationship between landlord and tenant can be family, friends or complete strangers. The quality of the backyard dwelling can differ from being poorly built, to a substantial structure (Crankshaw, Gilbert, & Morris, 2000). Tenants generally pay rent unless they are related to the family in the main dwelling, and generally construct, and pay for their own dwelling in the yard space. Backyard dwellings vary in quality and comfort, although it is like shacks of informal settlements. They are either singular or multiple backyard dwelling, set up on one plot. They all share the same resources, such as provision of water, electricity and sanitation with the landlord, as they are located on a serviced housing area. Lemanski (2009) advocates that this housing sub-type is a uniquely South African phenomenon, as this housing relationship has not been identified elsewhere globally.

The Backyard Dweller’s dwelling is a weak structure in terms of durability and quality. It is not perceived as a sustainable living quarter. Even though this is the case, the tenants of these informal structures prefer the location of the backyard dwelling, over the formal housing option, as overall living costs and economic opportunities are considered (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013). The advantage of easy mobility is considered, should an economic opportunity arise within a different economic zone.

2.5.2 Origins of backyard dwelling

In Cape Town, backyard dwellings originated amongst people of colour. According to Lemanski (2009), within the Coloured communities, especially the communities living in townships, backyard dwellings served to accommodate additional family members. Backyard

dwellings were a source of revenue to house those already in the overpopulated townships, who were primarily migrants from other parts of the Western Cape and South Africa seeking work opportunities in Cape Town. Initially it seemed that the landlord tenant relationship was one of exploitation. However, as the tenant was fully reliant on access to basic services from the landlord, the nature of this relationship changed as the landlord and tenant are similarly poor and reliant on each other. Since the economy grew in the 1980s, resulting in expanded job opportunities, backyard dwellings as a housing solution increased during this period of Apartheid rule. After 1994, it was conveniently overlooked by the newly democratic ANC government, as it solved the problem of slow housing delivery. It was a solution that was tolerated, since it was kind of hidden away. According to Lategan and Cilliers (2013), Governments' inconsequential oversight at the time created an ambit for land invasion and squatting. Their inability to be involved and support this sector led to the expansion of the new accepted housing norm. Amidst the State's challenges of housing backlog, corruption, urbanization and limited institutional capacity, backyard rentals in the homes of relatives or social contacts are the only option for the poor and those persons and families unable to provide the means to provide housing for themselves. What was once seen as a temporary housing solution whilst waiting for an RDP house, now seems to be a permanent fixture in the South African housing landscape.

2.5.3 Backyard Dwellings in the Western Cape

Located on the Southern tip of the African continent, the Western Cape is the third most populous province in the country. The province accounts for more than 11% of South Africa's population, and is seen as one of the most developed provinces legislatively in terms of policy delivery. In the Western Cape 19% of the population reside in informal settlements. This is a 5.4% higher average experienced nationally, with the City of Cape Town being the 4th largest city with high informal housing (GHS, 2017). Sixty four percent of the population in the Western Cape reside in Cape Town and 7% of households accounted for are backyard dwellings.

Despite this, Lategan and Cilliers (2013) believe that the approach and policy of the Western Cape authorities towards the informality of backyard dwellings is that of tolerance and little interference. There is no easy way to address the inadequacy of backyard dwellings. The lack of intervention from all spheres of governance is primarily due to the inability to find consensus of problem solving, as concerns arise from unintended consequences arising from problem

solving interventions. The Backyard sector needs regulation, in order to protect those living in it as a tenure status, but also to assist in the conformity of uniform building quality standards.

Due to budgetary constraints, the Western Cape's provincial housing strategy plan 2015-2020 is geared towards the following focal directives:

- Upgrading the Informal Settlements Programmes of which backyards are included
- Increasing affordable GAP housing, housing catering for beneficiaries who earn less than R3500, and then prioritizing the most deserving households like the elderly, disabled and child headed households for the Breaking New Ground housing policy.
- Free subsidized housing. According to data collected by Census 2011, informal settlements increased from 116 000 households in 2001, to 149 000 households in 2011. During the same period households in backyard dwellings increased exponentially from 47 000 households to 105 000 households. Although quantitatively less in household volume, compared to Informal Settlements, Backyard dwellings have more than doubled over the same period as a chosen housing preference (Census, 2011).

It is clear from population growth statistics the growth pattern is spatially unequal and in favour of urban metropolitan areas. Urban researchers should consider low-income areas when planning. According to Zweig (2015), due to the shortage of formal housing availability, backyard dwelling becomes the next best affordable housing accommodation option. Backyard dwellings present a flexible living arrangement, close to urban systems and could improve gentrification as noted by Lategan and Cilliers, (2013). They state that backyard dwellings reduce urban sprawl and encourages densification.

2.5.4 Landlord and Tenant Profiles

Backyard dwelling for many tenants is a last resort as a housing option. Tenants are often higher income earners than their landlord counterparts but, often, are equally poor and limited in resources. Charlton and Shapurjee (2013) suggest a co-dependency as tenants are reliant on a place to stay and the landlord is equally reliant on the financial contribution to sustain his own livelihood. The relationship between the two parties is thus mutually agreed upon in a socially acceptable and equally reciprocal transaction. Payment of rental by family members is easier than between people without any familial ties. The parties are thus mutually interdependent on each other. Tenants in essence are further marginalized by their income bracket. They are too poor to qualify for gap housing and earning too much to be considered for the governments' free housing provision.

Flexibility for change, greater sense of safety behind formal dwellings and improved quality living conditions, compared to informal settlements, are all positive reasons why backyard dwellings is the preferred low-cost affordable housing option. Backyard dwellings compared to other available dwelling options in the same affordability range offer greater accommodation flexibility, allowing households to respond to employment opportunities (Charlton & Shapurjee, 2013).

Greater vulnerability exists as tenants are reliant on their landlords to provide them with access to basic services, and although providing and owning the structure itself, the dweller is still at the mercy of an informal rental agreement, that can be revoked at will (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013). Since both parties are poor, both landlord and tenant are by nature of their relationship, generally living co-dependently with each other.

2.5.5 Perception of Backyard dwellings

Charlton and Shapurjee (2013) advise that the eradication of informal housing by the State is at the forefront of meeting the housing challenge, thus backyard dwelling is generally tolerated by most local municipal authorities. The initial perception of backyard dwellings is that it is insufficient and inadequate to meet the standard of housing required for any person or family. However, backyard dwellings have its own positives and negatives amongst different

stakeholders. RDP housing environments are generally safer than informal settlements which have higher crime levels. Backyard dwellings provides landlords some comfort against crime, a refuge for households from insecure living conditions, as they are hidden behind formal housing. While most landlords feel that backyard dwellings decreased their property size and the quality of the neighbourhood, the same landlords still feel compelled to let their yard space, as they themselves are financially insecure. The lack of adequate infrastructural support and accommodated service provision, creates real concerns for the landlord, tenant and municipal authorities regarding health and fire safety issues. This is because of the building materials used to make the dwelling, and the negative consequences of adverse weather conditions.

2.5.6 The potential of Backyard dwellings for the state

Backyard dwelling is an alternative housing solution which can house more than one household. According to Charlton and Shapurjee (2013), additional housing provision made on public laid infrastructure, forms part of an innovative solution in meeting the current housing demand in South Africa. This not only meets the basic need for shelter, and relative access to services, but due to the location of the dwelling, it also provides an easier opportunity for livelihood provision. Backyard housing is an available, affordable and flexible housing model. It is an easy source of cheap accommodation that encourages public participation, implementation costs are low, which will result in low rental costs being charged for the user and an easy deliverable to execute, benefitting more households in a shorter period (Charlton and Shapurjee 2013).

Increased urban densities should encourage appropriate infrastructure support. This should lead to greater amenities, services and measures for adequate public transport. Even though the rental stock of cheap lower quality shelter has increased, the increased density in urban areas contribute to goals of mixed tenure and land use, supporting a people and a diverse economy. Although it appears that the quality of the living environment deteriorates where many backyard dwellers live, the accommodation of the latter is a solution that should be supported, to address the housing crisis in the country. Greater state intervention with a focus on spatial planning and adequate infrastructure, would naturally formalise any previously informal housing sub-type or location.

Furthermore, backyard dwellings erected on serviced sites are still a better option to overcrowding and squatting. According to Landman and Napier (2010), self-help housing is the better option for a developmental state, which encourages input and assistance from the public to meet the State's deficient housing delivery. Promotion of self-aided housing solutions would need to be supported, by an enabling housing policy, which recognised the self-aided housing unit as a legitimate housing structure and supported, when met with regulatory guidelines of structural provisions and municipal access points and service delivery. Based on the limited resource availability of land, the development of self-aided or makeshift housing constructs, becomes a poverty alleviation strategy.

2.6 Housing Challenges

The Government's focus on delivering formal housing has neglected to review the needs of those within Coloured and black African racially segregated areas. Newton and Schuermans (2013) shows that the location of most of the RDP houses are on the periphery of the city, and disregard the symbolic people centred approach of citizens, having the choice of where they would like to live. The preference would be to live close to communities in which they grew up and ideally along a transport route. The outcomes manifested by the RDP houses built, negates the Urban Development Framework, idealised by the then Department of Housing (1997). The latter promotes the idea that people should be able to choose where they reside and where they choose to pursue economic activity for themselves, thus removing the segregation barriers and making cities more integrated.

The roles and responsibilities are blurred between the provincial and local levels of government in their approach to housing delivery. Tomlinson (2011) believes that the provincial government has no intention of relinquishing control of the housing function, as it would mean they would need to give up their political control and access to the budgets and resources allocated for housing by national government. At the same time, they bear no weight to redress housing delivery failures as tenders are issued at provincial government level, who administer the selection process of chosen service providers.

Housing, moreover, is about affordability. Not only will the provision of housing be needed, and supported by with a strong economy, but it will also enable households to maintain and function well in their chosen livelihoods. Lower income households need more than just a

house to take advantage of the housing structure, but an enabling environment with co-operative institutions would assist in co-creating viable solutions for all. Backyard dwellings is a low-income housing solution, developed by the people to accommodate those without shelter. The eradication of these housing units is not likely, and a sustainable stance needs to be taken in order to benefit from the added unit to the housing market. The prevalence of backyard accommodation is likely to increase as an interim solution amidst the current housing shortage experienced. As households progress, there will still be a gap in the housing market and the makeshift dwellings will be occupied by the next generation of low-income households, in need of adequate shelter.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has evaluated the known literature available on the topic of housing and housing solutions. The global housing challenges and current housing trends were discussed. Housing and the lack thereof, is greatly influenced on historical legislation, on which the city and post-apartheid government continued to build on the constructs of a housing reform, which continued on an unequal spatial and economic disposition. Backyard dwelling, which has been deliberated on and proven to be a uniquely South African housing model, is the citizen's response to an ever-increasing housing challenge in respect of basic need and affordability



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Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The Social Capital school of thought is premised on the notion that parties can enter beneficial relationships in which they are able to access tangible benefits (Portes, 1998). Summed up as the total resources allocated to a social network, the medium of exchange granted to those who qualify to connect at various societal or hierarchical class levels.

Putnam (1993) and Szreter and Woolcock (2004) agree that the premise of Social Capital is that it is one of the requirements for economic abundance. A deduction can then be made that Social Capital is better utilized as a tool to advocate for the advancement of housing opportunities within the community of Hanover Park. Edward and Foley (2001) highlight that an individual's capacity to access Social Capital explains the current extent of their economic and social setting. If an individual or group is disadvantaged by means of physical resources, they can overcome this by bridging the gap and drawing on their social resourcefulness.

It is in the interaction of individuals within the community that there is a weighted contribution to each other, by virtue of the relationship that is held (Portes, 1998). Social relationships that have been nurtured, gain momentum in the growth of the networks that they occupy. The nature of the relationships permits certain entitlements and reciprocity for those in the group. Access to these benefits is the product of the exchange of the social relationships, evidenced by improved living conditions and quality of life.

3.2 Understanding the Theory of Social Capital

According to the World Health Organization (2006), social capital reflects the presence of social cohesion that one can find in communities. It includes the interactions between various people and groups, enabling cooperation that builds trust for mutual benefit. The OECD (2004) defines social capital as a shared network of norms, understandings and values that assists people and groups to help each other.

To better understand social capital in terms of its building blocks, Putnam's definition of the theory provides an explanatory framework for the operationalization of the concept itself. Physical capital refers to the physical objects, and human capital refers to the properties of individuals. Social capital refers to connections among individuals –social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense, social capital is closely related to what some have called “civic virtue” (Putnam, 2001). Social capital calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals are not necessarily rich in social capital (Putnam, 2001).

The forms of capital that are more familiar are, natural, financial, human and social. Natural is any flow of energy that produces goods and services which is the basis of production. Manufactured capital comprises material goods or fixed assets used to contribute to the production process (Putnam, 2001). Financial capital undergirds the other types of capital within our economy which are owned or traded such as shares, banknotes and bonds. Human capital on the other hand consists of people's health, knowledge, skills and motivation. In line with the other forms of capital, social capital deals with networks that assist to maintain the relationship among the institutions, whilst developing human capital in conjunction with others.

Communities who have high levels of social capital have a greater ability to deal with conflict, versus those with weaker levels. It aids in the ability of a community to deal well with change, conflict or generally difficult situations. High levels of social capital in communities enable people to rely on support from others along with their resources, whether it is financial or human capital. A greater collective buy-in by communities to band together and support for the common good, has a positive spin-off on a macro scale of the exhibition of healthier democracies, as greater trust and civic virtue is displayed in behaviour.

The perception that those in higher economic or social status class have greater social capital than those in poorer communities is challenged, in that although lacking in other means of capital, poorer communities can equally be rich in social capital. According to Carpiano (2007), Bourdieu's definition of social capital, is capital that can be both material and abstract in nature. With a focus on relationships, he believes that capital is equal to power, which is characteristic of the construction of a class system. The reconnection with capital to social, and the link to power, can stimulate the way forward for greater community development. Wealthier societal

groups also seem to be rich in social capital to such a degree that they can use it to generate more wealth and limit the access of resources to others. Practical concerns over social capital as power is involved, is who controls the network. In addition, if there is no immediate resultant action, this could cause members of the group to lose interest and weaken the capital within the network. Conflicting dialogue would argue that social capital is not a capital for the poor.

Social capital is not effective on its own and must be accompanied by other means such as financial capital in order to move agendas forward. According to Portes (1998), social capital of any significance cannot be acquired without the investment of some material resources and possession of some cultural knowledge providing the means to barter and establish relations with others. A poor community that only has social capital and not much else does not have a means to negotiate, as there would be no elements to trade at the negotiation table. A fair bartering exchange of give and take is needed to garner interest. Any singular form of capital in general would prove to be unsuccessful in achieving any means, a combination of two or more capitals is the catalyst needed to generate momentum forward for an achievable desired outcome.

