ANALYSIS OF THE CHALLENGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF DELFT SYMPHONY COMMUNITY, IN CAPE TOWN, 2000-2015

By

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Declaration

I declare that this mini-thesis entitled: *Analysis of the challenges in the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa: The case of Delft Symphony community, in Cape Town from 2000-2015* is my work, that it has not been submitted for any degree purposes at any other university, and that all the sources I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Thembelani Tyhotyholo   Date……………………………

Signed…………………………..

Abstract

There is a major urban housing crisis in South Africa expressing itself in the failure of the government to provide low-income housing to urban residents. Considering this crisis, the specific purpose of this study was to examine the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing with specific reference to the Delft Symphony community, focussing on the epoch from the years 2000-2015. The study was motivated by the fact that while there is an abundance of research conducted in the Cape flats, research focusing on the Delft Symphony community (DS community) is scanty especially on low-income housing distribution. This research gap became the focus of this thesis. To understand the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing, this study was grounded in two theories namely the theory of justice and the self-help housing theory. The study employed qualitative methods in which semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted to collect the necessary data. This research used twenty-eight (28) key informants, and these were selected through snowball and stratified samplings. Qualitative data were analysed using content and thematic analysis. The findings revealed that government internal bureaucratic procedures and due processes such as the land approval process seem to contribute to the sluggish distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. The study also found that the low-income housing processes in the DS community are seemingly driven by politics manifesting in the allocation of houses based on political affiliations. The main recommendation from this study is that to improve the distribution of low-income housing, there is a need for the government to revitalise transparency and reduce bureaucratic delays in the processes of low-income housing.

Key words: *South Africa, Delft Symphony community, Low-income Housing, Challenges to Housing, Housing Distribution, Housing Delivery Processes, Social living conditions, Ordinary Citizens.*

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The African spirituality song "*Qula kwedini, qula kwedini kababa……awuze nazo kwedini, awuzenazo kwedini kababa*" triggered this academic work with the drive to explore the problem of housing in South African poor townships through scientific evidence.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BAU	Business as Usual
BNG	Breaking New Grounds
CBOs	Community-based organisations
CDWs	Community Development Workers
DA	Democratic Alliance
DSC	Delft Symphony community
EAs	Enumeration Areas
HAP	Housing Allocation Policy
HDA	Housing Development Agency
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NHSDB	National Housing Subsidy Database
NPM	New Public Management
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act
PHP	People's Housing Process
PPPs	Public Private Partnerships
PVT	Public Value Theory
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Plan
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
TPM	Traditional Public Management
WCDHS	Western Cape Department of Human Settlements

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction to the Study

The right to adequate housing is provided for, in chapter three, section twenty-six, subsection one of the South African democratic Constitution of 1996 (henceforth referred to as the Constitution of South Africa). The Constitution of South Africa explicitly defines the roles and responsibilities of the three spheres of government in ensuring adequate delivery of low-income housing to South African citizens. This means that the government has an axiomatic mandate to ensure that all citizens – especially the previously disadvantaged – have access to low-income housing and decent shelter. Emanating from the understanding that low-income housing is a basic human right enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa, the purpose of this study was to examine the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing from the epoch 2000-2015, using the case of Delft Symphony (DS) community. The study sought to examine the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, with the intention to determine the shortfalls and areas for improvements in low-income housing delivery initiatives in South African communities. The succeeding section of the study provides a historical analysis of the low-income housing distribution problem in South Africa.

1.1 Background of the Study

Alongside political instability, one of the serious problems facing humankind globally is the critical shortage of low-income housing which manifests in homelessness. In the twenty-first century, the low-income housing challenge has been characterised by a weak governmental capacity to effectively distribute housing to the urban poor (Millstein, 2014). The shortage of low-income housing is a social problem that compels poor ordinary citizens around the world to live in informal settlements typified by poor living conditions. In the global arena, the struggles for low-income housing have been marked by contestations and tensions among different actors such as poor citizens, political parties and the government (Tibaijuka, 2009). Low-income housing delivery is largely pressurised by the high movement of people to urban areas in search of better livelihood.

The inference is that the high cost of living in urban areas, may not be affordable, especially for the working class. In this regard, the working class competes with scarce resources that can be affordable in urban peripheral areas, where low-cost housing is also available. However, the

shortage of low-income housing seems to persist worldwide and particularly in Africa. Scholars such as Muchadenyika (2017) contend that the low-income housing problem seems to be critical in Africa as compared to the rest of the world. Studies have indicated that "housing deprivation is greatest in Africa, where 72% of the urban population are slum-dwellers, followed by Asia at 46% and Latin America at 32%" (Tibaijuka, 2009, p. 2, cited in Muchadenyika, 2017).

In the Sub Sahara African context, low-income housing activities are mainly executed by obtaining land through social mobilisation and buying processes. In such circumstances owning a house profoundly depend on one's economic status (Millstein, 2014). Since most countries in the Sub Sahara Africa, including South Africa, are faced with the problem of unemployment, buying a house ultimately becomes a pathless land for the poor and marginalised citizens. Furthermore, reports indicate that the affordability of housing is problematic as housing prices are high and the unemployed and ordinary citizens are consistently marginalised (United Nation-Habitat, 2012). In the context of South Africa, any attempt to understand the recent challenges to the effective distribution of low-income housing should take into consideration the historical developments in the country. In conceptualising the historical materialism theory, Marx (1986) contends that historical social developments play a vital role in the study of the present societal challenges. Thus, an analysis of the challenges in the distribution of low-income housing in the DS community should consider the South African low-income housing antiquity. Thereafter, it is crucial to provide a historical analysis of the challenges to low-income housing in South Africa.

The nature of low-income housing and living conditions in South Africa was inherited from the colonial era and Apartheid regime. The low-income housing legislations, policies and strategies under the Apartheid government were precisely designed to separate citizens regarding areas of residence and living conditions. Consequently, under the Apartheid government, most of South African citizens suffered the challenge of living in poor social conditions (Goodlad, 1996). The restrictions in terms of low-income housing and living conditions in South Africa during the years of racial segregation resulted in a high number of informal settlements in urban townships. It is in this regard that the United Nation-Habitat (2012) contends that the high number of informal settlements in South Africa is the direct consequence of the unjust laws under the Apartheid regime.

The fall of the Apartheid regime in South Africa and the dawn of a democratic state in 1994 brought much anticipation for development and human settlements transformation, especially for the previously disadvantaged South Africans. It was only after 1994 – following the dispensation of independence in South Africa – that the government embarked on devising new policies and strategies to address the challenges to low-income housing. However, Lategan (2017) states that the South African low-income housing policies, planning guidelines and legislations since the inception of democracy have not been effective enough to deal with low-income housing demands in South Africa. As a result, most of the South African urban townships (such as the DS community) are characterised by poor housing conditions. Scholars such as Tomlinson (2015) associate the challenge of low-income housing in South Africa with the poor implementation of the existing housing policies and strategies. In this regard, this study was premised to understand the challenges to the effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, specifically in the DS community.

Mtantato and Churr (2015) contend that post the year 1994, the sprouting of informal settlements in South Africa's urban townships has been the challenge that impedes the system of democracy in the Western Cape Province. One of the constitutional responsibilities of the Western Cape government is the provision of decent low-income housing to ordinary citizens. This is emphasised in the South African Constitution and therefore the government is expected to make low-income housing progressively accessible to ordinary citizens. However, the obtaining reality is that the current democratic system in South Africa is not without challenges as most citizens in the Western Cape, especially the poor, remain homeless. Low-income housing has become a major challenge in Cape Town, a situation comparable to the low-income housing circumstances during the Apartheid era (Malete, 2014).

Consequently, the Western Cape government has been forced to speedily respond to low-income housing shortages through the implementation of different housing models and strategies including the BNG. Nevertheless, a review of the housing situation in Cape Town indicates that these strategies are not making the desired impact. It has been recommended that the Western Cape government need to devise proper strategies for the effective distribution of low-income housing (Knoetze, 2014). In this regard, understanding the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community is imperative as was the focus of this research. The next section exposes the research problem motivating the study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The nature of current low-income housing and living conditions in South Africa has its origins from the colonial era under the Apartheid regime. Poor housing conditions continued to upsurge even after post-1994 elections as the country struggled to amalgamate former urban poor and urban upmarket residential areas, especially in the Delft Symphony community. Regardless of gaining political independence in 1994, poor South African citizens still face hurdles in purchasing proper houses in upmarket urban areas due to unemployment and low wages (McGaffin, 2018). This has increased the number of informal settlements in urban peripheral areas of South Africa and an exponentially rising housing backlog dating back to the dawn of independence. For example, the National Housing Forum (1994) estimated that the housing backlog was between 1.5 and 2 million units, in 1994. Therefore, part of the primary policy objectives in 1994 was to meet low-income housing needs in large quantities (Pillay, 2008).

However, in the quest for understanding efforts towards the effective distribution of low-income housing, a mention of the controversy surrounding the land issue in South Africa is intrinsically inevitable. This is so because the availability of land is important for low-income housing distribution, especially in urban areas. Land reform programmes such as Land Restitution and Redistribution have not been effective in addressing the challenge of land access particularly for the urban poor (Bernstein, 2008). As a result, the issue of land and housing in South Africa has been characterised by contestations and conflicts between the government, the private sector, political parties and ordinary citizens. The struggle for low-income housing has manifested in illegal land invasions by the urban poor in South African peripheral urban areas including the DS community (Lategan, 2017). In response, the government has consistently used its powers and apparatus such as law enforcement agencies to dismantle informal settlements constructed on government land in urban townships.

Alongside the problem of land and housing, one of the major challenges facing the South African government is rapid urbanisation. As more people move to urban areas, housing demand has increased and exceeded the supply capacity of the government. As the population seems to be increasing exponentially in urban areas, the number of people in need of housing has also increased (Jenkins, Smith and Wang, 2007). This is because most of the urban population in South Africa is either unemployed or belongs to the low-income group. Subsequently, most of them cannot afford to buy their apartments due to their financial status.

Thus, proper planning needs to be in place to address the needs of the poor urban population especially with regards to low-income housing provision.