The term social topography is used to describe the greater benefits in having an array of different capitals at play (Carpiano, 2007). For example, a highly skilled musician with no connections to the music industry would find it extremely difficult to make this a worthwhile career, versus a skilled musician with an equal number of contacts within the industry. In the same manner, a highly resourced musician might be able to open certain doors for himself, but would lack the benefit of opportunity the referrals of people might bring him, if he has no talent. Concerning the housing need in Hanover Park, social capital is not enough, as economic funding would drive the housing opportunity financially.

An important foundational aspect of Social Capital is trust (Fukuyama, 2001). On a macro level, countries that experience low crime levels, are assumed to have high levels of trust. In contrast to the South African xenophobic violence, limited and mismanaged resources give rise to heightened conflict and distrust. Siisiainen (2003) believes that an individual's motive reflects the level a community has for development. Alternatively, individuals behave in ways in which their actions are either rewarded or punished. Essentially no actions are without potential hazard. The advantages of social capital are not immediately actualized; rather, they are returned at a different point at a future unspecified date.

As with any concept, Social Capital can be equally applied to both positive and negative spheres. The gangsterism within the community of Hanover Park, although negative, can also be measured as strong social capital, as the prevalence of this criminal organisations and its disruptive, violent and criminal actions in the neighbourhood is powerful. Similarly, although social capital itself is not bad, it does enable access to and development of relationships for material gain. Chang et al., (2014) advocates that the concept of Guanxi is embedded in the values of cultivating trust and understanding of mutually beneficial relationships. Within the Chinese social relationship structures, there is an unwritten obligatory code of giving and returning favours. An individual who acts in terms of the social exchange also displays the ability to co-operate well with others. Furthermore, there is evidence of a legal element, should one become over indebted and entangled by the pressure of over indebtedness. When one receives a favour there is a natural obligation that the favour needs to be returned, if not immediately, then later. This obligatory reciprocity functions as a mechanism to regulate, political, business and social exchanges.

3.3 Operationalization of Social Capital

The operationalization of Social Capital has been divided into 2 spheres, namely, Cognitive Social Capital and Structural Social Capital. Cognitive Social Capital refers to people's perception of the levels of interpersonal trust, as well as norms of reciprocity in the group. The second sphere deals with Structural Social Capital and encapsulates the externally observable behaviour and actions of people within the network. For example, are Backyard Dwellers prepared to lend money to their landlord or borrow money from their neighbour? This question implies how neighbours perceive trust in relation to each other and how trustworthy they think they are towards themselves.

Horizontal Social Capital includes Bonding Social Capital, which is the primary care group that exhibits trust, and collective working together amongst groups that are more intimate in nature. Bridging Social Capital also focuses on trust, but as a collective working together amongst groups that differ in social identity and power. The community of Hanover Park might score high in terms of their levels of bonding social capital, and social capital exchange amongst each other, but may score low in Bridging Social capital, as they have not been able to connect further than their own homogenous group. Hanover Park is still a resource poor community, and other poverty indicators like health and inadequate housing structures are

prevalent in this neighbourhood. For a specific social group to drive growth or change, they would not only need to have the ability to influence economic development, but have access to information and resources, to be effective (Swanson et al., 2020). Social capital is important as it establishes the co-operative norms of any relationship, that norm is then used to manage the change that is needed.

3.3.1 The relationship resource

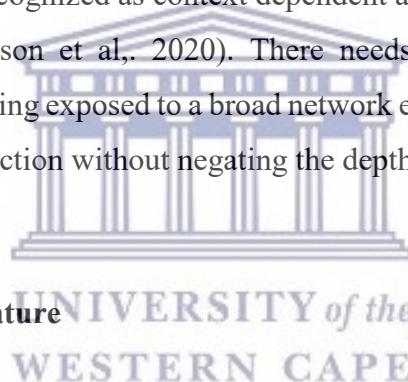
Social capital is seen as a valuable resource made available by the creation of relationships. The dominance of relationships can influence economic factors or decisions, through accessing the other party's resources, initiatives and creativity. The relationship aspect of social capital refers to the development of relationships over time. The value of the latter emanates from the quality and nature of these relationships, the outcome of which are the norms reciprocated in elements seen such as identification, trustworthiness, shared group norms and responsibilities. The trust in these relationships established can play an important role in encouraging partnerships behaviour, also noting that if this cannot be fostered within the group, not having these factors would disable the social capital value (Swanson et al., 2020).

3.4 Structural social capital

Structural social capital refers to the networks created by the groups in order to access information. A power pendulum is at play when there are restrictions around who has access to certain information, like the housing waiting list. This is especially evident where economic value can be extracted from this information. The municipality can build structural social capital with the residents of Hanover Park, by sharing information of the current housing status, including the municipality's housing and spatial development programmes and plans related to addressing the poor living conditions of backyard dwellers.

3.5 Cognitive social capital

The cognitive part of social capital refers to the shared portrayal and meaning of the backyard dwelling housing as a solution. It calls for a participatory and a co-operative approach with all stakeholders involved, and to essentially agree on the topic of discussion at hand and the possibilities to address the issues. One of the tactics that pre-date apartheid, was the principle of divide and rule. The National government ensured that they afforded Coloured people a slightly better level of living conditions, than their black counterparts. What they received, was still well below what their white counter parts received. Post-Apartheid approaches has not shifted much regarding developing a collective mind-set. Race politics and ensuring that no collective voice is embodied and developed in Hanover Park, suppresses the notion of developing cognitive social capital. As this itself is a challenging task, the key approach to get consensus from different stakeholders, is to use government regulations as a guiding mechanism. Social capital is recognized as context dependent and thus requires adaptation for each research situation (Swanson et al., 2020). There needs to be a sustainable housing approach. The importance of being exposed to a broad network ensures the breadth of the scope of people included in the transaction without negating the depth of relationships required.



3.6 Gap in social capital literature

A gap in social capital literature is how perceived housing discrimination affects social capital. Hence, there is a need to develop a research questionnaire that will assist in asking the right questions to establish the correct ratio of social capital amongst the different operational types. Furthermore, the questionnaire should enquire how, stronger ties can be developed within the community in order to stimulate social capital and the benefits derived for the community.

Benefits attributed to social capital is that it can act as a mediator for the perceived housing conditions amongst Backyard Dwellers and community members; this primarily talks to the strength that can be extracted from Bonding Social Capital. Through this mediation process, social capital can be used as a tool to guide the disparities experienced unpacking real community led solutions that would be relevant to those affected within the community. Social capital develops from individuals' social relationships, but can also be used as a

neighbourhood- characteristic. Hence, Social capital is not only attributed to an individual, but is equally a comparable characteristic found at a group level. Furthermore, Social Capital as a theory can be measured, as there are determinants to the theory. Employment status as well as higher education leads to a greater chance of higher social capital prevalence. Therefore, individuals who are of a higher income bracket have greater financial means, and those who are married show greater social connection to extended groupings. However, there is little research on how the role of Social Capital is linked to neighbourhood dynamics.

Perceived discrimination and race-based inequality plays a key role minimising the benefits that can be experienced through the means of social capital. Both are value, which can be used to unite a call to action by those negatively affected. It is evident with Apartheid spatial planning that housing discrimination was based along racial lines. The slow pace of local and national government activity, and in some instances non-action, to redress the injustice, inequalities and wrongs resulting from apartheid further perpetuates social capital inequality. The housing shortage and crisis further perpetuates inequality experienced within Cape Town and the Western Cape Province. In a post- Apartheid dispensation, Black African townships now gain preferential housing delivery and service, over historically Coloured beneficiaries, who have in many cases been on housing waiting lists longer than Black Africans.

The community of Hanover Park has been structurally disadvantaged along racial and ethnic lines; this is perpetuated by the increase in the availability of low-cost housing and the choice to remain within ethnic parameters. This is due to individuals being connected to others in their community, because of their similar socio-economic condition and thus relationships are established with those of a similar background in the community. Being separated along socio-economic and ethnic lines further negate the possible benefits social capital could provide if there is ethnic and socio-economic diversity in Hanover Park. The current housing typography is one that separates along racial and socio-economic lines. Therefore, the continued housing disparity acts as a further agent of separation, from those that have, and those that don't have. This affects cross-pollination of different socio-economic classes and continued repetitive cycles of makeshift housing as a possible housing solution

3.7 Perceived housing discrimination

Perceived housing discrimination already acts as a deterrent and exhibits a lack of confidence in the State's ability to deliver a key necessity to those in need of housing. This negates the value system of trust and reciprocity, which are key to the development of positive Social Capital, which would be needed for social change within communities. Social withdrawal is a strategy for coping with racial discrimination, displayed in social behaviour that is less engaging and less resilient to established connections with other residents. The Backyard Dwellers, although not identifying too much with the landlord, do identify with each other with other Backyarders in the community of Hanover Park.

In reviewing the effects of housing discrimination, Leviten-Reid and Matthew (2018) believe housing does play an important role in an individual's well-being, as it accounts for an individual's self-perception and mental health. The stressors of inadequate housing, result in an environment of anxiety and daily stress. Living in a preferred housing type forges a stronger sense of belonging and safety. Hanover Park is already an undesirable neighbourhood because of gangs, high crime, violence, lack of safety and drugs. This, coupled with inadequate housing, the community has the potential for further community unrest and protest. Increased stress and anxiety aggravate feelings of sadness, anger and unsettledness which dampen possible social interactions as perceived relational outcomes would be negative.

Backyard dwellers feel excluded from those considered for housing solutions. This is further exacerbated with the States campaign to eradicate informal housing in a drive to promote good quality housing models. Occupants of backyard dwellings are not considered legitimate owners of property until they are granted formal status granted. Another element of social capital is reciprocity (Fukuyama, 2001). What prevents reciprocity in this study is that those living in backyard dwellings, as well as landlords of Backyard Dwellers, view themselves as inferior which adds to their perpetual anxiety of further negative consequences in their lives. Thus, they are less likely to engage in activities amongst diverse socio-economic classes, ultimately hindering the social capital process.

Social Capital thrives where there is trust for a community or neighbourhood and this can also be interpreted as how safe the latter feel within their environment. It can also then be deduced that those in neighbourhoods that are more affluent, are predisposed to the advantages of social

capital as their main need for safety would be met and prioritised. Socio-economically affluent neighbourhoods have been found to have stronger collective efficacy, better social control, and lower crime rates than their disadvantaged counterparts' (Fukuyama 2001). Therefore, individuals in this community would be more willing to interact with each other and foster greater levels of trust as they share a common identity and reinforce common gain from a common purpose. Also knowing that individuals within this group have possible access to further tangible resources, increases the incentive for involvement. Research indicates that neighbourhoods with a high poverty prevalence rate, are statistically predisposed to lower social capital levels, and the development for social capital is hindered because of this (Lin, 2017). Alternative research suggests that communities where there is main residence of the same, or similar ethnic groupings, increase levels of social capital within the community, as similar sentiments are shared amongst those with similar backgrounds (Lin, 2017).

Racial and ethnic discrimination is still common in many mixed ethnic communities in South Africa post-Apartheid, and in many affluent neighbourhoods, minority ethnic groups are discriminated against. Minority black Africans living in white and coloured neighbourhoods bear the brunt of this discrimination and they are the group who benefits least from social capital in the neighbourhood. The discrimination is fuelled by the perceived threat of property prices decreasing, because of black Africans moving into the areas. Social capital depends on the pre-existing neighbourhood qualities, and generally similar ethnic groupings and backgrounds create an increased scope for social capital to thrive as there would be a greater support for each other.

Housing in South Africa is already a contentious issue, as the housing supply cannot meet the full housing demand. Although Backyard dwellings are not the ideal housing solution, the reality is that these residences are a relatively inexpensive housing solution to accommodate families and those within a specific community. This housing option generates a greater sense of trust and belonging in communities. It assists and shelters often the most vulnerable, seeking housing, or better housing, as well as many households headed by woman. The cycle continues if those currently residing in backyard dwellings find formal housing, then the backyard dwellings are rented to others searching for suitable accommodation. The housing anomaly would continue, even if all South African citizens were housed in formal housing, there would still be a need amongst the foreign immigrants or other for a temporary housing solution.

The make-up of Social Capital is important as it guides the structural behaviour and nature of the relationships within Backyard Dwellers. Activities that take place, as well as the behaviour accompanied by it, contributes to the creation and maintenance of the social culture of the group and the continued benefits accrued by belonging to the latter. The intangible components exist within that construct, which are the norms, values, attitudes and beliefs, for that group dynamic to continue and move forward in a desired manner. For example, Backyard Dwellers who were related to the family members in the main dwelling might not agree on certain issues, but in most instances reserved their opinion for the sake of peace, which is linked to the tangible benefit of the free accommodation and living space.

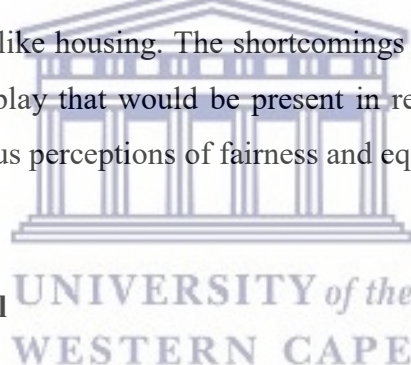
Categorised according to scales, or the size of the networks, Social Capital can be divided into micro level, which would be family and schools. A micro level would be communities and a macro level would be exhibited as regions, operating as a collective body. The phrase “it’s not what you know,” but “who you know”, rings true with this theory. For example, a college or university graduate looking for employment can illustrate this point. Struggling to find meaningful employment, depending on the size of his social networks, the graduate can either be limited in his/her ability to secure suitable employment, or be exposed to multiple job opportunities.

Social capital similarly acts as a source for information flows. The exchange of ideas at organisations – public, private and non-governmental level – and access to information not obtainable, unless connected to those spheres, allows access to those information flows. Social capital works through the norms of reciprocity, there is mutual benefit to all parties involved in the group. A one-sided approach does not support the culture of reciprocity, where those in the group not benefitting will not need those who do not add to the culture of mutual group benefit. Although there is no tangible resource benefit, the intangible non-compliance is felt when members of the group no longer function according to these required values used to sustain the group. Social Capital can foster collective action, such as backyard dwellers forming an official group, and doing this, gives them a greater voice as a housing stakeholder.

The motive for applying Social Capital theory to this study is that even if people are poor, it still provides with an option for hope where they can mobilize their resources for tangible positive outcomes. This theory aligns to Coleman’s interpretation of the Social Capital definition (Gillies & Edwards, 2006). On a macro scale, Putnam (2001) refers to social capital as the tool necessary for individual well-being and the community health and a city’s success.

He further attributes the quality of democracy and the economic growth of a region to the success of social capital. Individuals are bound to make decisions in the interest of the greater group if they feel they can trust the relationship made via the establishment of grouping. Even if the outcome translates to safer communities, there is still a reciprocal spin off for this relationship engagement.

It would be easy to measure Social Capital quantitatively simply by adding the number of people a person is relationally connected to. This would also mean that groups with greater membership status have higher social capital. However, the qualitative measures would be harder to articulate and lean more to reciprocal desired outcomes experienced and continued motivation to remain part of such groupings. It is idealistic to maintain that all individuals work collectively together for the sake of the greater community good. All people are not the same, and we do not all share the same interests or goals and are not of the same material means. Our priorities and our motivations will largely be affected by our greatest needs. Hence, although there is a need of available affordable housing in Hanover Park, for some community members, it does not mean all these individuals have similar interests and would agree to who is more deserving of a scarce resource like housing. The shortcomings of the ideals of Social Capital do not incorporate the power play that would be present in resource allocation, as material differences would affect virtuous perceptions of fairness and equality.



3.8 Critiques of Social Capital

Arguments against Social Capital is that the theory itself is seen with too much optimism, and that it is sold with a magical ability to alleviate many of society's ills (Zhang, 2022). It is also seen to have a causal circular effect, where more stable communities have higher social capital and because of the higher social capital more communities are stable. The success of a community's development is based on both bonding, and family and friendship relationships based on equality and intimacy as well as bridging social capital, which comprise of relationships that are both formal and informal in nature. Despite bridging relationship ties, which tend to be weaker than bonding ties, they yield a higher capital return by the diversity and nature of the relationship and assist the individual in moving forward with their own lives, information and accessibility to job markets.

Szreter and Woolcock (2004) identified a further sub-category to Bridging Social Capital called Linking Social Capital. This idea identified a community's ability to interact with government stakeholders and give them an opportunity to link and connect with people in authority. The community's capacity to tap into linking capital and State functioning would directly affect their development outcomes. However, Szreter and Woolcock's (2004) idea is idealistic in nature because even if the poor are organized or speak as a group, there is no guarantee of a change in their economic condition. For community development to work operationally, it needs both a top-down initiation and maintenance, as well as the bottom-up efforts in order to sustain a healthy relationship equilibrium.

Perceived housing discrimination influences an individual's ability to develop his or her own social capital. The housing market in general is still biased along racial lines, and discriminatory behaviour persists although subtly disguised under a class profile of affordability. Neighbourhood features contribute to the development of Social Capital. A sense of belonging and trust will affect an individual's willingness to invest themselves both in time and resources within their communities and relating more with neighbours.

3.9 The perception of housing

Social capital entails the consideration of an approach that examines the individual as well as between neighbourhood processes. If there were no cultivation for a shared identity, then social capital would decline. Both individual, as well as neighbourhood process have a direct correlation and effect on each other. Perceived housing discrimination affects an individual's motivation to develop Social Capital. It is evident that those who are able to live in preferred neighbourhoods have a strong sense of belonging and safety. In contrast, those who live in poor housing conditions coupled with an undesirable area are at greater risk for mental illness such as depression and anxiety.

The merits of Social Capital nurture the belief that it is a good tool to be used alongside Government initiatives, to encourage community development and assist in dealing with poverty alleviation. Social Capital is not the silver bullet to solve an individual's problems, but it will provide individuals with positive physical benefits. The approach to Social Capital usage for a practitioner is recommended to be realistic, but although the former is beneficial, it will not automatically change the individual's economic status or necessarily welcome

disadvantaged communities to be part of strategic decision-making or resource allocation. However, individuals with Social Capital are still better off with an expanded social network than isolated, or without interest in any social grouping extending beyond the bonding sphere of family and friendship relationships.

3.10 Summary

This chapter has highlighted that as a theoretical framework social capital is better utilized as a tool to advocate for the transference of economic resources through social networks. Cognitive, Structural and Relational Social Capital were expanded on within this chapter, as well as the operationalization of this theory. Relationships as a resource amidst perceived housing discrimination and backyard dwellers perception of access to housing alternatives play an integral role as a mechanism to housing needs being met.



Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Research methodology is a systematic route to discover truth about a specific phenomenon (Kothari, 2004). This chapter presents the research design which structures the approach and explains quantitative, qualitative and mixed research methodologies. Following the latter will be a discussion about sampling techniques, and the data collection instruments used in this study. Lastly the researcher will provide a framework to show how data will be analysed and the chapter will end off with the ethical considerations which the researcher adhered to during this study. The research methodology provides credibility to the study as it measures the reliability of the methods used.

4.2 Research Design

The research design is the framework of research methods and techniques to effectively address the research question. Babbie (2007) describes the research design as the entry point of the study which also simultaneously lays out the detail of how the study will be executed. As with the blueprint of a house, the research design depicts the exact detail of how the study should be conducted, or built for that matter, with full consideration of all the presumed technicalities of the project taken into account, before the actual implementation of the project commences. According to Mitchell and Jolly (2010) the research design allows the researcher to defend any argument showing that the research was designed according to sound scientific fundamental principles. Cresswell and Clark (2011) agree that the design is useful as it prepares the reasoning by which the findings of the studies will be interpreted.

The aim of this research is geared towards social networks and social capital and how it is used to access housing in Hanover Park. To create an understanding of this housing solution of Backyard Dwellers in a public or City of Cape Town Council Township housing development. Hanover Park, was an apartheid era residential construct for Coloured people. The research further investigates the implications of this living solution within the community of Hanover Park, and the tangible methods of gaining access to better housing. The research, in addition,

examines whether a preferential pattern of social resourcefulness exists over physical resources.

4.3 Research Methodology

A research methodology is the specific manner used to identify, sift, process and analyse information that is being studied (Noor, 2008). It builds on the reliability of the study as it uses applied scientific practice to disseminate information. It similarly shows how the researcher went about to systematically design the study in order to prove its validity, and that the work done is well grounded and meets with the objectives set out for the research being conducted. There are different types of research methodologies that can be used, namely quantitative and qualitative research. Quantitative research draws information from a numerical dataset, while qualitative focuses on extracting the meaning of human behaviour from written or spoken words. Research can also entail a mixed methodological approach which encompasses aspects of both quantitative and qualitative research methods in the same study (Kothari, 2004). The mixed methodology for this study has been chosen, as it provides a balanced approach to explain the research topic, including both numerical data as well as lived experience.

4.3.1 Quantitative Research Methodology

According to Cresswell and Clark (2011), the quantitative world is established by hard facts checking the credibility of the theory. Newman and Ridenour (1998) concur that within the quantitative research methodology, the starting point is based on a theory which is then tested to prove whether that theory holds true or is disproved. The evaluation of numeric data predisposes it to factual insight. The quantitative methodology allows for all personal bias and beliefs to be extracted from research that is being studied thus allowing for objectivity within the study focusing the questions on the 'what is' instead of the 'what should be.' Chilisa (2011) also believes that quantitative methodologies are reflective and represent dominant cultural frameworks within which they operate of the sample studied.

4.3.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

The qualitative paradigm allows for an understanding of behaviour, values, beliefs and assumptions. According to Newman and Ridenour (1998), the qualitative, which is also known as the naturalistic approach is about explaining reality and developing a theory which describes the phenomenon experienced. Choy (2014) believes that more issues can be raised via this paradigm as it allows for more open-ended inquiry. It affords the researcher the opportunity to engage in diverse groups and differing perspectives from the same community. The data collection is more time consuming and does require greater skill as the researcher would have to navigate potential biases.

4.3.3 Mixed Methods Research Methodology

According to Newman and Ridenour (1998) there is no better paradigm than the one that seeks to find the answer to the truth. In order to address the divide of dualism between the different approaches of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the mixed methods approach provides for a greater confirmation and comprehension of the reality being studied (Dunning, 2007). Instead of comparing quantitative as opposed to qualitative methods, combining the two would create greater validity and provide fewer limitations to the study. In this regard the researcher chose the mixed methods approach, believing it to be the most appropriate method for this research project. According to Newman and Ridenour (1998), all behavioural research is made up of a mixture of constructs of both the quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The mixed research methodology on the other hand has the capacity to enhance society through information discovered by a changeable patterned relationship. The design structure of the research is more scientifically valid if built on the constructs of both paradigms versus juxtaposing the paradigms against each other. An important part of the research question and investigation was for the researcher to ascertain the levels of trust within the community of Hanover Park, as correlated to the strength of the social relationships. The research wanted to establish whether this trust had a contributing interplay on possible housing opportunities for the backyard residents. This study aimed to describe and analyse the nature of the Hanover Park community's relationships, and how this related to housing opportunities for Backyard Dwellers. The researcher could draw analysis from information gathered by the qualitative input supported by the aligned data patterned relationships of interpretive thematic trends.

Thus, the complementary methodology was the best suited methodological approach for this research project.

4.4 Respondents and Sampling Techniques

Gathering data is critical in research, as the data is meant to enable a better understanding of the content researched. It is important that the way data is obtained and from who it is obtained, is done with insight and fine judgement. Usage of samples are, in addition, methods used in research. A sample is a selection of people or objects that form a part of and reflect a greater population (Etikan & Alkassim, 2016). A sample, according to McGuirk and O'Neil (2016), is a segment that contains a mathematical probability that can produce features that are representative of the population. There are two types of sampling methods that can be used, namely probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling found in qualitative sampling, entails drawing on samples in an uncalculated manner. These types of sampling do not have a likelihood in being chosen or allow the researcher the ability to draw generalizations from the sample, versus nonprobability sampling which is used in quantitative sampling, where the researcher deliberately selects what, or who, is included within the sample (Etikan & Bala, 2017).

The non-probability sampling method used for this study is the Purposive Sampling method. This technique that would best represent the population being studied. This sampling method is also known as judgmental, or selective sampling, where the informant is deliberately chosen for the information they possess (Dolores & Tongco, 2007). According to Newman (1998), this procedure allows the researcher to define certain characteristics within the population, such as common characteristics, or experiences which was necessary to include in the sample. The respondents chosen for the sample were 50 residents of the community of Hanover Park. Twenty-five Backyard Dwellers, and twenty-five landlords, who rented their backyards to the Backyarders, were selected for the sample. These Backyarders rented space in the landlord's backyards where they built makeshift dwellings to house their families. The researcher identified this group as they best represented the population being studied. The researcher only selected landlords and Backyard Dwellers residing on the same property, and landlords residing in in council houses.

Structured questionnaires were given to 50 respondents who were people residing in backyard dwellings and the adjoining landlord occupying the same municipal site in the council house, in the township suburb of Hanover Park. In addition, the researcher also conducted in-depth semi structured interviews with the same twenty-five backyard residents and the twenty-five adjoining landlords who occupied the same property in Hanover Park. The semi structured interviews started with fixed questions and continued into open ended questions, to allow the respondent to speak freely and bring up their own concerns regarding the experienced lived environment. A further interview was conducted with the current Ward Councillor of Hanover Park, to ascertain government's input.

4.5 Data Collection Techniques

The triangulation method will be employed, as various data collection tools will be used. This method allows the testing of and measurement of data collection against each other and allows for a consensus regarding the deliverable output (Casley & Kumar, 1989). High quality research is the result of using the correct techniques of data collection, and credible findings are based on data collected in a standardized, consistent and scientific manner (McKenzie & Knipe, 2006). According to Kabir (2016), the value of data collection is that accurate and honest information is gathered. The outcome of data collection is the recording of quality evidence that renders a rich data analysis, which further substantiates dependable solutions to the research question under investigation.

4.5.1 Quantitative Data Collection Techniques

Quantitative data is numeric in nature and are usually defined in levels of scale. Due to it being standardized it can be executed with minimal effort and based on the sample the researcher is able to make easy comparisons from the data set collected (Kabir, 2016). The limitation of this technique is that it cannot explain the results or the trends that could emanate from the data, but it remains a relatively quick and easy way to extract generalizations and summarise findings.

4.5.2 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a quick and easy way of getting information from a large group of respondents (Strange et al, 2003). Data from questionnaires should be easy to organize as answers would be standard, and questionnaires also afford the respondents an opportunity to answer more honestly about questions which are more sensitive in nature, versus a formal interview. According to McGuirk and O'Neil (2016), questionnaires are a good way to source first hand impressions, attitudes, beliefs and awareness of events. As part of a mixed methods approach, questionnaires are used to establish trends or patterns in behaviour and understandings. The researcher compiled a questionnaire made up of closed ended questions that measured the variables such as facts, behaviour and preferences. Scaled questions were also included to measure respondents' attitudes towards certain scenario questions posed. The researcher ensured, being cognisant when drafting the questionnaire, that the questions were neither biased nor leading.



4.5.3 Qualitative Data Collection Techniques

Qualitative data is descriptive in nature and captures emotions, feelings and the subjective perception of something. It aims to seek solution to the how and why of a problem. Qualitative data collection methods such as semi-structured interviews, usually present open-ended questions, and can traverse through unexplored or unintended consequences of the research (Kabir, 2016). The limitations of this method, besides being time consuming, is that the findings cannot be generalized, and are thus only an indication of the participants of the group being studied. Qualitative data collection tools are useful in assisting with explaining the process behind what is being seen. The flexibility of this method allows the researcher to review and clarify concepts with participants to gain further understanding, and various tools can similarly be used to record data thoroughly and accurately, such as pictures, and voice recordings.

4.5.4 Semi-structured Interviews

According to McIntosh and Morse (2015) semi-structured interviews are a data collection strategy where researchers have a framework of questions that they can use to ask the respondents. It does not have to be strictly followed and allows for the conversation to pursue different avenues dependent on the themes that are being covered. Galletta (2013) believes that the semi structured interviews permit for the discovery of lived experience and has the potential to simplify and provide context to intricate stories. The latter is usually preceded by observation and the completion of a questionnaire.

The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews in addition to the questionnaires with all 50 of the selected respondents. The researcher prepared, and followed, a clear guideline of questions, and conducted semi-structured face-to-face interviews in the vicinity of the respondent's homes. Detailed notes were taken of each interview as a recording of the interview held. The interview questions were an attempt to retrieve their perceptions of their lived realities. From what are the realities faced by backyard dwellers to what do they think is the answer to the current housing problem experienced, the future of Hanover Park and the best way to get a house. Allowance was made for the interview to take a different trajectory in order to collate relevant and meaningful information not previously considered in respect of the topic. Besides providing reliable data, from different respondents, that can be compared, it also created an opportunity for the respondents to express their viewpoints freely. The researcher also had the advantage of understanding the respondent's perspective and could pick up on body language and facial expressions, which provided further social clues to the lived environment experienced.