The democratic South African government, led by the African National Congress (ANC) since 1994, has embarked on several low-income housing delivery initiatives. One of the most common initiatives was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) whose fundamental objective was to bring about community transformation through providing low-income housing to South African citizens especially the previously disadvantaged citizens. However, the RDP was seemingly not effective enough to eradicate the demands of low-income housing in South Africa. In the Delft Symphony community, for example, only a few residents benefitted from the RDP programme. According to Knoetze (2014), despite the implementation of the RDP in 1994, an estimated 1.2 million South African citizens continued to live in informal settlements by 2001 along with the urban peripheral areas. Due to this anomaly, there was an urgent need to devise new strategies to bring about effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. Owing to the failure of the RDP, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy was formulated in 2004 as a new measure to bring about social integration and community transformation, especially for the previously disadvantaged communities. The BNG policy introduced a broad perspective to low-income housing delivery by focusing on community development at large. The primary objective of the BNG policy was to eradicate all informal settlements in South Africa by 2014/15 financial year (McGaffin, 2018). Nonetheless, in the Delft Symphony area, only a few people benefitted from this programme.

Consequent to the successive failure of the government housing delivery initiatives, figures depicted in 2018 revealed that 13, 1% of South African citizens were still living in informal dwellings while an additional 5, 0% lived in traditional dwellings (StatsSA, 2019, p. 20). According to the BNG policy the South African government aimed to improve living conditions in each province with a target of 103 000 households in informal settlements in each province set to benefit. Guided by this programme, the Western Cape government assured to deliver 11 094 low-income houses in the Western Cape Province between 2017 and 2018. However, in 2018, only 10 212 units had been delivered (WCDHS, 2018). Furthermore, StatsSA (2019, p. 22) depicts that an estimated number of "about 320 000 households are either living in over-crowded or informal conditions in Cape Town". This means that presently, there

is a major low-income housing crisis in Cape Town expressing itself in a failure by the government to provide low-income housing to citizens.

Commenting on this glaring housing challenge, McGaffin (2018, p.3) contends that "to address the backlog in a 10 – 15-year period, approximately 30 000 low-income houses need to be supplied annually. Unfortunately, this is currently not the case, as only 8 – 10 000 formal houses are being delivered every year. About half of these are government subsidised houses and the other half delivered by the formal market. This delivery represents 0, 8 – 1% of the total households in the city. However, household growth is increasing at between 1, 5 – 2% per annum, resulting in an increasing shortfall". Instead of witnessing effective distribution of low-income housing, the erection of informal settlements has been swelling. In Cape Town, currently there is an axiomatic increase of shacks in areas such as the DS community and this situation gave the impetus to this research study. Considering the foregoing, this thesis examines the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, with specific reference to the DS community in Cape Town.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In light of the aforementioned research problem, the study broadly sought to analyse the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, mainly in the DS community, Cape Town, focussing on the period between the years 2000 to 2015.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To critically analyse the legislative framework governing the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, since the dawn of democracy in 1994.
- To critically investigate the barriers to effective distribution of low-income housing, specifically in the DS community, Cape Town.
- To understand the processes and challenges encountered in low-income housing application for distribution purposes in South Africa.
- To understand data trends towards low-income housing distribution since 2000 to 2015.
- To proffer and outline recommendations for improving low-income housing provision in South African communities as emanating from research findings.

1.4 Research Questions

The main research question in this study was: What are the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, mainly in the DS community, Cape Town, between 2000-2015?

The specific questions of the study are:

- Which are the legislative frameworks governing the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, since the dawn of democracy in 1994?
- What are the barriers to effective distribution of low-income housing, specifically in the DS community, Cape Town?
- What are the processes and challenges encountered during low-income housing application for distribution purposes in South Africa?
- What are the data trends demonstrate towards low-income housing distribution in Cape Town since 2000 to 2015?
- What are the recommendations for improving low-income housing distribution in South African communities?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The shortage of low-income housing in South Africa is a problem that has recently manifested itself through active demonstrations at the community and grassroots level. This is supported by the seemingly increasing number of informal settlements especially in South African urban townships, characterised by poor sanitation. Consequently, a study to examine the challenges that contribute to the slow progress in the delivery of low-income housing in South Africa, especially in the DS community, in Cape Town, is necessary as was set forth in this research. This study concentrated on the period between 2000 and 2015. This period, according to Knoetze (2014) is when the Cape flats experienced episodes of violent demonstrations regarding housing conditions. The major dissatisfaction from citizens is with regard to slow pace in the distribution of low-income housing. Thus, this study is essential to understand the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing delivery and provide future recommendations for low-income housing policy makers. More crucially, while scholarly work has been conducted around the problems of low-income housing in the Cape flats, less attention has been given to Delft area. Therefore, research in the DS community is necessary, because every community or area is contextually different.

1.6 Research Methodology and Methods

This research employed qualitative methods. The study fundamentally focused on the nature and context of the low-income housing provision in South Africa, with specific reference to the DS community to capture and comprehend the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. In this regard, qualitative methods were useful. The research problem and the research objectives necessitated a qualitative research methodology to be adopted. Creswell (2014, p. 34) contends that qualitative methods research facilitates triangulation of the rationale of constructivism in a scientific way that enables researchers to achieve the objectives of their studies in a comprehensive and thorough manner. To collect primary data, the study relied on in-depth semi-structured interviews. Secondary data was gathered through extant literature. Documents such as low-income housing strategies, policies, programmes, annual reports, media statements, state of the province address and StatsSA reports were analysed.

1.7 Definition of key Concepts

This section of the study defines key concepts used in this research to clarify the selected terms in the context of this research and avoid possible misinterpretations and ambiguities in understanding the narrative. Where appropriate, more explanations are given in the main text of this study. The key terms defined in this section are Housing, Low-income housing, Informal settlements and Policy implementation.

1.7.1 Housing

In this study, the researcher adopts the definition of the concept of housing advocated by Khurana (2001, p. 24) which refers to housing "as a package of services: land, public facilities, access to employment and other social services, and also the dwelling structure itself". Nevertheless, the focus of the study is on the physical structure and the government processes involved in the construction and allocation of the low-income houses.
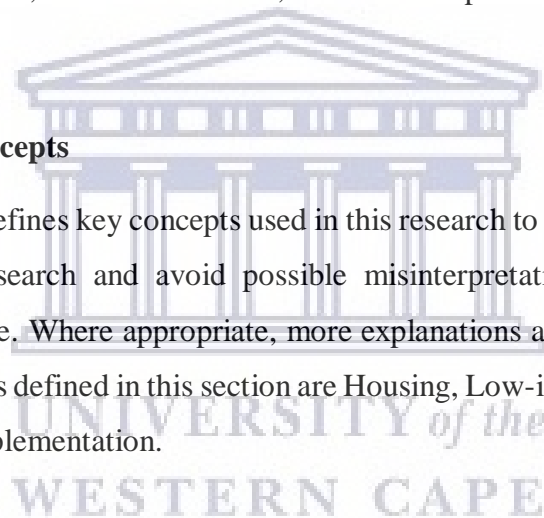
1.7.2 Low-income Houses

Low-income housing in the context of South Africa refers to housing delivered by the government, which is aimed at providing adequate shelter to unemployed citizens and those earning an income between R1, 500 and R7, 500 per month (McGaffin, 2018).

1.7.3 Informal Settlement

This study uses the concept of informal settlement as advocated by the StatsSA (2011, p. 18), which states that "an informal settlement is an unplanned settlement on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal dwellings such as shacks". In this regard, an informal dwelling refers to a makeshift structure not approved by a local authority and not intended as a permanent dwelling (StatsSA, 2011, p. 18).

1.7.4 Policy Implementation

In this study, policy implementation is defined as the carrying-out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute, but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions (Wandersman, Jennifer, Paul, Rita, Keri, Lindsey, Morris, Richard and Janet, 2008, p. 20). An outline of how the thesis is organised is provided on the next section.

1.8 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters which are organised according to the following Table 1.

Table 1: Outline of the Thesis

Chapter Number	Chapter Title	Description
Chapter One	Introduction and Background to the Study.	The first chapter provided the introduction and historical analysis of the phenomenon under study, it covered the core objectives, research questions and the philosophy around the research methodology that informed the study.
Chapter Two	Literature review: Conceptual and Theoretical framework.	This chapter developed a strong conceptual and theoretical framework upon which the study was based.

Chapter Three	Research Methodology and Methods.	This chapter reviewed literature on research Methodology employed in the study.
Chapter Four	Research findings and Analysis.	The fourth chapter presented and analysed the major findings of the Study.
Chapter Five	Conclusions and Recommendations of the Study.	This chapter constitute the summary of the study, conclusions and recommendations.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the study by presenting a background of the topic under study and outlining the low-income housing phenomenon particularly in the South African context. The chapter further explained the research problem that is, presently, there is a major low-income housing crisis in Cape Town expressing itself in a failure of the government to provide low-income housing effectively to citizens. Consequently, instead of witnessing effective distribution of low-income housing, informal settlements have sprouted in peripheral urban areas such as the DS community. Furthermore, this first chapter of the study provided the objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, research methodology and outline of the thesis. The next chapter discusses the extant literature on low-income housing.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter has provided a general introduction and background to the study. The current chapter provides a comprehensive conceptual, theoretical and legislative framework for low-income housing. The chapter discusses the concept of low-income housing from a global, regional and local perspective. The notion of housing can posit complex denotations from philosophical, political, economic and social perspectives; hence it is crucial to provide an extensive discussion on this notion and the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing. In light of this viewpoint, Harvey (1973) in his distinguished book titled *Social Justice and the City* decorously insists that if social concepts are inadequate or inconsistent, one cannot hope to identify problems and formulate appropriate policy solutions in the context of urban transformation. Thus, it is imperative to present a detailed discussion of the extant literature on debates and perspectives on low-income housing in order to be in conversant with this notion and the global challenges to effective low-income housing delivery. The review of literature on low-income housing assisted the researcher in harmonising the findings of the current study with the ongoing debates in current literature. The ensuing section provides a discourse on the State-driven housing paradigm.

2.1 The State-driven Low-income Housing Paradigm

The state-driven approach to low-income housing accentuates the active role of the government in the distribution of low-income housing. The state-driven paradigm can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s (Hsing, 2010). International literature depicts that there seemingly is a direct nexus between the increasing number of informal settlements especially in developing countries such as South Africa and the inability of poor citizens to afford conventional housing. Consequently, the state-driven housing paradigm was adopted by various countries to ensure effective delivery of low-income housing (Hsing, 2010). In the context of state-driven model the needs of poor citizens regarding low-income housing are incorporated into government policies, programmes and projects. In this regard, the government becomes a key role player in low-income housing distribution by generating funds through various means such as tax for effective delivery of low-income housing.