4.6 Observation

One of the simplistic ways to gather information is to research the environment through observation. Observation in research, according to (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, pg. 79), "Is the systematic description of the events, behaviour, and artefacts of a social setting". The researcher spent a considerable amount of time frequenting the area of Hanover Park and learnt considerably by using her senses. Noting what may have seemed obvious to some, but in

essence, to describe the environment and make-up of people, in which the housing phenomena of backyard dwelling in this area, is a norm. As the researcher is not originally from the Cape Flats area, the housing phenomenon of backyard dwelling is a new concept. A natural observational approach was taken, as the researcher did not wish to alter anything or any behaviour, by the observation process. Furthermore, direct observation has been used to capture the more extensive observation of the Backyarders dwelling living conditions. These data collection tools together are required to create a better measurable perception as well as reactions of participants to these living conditions.

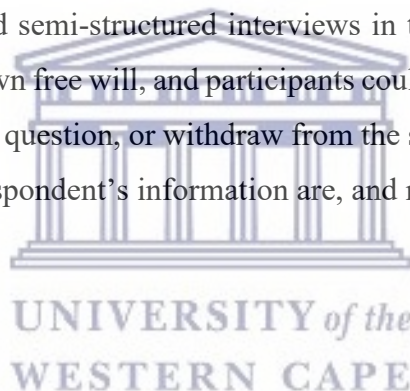
4.7 Data Analysis

The data collected is key information in the research process, and once collected the data must be analysed. Data analysis is the ability to turn the collected data into a structured format that brings meaning to the data which makes the information acquired useful (Jackson, 2009). The data gathered by means of the many instruments used for both primary and secondary data, are then aligned in a way that ultimately would answer the research question. The researcher used a descriptive study, as it provided the natural reflection regarding the characteristics and relationships of this particular population group.

The purpose of the analysis is the identification of relationships between the variables found in the data. In the analysis of the data, the researcher had a number of aims. The researcher also hoped that a theme, or a linkage, would emerge from the data which would relate to the research aims. Analysed data will be entered using the MS Excel software package, in an effort to establish the mean demographic trend of the current Hanover Park population. The quantitative analyses would precede the qualitative analysis, as the numerical demographic sets the platform for the environment being studied. The qualitative responses will be arranged into descriptive categories, which will assist to clarify, summarise and compare the data collected. McIntosh and Morse (2015) believe that the researcher will identify common thematic trends and patterns across the data sets to be able to establish meanings and interpretations of people, processes and operational structures.

4.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues are moreover important when conducting research, and the researcher had to follow these numerous ethical guidelines. Fundamental principles, such as informed consent, privacy and the assurance that subjects are kept from any harm while partaking in the study, are standard requirements met by the researcher (Ellis, 2007). Permission was granted by the UWC Senate, the Ethics and Economic and Management Sciences Higher Degree Committees of the University of the Western Cape, before undertaking the field research. Ethical considerations in a study ensures that the participant is not harmed during the process, and that the researcher fulfils her responsibility towards the research undertaken (Mitchell & Jolly, 2010). All participants were informed of the nature and intention of the academic study and signed a consent form granting the researcher permission to use the data, or information, acquired via questionnaires and semi-structured interviews in this study. Participation in the study was by the individual's own free will, and participants could decide at any stage to refrain from answering any particular question, or withdraw from the study completely. All personal particulars and disclosure of respondent's information are, and remain, confidential.



4.9 Summary

The research methodology used depends on the objectives of the study. The researcher used the mixed methods approach as it is deemed more complementary encompassing the benefits of both quantitative and qualitative research paradigms. This methodology limits biases and reduces possible hindrances that could be imposed by the study. The data collection tools were explained and ethical protocols were followed to meet academic integrity.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The findings have given the researcher a greater insight into the extent of how social networks, and social capital, is used and utilised to gain access to the backyards of people residing in Hanover Park to set up their informal dwelling for the family. These findings give a better greater understanding and insight of how family's access backyards in Hanover Park, erect a dwelling and live. It also enabled the researcher to better understand the accessibility dynamics involved, and could propose, to policymakers and local government authorities, better ways to enable families to access affordable housing and interventions which would contribute to the overall living environment.

5.2 Data Presentation, interpretation and analysis.

The research student processed the data collected using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Therefore, this particular study uses both methods of data analysis. The use of Microsoft Excel, Graphs, charts and tables to make the data more presentable and meaningful made the analysis, coding, labelling and tabulating of the data much easier. Furthermore, qualitative data collected from the respondents were categorised into meaningful themes. This gave the researcher the opportunity to better understand and reflect on the data collected. The researcher used descriptive statistics in her endeavour to understand the collected data much better during the analysis. She in addition, employed the content analysis technique to thematically record and transcribe the collected data, which was presented using quotations and diagrams.

During this particular section of the research, the researcher explored the reasons how the presence, or absence, of social connections, and social capital enables individuals and families to access their properties to erect their informal backyard structure. The next section is a presentation of the data, as well as the analysis and subsequent presentation of the findings.

These findings were put together using statistical techniques, graphical illustration, pie charts, direct quotations and tables. Previous research conducted by other researchers also gave the

researcher a review on the current and available literature about the topic, which was used to juxtapose and compare it to her research findings.

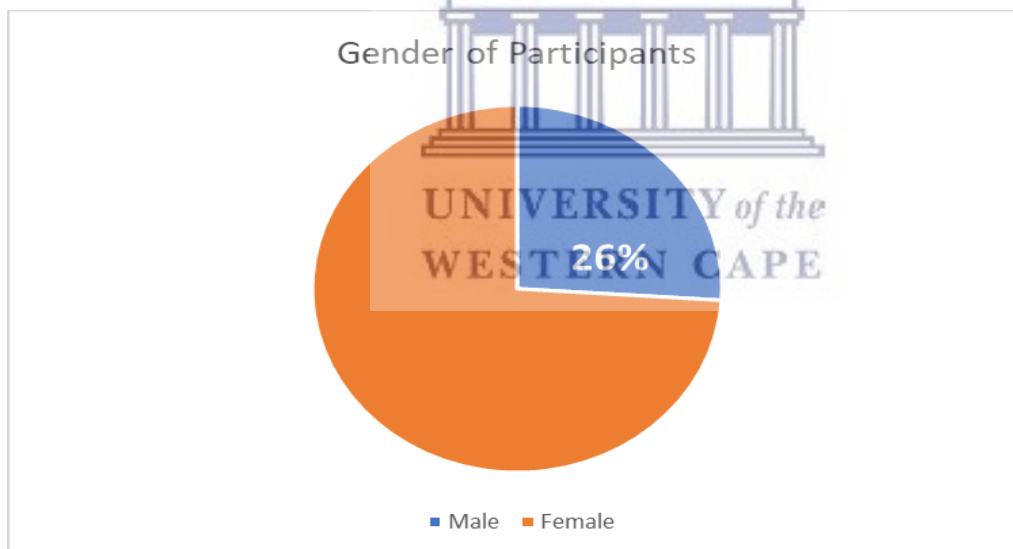
5.3 Socio-economic factors and demographics.

The following describes the socio-economic conditions of the particular geographical area and is expressed using percentiles, graphs summaries and tables. This includes the gender, educational status household income and employment status of the respondents.

5.3.1 Gender

Of the 25 households that was sampled nearly 80% were female run households. This is indicative of the fact that more female-managed households are prevalent in and shows the absence of male figures and male headed households in Hanover Park.

Figure 5.1: Gender of Participants



Source: Author's compilation based on field survey

Hanover Park is a high crime area, the absence of male headed households can in large be attributed to this fact. Absent in the statistics due to being incarcerated, due to crimes committed from petty thieving to murder, gang violence puts the safety of males from the elderly to young male children at risk to be targeted by rival gangs by merely being in on the wrong turf from where they reside, this whether they belong to a gang or not. Most men within

the community are tradesmen and equally struggle to find employment, but are able to move to the economic opportunity if need be and out of the area.

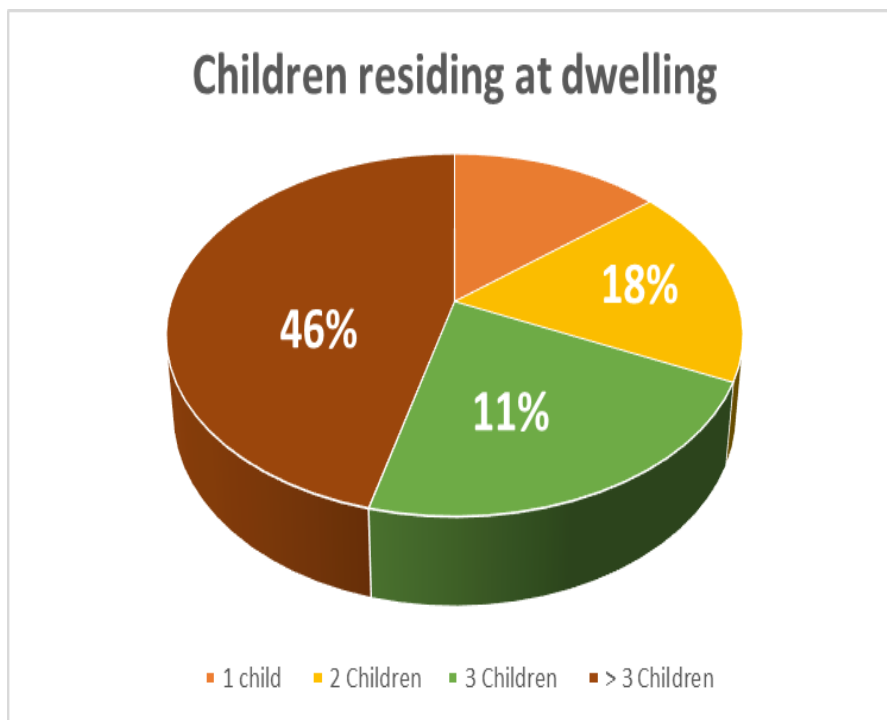
Even though the sample population indicated that men may reside at the address indicated most males are not actively involved in running their households. These functions are typically left for females to manage, and to make decisions, both economically and regarding the family's wellbeing. Statistics for Cape Town indicate that women comprise 51% of the population bearing only a 3% difference in the male population figures, it's not that there are less men, just that the men are not visibly found to be fixed residents of Hanover Park due to reasons highlighted above.

5.3.2 Children living with Backyard dwellers

Data collected over the last 10 years indicate that young people between the ages of 7 and 20 have the need for protection, since they are still deemed to be non-adults - this includes teenagers and young adults. They also need to be recognised to having possession of a voice and agency according to Potgieter-Gqubule and Ngcobo (2009). This effectively means that these children must be guided and cared for so that their personal well-being is protected.

Young people living in backyards also deserve to be given the opportunity to take their rightful place in South Africa, with the correct guidance by more mature adults (Mlatsheni, 2014). Mlatsheni (2014) notes that it is essential from a generational life cycle perspective, that the time phase of youth, and their transition from childhood into youth and then into adulthood, is an important aspect of socialization.

Figure 5.2: Children Residing in BYD



Source: Author's compilation based on field survey

If we do not take care of children and youth, we would have dysfunctional adults. Therefore, the living conditions of the backyard dwellers have conditioned many children to think that living this way is a norm and a way of life. Children living in backyards must also be acknowledged and recognised for the important role they play as social actors within their respective communities. The National Youth Policy (2014) stipulates and acknowledges the important role that young people and children play in South African society. The democratic processes in South Africa are further advanced when young people and children can be free to express themselves.

More than 46% of the sampled households have more than three children per household. Even though this enables them to access social grants, it seems to be a struggle for the average family of five and more to make ends meet. Households on the other hand having two or less children, by the participant's own admission, find it easier to cover their expenses and maintain a level of financial stability. Feeding schemes within the primary schools remain a good incentive for children to be excited about going to school, though with rampant gangs entering public school spaces, the children remain vulnerable in these areas and parents defenceless against this increasing negative social norm.

The children in the areas do not get enough opportunity and there are not enough open spaces for their recreation. Living in confined spaces creates an environment of hostility amongst the children growing up in Hanover Park. Violence perpetuated by gangs fighting with, and shooting at each other are daily realities in this crime ridden area. The risks of bullets penetrating the backyard dwellings, and injuring or killing an occupant during gang gun battles are realities of daily life. The relationship is also not always conducive for them to seek shelter in the landlord's house. According to most of the respondents, the children have learnt to lay flat on the floor whilst the gun battles rages on outside.

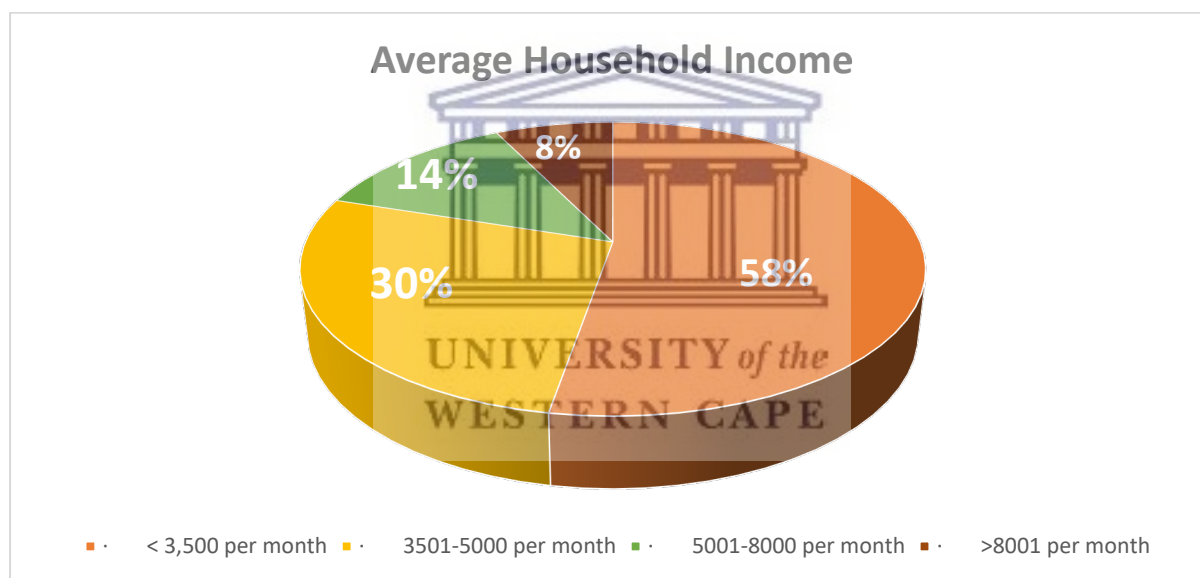
The children also do not have the opportunity to attend sport and recreation clubs, which used to be offered by the City of Cape Town at the various community centres. This ultimately means that the kids play in areas and spaces where it is not safe to do so. Some children in the area are collected at their homes by a few NGOs that work with kids. This, the respondents' state, also boils down to who you know and who you are connected to.

Children are also exposed to various illnesses like Tuberculosis, lung diseases and diarrhoea. The local community day hospital is a major challenge and parents of the children have to get up at 4am to be first in the line, only to be assisted by 10 or 11 am in the morning. For those that are employed, it also means another day off from work. This normally translates into a scenario of no work, no pay. The respondents believe that Government has failed them, even if their children's right to access good health care is enshrined in the Constitution of the RSA. The average household income is just too little, according to most of the participants. Most of them expressed a willingness to work to increase their income. This has been easier said than done. The participants fear for the future of their children. According to them, if finding meaningful work opportunities are already difficult for them, what will happen to their children. They expressed their commitment to getting their children to finish their high school. There are after school study assistance provided to their children at various high schools in the area. This remains a tricky situation, since their children will have to walk home alone from school after these programs. It is for this reason that the children do not attend these after-school classes. Some kids belong to private study groups which is also run by various NGO's and CBO's. Once again, the participants pointed to having to be connected to those in charge of these programs, for the kids to gain access to the opportunities.

5.3.3 Average household income

An important factor adding to the breakdown of social cohesion is the mammoth issue of income inequality. During the past two decades the increase in the population of the Cape Flats and the City of Cape Town has increased substantially, especially in the poorer sectors of the urban residents. Migration from other parts of the Western Cape Province including the Eastern Cape Province have particular contributed to this growth. Unfortunately, most of the non-white population have not benefited socio-economically from the post-Apartheid democracy. Inchauste et al., (2015) note that that inequality and poverty levels in South Africa has steadily increased in the country. This is even as South Africa spends more money on social grants and grants in aid compared to many other countries.

Figure 5.3: Average Household Income



Source: Author's compilation based on field survey

Generally speaking, according to Inchauste et al., (2015), South Africa, in comparison to its peers are not doing that well in terms of economic growth and addressing inequality. In the case of Thailand, Brazil and Mexico, whose economic situation is similar to that of South Africa, income per capita have seen an increase between 1992 and 2012 (Levy et al., 2015). South Africa compares very well with regards to population size, development challenges and average income to these countries. While there are many developmental similarities, South Africa's inequality gap stands out as a sore thumb. For example, Brazil's Gini coefficient stands

at 0.55 versus South Africa's 0.7. This effectively translates into much higher levels of poverty and inequality. Despite South Africa's liberal economic pathway attaining substantial decreases in levels of poverty, the headcount quotient in South Africa, which is 250, is still too high at 36% in comparison to Brazil's 11% (Inchauste et al., 2015).

The democratic government in South Africa expanded its tax base since coming to power in 1994, and this was the State's attempt to deal with inequality and poverty (Levy et al, 2015). Unfortunately, these endeavours have not translated into meaningful tangible results, and only a small part of the population benefited from this economic opportunity. The reality is that the economy has retracted since the global economic crisis of 2008, although there was a 5.6 increase in the economic growth rate, the first decade post-1994. The South Africa post-apartheid regime is still servicing a historic fiscal debt and a massive fiscal deficit inherited from Apartheid days, which hampers the redistribution of resources to the majority of its citizens. This sketched scenario is further worrying with the downscaling of South Africa by the rating agencies such as Standard and Poor. According to the National Development Plan, South Africa needs an economic growth rate of at least 5.4% until 2030. This, the South African government purports or to deal with poverty unemployment and inequality effectively according to (Levy et al, 2015).

As a medium income country, South Africa generates a fairly good amount of tax revenue (Inchauste et al., 2015). In the year 2016/ 2017 the collection of tax reflected 26.2% of the country's gross domestic product. The split between direct and indirect tax collections is a 60/40 split. It is worth noting that personal income taxes attributes for two thirds of the direct taxes collected in South Africa, which is really the taxable income collected from individuals. The tax collecting system in South Africa has been transformed over the last 20 years to conform to international tax standards and has catapulted into a broader tax base for the South African revenue services. The introduction of a capital gains tax and the move over to a residence base tax system, versus a source-based tax system, has greatly helped with the collection of tax revenue and the general equity of the system. This mechanism and the modernization of the administration system resulted in and this collection system achieving higher levels of compliance. This collection system has also given the State a better understanding of the individual financial affairs of many South Africans.

The data collected from the respondents related to household income, showed a typical economic reality of many economically struggling urban families in Cape Town who are

struggling to make ends meet and survive. Fifty eight percent of the respondents indicated that they have a collective family income of R3500 or less. This translates into R116 per day, which is minute in comparison to the daily expense that these families incur. For example, they highlighted the increased electricity tariffs. Most of the respondents are connected to the municipal water and electricity supply via a pay-per-use system of the City of Cape Town. If they do not have cash to top up their supplies, they end up inevitably asking the neighbours for help. There were only 8% of respondents that indicated that they have an income of R8001 or more. These higher income individuals have a slightly better way of generating an income via selling products like frozen chicken and some running house shops.

5.3.4 Views of Informal Settlements

Respondents feel that the plight of the black informal settlements gains more support from government than the Coloured Backyard dweller. Most of the respondents are of the opinion that they follow the due protocol of registering themselves, to be placed on the housing waiting list. Some have shown physical proof of dated municipal stamps on their documentation to confirm the number of years they have been waiting for a formal house, yet there is no follow up or mention of where they stand in the queue since they first made their application. Their only deduction is that to get ahead and gain access to physical resources, is to have access to someone that works in the municipality or government that would be able to fast track their application for a concrete outcome. There is an iniquity in terms of resource allocations with no clear guidelines of how the process works, as some people (reference made to those in Informal Settlements) have jumped the queue and have migrated to the Western Cape from the Eastern Cape regions. They gain access to formal housing first whilst having their own houses within the Eastern Cape.

5.3.5 Levels of education

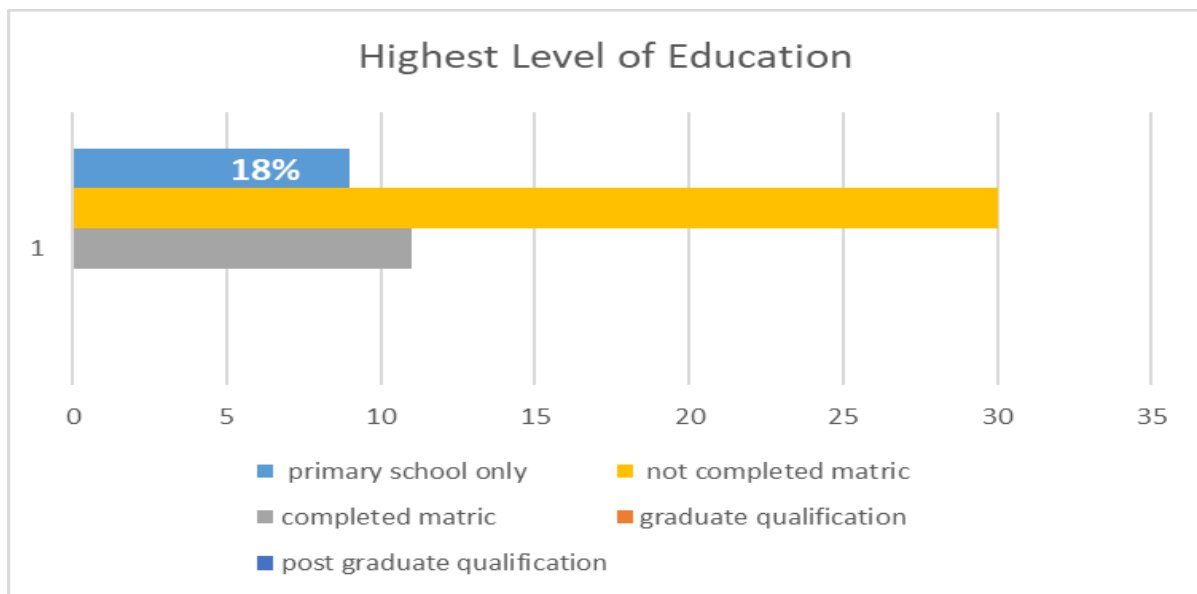
Research shows that access to education is helping and improving the quality of life for many people in South Africa (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2006). Since the 1994 post-apartheid dispensation people of all race groups completed the national senior certificate and a higher number are enrolled in higher education institutions. The current generation of non-white

citizens are more educated than the previous generation, and are making use of the government's commitment to give more people access to higher education through the national student's financial aid scheme. This bursary scheme assists needy students from low income families to study at higher education institutions. While thousands of non-white students benefit from this financial assistance, overall whites as a group, are still more educated than non-whites youth in the country. Currently, with the youth unemployment rate at 32% (Stats SA, 2019) those who have successfully completed their high school are finding it difficult to access meaningful jobs. Those who have dropped out during secondary school, have far less opportunity for gainful employment.

The South African department of education introduced a school subject called life orientation in schools. This was done, in their endeavour to develop a more positive self-concept amongst young people (Prinsloo, 1995). The aim of this particular endeavour was also to deal with children and youth at risk. The subject's aim in schools was to influence youth, families, street children and those living in safe houses. Prinsloo (1995) continues by saying that the other objectives of this school subject was to counter difficult issues facing youth, such as weak authority structures, exposure to various risk factors, family stressors and self-centred materialistic values.

Implementation of this life orientation learning has not been without challenges. A study conducted by Prinsloo (1995) indicate that principals at various high schools have had major challenges implementing this life orientation strategy. Some of the key challenges were the inadequate preparation of educators to teach in a diverse and multicultural setting, the absence of role models at schools, the negative influence of the community, and poor parental involvement. While these challenges are ongoing for the education department, the overall objective of the program remains critical.

Figure 5.4: Highest Level of Education



Source: Authors compilation based on field survey

Furthering their studies has been a desire for most of the respondents, who are mostly young mothers in their late twenties. They have expressed their awareness that a matric certificate will improve their chances of gaining employment. This is obviously not an easy feat, since they will have to attend evening classes and travel to and from the local high school is very dangerous. Some have formed groups and are using lift clubs to get to the school facility. This, the respondents say, also boils down to your social network and who you know.

From the data collected, it shows that the majority of the participants have regrets not finishing school – especially not completing matric. The latter notes that the absence of a matric certificate has stifled their chances of getting meaningful, long-term employment. The reasons some participants indicated for non-completion included the influence of friends, truancy and missing out on academic lessons, issues at home, falling pregnant, as well as the absence of proper guidance.

With majority of respondents not completing their secondary education mostly due to teenage pregnancy and lack of social support via negative environmental factors, to complete Matric, their limited education directly relates to their limited employability within the job market.

5.3.6 Unemployment

The participant's responses were all in line with the conclusions highlighted by the quantitative and qualitative data. Some of the respondents are employed, whilst others have intermittently been employed. Chronic unemployment is still a major issue in dealing with abject poverty amongst the respondents. The continual unemployment is a huge issue to them ever being able to afford a house of their own. The unemployment rate of the respondents as a group was sixty six percent. This unemployment figures are higher than the Western Cape averages, which is about 35% (StatsSA, 2019), and higher than the national average of 40% (StatsSA, 2019). The other respondents, who indicated that they were employed, were either employed intermittently, on a part-time basis, or running a small business to gain an income. Some of the respondents spoke about the never-ending disappointment of being turned down for positions for which they applied for.

The local councillor indicated that they do assist people to apply for jobs. His office assists with applications, curriculum vitae and interview preparations, as well as extending work opportunities via the EPWP and CWP to the residents of Hanover Park. The sample group respondents however believe that only those who are connected to the local ward councillor and support his political party get those opportunities. The respondents in general have negative feelings towards the locally elected Ward councillor, as they feel he does not represent the people in the community and is in the position for his own interests and self-gain. The respondents also state that most companies require credible references from previous employers. Even though their local priest has agreed to act as a reference, many times this is not enough.

Statistics indicate that 37.5% of the population are headed by female run households (StatsSA, 2019). Those that receive grants, pensions and other grants-in-aid, constitute 36.4% according to a NICRO report (2016). This particular report also highlights the high possibility that these female-headed households are experiencing desperate levels of hunger and poverty than those households that are headed by males. Woman and children remain the most vulnerable, their main income source being a grant in aid of child support or disability. If they have no family or close friendship ties as a support structure, woman with children are left to fend for themselves between employability and child care dictates. A constant state of high stress and insecurity has direct consequences on health and personal well-being. This, in addition to the

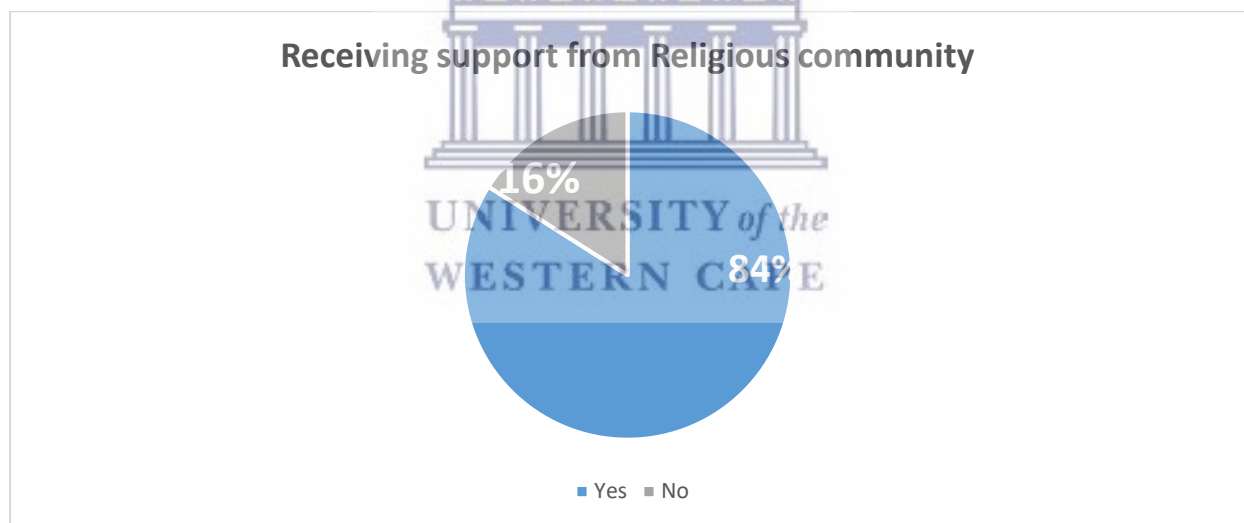
poor housing conditions contribute directly to the burden of the health sector and local clinic meant to service this jurisdiction

5.3.7 Religious affiliation and support

The data gathered moreover showed that most of the participants identified with Christianity and a minority with Islam. The 2011 Census conducted by Statistics South Africa reveals that nearly 80% of the South African population across racial and age categories identify Christianity as their preferred form of religion, with the rest adherents of Islam (5%), Judaism, Hinduism and non-Christian religions. There was however a total of 15.1% within the sample study of Hanover Park who indicated holding no religious affiliation or orientation.