The state-driven paradigm in the context of effective distribution of low-income housing implies a top-down approach to service delivery (Suraya, 2015). In this model, the government is considered as an important role player in ensuring progressive distribution of low-income housing. Therefore, the state is expected to utilise its resources effectively to promote the general welfare of the society which manifests in housing access. In this regard, the problem of high number of informal settlements in urban areas should be considered as a direct problem of the government based on the authority and mandate of government in a democratic system (Suraya, 2015). The government is in a special position to work tirelessly to ameliorate the problems of ordinary citizens particularly in terms of low-income housing demands. Nonetheless, many low-income housing agencies in the 1970s realised that they had neither the sufficient funds nor – to some extent – the know-how, to house all the poor families at the standards adopted as part of the conventional state-driven approach (Bradley, 2011). Due to this shortfall, in many developing countries such as Brazil, by 1970s, there emerged some strong criticisms regarding low-income housing policies and this accentuated the state-driven housing approach (Suraya, 2015). As a result, the state-driven paradigm has proven to be a common effective practice in the modern world. The low-income housing demand model is discussed in the next section.

2.1.1 Low-income Housing Demand Model

The low-income housing demand model was coined by Liu, Wu, Lee and Lee in 1996. This housing model considers the present and future demand of low-income housing based on diverse factors such as the pace of urbanisation, the level of unemployment and population growth trends (Mtantato and Churr, 2015). Furthermore, the housing demand model was developed to take into considerations the current demands of low-income housing and estimate future demands especially for the low-income group. In this regard, the housing demand is projected through assessing the current status of citizens in terms of employment status. Mtantato and Churr (2015, p. 135) contends that "low-income housing demand (in terms of type, tenure and location of housing) is estimated based on business as usual (BAU) or status quo according to the current trajectory or low-income housing policy and future low-income housing aspirations of households, given their current socio-economic status". In determining housing demand, the model considers the number of households per income group, the number of households per location, projected tenure choices and housing types. As a result, every household's aspirations are kept realistic by considering several socio-economic factors such

as income. Gilbert (2001, p. 354) states that "it is not realistic for a household currently living in an informal settlement on the outskirts of a built-up area or township and earning about R2, 500 a month to aspire to move to a higher income node, unless perhaps it is to a government-subsidised, high-rise rental flat". The low-income housing demand model makes it possible to assess the extent of current housing demand and possible future growth patterns (Mtantato and Churr, 2015).

However, despite its feasible objectives the housing demand model assumes homogeneous low-income housing demands (Chirisa, Bandauko and Mutsindikwa, 2015). Thus, in a cosmopolitan country such as South Africa, in which the demands of citizens vary, the housing demand model falls short in addressing the diverse low-income housing demands. While the housing demand model considers factors such as unemployment and urbanisation, the model is not explicit on how the government intends to provide low-income housing in light of these factors. The future roll-out of the model envisages growth variables such as the percentage split in urban and rural population per income level, the household sizes of the urban population, urban and rural growth per annum, economic performance and cost of housing (Gilbert, 2001). Now that the low-income housing models have been discussed, the next section provides a critical discourse on the theories underpinning the study.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This section provides a comprehensive theoretical framework underpinning the study. The theory of justice, the Self-help housing theory, the Public value theory, Alliance-Building model and Slum-Upgrading theory are discussed in this section. However, it should be noted that the relationship between theory and empirical work is dialectical since human observation can never capture the totality of social experience; as society is in constant flux, change is the only feature of society (Gramsci, 1971). This means that theories as abstractions, when applied or tested on social experiences cannot be expected to capture the entirety of the daily experiences in a society. However, in the context of the present study, the theories shall provide useful insights in understanding the challenges to the effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. The theory of justice is discussed next.

2.2.1 The Theory of Justice

This study was guided by the theory of justice attributed to the works of John Rawls (1971). The theory of justice suggests that societal structures need to be ordered as a strategic plan to promote democracy and equality. In this theory, Rawls contends that the notion of freedom and equality should be realised simultaneously in a society. The principles of freedom and equality in Rawls's theory implies that citizens should have freedom to own low-income housing facilities and equal basic rights. This implies that public services such as low-income housing must be distributed in the context of promoting the general welfare of the society. In this regard, the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa should aim at promoting social justice by providing adequate low-income housing especially to the previously disadvantaged citizens.

The theory of justice assumes that legislations, policies and programmes that are aimed at ameliorating the plights of the most disadvantaged citizens in a society ought to be considered as prerequisites for social justice. In the context of the social inequalities and divisions inherited from the Apartheid regime in South Africa, the theory of justice assumes that social justice can be achieved through fairness in the distribution of low-income housing to poor ordinary South African citizens. Thus, the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa should be examined by drawing from the principle of equality based on equal rights as postulated in the theory of justice.

Zhang and Hashim (2011, p. 178) aptly summarise the theory of justice in two principles. Firstly, an equal right is endowed to every person in the society and the core value of equal right is to embody the whole system of equal basic liberties which are adaptable with a similar system of liberty for all. Secondly, inequalities from social and economic dimensions are to be organized. Therefore, the government should promote equal opportunities in terms of low-income housing distribution so that the least advantaged in society can benefit. Taking into consideration the history of South Africa particularly racial segregation regarding low-income housing, the principle of equal rights is imperative. In terms of examining the existing government institutions that are meant for enabling effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, the principles of the theory of justice are considered useful.

However, it must be acknowledged that the theory of justice by John Rawls is not immune from weaknesses. Velasquez (2008) states that while the principles of justice advocates for distribution of property, services and benefits equally amongst the citizens, it is difficult to

interpret and understand the notion of justice for all citizens because communities are in a constant flux and change is the only future of the society. Thus, the promotion of justice in the context of low-income housing particularly in South Africa cannot be an easy task. This is because what can be considered as justice for one citizen can be unjust to another individual. However, according to Zhang and Hashim (2011, p. 180) the theory of justice by John Rawls provides not only a rationale for effective distribution of low-income housing, but it also gives a way to accomplish the justice in low-income housing distribution. In examining the challenges to effective low-income housing distribution in the DS community, the study evaluates whether the principle of equal rights is considered in low-income housing distribution in South Africa. Furthermore, the theory of justice allows an examination of the extent to which the previous disadvantaged South African citizens are considered in low-income housing delivery, especially by top level government structures.

2.2.2 The Self-help Housing Theory

The Self-help housing theory emerged circa 1960 and was formally launched by John Turner around 1976 (Harris, 2003). Some scholars are of the view that the notion of self-help housing dates back into 1900s before Turner's ideas were recognised around 1960s. Specifically, Pugh (2001) stated that the theory of self-help housing existed before the formalisation of urban planning concepts largely, as a direct response to the slow progress on state driven housing delivery processes. Self-help housing theory emphasises the importance of citizen participation to low-income housing delivery processes. Thus, while the theory of justice instigated by Rawls emphasises the role of government in the delivery of low-cost housing. The Self-help Housing theory suggests that citizens should rather play a leading role in the process of low-cost housing delivery.

However, Self-help housing scholars such as Pugh (2001) contends that due to limited government resources, state driven low-income housing models may fail to address the diverse or heterogeneous low-income housing challenges and growing citizen's demands. This for instance is due to complex economic, social, political and cultural diversity in different communities. Thereafter, government driven low-income housing processes are insufficient for addressing these heterogeneous demands. More importantly is the role of citizen as key stakeholder in low-income housing delivery and general living environmental conditions. In this regard, Turner's theory of self-help housing is perceived as fundamental even to drive the low-income housing model which is mostly influenced by the elite groups (Minnery, Argo,

Winarso, Hau, Veneracion, Forbes and Childs, 2013). Turner's ideas around self-help housing implies that informal settlements should be considered as foundations for low-income housing improvement. The theory emphasises the importance of viewing informal settlements as potential future low-income houses not as societal problem.

In the context of Turner's ideas about low-income housing and from a self-help housing perspective, community engagement in low-income housing processes and policies is pivotal. According to Baumann (2003b) fundamental components of self-help housing can be encapsulated as follows:

- Low-income housing delivery carried out by citizens.
- Impartiality in low-income housing allocation.
- Citizen's choice about their low-income houses.
- Direct involvement of citizens in low-income housing policies and strategies.

Despite the fundamental components of self-help housing, it must be accentuated that existing literature depicts that self-help housing turns to be costly. Tomlinson (2006) contends that community driven approach to housing may become unrealistic because the government must acquire expensive land from private owners. Thus, where the land is not owned by the state, much of the funding is spent on land costs rather than on the actual construction or on infrastructure investment, which further makes self-help housing schemes expensive for the state. Resultantly, the supply of low-income housing under this model continues to be far less than the actual demand for housing (Baumann, 2003b). Furthermore, the implementation of self-help housing schemes and programmes may take longer than anticipated and this is seemingly because the schemes turn to require more time.

From the notion of self-help housing and its components, it can be argued that the South African low-income housing policies contains some fundamental aspects of the self-help housing theory. This is evidenced in various South African low-income housing programmes such as the Breaking New Ground (BNG) where the notion of community participation is encouraged. Nevertheless, Tomlinson (2006) maintains that the South African low-income housing policies posits some aspects of neoliberalism. In this regard, low-income housing processes considers not only the demands of poor citizens nor of the community but serves the interests of the inveterate monopoly capitalists. As a result, the low-income housing model in South Africa contributes to slow progress in low-income housing delivery and community

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transformation at large. Informed by the self-help housing theory, the present study shall assess the extent to which citizens are directly participating in low-income housing processes in South Africa, particularly in the DS community. The study will examine how citizens in the DS community participate in low-income housing policy development and implementation.

2.2.3 The Public Value Theory

The Public Value Theory (PVT) emerged in 2007 when the world was facing a huge financial crisis which subsequently contributed to the Great Recession that hindered global economic growth (Moore, 2017). The global financial crisis and slow growth of the global economy necessitated a decisive revival of government legislations and policies with the intervention of the private sector. In the context of democracy and development, the PVT intends to develop resiliently the relationship between government actions, available resources, private sector and non-profit making organisations. In a broader perspective, the PVT aims to establish democratic public administration thereby accentuating the principle of collaborative governance (Turkel and Turkel, 2016). In the context of effective distribution of low-income housing, the PVT advocates for a stable and strong collaboration between all stakeholders involved in low-income housing and community development at large. Thus, if low-income housing understood in light of the PVT, then it should add value to the lives and communities especially the previously disadvantaged.