Regardless of religious belief, people of colour have a belief system in a higher deity, and in access to this, the religious organizations play a crucial role within the communities of much needed pastoral care and support.

Figure 5.5: Support from Religious Organ



Source: Authors compilation based on field survey

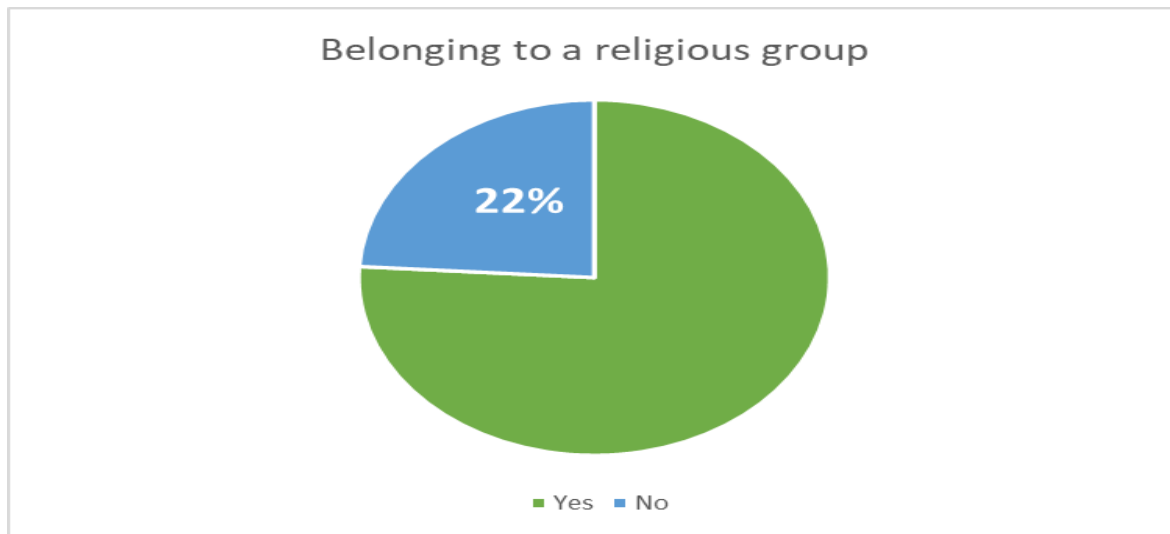
Those individuals belonging to this network group bear a more positive life outcomes with greater purpose and meaning to their daily life's functioning. According to a Presidency Report (2006) managed by Macro Social Trends, the religious association and affiliation is a key contributor towards a social network, and social capital, for individuals and organisations as a whole. A community's religious affiliation is seen as a pivotal part of an individual's social capital, which entrenches, and embodies their values, giving them a certainty of social

arrangement. The Report further notes that in many cases, having a religious association is a tool connecting an individual' socio-economically and giving them the status that creates opportunities.

Since 1994 there has been a consistent disengagement amongst the youth from organised traditional forms of religions. In 1992 forty percent of young people indicated that they had an association and affiliation to a formal church. This figure has drastically gone down so that by 1999 that particular figure decreased by 13% according to a Justice and Services Report (2014). During the apartheid era, the religious youth movement was very vocal and played a key role in mobilizing young people through meetings and activism. They encouraged individual agency social awareness, as well as improving their own personal spiritual lives (Mingo, 1999). During this period, there were many religious organisations spearheading the anti-apartheid drive, like the organisations the Young Christian Students and Workers Association, the Catholic Students Association, the South African Union of Jewish students and the Muslim Student Association. Not only did they play a pivotal role during the anti-apartheid era, or amongst youth only, but also fulfilled a broader societal role.

In all likelihood the spiralling trend of people not being involved in religious fraternities could be because many people are disillusioned and not maintaining their active agency and civil activism. There has also been a recent trend where traditional Pentecostal, and charismatic churches have attracted members from more traditional churches like the NGK, Anglican, and Catholic, and other denominational churches. The traditional denominational churches have seen the downward trend in their membership. Traditional churches do not look after their members from a socio-economic perspective and do not guide the young people through difficult phases of life. As societies are faced with a myriad of challenges there are different approaches needed to function in a post-industrial society, a post literate society as well as a postmodern society. Pentecostalism in RSA is only a reflection of the general stances and approaches of the church of congregants. Many of the congregants believe that a direct association with their church grouping will give them the emotional physical and financial support required to live their life successfully. To a certain degree, without knowing, this gives them the social network, as well as social capital required by virtue of belonging to this church group. The HRSC policy initiative shows that many of the participants see themselves as religious and that their association with their religious fraternity gives those direct benefits from being socially involved. Nearly forty nine percent of those polled believe that the association gives them direct benefits.

Figure 5.6: Religious Affiliation



Source: Authors compilation based on field survey

Most of the respondents expressed their confidence in belonging to a local church or religious organization. According to many of the respondents it gives them a place of belonging and comfort knowing that they will one day be buried in dignity. The churches and mosques do support them when they request help. They did say that some do get more resources than others, but this is due to their level of involvement in the activities of the religious entity. Some see churches only looking after their own members. Other NGO's offer help to everyone in need. The respondents did point out, that it is a known fact that some residences do get more than others, probably due to their relationship with the custodians of the organizations. The data indicated a strong level of involvement in churches. This membership should be better utilized by having databases available to managing the needs of the community.

Many churches forming part of the mainstream denominations have huge campaigns to draw younger people to church services with a strong focus on musical worship. Is the Church attempting to remain relevant and deals with broader societal issues? The South African Council of Churches, having used the Joint Enrichment Program (JEP) and referring to a whole generation of non-churchgoers as a "lost generation." Some churches, such as those in Stellenbosch, a small town outside Cape Town, have intentionally become involved in social projects such as offering life skills programs and setting up sporting facilities for communities. According to Potgieter-Gqubule and Ngcobo (2009), the more traditional churches have become less involved in socio-economic issues, where they should have been involved. Thus,

a source of bridging capital from those that have to those without the means otherwise to acquire or have their needs met.

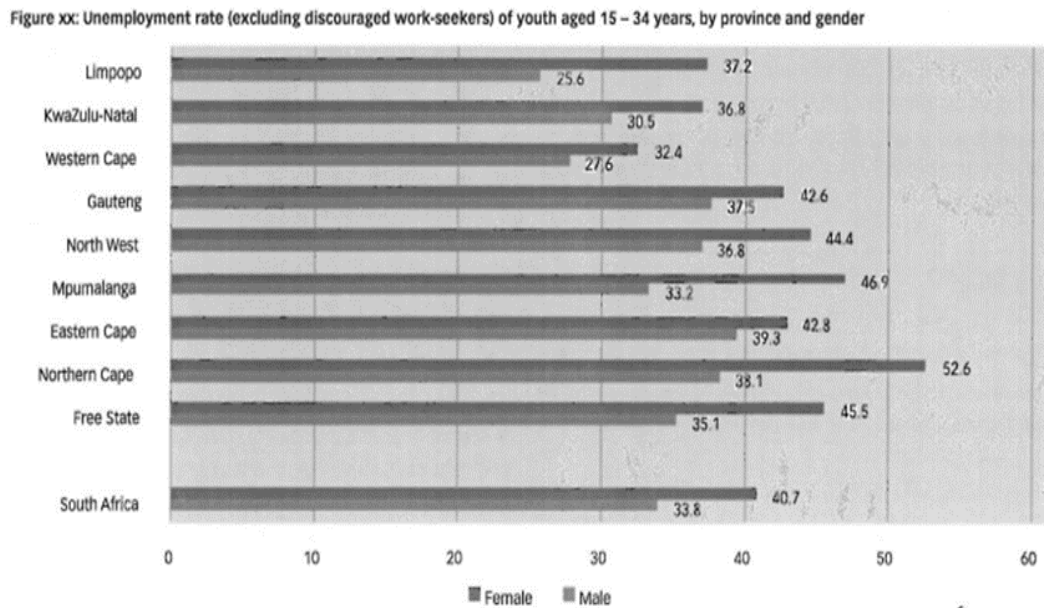
The respondents indicated a strong affiliation and membership to a religious community in Hanover Park. This affiliation is based on their deep spirituality (both Christian and Muslim beliefs), and the knowledge that they will get support from their local church/mosque. Some of the participants noted that their very survival depended on the weekly food parcel, or container of soup they receive. A few participants even experienced the generosity of other churches, whilst not being a member of the church.

5.3.8 Employment status

An individual's self-esteem, social connections and identity are all linked to their employment status which goes hand-in-hand with the obvious self-sustenance that a job provides. South Africa has a very precarious labour market resulting from with slow economic growth, and hundreds of thousands of unskilled unemployed persons, this reality is uncondusive to address the levels of poverty, inequality and transformation to address the legacies of decades of racial discrimination and injustice done to the majority of non-white people in South Africa. This goes hand-in-hand with poor salaries as most people are employed in the informal sector, according to Makiwane and Kwizera (2006). Global unemployment is also on the rise and remains a challenge. The current unemployment statistics for South Africa is close to 40%. This includes unemployed people and those not seeking active employment.

Data from Khwela (2015) study indicate that young women are more vulnerable than young men and there are major differences in unemployment amongst South Africa's nine provinces. The below table illustrates this.

Figure 5.7: Unemployment Rate



Source: Khwela (2015)

Unemployment amongst black and coloured South Africans remains higher than their white counterparts, and these groups risk being unemployed for longer periods of time. Unemployment rates for whites remain at 11% while for Indians it's at 23%, and Coloureds at 32% with Black South Africans having the highest unemployment rates at 40% of the total unemployment base (Mlatsheni, 2014). Unemployment is also higher amongst unskilled workers. When South Africa's economic policies shifted in 1990 towards a more productivity orientated and technology-driven economy, many more workers were laid off as a result of this shift. This restructuring was supposed to go hand-in-hand with the stimulation of a skills development plan, higher wages and the creation of a platform for investment from international investors (Mlatsheni, 2014). Unfortunately, this restructuring also occurred at the same time when there was a move away from labour-intensive industries and manufacturing type activities. There was subsequently a massive downturn in the demand for unskilled labour and hardly any growth in the anticipated growth areas.

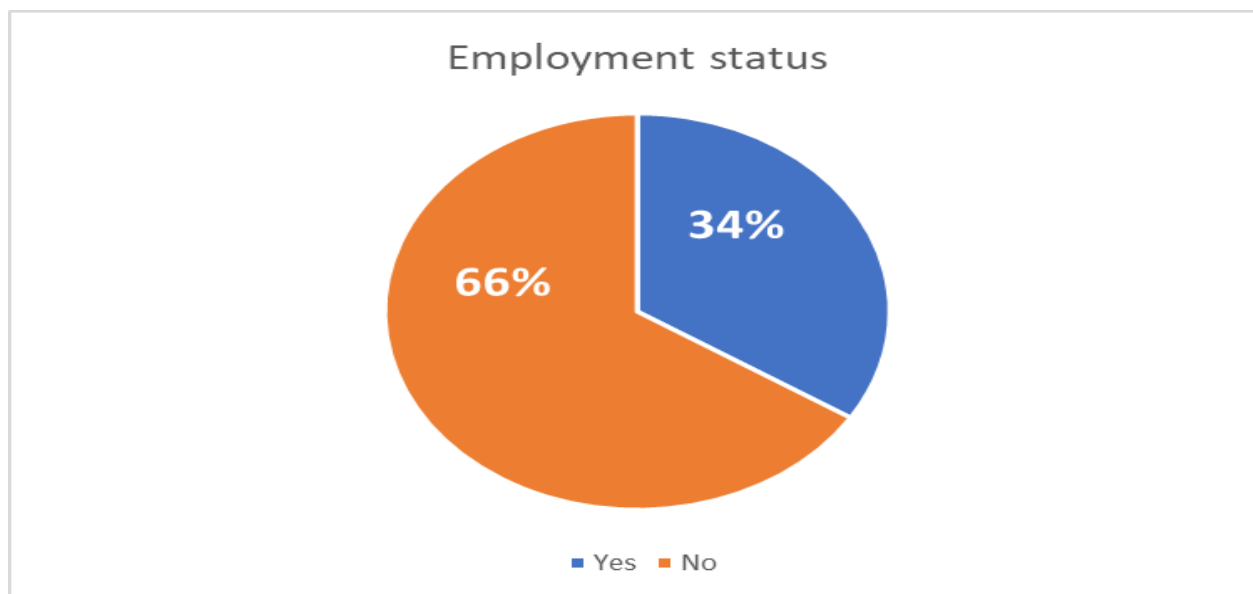
Skilled workers are needed for a technology-driven economy. Hence, skilled individuals are more employable, having more opportunities for training learnerships and further studies. If they completed a National Senior Certificate (NSC) qualification. Unfortunately, this is not the case for most coloured and black South Africans. Those individuals without matric run the real

possibility of being unemployed and not finding meaningful jobs. The majority of the respondents interviewed fall within this low-skilled category without any post-matric qualifications. More than 70% of the respondents interviewed did not have an NSC certificate and have never done any post-matric studying. The research also shows that many of the participants were disadvantaged in that they not only don't have an NSC certificate, but were also experienced weak primary and secondary school learning, infrastructure and an under-resourced education system. The data collected in addition showed that those participants who did complete high school, completed both primary and high school in Hanover Park.

The particular high schools in the geographic area of Hanover Park namely Crystal, Mount View and Groenvlei are all in close proximity to where the respondents live. Vandalism is rife in many of the schools which are also many times used as an extension of gang turf war. The participants in many instances pointed out that they had to leave school before completing matric due to fear and intimidation of gangs, as well as having to find employment in order to assist their economically depressed families.

Their long-term unemployment was exacerbated by premature exit out of the school system, no post-matric qualification and no work experience, with any skills needed in the workplace. According to Muntingh (2009), these people have no work readiness skills or any particular references to find meaningful work, and the few job opportunities available to them are entry-level retail workers and part-time labour jobs. Unfortunately, they also have to compete with individuals that have been unemployed, or under-employed for 10 to 15 years, as well as with their peers. Besides the obvious job market hurdles, they have to overcome and contend with personal financial and community-related pressures. Apartheid spatial planning, where work opportunities were far removed from townships, means that transport are other factors that exacerbate the problems of these individuals when they get employment – permanent or short-term contractual work. Transport challenges like distance, cost, and awkward transport linkages are some of the transport challenges residents from Hanover Park must deal with.

Figure 5.8: Employment status of BYD



Source: Author's compilation based on field survey

The effect that job seeking and work searching has on the unemployed is immense. Many of the participants have indicated that as a coping mechanism they have indulged in the excessive use of alcohol and drug usage. Many of them also have live-in partners as a means of protection as well as the possibility of getting an extra income to make ends meet. Low self-esteem, depression and discouragement are all part of the daily emotional stresses experienced due to long-term unemployment. There is a clear correlation between mental ill-health, depression, poverty and unemployment according to Mlatsheni (2014). The average person leaving school and not finding employment experiences extended periods of unemployment, before finding some level of income earning employment. The prolonged absence of employment decreases the employability of the respondents. A number of participants in the study also had criminal records, which makes finding meaningful long-term employment near impossible. The absence of proper education together with no work experience entrenches the notion that these people will remain in poverty for long periods of time.

All of the above-mentioned challenges prolong the inequality gap between the disadvantaged and those having full-time employment. Individuals on the other hand with strong family ties, complete matric and do some post matric studies, acquire post matric skills, will find meaningful work easier. These people will then leverage their social capital and social networks to go from one full-time job to another. The participants interviewed clearly have no

linking social capital that would give them access to job opportunities and job markets. There are bridging social capital available in the community of Hanover Park via churches and community-based organisations including mosques and political parties.

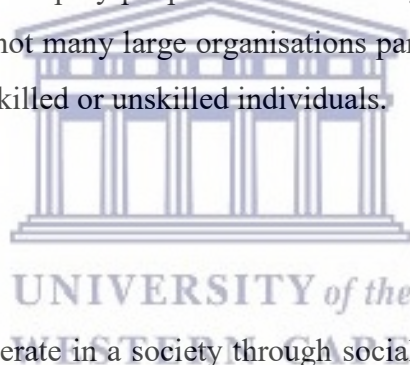
Furthermore, community and household level factors such as unemployment, or under-employment causes individuals or families to not have access to the internet at home or other facilities. This limits their ability and opportunity to apply for jobs. The respondents pointed out that they do not have connections, social capital, or social support to assist them. Many of them are convinced that without these connections they would never be able to enter the formal labour market. Many of the female headed households have the responsibilities to care for the respective families and many of the respondents are currently pregnant and without an income. Based on conversations during the research, it is evident that many of the respondents are remaining hopeful that they will land a full-time job in the formal employment market. Many of the respondents indicated that they do engage in entrepreneurial activities to raise money and resources to pay for the daily expenses. One participant runs a small spaza shop where they sell snacks to primary school children en route to school.

To address unemployment, the City of Cape Town, NGOs, national government, civil society and religious groups all have ongoing programmes, policies and interventions dealing with, and addressing unemployment. Unfortunately, these interventions are not making much of a difference in the massive unemployment statistics. Many of the respondents indicated that they attended one or a few programmes organized by public authorities and other NGOs to assist the unemployed in Hanover Park. The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) is a Programme managed by the local and national governments, offered to people between the ages of 18 and 35. While many of the participants qualify for these short-term work opportunities, they do not have the required connections that can secure these job contracts. These contracts are for between six months and 12 months of a particular year. The difficulty of the participants to secure meaningful employment once again highlights that the educational system does not produce individuals with the skill required by market. The National and Democratic Alliance government seems not to have practical solutions to radically address the training and unemployment crisis in Cape Town.

The youth, especially in the above sample households, must be given more impetus through the youth employment record so that families could receive the required financial impetus (Khwela, 2015). These include increasing youth employment targets enhancing public

employment schemes like EPWP and entrepreneurship encouragement. There are many endeavours as mentioned above, but hardly any of them are coordinated and many times are politicized for personal gain. The EPWP (Extended Public Works Programme) and the Community-based Public Works Programmes (CBPWP) provides short-term training and employment on a national scale with the intent of hopefully employing individuals on a long-term permanent basis.

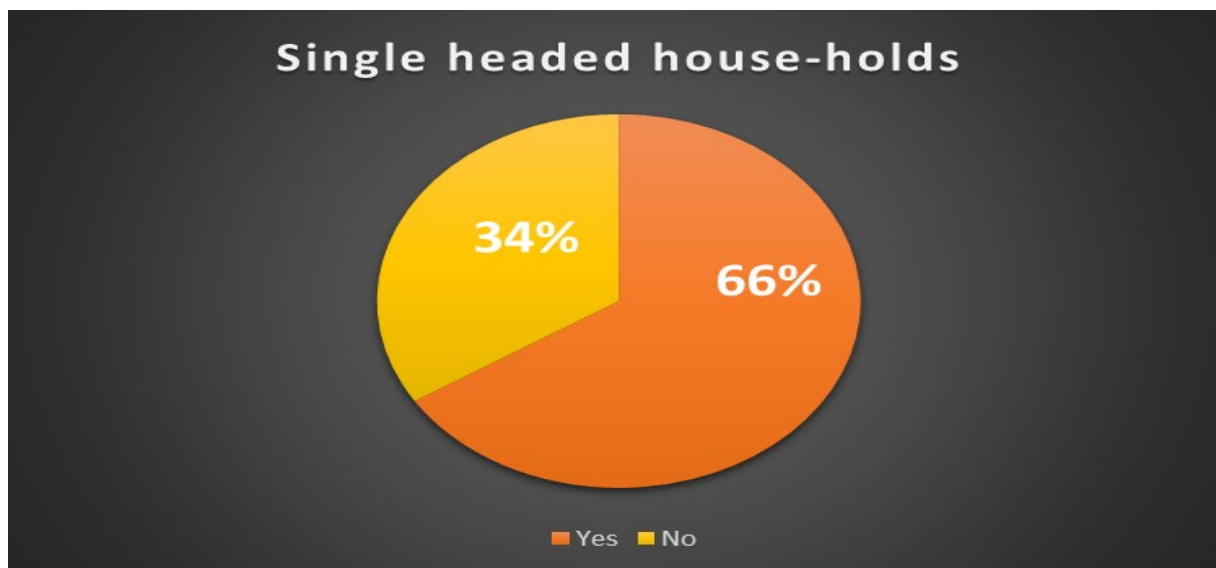
The aims of these programs are to employ at least 40% of young people residing in a geographic area. Critics of this particular program point out that not enough skills are transferred to these people so that they could function independently and apply for jobs on their own. These opportunities do not foster a sense of entrepreneurship and does not encourage anyone to start their own business. The reality, according to Khwela (2015) is that the program does not upskill masses of young people to make them more employable and skilled. The employment tax incentive (ETI), is another State initiative to incentivize the private sector to train youth. However, it requires a huge amount of government financial input, which enables different organisations and companies to employ people whilst receiving a rebate on their pay as you earn, in return. Unfortunately, not many large organisations participate, since they do not see any benefit in employing low-skilled or unskilled individuals.



5.3.9 Family

Children and youth learn to operate in a society through socialization which is a continuous cycle. This is where they adopt values, attitudes norms and behaviour of the respective community and their society where they reside Barrett et al, (2013). Socialisation mostly occur within families, churches, schools and other religious institutions within communities, but the formers is also fostered through the media and their peers. Even though socialisation happens at a fast rate in society, unemployment, poverty and inequality still remain and the technology gap still widens.

Figure 5.9: Single Headed Households



Source: Author's compilation based on field survey

Changes within the nuclear family is evident throughout the world. Unfortunately, responsibilities and functions of the family have been replaced by other institutions such as old age homes, welfare agencies, churches and schools (Barrett et al 2013). Barrett furthermore notes that the social and demographic changes, such as the decline in death and birth rates, as well as migration towards cities, have forced families to become more diverse and smaller. The majority of people start their life cycle with intimate relationships with the family, which makes up the most basic unit of most societies. There are many who believe that family plays an important role in relation to social support and networking. Many conclude that strong social cohesion and support can only be achieved through strong families (Blankenship et al 2008). Many researchers believe that this is a utopian ideal and it does not take into consideration the present-day dynamics that families have to endure. This notion is based on the premise that strong families with strong norms values and regulations, will ultimately lead to a strong society with the same values, norms and regulations. Burton (2007) disagrees and suggest that families are the gateway for spiritual, economic moral and psychological structure that prepares kids for adult life. Blankenship et al, (2008) purports that within an RSA context, families draw on their own immediate social networks, social capital and social support for the development of their own children.

Blankenship et al, (2008) furthermore, argues that families that emotionally support their children, see their children achieve much better academically at school and have a better orientation toward a post-matric career, or training. These authors continue to state that strong families reduce the possibility of deviant behaviour amongst their children. This deviant behaviour includes criminal activity aggression and substance abuse. Blankenship et al, (2008), continues to state that healthy families provide a strong foundation for a stable and secure environment for the children assisting them to become well-balanced young adults who can grow their own into adulthood. This is also an environment where children develop self-mastery, a sense of tolerance and morality. Critics also indicate that fragmented households deliver the inverse. Young children are more susceptible to sexual irresponsible behaviour due to a lack of guidance from both parents (Cullen, 2011). The Macro Social Trends report (2006) shows that the South African family can be divided into four matrix portions namely, nuclear families 41%, single person households 27%, extended families 18% and other families 13.4%. Other families as made in reference to households consisting of non-family members residing together, which are typical of the Backyard Dwellers in Hanover Park. The report also points to a decrease of five percent in the family structure. It is worth pointing out that according to this report white families are still associated with strong nuclear families, whereas Indians, Africans and Coloureds are associated with extended and blended families.

Single father/single mother and nuclear family structures define the consequences of family arrangements and parental control on adolescent delinquency. The report concludes that with adequate parental supervision the possibility of delinquent tendencies, are minimised with supervision. High levels of delinquent behaviour are manifested, when there is limited parental or adult guardianship supervision and control.

The single headed households in the study who are female, articulated the hardships they endure daily. Patricia, a backyard respondent stated, “A council house will keep my children safe from the shooting outside, when the gangs are shooting the bullets come straight through the Wendy [house], this is no way to live.” They acknowledged how the absence of a role-model father figure is felt within the home, also how the formal structure would provide a barrier of some protection against the elements. This, together with the fact there is only a single adult rearing, caring, providing materially, and disciplining children, is a difficult task.

5.3.10 Basic Municipal Services

Marginalisation and discrimination are a daily reality for Backyard Dwellers in Townships on the Cape Flats. Experiences such as exclusion, rejection, marginalisation, and being made to feel less of a priority, regarding basic normative resources are commonly felt by Backyard Dwellers, as they are side-lined to find their own water resources as well as ablution facilities. Given that these dwellings are illegal there is a general lack of empathy displayed from municipal authorities, workers and Council housing participants, who fear dependency if they assist the Backyard Dwellers. This further exacerbates strained relationships between municipal authorities and Dwellers and perpetuates a sense of hopelessness in the latter.

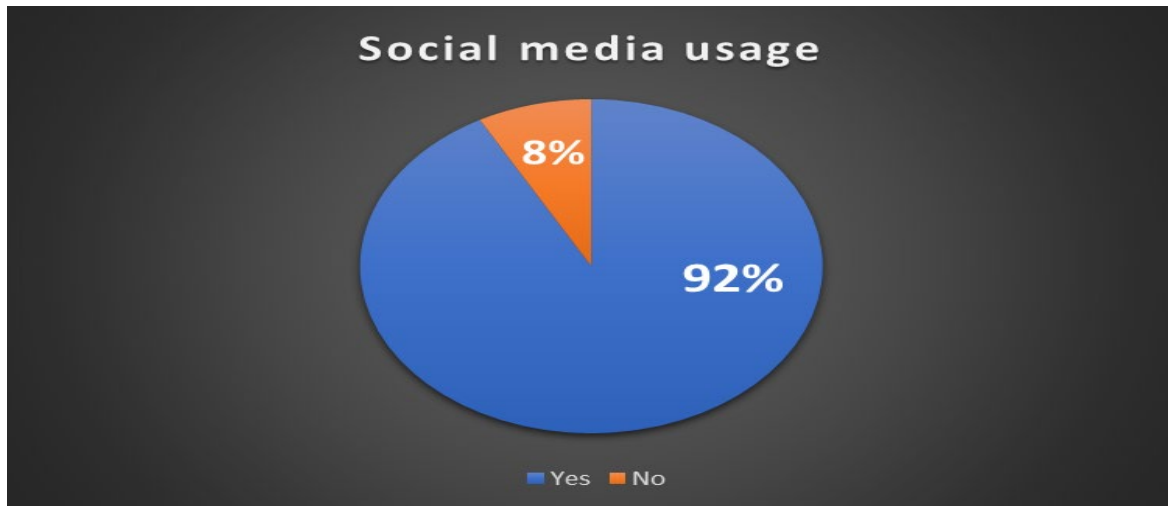
Issues raised by backyard dwellers indicated that they cannot use a fixed address as collateral when applying for credit. Their right of tenure is not acknowledged, and they have no documented proof that they stay at said residence. They share a post-box with the landlord. The participants have recently had outside concrete toilets installed by the City of Cape Town. This is also connected to the pay-for-use water and sewerage system. Even though the respondents expressed their appreciation for the City of Cape Town's initiative, they feel that the water for the sewerage should be connected to the City's main supply and that they should not be paying for the water. They have indicated they have installed electricity meters in the back-yard structures, based on an offer made by the City. This has helped them to manage their electricity usage. Most of the respondents expressed their shock and horror at the high cost of electricity. They feel that the government should consider their socio-economic status and reduce the tariffs accordingly.

5.3.11 Technology and Social Networking

Technology and social networking have immense power to influence people's thinking and ultimately, deal with issues like unemployment, poverty and inequality. From the outset it is important to acknowledge the potential pitfalls that technology usage could have on families and young people. Technology overuse has the potential to psychologically and physically harm families and individuals. Many of the evils include, but are not limited to commercial

exploitation, addiction, even obesity, due to a lack of exercise, pornography and exposure to online paedophiles (Buckingham, 2004).