The PVT supposes that the government is in a suitable position to improve the lives of ordinary citizens through effective distribution of low-income housing. This means that the government should play a leading role in the distribution of low-income housing by encouraging effective cooperation between the state, private sector and community-based organisations. In this regard, the PVT focuses on effective distribution of low-income housing by emphasising on the value of the lives of the previously disadvantaged communities (Moore, 2017). This implies that low-income housing should not merely focus on providing houses to low-income groups, but furthermore, value must be considered as the fundamental aspect in all housing delivery processes.

Despite the promising stated objectives of the PVT, it must be accentuated that this theory falls short in explicitly defining the notion of public value. Commenting on this, Minnery et al., (2013) contends that the PVT is ambiguous as its proponents such as Moore failed to determine the meaning of public value in the context of heterogeneous society such as South Africa.

Consequently, the PVT triggers the problem of individual rights versus group rights. In this regard, a critical question that should be posed is: to what extent does the PVT recognises the rights of individuals among group rights? The individualist and group approaches to human rights must be interrogated to establish whether any of these models could serve as a solution to the dialectical societal challenges such as persisting low-income housing challenges. Nyawu-Musembi (2002) argue that it is important to ask fundamental questions in a society, for instance in the context of the PVT. For example, when we say a social model is functioning, a question that should be asked is whether the model is beneficiary and if so to which groups or structures? In this regard, better solutions to some societal challenges such as ineffective distribution of low-income housing can be devised.

The PVT considers government as an important role player in ensuring progressive distribution of low-income housing. The government is expected to utilise its resources effectively to promote the general welfare of the society. In this regard, the problem of high number of informal settlements in urban areas should be considered as a direct problem of the government based on the authority and mandate of government in a democratic system. The government is in a special position to work tirelessly to ameliorate the problems of ordinary citizens particularly housing demands. Turkel and Turkel (2016) maintains that the PVT advances a theory of public administration that is neither strictly bureaucratic or market based, but, rather, collaborative, democratic, and focused on governance. Based on the PVT, this study examines the extent in which value is added by the government through the distribution of low-income housing in the DS community.

2.2.4 Alliance-Building and Slum-Upgrading

The alliance-building and slum-upgrading emerged in 1960s and 1970s, and it is attributed to the works of the British architecture John F.C. Turner (Minnery et al., 2013). This approach considers imperatively the crucial roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders in providing basic services to citizens. The approach accentuates the functions of community-based organisations (CBOs), civil society and various community groups in the delivery of low-income housing and other urban services (Tibaijuka, 2009). The alliance-building and slum-upgrading approach is aimed at addressing the shortages of housing by upgrading informal settlements. At the heart of informal settlements upgrading lays community participation. The implementation of slum upgrading through community participation according to Minnery et al., (2013), has proven to be an international best practice. The

upgrading of slums is achieved in two ways. The first way is the upgrading of slums driven by the government, a process in which the government develop policies and strategies for housing delivery. The second way of upgrading slums is community driven, a procedure that is characterised by the active involvement of citizens in the incremental transformation of slums. While informal settlements can be upgraded in different ways, the primary objective should be to improve the lives and housing conditions of the most vulnerable citizens (Tibaijuka, 2009).

However, it should be noted that the notion of community participation as emphasised in the alliance-building and slum-upgrading model is problematic. For example, the model assumes homogeneous low-income housing demands while deserting its implications of the public interest. Furthermore, Malete (2014) contends that the alliance-building and slum-upgrading approach delays the processes of low-income housing delivery as it focuses more on the long-term goals. Accordingly, Minnery et al., (2013, p. 162) contends that any approach in upgrading informal settlements must "include changes to urban governance so that community capital can be maintained and improved over the longer term". This means that informal settlements upgrading should consider the importance of participatory governance whereby the nexus between government and communities is established to achieve social transformation based on social justice. In light of the alliance-building and slum-upgrading approach, this study examines the extent to which different stakeholders engage in the distribution of low-income housing. Furthermore, the study analyses how government eradicate informal settlements in the DS community through low-income housing distribution.

2.3 Land Contestations and Low-income Housing in South Africa

The challenges of low-income housing distribution and the land question emanates from the systems of colonialism that prevailed in various African countries including South Africa (Lombard, 1996). There has been burning contestations and discourses over land redistribution and compensation in South Africa since the fall of the Apartheid government in 1994. In this regard, the discourse on land and housing is inveterately inescapable. This is because low-income housing delivery depends on the availability of land which seems to be problematic in South Africa. The land problem in relation to effective distribution of low-income housing is marked by contestations and conflicts between the government, private sector, political parties and citizens (Bernstein, 2008). These tension and debates revolve around the problem of land accessibility and ownership. Generally, land availability is a pivotal prerequisite to low-income housing delivery. Subsequently, any low-income housing strategy, policy and legislations

aiming to hone low-income housing delivery must consider the problems of land. This is because land is a *sin qua non* (prerequisite) for effective low-income housing provision.

Following the dawn of democracy in 1994, the South African government embarked on land reform programme including the land restitution and redistribution programmes. The main aim of the land reform programme according to Lategan (2017, p. 142) was "to redistribute rights in land to the landless, farm workers, tenants, women and the historically disadvantaged for homes, subsistence and production to improve their livelihoods". However, despite the implementation of the land reform programme in South Africa, to date, the question of land remains a burning issue as the urban poor remain landless. In the Western Cape Province for example, the issue of land has manifested in direct confrontations between the government and the urban poor. The government has used its apparatus such as law enforcement agencies and planning legislations to dismantle grassroots level initiatives towards alternative land acquisition and for housing development. For instance, in one of the profound Court cases in the issue of land and housing in the Western Cape Province (Republic of South Africa and Others *v* Grootboom and Others, 4 October 2000) Justice Zak Yacoob insisted that:

> *"The issues here remind us of the intolerable conditions under which many of our people are still living. The respondents are but a fraction of them. It is also a reminder that unless the plight of these communities is alleviated, people may be tempted to take the law into their own hands in order to escape these conditions. The case brings home the harsh reality that the Constitution's promise of dignity and equality for all remains for many a distant dream. People should not be impelled by intolerable living conditions to resort to land invasions. Self-help of this kind cannot be tolerated, for the unavailability of land suitable for housing development is a key factor in the fight against the country's housing shortage".*

The above case reawakened the crucial need for the government to fast track the land reform programme as a strategic plan for effective distribution of low-income housing in the country. Almost all forms of community development including low-income housing delivery are inevitably connected to land. As hitherto mentioned, low-income housing provision does not happen in a vacuum, but in a predetermined space and time which makes land imperative for low-income housing. This section emphasised on the problem of land and housing in South Africa. While there seems to exist a direct link between land and housing, the slow progression in the distribution of low-income housing in Cape Town and especially in the DS community cannot be merely attributed to the land access issues (Bernstein, 2008). Therefore, this study investigates the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa as

there seem to be a relationship between the low-income housing challenge and the processes of urbanisation. This relationship is further explored below.

2.4 Urbanisation and Low-income Housing for Urban Citizens

Drawing from the literature discussed above, it can be argued that there exists a nexus between urbanisation and the problems to effective housing distribution in peripheral urban areas. Urbanisation according to Jenkins, et al., (2007, p. 9) refers to "demographic process of shifting the balance of usually national population from 'rural' to 'urban' areas". The world is experiencing a rapid increase in the number of people moving from rural areas to urban areas. One of the driving factors for the rise of population in townships, where low-cost houses are established is industrialisation. This has pushed unemployed people who reside in rural areas to urban peripheral areas, in search of employment or better standard of living. Consequently, due to increased urbanisation, the demand for low-income housing increased while land availability is scant. Considering the above, Watson (2009a, p. 151) asserts that "urbanisation is a major challenge confronting the African continent, especially in South of the Sahara. Many towns and cities in this region are dealing with crises compounded by rapid population growth, and lack of access to adequate shelter. Indeed, South Africa is not with exception from the countries that are experiencing urbanisation as South African townships are characterised by high number of informal settlements.

The movement of the population from rural to urban areas compels governments to devise appropriate responsive strategies to meet the demands of poor citizens in urban areas (Wilkinson, 2014). This means that planning is vital in dealing with urbanisation, whereby governments must accommodate low-cost housing, especially for people who earn low salaries. It is inevitable that these people will seek to reside in areas that are closer to their workplaces. The reality is that, if there are no low-income housing available, then people will start to build mushrooming shacks. Consequently, the land gets occupied by inhabitable structures. For example, Watson (2009a) argues that as the population seems to be increasing drastically in urban areas, the number of people without houses is likely to increase. The inference is that effective distribution of low-income housing is only effective is proper planning from the side of government is done. Considering the foregoing, the present study investigates the challenges inhibiting effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, particularly in the DS community. Hereunder, the legislative framework that governs low-cost housing distribution, is discussed.

2.5. Legislative Framework, Programmes and Role of Spheres of Government

The fall of the Apartheid regime and the dawn of democracy in South Africa in 1994 was a turning point that paved the road towards new democratic low-income housing legislations, policies, strategies and programmes. The South African government in 1994 prioritised redressing the social injustices inherited from the colonial and Apartheid regime through developing various housing development legislations. The provision of low-cost housing was among key focus areas that the democratic government of South Africa, through legislative framework sought to address. According to Tonkin (2008) the mode in which constitutional rights are defined and elucidated is more political and therefore housing as a social phenomenon demands citizen's mobilisation at the grass root level to influence government policies. As the South African constitution is the supreme law of the country, it is discussed next.

2.5.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act, No. 108 of 1996)

As the supreme law of the country, the Constitution of South Africa places a fundamental obligation on the government to ensure progressive housing delivery to South African citizens. Section 26 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa establishes that citizens' right to have access to adequate housing is incontrovertible and in order to achieve this, the government has to put in place legislative frameworks and other efforts within the government's resources capacity, to ensure the attainment of this right. The right to adequate housing is ensconced in chapter 3.26 (1) of the South African new democratic Constitution. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa demarcates the roles and responsibilities of the three spheres of government in ensuring that adequate delivery of houses to South African citizens is achieved. The Constitution provides authority to the department of Human Settlements to formulate and implement various housing policies and strategies in line with the national Constitution (WCDHS, 2019). Since the attainment of emancipation in South Africa in 1994, the government has had a gigantic mandate to ensure that all citizens especially the previous disadvantaged citizens have access to adequate housing and decent living conditions. The right to adequate housing, as stipulated in the South African Constitution of 1996 is depicted in the successive table.