Figure 5.10: Social Media Network Users



Source: StatisticsSA (2016)

The expansion and explosion of social networking services has opened up many possibilities to enhance social cohesion. At the same time, it has also created many negative influences and challenges for young people and children. One cannot disassociate social networking from access to information and being educated positively. Unfortunately access to technology in South Africa is still race based, even though there has been a steady increase of access to data and technologies for Coloured, Black and Indian households. Many of the respondents indicated they have a Facebook account, which has become an important medium for their source of information about social and community matters. This medium for many of the respondents, is their way of accessing information inexpensively whilst emancipating themselves and getting insight into what is happening beyond the borders of Hanover Park. The South African government has recognised the importance of technology enablement for poorer communities and families. Writing about social media and its users, Tapscott (1998) speaks of digital migrants and digital natives. Digital natives are those persons who grew up with current day technology, whereas older people, digital migrants, battle to get to grips with the new technologies. Tapscott (1998) states that television broadcast in singular view, is detached and passive, whilst the internet is seen as democratic, interactive and has the possibility of shaping communities.

New possibilities were brought into the production, education and political activism with the advent of smart cell phones (Kreutzer, 2008). Cell phone usage in South Africa and Africa have increased massively, although internet penetration is low, measured against other global standards. In South Africa there is currently one cell phone for every three people in a family. Cell phone usage gave rise to a different level of social capital that could be accessed which includes social support and social cohesion. A social network service endeavours to build digital communities amongst users sharing similar interests and activities, and these networks, join people voluntary with other uses. The latter normally join these networks with the possibility of gaining access to social networks, social support and getting the benefits of social capital. Due to its affordability, sites like Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter have become more accessible to the public. The respondents in the research have indicated that they use WhatsApp as a means of communication and have also joined different WhatsApp groups to stay in the loop and to know what is going on in their family and in the community. The respondents, in addition, indicated that they use WhatsApp to access social grants as well as the government's Covid-19 Relief Fund for unemployed people. These individuals also use WhatsApp as a means to connect with individuals that could give them access to employment opportunities and can use this technological means to send their documentation like their CV's to intended recipients.

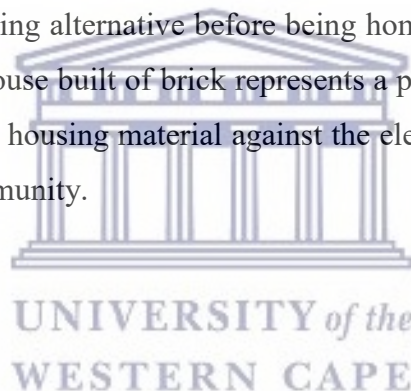
Boyd (2008) stipulates that there is a strong correlation between social networking sites and social cohesion. Social networking sites supports existing social capital networks and enables people to connect based on shared religious political and other geographical interests. He continues that even though it is web-based, it enables an individual to build a public profile within an enclosed network. This enables families and individuals to communicate and connect with one another by a complex matrix of connections. He further contends that online networks are only a reflection of existing offline networks. He refers to this as a secondary reflection of an offline social network. For many families, these networks hold many promises and advantages.

A large percentage of the respondents in the research have indicated how they have used Facebook and WhatsApp to search for job opportunities. They are aware that many large national organisations do place adverts on Facebook. They all indicated that social networking is a good source to find meaningful employment. Facebook and WhatsApp have massive advertising revenues that stems from advertising job opportunities for various agencies. This they do, because they know that many people are searching for jobs using their social

networking sites. On these sites, companies can access millions of potential recruits, advertise their products and services and locate individuals that have the required competencies. Social networking sites is also used to connect entrepreneurs with like-minded services and or products with others in the same industry (Lenhart and Madden, 2007).

5.4 The meaning of a House

According to Statistics SA (2011), a household is defined as a group of people who live together and provide for themselves jointly with food or other essentials for living. The definition of a backyard dwelling household can be overlooked by virtue of this definition and thus the extent of this housing type not accurately recorded. In Hanover Park the prevalence of Backyard dwellings is commonplace. In fact, within some yards as many as 2 or 3 additional structures are erected in the space of a back or front yard to accommodate families. The housing need far outweighs the housing supply and for the person of colour in this area, the backyard dwelling is the only other housing alternative before being homeless on the streets with their children. The formal council house built of brick represents a place of belonging, citizenry as well as safety versus makeshift housing material against the elements of random bullets from gang shootings within the community.



5.5 Landlords

Most landlords have inherited the council house they reside in from their parents. If not elderly then the eldest son or daughter moves into the house with siblings and their families being accommodated in the backyard dwellings, as a free rental space. If the landlord is related to the backyard dweller, there is a general sharing of bathroom facilities which is not the case if the backyard dweller is not family. In these cases, the backyard dweller relies on the bucket system and gets rid of waste via the street drainage system. High tensions are experienced where the landlord is elderly versus the young tenants, who are more social and rowdier. As both parties are poor and dependent on grants, they rely on other neighbours with whom they share goodwill should they need to borrow items like sugar bread or even water. The general relations with each other is strained and compromised due to equal poverty. Landlords have no real legitimate

means to evict their tenants and would now rather choose foreign nationals as tenants to ensure regular rental payment received.

5.6 The Waiting List

The backyard dwellers stated that they have been on waiting lists for council housing stock for nearly 20 years. A backyard respondent, Kelly, 35 asked, “What more must we do? we are honest people and don’t earn enough, we have applied and have been waiting for 16 years already with no response from the municipality but other people apply later and get houses sooner.” The housing backlog in the City, together with migration of rural citizens to the city, have made getting a house challenging. According to them, the City of Cape Town, has not once communicated on the state of their applications. They have expressed their frustration with the process of having to ascertain the current state of affairs. According to the respondents, the local councillor should be a source of information. Their request to meet with him, has fallen on deaf ears. Some have accepted the fact that they will remain Backyard Dwellers, and do not have much faith that their application for affordable housing will ever be considered. Some of the participants have shown newspaper articles of how younger people have been granted affordable housing in areas such as Heideveld and Delft. They have stated their willingness to move to any area, as long as they can have decent housing with proper municipal services and a safe environment.



5.7 Summary

This chapter sought to answer the research questions initially constructed. It outlined key findings of the research undertaken and provided recommendations which could assist in the understanding of alleviation measures that can be taken to reduce the current housing challenge disparity currently experienced. With both the findings of the qualitative and quantitative used in a mixed method approach the researcher was able to derive common themes coming from the respondents to the questions posed in the semi structured interviews. Lived experience cannot be discounted to short change the solutions which are often found within a participative community approach as each person still has agency and influence to contribute to the development of a solutions-based housing alternative.

Chapter 6: Summary of Findings, Recommendations and Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This research paper focused on social networks and social capital and sought to ascertain how this as a resource could contribute to the access of housing for Backyard dwellers in Hanover Park. The objectives set out in this research paper are deliberated upon under the sub-headings taken from the objectives of this study. The objectives of the study were to establish the prevalence of Backyard dwellings within the area, the nature of these living conditions as a distinct housing typology and a review how, through social networks, individuals qualify or gain access to housing. The limitations of the study will be provided as well as recommendations that can be used for further policy discussion, the final remarks will be covered in the conclusion.

6.2 Summary of Findings

6.2.1 The Prevalence of Back Yard Dwellings in Hanover Park

Backyard dwellings in Hanover Park are the norm and not the exception. Often with as many as 2-3 dwellings occupying the back or front yard of a council house. Attempts by municipalities to eradicate any new structures in the area is futile as the need for housing outweighs the supply or the municipality's resource capability of a unit to attend to this eradication of dwellings consistently. Back-yard dwellings have become common place in this area, a standard housing norm that children grow up in and accept as the standard. This alternative housing solution is a growing trend in coloured communities within Western Cape. It is not only a growing housing trend but a last resort before homelessness.

6.2.2 The Living Conditions within the case study area, Hanover Park

Hanover Park is high crime ridden area, a community held hostage by gangsterism and drugs. Back-yard dwellings are preferred by both council home owner and back-yard dweller as they feel safer having extra defence against the external elements such as loose bullets resulting from gang violence in the area. It is a community situated along transport routes but very little economic opportunities within the area itself. High secondary school level education with minimal employability skills further contribute to a low earning or a state dependent community. Many of the respondents noting that their income is dependent on a grant in aid, either child or disability. High insecurity perpetuates the cycle of increased vulnerability and further causes strain on the healthcare facilities by congested living spaces and makeshift housing which does not insulate against severe weather.

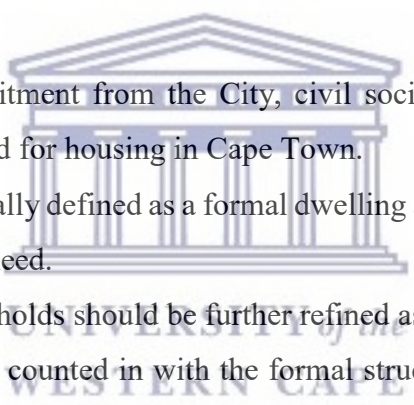
6.2.3 Determine how people gain access to back-yards to erect a structure

Backyard dwellings is a cheaper housing method than building additional rooms to a brick structure in order to house more people within a liveable dwelling space. As the initial solution was to house a growing family or accommodate extended family, gaining access to a Backyard dwelling was easy, provided the family relations were good. An increase in family sizes and a short-term alternative to young couples and families as a start-up whilst they are working towards acquiring their own homes. Gaining access to a Back-yard dwelling in Hanover Park is via a social connection if you are not related to someone who has the space to accommodate your dwelling structure. It is difficult for a foreigner to the community to enter in and gain access if they do not have a connection to someone already in the area. Those in council houses generally accept non-related backyard renters due to the potential income that can be received from rent, as sharing resources such as water and ablution facilities is not a given in the informal agreement or transaction between parties.

6.2.4 Factors that limit families to access affordable housing

The shortage of houses available to the population of Hanover Park is a limiting factor. This area being the construct of an Apartheid separatist ideology in the form of the Group Areas Act, 1950 forced people of Colour into an area that was already resource deficient. No additional interventions were employed by the State to overcompensate and upgrade the area or to circumvent possible housing or population and migration trends in Hanover Park. An additional limiting factor is the interplay between different governmental spheres between National, Provincial and Local government, the lack of co-ordination and delegation of authority that is needed to be implemented at local level obstructs the efficiencies of which can be available to the community.

6.3 Recommendations

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1. There must be a commitment from the City, civil society and the private sector to intervene in the dire need for housing in Cape Town.
 2. Housing should be formally defined as a formal dwelling and not inclusive of subsidies, which dilute the actual need.
 3. The definition for households should be further refined as the current definition allows for the backyarder to be counted in with the formal structure on which land is shared and minimises this dwelling type as a separate entity in the housing arena.
 4. Interventions should be employed, which provide work readiness and technical workplace skills such as provided by The National Youth Service Program, which is coordinated by the National Youth Development Agency. A year-long structured program that focuses on enablement of unemployed youth should be implemented. These types of interventions should be a norm in areas like Hanover Park and offered within the community.
 5. An intervention should be employed to assist secondary school leavers to complete their Matric. This will improve their chances of finding meaningful, full time employment or increase their opportunity for further tertiary studies.
 6. Involvement from all local bodies, churches, NGO's, CBO's and private sector with incentives funded by the State.

7. There are three high schools and one clinic in Hanover Park, further financial and skillset resources would enable these facilities to serve the communities better and serve as avenues to further generate social trust. It can be a community enabler which will foster greater ownership and would result in further appreciation and protection for the community's unique cultural features of its people.
8. All stakeholders in local and national Government and those in leadership, need to prioritise creative techniques on how to get low and unskilled people to enter the job market. It is costly to travel to and from interviews. They should think along the lines of having workplace-centres in the community where people can get a voucher for travelling when they need to go for a job opportunity. It is not impossible to lobby the State to grant unemployed people a stipend in the form of vouchers to help them with basic needs, such as transport and a stipend to complete their schooling.
9. A grant enablement to support the start-up of small business. With a commitment to repaying back the initial "loan", so that others in the community can be helped. This could become part of the Government's general grant in aid scheme. There are many initiatives to get people employed, but are hardly coordinated and is usually unorganized. All levels of the State should work together to assist the unemployed. The reality is that the economy is not producing more jobs than what is required. However, there has to be creative ways to deal with chronic unemployment. This has to go hand in hand with creating push and pull factors, on especially the demand side of the equation.
10. A commitment from all levels of the state to make vacant and underutilized land and property available for affordable housing.
11. Locally managed waiting and housing priority lists, as well as judicial oversight in equitable distribution of land.
12. Greater police presence or army deployment to eradicating criminality and gangsterism. This will enable community members to feel safe within their own neighbourhoods and build trust amongst community members.
13. Municipalities should use individuals from the communities they service for work opportunities and for community members to collaborate and partner with government in basic efforts in servicing the municipal areas.
14. Political parties and the City of Cape Town should refrain from using their political influence to stifle the collective voice of the residence of Hanover Park. Instead, there

should be an endeavour to encourage community participation and to develop a collective community voice.

6.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research

The research only focused on the case study area of Hanover Park and cannot be justified to apply to the entire Western Cape region. Further depth can be applied to a policy framework study to understand the processes within the Department of Human Settlements and how housing shortages are prioritised and how this is practically interpreted at local municipal level.

6.5 Conclusions

The findings of the research were varied and interrelated. This thesis confirms that the lack of a strong social network and the absence of social capital, will keep backyard dwellers in poverty, unemployment and exposure to the effects of inequality. This is further made more difficult where there are no interventions at a local Council level to assist these marginalized people. Many of the respondents grew up in Hanover Park and have been part of a vicious cycle of abject poverty fuelled by a life of long-term unemployment. The key to assisting Backyard dwellers is not only to make their backyard dwellings more comfortable, but to create meaningful employment opportunities with their current level of skills. There has to be a commitment to assist the residents with skills development, upskilling, on the job-training and entrepreneurship skills. In the midst of civic social responsibility and duty.

The delivery of adequate and quality housing should be a key delivery if the South African government wants to achieve its developmental goal and increase economic growth. Adequate or inadequate housing affects an individual's self-perception and mental health. Given that shelter is a basic need, adequate housing will affect an individual's ability to deal with the daily stress of modern urban life.

Affordable housing should be prioritized. There should be a commitment from all levels of the state to make vacant and underutilized land and property available for affordable housing. Every effort should be made politically and economically, to ensure dignity is restored and the formal acknowledgement of Backyard dwellers, will give them agency to have a voice and enable them to do more for those in the same lived housing experience.

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