Table 2: The Right to Housing Provision as Provided in the Constitution of South Africa

Chapter	Section	Provision
2	26(1)	'Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing'.
	26(2)	'The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right'.
	26(3)	'No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.'
3	4(1)	'Deals with issues of cooperative governance and provides a number of principles are supplied according to which cooperative governance and intergovernmental relations are to be applied'.
	10	'Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected'.
	25(1)	'No one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property'.
	28(c)	'Every child has the right to basic shelter'. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measure within its available resources to realise children's rights to basic housing.
7	152	Provides the objectives of local government to: • Provide democratic and accountable government for local communities; • Ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner; • Promote social and economic development; • promote a safe and healthy environment; and • Encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.
	153(4)	Addresses the developmental duties of local municipalities.

Source: Researcher's configuration based on the Constitution of South Africa (1996) and Lategan (2017).

Table 2 above depicts vividly the fundamental obligation of the South African government to ensure that South African citizens, especially the poor have access to housing. This means that the government has an axiomatic mandate to ensure that all citizens especially the previously disadvantaged have access to adequate housing and decent living conditions. Driven by the constitutional mandate, the government of South Africa has formulated policies and strategies to ensure progressive realisation of the right to adequate housing. However, to date the preponderance of the South African citizens especially in peripheral urban areas such the DS community, are still living in informal settlements characterised by poor sanitation and high crime rate. It is paramount to bring an understanding of the White Paper on Housing so that details of low-cost housing delivery tenets are understood.

2.5.2 The White Paper on Housing (1994)

In 1994, the new democratically elected government of the African National Congress (ANC) had to come up with new legislations and policies towards transformation of the country and its communities. According to Rust and Rubenstein (1996), the White paper on housing was formulated in the middle of the transitional era in South Africa (1992-1994), with political influence, social struggles, contestations and tensions playing a gigantic role in the development of the policy. The White Paper on Housing served as the principal guideline for housing provision. Within the context of housing antiquity under Apartheid government, the White Paper on Housing fundamentally accentuated on the importance of the right to adequate housing especially for the poor and previously disadvantaged South Africans. Subsequent the culmination of the Apartheid regime, the White Paper on Housing was a stepping-stone towards new housing policies and strategies to bring about human settlements integration in a democratic South Africa.

The White Paper on Housing provides clear directions on how various housing stakeholders ought to engage and execute their responsibilities with regards to housing delivery. The role of ordinary citizens in housing delivery is emphasised in the White Paper Housing. In this regard, the government is expected to establish a conducive environment for community participation to ensure effective distribution of low-income housing (Newton and Schuermans, 2013). Through the formulation of the White Paper on Housing in 1994, the government contended that community transformation can be achieved through meaningful co-operation between citizens and government. However, the White Paper on Housing has not been effective enough to eliminate the sprouting of informal settlements in most of the South African communities

especially in peripheral urban areas such as the DS community in Cape Town. Despite the implementation of the various housing strategies including the White Paper on Housing, the majority of South African continue to experience the shortage of housing. Subsequently to the 1994 White Paper on Housing, the Housing Act was promulgated in 1997, and this is discussed below.

2.5.3 The Housing Act, 1997 (No. 107 of 1997)

Following the White Paper on Housing discussed in the previous section, the Housing Act was formulated in 1997. The Housing Act accentuates the right to housing as a fundamental basis for citizen's emancipation. This Act was perceived as a significant component of the integrated development plan. In this regard, the government through the Housing Act aimed at bringing about social transformation while cherishing cultural heterogeneity. The Housing Act at its heart emphasises racial integration in terms of living and housing provision. It sought to directly respond to the tyrannical housing policies practiced by the Apartheid government prior 1994 (Newton and Schuermans, 2013). Further, the Act underscores on the progressive housing processes as the fundamental pillar for community development. Currently, the Housing Act and its amendments constitute the supreme housing law in South Africa as it replaces all previous housing legislation.

The Housing Act gives authority to the three spheres of government in South Africa to develop new strategies for housing delivery. In this regard, the notion of intergovernmental relations is explained in the Housing Act, with the three spheres of government which are national, provincial and local government being expected to work together to ensure the effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. The Housing Act requires the Department of Human settlements led by the Minister of Human settlements to devise housing policies and strategies that are in consonant with the Constitution of South Africa. The provincial government is expected to ensure effective implementation of the housing policies and strategies. The Act also gives powers to provincial government to formulate housing strategies in line with the national housing policies. Under the Housing Act, the local government has the mandate of assisting provincial government to ensure effective implementation of housing policies and strategies (Steyn, 2007). Indeed, the South African government has been active in formulating low-income housing policies and strategies in compliance with the Housing Act, and these includes the Housing Allocation Policy (HAP) 2004 which is discussed below.

2.5.4 Housing Allocation Policy (HAP) 2004

The housing Allocation Policy was formulated in 2004 and implemented by the City of Cape Town. The main objective of the HAP is to ensure equity in low-income housing allocation. This policy contends that the distribution of low-income housing must focus specifically on the previously disadvantaged citizens (Steyn, 2007). The HAP states that "all those who have applied must be permitted to an equal opportunity for housing assistance, and never be under the belief that special deals have been struck or that undue influence was exercised" (WCDHS, 2018, p. 31). However, the implementation of low-income housing policies and programmes such as the RDP discussed on the succeeding section is seemingly not effective enough to eradicate the low-income housing demands in South Africa.

2.5.5 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 1994

The fall of the Apartheid regime in 1994 and the introduction into a new Constitutional democratic state brought much anticipation for living and housing transformation in South Africa. The democratically elected government of the ANC had a gigantic mandate to provide low-income housing to poor ordinary citizens in South Africa. Subsequently, the RDP was formulated in 1994 by the new ANC led government with its primary objective being to bring about economic transformation and overhaul the legacy of the Apartheid government system that considered housing as a strategy perpetuate racial discrimination (Moroke, 2009). The RDP mainly focused on decent housing provision to the previous victims or oppressed South African poor citizens.

The RDP was a direct response to a devastating legacy left by the Apartheid system with regard to majority housing access. As a result, the programme focused mainly on low-income housing provision to achieve decent living conditions for most of the poor urban populations (Ajayi, 2012). Nevertheless, the RDP was not effective enough to improve low-income housing in South Africa. This is supported by the current higher number of informal settlements in South African peripheral urban areas such as the Cape flats in Cape Town. Furthermore, active demonstrations for low-income housing delivery in urban townships including the DS community suggests that the RDP was not adequate to eradicate the low-income housing demands. This situation gave impetus for the researcher to examine the challenges to low-income housing. The inadequacy and ineffective implementation of the RDP in South Africa according to Ajayi (2012) can be associated with lack of clear plans on how different low-

income housing stakeholders are expected to cooperate to ensure effective distribution of low-income housing. In the section below, focus is on, yet another government housing provision policy known as the Breaking New Grounds.

2.5.6 Breaking New Grounds (BNG) of 2004

In 2004, the government had to revise its housing policy as the strategic plan to achieve integrated communities in terms of housing. As a result, the government introduced a new strategy with the aim of guiding and directing the development of housing for a period of five years, starting in 2004. This strategy was developed to remedy the shortfalls and bridge the gaps from the existing housing strategy. The new strategy introduced was termed the Breaking New Grounds (BNG) and its main objective was to "redirect and enhance existing mechanisms to move towards more responsive and effective delivery" and strives to "promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable housing settlements and quality housing" (Newton and Schuermans, 2013, p. 54).

The BNG emphasises the importance of collaboration between government and the private sector in ensuring effective low-income housing distribution in South Africa. In formulating the BNG policy, the government acknowledged and encouraged the important role of the private sector in low-income housing. The South African government realised that since the dawn of democracy in 1994, the relationship between housing stakeholders had not been satisfactorily strengthened. Consequently, the BNG stipulated the importance of community participation in low-income housing provision (Rust, 2006). In this regard, the BNG policy promoted the crucial role of citizens in the processes of low-income housing delivery. Hitherto the adoption of the BNG, the impacts of the housing strategies and policies in promoting citizens participation in low-income housing since 1994 had not been effective. Thus, the BNG aimed at ensuring practical involvement of ordinary citizens in low-income housing provision.

Since the formulation and implementation of the BNG policy in 2004, the government has made significant progress regarding the distribution of low-income housing (WCDHS, 2019). Nevertheless, despite the progress made since the implementation of the BNG policy in 2004, low-income housing seems to continue as a major challenge in South Africa as demonstrated by the preponderance of ordinary citizens who remain in informal settlements characterised by poor sanitation and high crime rate. In South Africa, the challenge of low-income housing has manifested itself in active demonstrations resulting in citizens demolishing public properties in

peripheral urban areas such as the DS community. Considering the foregoing, this study examines the challenges that contribute to ineffective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa specifically in the DS community.

2.5.7 Decentralisation of Powers and the Role of Government Spheres in South Africa

In South Africa the notion of decentralisation of powers is viewed as an important element of developmental processes. Emanating from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, decentralisation of powers is perceived as a pivotal ingredient for bringing the government close to the people. According to Wittenberg (2003) the notion of decentralisation of powers is a complicated concept especially in a heterogeneous society since different people have different interpretations. Decentralisation of powers in South Africa means that the powers given by the Constitution to the national government to develop policies and strategies for low-income housing is also given to provincial and local government. This is aimed at promoting government accountability with the potential to bring about effective policy development and implementation in all communities around the country (Lemanski, 2011). Low-income housing delivery as part of community development is pursued in the context of decentralisation of powers in South Africa. Subsequently the three spheres of government namely central, provincial and local government become active in the process of low-income housing delivery.

The central government play an imperative role in low-income housing delivery by developing policies for low-income housing in compliance with the Constitution of South Africa. In consultation with provincial and local spheres, central government establishes low-income housing strategies and legislations. National government set low-income housing goals and standards for provincial and local government (Wittenberg, 2003). In the process of low-income housing delivery, the central government monitors goals and finances for low-income housing and development. In this process, the Minister of Human Settlements is responsible for ensuring progressive and effective low-income housing model which effectively and efficiently delivers low-income housing throughout the country especially to the poor ordinary citizens. This include formulating the National Low-income Housing Code among other strategies. In this regard, the national government since the dawn of democracy in South Africa has developed various low-income housing legislations and policies such as the National housing policy and Breaking New Grounds (BNG) as hitherto discussed.

In compliance with the national housing policies, legislations and strategies the provincial government is responsible for administering services such as education, housing, health and other important services (Wilkinson, 2014). Imperatively, provincial government among hitherto mentioned functions is expected to facilitate housing delivery processes by developing housing strategies and policies in line with national housing policies and legislations. The provinces are required to regulate or co-ordinate housing development processes and ensure effective low-income housing delivery to communities. Thus, provincial governments are mandated to assist local government to effectively execute their functions in terms of low-income housing and community development in general. However, in practice, the co-ordination between provincial and local government has not been pragmatically effective in South Africa particularly in Western Cape Province as the preponderance of ordinary citizens is still suffering in informal settlements (McGaffin, 2018).

Municipalities as stipulated in the housing Act (No. 107 of 1997), are expected to ensure continuous delivery of adequate housing in their areas of jurisdiction. This should be executed in acquiescence or compliance with national and provincial housing policies and strategies. Among other key functions, municipalities are responsible for stipulating or setting housing provision objectives in South African communities. Local government as hitherto mentioned is the sphere close to electorates and communities where development and housing takes place; hence municipalities are expected to manage the day-to-day housing development processes. In the processes of housing delivery, municipalities are responsible for determining appropriate land for housing construction (Newcastle Municipality, 2018).

Local government play an important role in ensuring progressive provision of basic services such as were reticulation, water and electricity in their areas of jurisdiction. This is executed as part of integrated development plan to ensure promotion of general welfare of poor citizens. More importantly, central and provincial housing plans are informed by municipalities' housing plans as the sphere of government close to communities. In the process of low-income housing delivery, municipalities are responsible for ensuring that an updated housing waiting list is developed in accordance with existing housing legislations and various strategies (Newcastle Municipality, 2018). However, in practical situations, the low-income housing waiting list is seemingly influenced by politics thus, ordinary poor citizens are not always considered in the low-income waiting list (McGaffin, 2018). This scenario explains why most of the ordinary citizens especially the previously disadvantaged are living in informal

settlements in peripheral urban townships such as Delft community. In this regard, the low-income housing challenge in South Africa triggers the interrogation of public policy implementation.

2.6 Low-income Housing Policy Implementation and Challenges

The literature reviewed in this section depicts that the existing the legislative framework for low-income housing in South Africa has not been effective enough to eradicate the challenges of low-income housing delivery. The South African government has devised various low-income housing policies since the inception of democracy in 1994 as discussed in this chapter. However, it can be argued that practical implementation of these low-income housing policies and programmes has not sufficiently transform the low-income housing situation in South African peripheral urban townships such as the DS community in Cape Town. Extracting from the extant literature, the ineffective low-income housing policies and programmes in South Africa can be associated with the lack of explicit strategies and guidelines on how different stakeholders for low-income housing are expected to co-corporate in the implementation of low-income housing policies. In this regard, figure 1 below presents a summary of the differences between key principles contained in three low-income housing policies in South Africa. It must be known that the principles of low-income housing policies listed below are not limited only to these. Thus, the listed principles were considered crucial for the purpose of this study.

White Paper on housing
- Supply-driven
- Housing units-deliverables
- Municipalities as administrative centres only

People's Housing Process
- Sweat equity
- Community empowerment
- Transfer of skills

Breaking New Grounds
- Demand-driven
- Human settlement deliverables
- Accreditation of municipalities

Figure 1: The Differences Between Three Low-Income Housing Policies (*Source:* Researcher's own configuration based on Ntema, 2011, p. 75)

The low-income housing policies in South Africa as displayed in the above figure, comprise of some key differences. These inconsistencies depict the problem of low-income housing policy incoherence that according to Lategan (2017) has defined the development of low-income housing policies and programmes in the post-Apartheid epoch in South Africa. It is recommended that for effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, it is imperative to improve policy coherence. Equally important for the effective distribution of low-income housing is cost recovery which is discussed hereunder.

2.7 Cost Recovery in Low-income Housing Delivery

In the provision of low-income housing, one of the key impediments facing the developing countries, and South Africa in particular, is the challenge of cost recovery as government spend more money than it would receive. Thus, while the government is expected to spend funds in the distribution of low-income housing, expenditure recovery is equally imperative. For example, the way the South African government is doing this is by ensuring that people who earn a monthly income of around R7, 500 are given an opportunity to rent houses at an agreed reasonably amount and period based on their economic status and this is referred to as the rent-to-buy housing scheme. While the rental amounts differ from time to time, depending on economic situations of the beneficiaries, the minimum amount for renting a house is around R950 per month, and this means that households must have a permanent monthly income (Department of Human Settlements, 2019). According to the Department of Human Settlements (2019, p. 24) the "rent-to-buy schemes are effectively leasing arrangements which provide for the rental of a house for an agreed period of time, plus additional payments, and at the end of a set time, the renter has the chance to buy". In this regard, Kamete (2000) argue that there is no shortcut to fruitful cost recovery, especially with regards to low-cost housing. What this entails is that cost recovery in low-cost housing delivery should be a broad approach, that is, it should be methodologically designed, both monetarily and in terms of planning. Cost recovery is therefore paramount to consider in the process of ensuring effective delivery of low-cost housing.

In South Africa, cost recovery in low-income housing provision is difficult and this difficulty is associated with an unsustainably labour market that result in the loss of jobs. The general trend is that when people lose their jobs, they cease the ability to pay for their houses. On the other side, the challenge of cost recovery in low-income housing seems to emanate from ambiguous cost recovery methods (Lemanski, 2011). In South Africa for example, the

government has not yet developed a pragmatic cost recovery method in the distribution of low-income housing. Despite the existing expenditure recovery instruments in low-income housing provision including the rent-to-buy approach, high unemployment and the large scale of low-income earners apparently contribute to the failure of these cost recovery methods in the distribution of low-income housing. In his analysis of the cost recovery challenge, Kamete (2000, p. 8) discovered that there are several challenges on cost recovery especially for the provision of basic services including low-income housing. These include poverty and "inability to punish non-payment by selectively restricting services is the surest recipe for failed cost recovery" (Kamete, 2000, p. 08). However, expenditure recovery in the distribution of low-income housing is imperative to ensure sustainable delivery of low-cost housing. The distribution of low-income housing by the government is a global practice. Consequently, it was crucial to review the existing literature on housing from an international perspective.

2.8 International Best Practice on Low-income Housing Distribution

This section of the study provides an empirical literature on low-income housing drawing from global experiences in countries such as Malaysia, China and Singapore. These countries are seemingly making an impressive progress with regards to low-income housing distribution. However, it must be emphasised that the three countries are also coming across some challenges in the effective distribution of low-income housing and these includes rapid population growth and high rate of urbanisation. From the ensuing sections, it is axiomatic that South Africa has much to learn from these three countries with regards to effective distribution of low-income housing. The next section provides a discussion on low-income housing distribution in Malaysia, before discussing experiences in China and Singapore.

2.8.1 Low-income Housing Delivery in Malaysia

Malaysia is currently facing the problem of increasing urbanisation and rapid population growth. This has subsequently contributed to the rise of housing prices in the country and a surge in informal housing as low-income citizens in urban areas continuously establish informal settlements due to high price of housing (Suraya, 2015). Furthermore, there is seemingly a drastically rise in the number of foreigners and this impacts negatively on the economic status of the Malaysian population as unemployment and dilapidation of the existing the current housing stock has resulted in severe shortage of affordable housing (Buhaug and Urdal, 2013). In this regard, the government has been falling short in the delivery of low-income housing in Malaysia since the Third Malaysian plan.

In the Eighth Malaysia plan the government made a commitment to provide 230,000 houses, but it only managed to distribute 197,649 low-income housing units (Suraya, 2015). In this situation, the preponderance of low-income citizens continues to live in poor conditions which jeopardises their lives. Seemingly, the demand for low-income housing in Malaysia is greater than the supply. According to Lim (2015, p. 21) there exist a gap of 40 per cent between the demand for low-income housing and its supply in Malaysia as most poor citizens cannot afford housing. Evidently, the income pattern of the middle-income household finds it challenging to keep pace with the rising cost of housing units with the need for affordable housing becoming more vital than ever before.

Considering the above, scholarly work depicts that the Malaysian government have been developing strategies and initiatives such as the Skim Myhome Rumah Pertama defined in Eleventh Malaysian plan to deal with the challenges of housing and particularly with regards to the problem of affordability (Suraya, 2015). Despite these attempts, Malaysians still experience a mismatch between the cost of housing and their household income. This is especially so for the middle-income households who are overqualified for the low-cost housing programme and at the same time unable to afford housing by private housing developers (Lim, 2015, p. 21). While the Malaysian government has developed various housing initiatives to consider the plights of the poor urban citizens, according to Lim (2015, p. 22), housing interventions have focused primarily on demand which subsidizes a non-responsive supply sector. Consequently, the problem of affordability is still a huge challenge faced by most Malaysian urban citizens especially the poor, despite the different subsidies made by the government. Relatively, less progress is evident in realising the elements that restrain supply, which probably thwart developments on the demand side.

According to Samad (2017, p. 18) in Malaysia, supply oriented initiatives are of urgency in short and medium run. This must be supported by long term demand side schemes in parallel. A convergence of these two factors is essential for a balanced equilibrium and obtaining affordability. The key low-income housing challenges in Malaysia is majorly related to the mismatch in demand and supply for affordable housing. Supply side initiatives need more attention in Malaysia mainly in areas related to cost effective housing development measures, maintenance and operation cost and regulation related matters. The challenges of low-income housing in Malaysia especially for urban citizens are seemingly growing. Nevertheless, the low-income housing challenge in Malaysia cannot be imposed to South Africa because every

country is contextually unique. This explains why this study examined the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing considering the South African context.

2.8.2 The Chinese Low-income Housing Delivery

Alongside rapid population growth, China is experiencing high rate of urbanisation contributing to high demand for low-income housing in peripheral urban areas. In light of this problem, the Chinese government has made fundamental progress in terms of housing since the year 1998. According to Man (2011) the government of China within a short period of time has managed to improve the lives of many citizens in terms of housing access. However, the affordability of housing in China has been a major challenge faced by poor urban citizens. Chen, Hao and Stephens (2010) argue that the government of China through its post reform housing system has particularly accentuated on the economic function of the housing investment while not paying much attention on the low-income housing. Consequently, the problem of affordability of housing has been declared by the Chinese government as the major challenge as urban citizens especially the low-income groups could not afford housing.

China has experienced an unbearable increase in housing price strengthening the problem of affordability of housing for poor urban citizens. Considering this, Meisheng (2004, p. 1) observes that the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing have received much attention from the Chinese government. The government has been developing a sequence of housing policies and strategies to resolve the seemingly growing challenges of housing especially for the low-income groups. These policies include the low-rent housing policy, the affordable housing policy and welfare housing project which were all aimed at making housing accessible to all Chinese citizens, especially ordinary poor citizens. The Chinese government has made some impressive progress regarding effective implementation of these housing policies and strategies. As aforementioned above, the Affordable Housing and Welfare Housing Project were both formulated to ameliorate the plights of ordinary citizens regarding low-income housing. According to Zhang and Hashim (2011) the only difference between affordable housing policy and welfare housing project is that in the welfare housing project, the houses are sold at cost price and its emphasis is put on households with housing difficulties of low-income households while affordable houses are sold to a great many moderate and low-income households at meagre-profit price.

Zhang and Hashim (2011, p. 177) further reiterate that Affordable Housing Management Methods (2007) emphasise under the affordable housing regulations, the affordable housing programme is granted preferential policies of tax and relevant fees, and the allocation of the right to use state-owned land is administered without land grants. In addition, government sets the construction standards and qualification criteria such that only households which meet the requirements can apply to buy or rent such housing facilities. Affordable housing is policy-based, security-type commercial housing. The target people are those local residents with registered permanent residential permission having serious low-income housing problems including those without housing of their own or with their current housing space below the standards set by the local government. Besides these provisions, their family incomes must also meet the minimum income standard set by the local government (Yi, 2008).

2.8.3 Low-income Housing Delivery in Singapore

Groenewald (2011) maintains that in Singapore the state-driven paradigm has been effective as about 85.0% of the population have benefited from low-income housing provided by the government. This success can be attributed to various factors such as the undisrupted growth of the economy of Singapore for quite a long time. Furthermore, alongside the decline in the number of citizen's dependency on government resources, a slow increase of the population especially the youth has made it possible for the government to effectively provide low-income housing in Singapore (Groenewald, 2011). However, the success of the state-driven paradigm in Western countries such as Singapore cannot be imposed to the African context because no continents or countries are alike, each is unique. Therefore, it was imperative to determine the effectiveness of the state-driven housing paradigm considering the African context and particularly the South African context as was the focus of this research.

Despite the challenges to low-income housing such as rapid population growth and consistent urbanisation, China as one of the world economic superpowers has made a great progress in term of effective distribution of low-income housing. Thus, that South Africa can draw some important lessons from the Chinese government with regards to effective distribution of low-income housing is not in doubt. However, it must be emphasised that even ecologically, no cells are alike; each is self and unique. Therefore, any pragmatic strategy to resolve the low-income housing problem in the DS community and in Cape Town's poor areas at large ought to directly emanate from the South African context.

There is an abundance of literature on the notion of housing as depicted in the present chapter. From an international perspective, the extant literature revealed that housing is influenced by many factors such as rapid population growth and rapid urbanisation. Nevertheless, the existing literature on low-income housing is mostly Eurocentric with less focus in the African context, although some important lessons can be drawn from the accentuations of such literature. However, such views cannot be vigorously imposed to the South African context because there are no continents or countries that are contextually similar. Furthermore, the existing literature on the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing is mostly based on statistical analysis with less attention to interpretive paradigm, and these limitations motivated the current study.

2.9 Chapter Conclusions and Summary

In conclusion, literature on theories that are relevant to this current study were discussed. The theory of justice, the Self-help housing theory, the Public value theory as well as the Alliance-Building and Slum-Upgrading were discussed and contextualised. The theory of justice argued that the government should promote the principles of democracy such as human rights and equality in the distribution of low-income housing. Self-help housing theory stated that the government should encourage the role of communities in housing delivery processes. The Public Value Phenomenon added that the distribution of low-income housing should add value to the lives of ordinary citizens. Lastly, the Alliance-Building and Slum-Upgrading focused on the collaboration of different housing stakeholders in the distribution of low-income housing. However, this study was mainly grounded on the theory of justice to understand the challenges in the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa and in the DS community. This chapter has accentuated that alongside rapid population growth, increased urbanisation is contributing to the high demand of low-income housing in peripheral urban areas in South Africa and other parts of the world. Consequently, in developing countries such as South Africa the government is seemingly failing to provide low-income housing effectively. Furthermore, this chapter has discussed the legislative framework for low-income housing provision in the post-Apartheid period in South Africa. The extant literature demonstrated that the South African government has devised various low-income housing policies and programmes for effective distribution of low-income housing, albeit with limited success. However, effective implementation of these programmes and policies remain questionable. The ensuing chapter discusses the research methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented the literature review and legislative framework for low-income housing. The chapter also discussed the theoretical framework, which was grounded on the theory of justice, self-help housing theory, the PVT as well as the Alliance-Building and Slum upgrading theory. The theory of justice was considered as the most suitable theory for the study because it accentuates the need to consider the distribution of low-income housing as a strategy to redress the social imbalances in terms of housing in the country. The legislative framework upon which the study was based include the South African constitution, low-income housing policies and programmes such as the BNG, among many other legislative frameworks.

This present chapter gives an outline of research methodology and methods employed in the study. Social science scholars across the globe tend to dwell on two major research methodologies, and these are the qualitative and quantitative methodology. In the former, subjects give a descriptive or narrative account of the world as they experience, while the latter gives statistical data to explain the phenomenon. This research employed in-depth semi-structured interviews to collect primary data. This chapter describes in detail how participants were selected, how data was collected, interpreted and analysed. Thereafter, measures for enhancing reliability and validity of research instruments are explained in the context of this study. The chapter concludes by discussing the ethical measures that served as the guiding principles for the research. The next section provides the research design adopted in this study.

3.1 Research Design

Silver (2004) describes the research design as an outline of how the researcher is intending to carry out the study. The research design is the actualisation of logic in a set of procedures that optimises the validity of data for a given research problem (Neuman, 2014). In this study, a framework for obtaining qualitative information to answer the research questions was set prior to entering the field. Thus, the research design for this study was a descriptive and interpretive case study examined mostly with qualitative methods combined with small quantitative apparatuses. The study adopted a case study research design to explore the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. This was done using the case of the DS community from the epoch 2000-2015. This period, according to Knoetze (2014) is

when the Cape flats experienced episodes of violent demonstrations, with central theme on poor low-income housing delivery.

3.2 Research Methodology

The research methodology is a tool adopted to collect data (Bryman, 2008). Creswell (2014) conceptualise a research methodology as a guiding framework that deals mainly with how the research should be planned and executed. This study employed qualitative methods. Thus, qualitative methods were utilised to collect and analyse data. The study focused on the nature and context of the low-income housing distribution in South Africa, with specific reference to the DS community. The two research approaches namely qualitative and quantitative are discussed in the succeeding sections.

3.2.1 Qualitative Method

The qualitative research approach allowed the researcher to capture the low-income housing phenomenon from the world view of participants in the DS community. Qualitative methods known as social constructivism techniques because they enable a comprehensive understanding and interpretation of research participants' experiences and draw meanings out of them (Creswell, 2014). Explicitly, the motive behind adopting qualitative research methods emanates from the understanding that the nature of this research approach involves determining inventive or unforeseen discoveries and the prospect of fluctuating research tactics in responding to coincidental conclusions and findings. Subsequently, using qualitative methods, this study discovered diverse and unpredictable views about the phenomenon under investigation.

The qualitative method enables the researcher to comprehensively understand the historical development of the phenomenon under study. This type of research is factually expounding more than powerfully predicting (Gill, 2008). This means that the qualitative method focuses on critically examining the truth as the method is less envisaging. In the current study, the challenges to low-income housing distribution in South Africa are inexorable associated with historical developments. Therefore, this approach enabled the researcher to provide a chronicle of the nature of low-income housing distribution in South Africa. In this regard, this narrative form of research method was considered essential as it assisted the researcher to logically comprehend the low-income housing processes in the DS community. Thus, it was using

qualitative methods that the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community were interrogated and understood.

The current study subscribes to qualitative methods as aforementioned above but acknowledges that despite its cogency and acceptability in discovering truth in social sciences, this approach has its shortcomings. For example, data collection tools in this research method are time consuming. In this regard, the study used a small sample from the DS community to avert this challenge as proposed by Silverman (2011). Furthermore, there is a high chance of subjectivity in this approach, which is strongly influenced by the researcher's background. Thus, Griffin (1985, p. 173) cited in Makiva (2015) contends that "qualitative research appears to depend heavily on the individual judgment of the researcher and on the researcher's interpretation". In qualitative research, it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure accurateness and credibility of the research findings. To have a detailed understanding of the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing, the study also used secondary statistical information.

3.2.2 Quantitative Method

A quantitative methodology is a collection of data in the form of numbers and the use of statistical type of data analysis (Silverman, 2001). Ezzy (2002, p. 45) define quantitative research as a social inquiry that employs statistical methods and statistical statements to convey meaning. Quantitative research methodology relies on the size and investigation of causal relationships between variables rather than involving the investigation of processes. The drive of quantitative research is to assess impartial data involving numbers and using difficult structured methods to confirm or disprove hypotheses (Creswell, 2014, p. 24). Quantitative researchers measure variables on a sample of subjects and express the relationship between variables using statistics such as correlations, relative frequencies, or differences between means, their focus is to a large extent on the testing of theory (Creswell, 2014, p. 27). However, this was a qualitative study that used both primary and secondary data. Secondary data was obtained from documents such as Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), provincial annual reports and integrated development plan (IDP) reports. The target population for this study is discussed on the succeeding section.

3.3 Target Population

A target population is a concretely specified large group of many cases from which a researcher draws a sample, and to which results from the sample are generalised (Neuman, 2014, p. 252). The target population for this study was the DS community residents, the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements (WCDHS) and the City of Cape Town managers. The research participants for this research were selected based on the succeeding criterion:

- DS community residents,
- DS community leaders,
- The Ward Councillors,
- City of Cape Town managers, and
- Western Cape Department of Human Settlements policy makers.

The criterion outlined above was set for specific reasons. For example, since the study's aim was to understand the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa with specific reference to the DS community, residents especially low-income house owners and those who are still living in informal settlements such as shacks and other forms of shelter unfit for human habitation in the DS community were considered crucial to obtain the information needed to meet the objectives of the research. Community leaders were also consulted because they act as a link between the community and government. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to get their perspectives on low-income housing delivery in their community.

In addition, the Ward Councillor who play a central role in community development and low-income housing processes was considered important in the research as it was crucial to get her perspective on the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. Lastly, the WCDHS and the City of Cape Town managers who are responsible for the distribution of low-income housing were considered imperative to interview. Key informants in these institutions enabled an understanding of the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. The successive section focusses on the strategy that was used to select research participants for this study.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

The research combined probability and non-probability sampling methods in selecting required participants from the target population. The snowball sampling technique which falls under non-probability sampling (Cresswell, 2014) was employed to draw and select research participants for the study. This technique was used by the researcher to select research participants in a predisposed way justified by the fact that the researcher considers the identified research participants as key informants with regards to the phenomenon under study. The snowball sampling technique allows the researcher to reach research participants who may be difficult to reach when using other sampling techniques (Ezzy, 2002).

Snowball also referred to as the chain referral process is cheap, simple and cost-effective. In this study, the use of snowball sampling enabled the researcher to identify and recruit research participants and request these participants to help in identifying other participants who share the same attributes as them. In this regard, the research participants possessed useful information to be used to accomplish the objectives of the study. In the context of this study, snowball sampling was considered imperative as it allowed the researcher to reach key informants who have knowledge about the phenomenon of this study. These key informants were able to assist the researcher reach participants that were difficult find without prior references.

Furthermore, stratified sampling was employed to select the research participants for the study. Neuman (2014, p. 262) explains stratified sampling as a random sample in which the researcher first identifies a set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories, then divides the sampling frame by the categories, and then uses random selection to select cases from each category. This probability sampling technique was used to select research participants in the DS community and the key informants from the WCDHS and the City of Cape Town. Discussed in the next section are the data collection methods used in this study.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

As mentioned above, this study adopted qualitative methods. Subsequently, to collect the necessary information for the study, the researcher used in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews and documents review. Each of these data collection tools is articulated in the succeeding section.

3.5.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews in social science research allow flexibility and fluidity in the structure of the questions. They enable the interviewee's own understanding of the phenomenon to be known better by the researcher. This technique also assists in determining whether and not particular areas might require further interview follow ups (Makiva, 2015, p. 153). The use of in-depth interviews enables the research to discover different perspectives from the world view of the interviewee about one phenomenon. Using in-depth interviews, the researcher can set the interview questions prior the interview session and permits for open-ended responses from the research participants. This provides an opportunity for the researcher to obtain more information about the phenomenon under investigation. This type of interview was considered appropriate for the present study as the researcher was aiming at understanding social experiences with respect to the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community.

In qualitative research, an in-depth interview is considered quite pivotal as it allows the interviewees to express their views in a detailed manner (Ezzy, 2002). As a qualitative data collection tool used in this study, the in-depth interview technique enabled the researcher to gather extensive data about the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in DS community. In-depth interviews for this research were conducted in the month of May in 2020. In this regard, ten (10) low-income housing beneficiaries and five (5) DS community residents who are still living in informal settlements such as shacks were interviewed after being identified using snowball and stratified samplings as aforementioned in the above sections. The researcher targeted the DS community residents who benefited from low-income housing from the period 2000 to 2015.

3.5.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were also used to collect primary data for this study. The researcher used the similar set of interview questions for other respondents in the study. The interview questions were prepared prior the interview sessions and the researcher used the set questions. Blee and Taylor (2002) argue that semi-structured interviews can be used as a powerful data collection instrument in social science research. In this regard, the researcher used semi-structured interviews to capture how research participants felt about low-income housing distribution in South Africa particularly in the DS community as this was the focus of this

study. With the intentions to get more insights and views on the low-income housing processes that prevailed in the DS community, eight (8) community representative or leaders, two (2) key informants from the WCDHS were interviewed through the semi-structured interview approach. Furthermore, two (2) key informants from the City of Cape Town and the ward Councillor were interviewed. The ensuing table displays the interviewees for this study by their category.

Table 3: Research Participants by Category

Category	Number
DS community residents	15
DS Community leaders	8
City of Cape Town	2
Department of Human Settlements	2
Ward Councillor	1
Total number of Research participants	28

Source: Researcher's construction 2020.

In carrying out the interviews with the key informants depicted in the above table, it is important to note that the interviews were conducted on the interviewee's place of preference. Blee and Taylor (2002, p. 96) contends that "the expectation in carrying out in-depth interviews is that the interviewed person is more likely to express their views spontaneously in a relatively openly designed interview situation". All the research participants preferred to be interviewed in their homes except government officials and the ward Councillor who insisted that the interview be conducted in their offices. The researcher provided all research participants with an interview consent letter from the University of the Western Cape, School of Government one week before the interview date.

3.5.3 Documents Review

In a qualitative research, documents analysis is one of the methods that the researcher can employ for data collection. Creswell (2014) states that in documents analysis the researcher search for documents that are relevant to the study and analyse them critically to get the required data. Document analysis for this research consisted of published and unpublished low-income housing documents that were scrutinised. The study used the WCDHS annual reports,

StatsSA annual reports, Western Cape IDP Reports, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) annual reports and national government gazettes.

The study scrutinised international low-income housing and urban planning literature with the intentions to determine the gap between international low-income housing circumstances and the South African context. The review of extant literature for low-income housing and community development at large helped the researcher to get a contextual and conceptual understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The existing epistemological knowledge in the field of urban planning and low-income housing delivery played a fundamental role in shaping the researchers' perspective about low-income housing. In addition, the findings of this study were harmonised with the pre-existing works of various scholars in the same research arena. Once all primary and secondary was collected, its analysis followed. Hereunder, the data analysis techniques used in this research are explicated.

3.6 Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis is a scientific way of processing data with the intentions of establishing meaning. This process involves critical questioning and sorting of data so that the researcher can see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques or generate theories (Creswell, 2009, p. 175). This study employed qualitative approach. The process of qualitative data analysis is a cycle that keep on repeating in a sense that in the process, the researcher will notice new things and start thinking about such things and collect information. In the process of qualitative data analysis, the researcher can notice parts that requires that one must go back to the preceding parts (Neuman, 2014).

As mentioned above, content and thematic analysis were used to analyse qualitative data. Using content analysis, the researcher examined the collected data based on recurrent instances. These instances were then systematically identified across the data set and grouped by means of coding system. Thematic analysis was used to analyse qualitative data. This means that data was analysed according to important themes of this study. Further, the hermeneutic method was also employed in the process of interpreting qualitative data as briefly explained in the ensuing section.

3.6.1 Hermeneutic Method

For conceptual clarification, hermeneutics is the "art and science of interpretation especially as it applies to text" (Ezzy, 2002, p. 24). Palmer (1969) contends that hermeneutics basically means interpretation. The hermeneutic method was considered imperative for data analysis in this study. This was because the hermeneutic approach allows for an adequate interpretation and understanding of the conversations between the researcher and the research participants. Therefore, it is crucial to reiterate that hermeneutic principles formed basis for literature analysis, documents analysis and interpretation of the study results. According to Gardamer (2004a), hermeneutic interpretation is essential for obtaining the highest understanding of all types of texts and conversations. In this regard, the results of this study were interpreted and analysed within the context of hermeneutic interpretation.

In the process of qualitative data analysis for this study, the researcher applied what Friedrich Schleiermacher referred to as the hermeneutic circle. In this manner, the researcher examines words in relation to the sentences, and the sentences in the contexts of the paragraphs, and so on, until an understanding of the text can be accurately reached (Schleiermacher, 1977, p. 174). In the hermeneutic circle, the claim is that "one cannot understand the meaning of the whole text apart from understanding the meaning of the individual sentences, and even words, in the text. On the other hand, one cannot properly understand the individual parts apart from some grasp of the whole" (Stiver, 1996, p. 89). Thus, the researcher adopted a forward and back movement in the analysis and interpretation of the collected data until a better understanding was accomplished. The inference is that, in hermeneutics, the more there is this back and forward movement, a better understanding is achieved.

The hermeneutic method becomes crucial in reading, interpreting and understanding in social sciences (Gardamer, 2004a). This science of interpretation allowed a comprehensive understanding of the research participants' views and ideas during and after the interviews conducted for this study. One of the leading scholars in the science of interpretation or hermeneutics, Friedrich Schleiermacher also recognised as the father of modern hermeneutics appropriately maintains that hermeneutics is not merely concerned or deal with written texts, but it also applies to conversations and understandings. Hermeneutics promotes human potential for understanding the meaning of language to expand the immeasurable possibilities of human thought (Palmer, 1969). Articulated in the following sections are the measures used in this study to enhance reliability and validity of research instruments.

3.7 Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

In qualitative research, adequate measuring tools or instruments are pivotal to ensure that the study accomplishes its objectives in an appropriate and pragmatic manner. This is so because, the accuracy of the measuring tools in qualitative studies contributes to valid research findings (Neuman, 2014). In this regard, poor measuring instruments can lead to inaccurate research conclusions. Accordingly, Gill (2008, p. 105) concur that numerous failed research efforts with poorly articulated questions that may appear sound but are neither valid nor reliable. Thus, the accuracy of the measuring instrument not only influences the accuracy of the results, but also the conclusions drawn, and the generalisations made from the study. Furthermore, the terms validity and reliability are frequently interpreted as denoting the same meaning. However, there is a difference between the two concepts (Makiva, 2015), as articulated below. Necessary efforts were made to enhance the reliability and validity of the study. The concepts of reliability and validity are discussed in the following sections.

3.7.1 Reliability

According to Silver (2004, p. 100), the reliability of data collected is vital if the research is to deliver sound results. Thus, the methods and techniques used to gather the data must pass the test of reliability and provide results that can be re-tested and under related occurrences deliver the same results or outcomes. Neuman (2014) states that the reliability of research data makes it likely to make generalities about the occurrence under research which eventually leads to theory development or review. In this study, reliability was enhanced by applying the intra-rater technique as proposed by Williams and Kobak (2008). This means that the researcher promoted the integrity of terms by asking the same questions in the interviews with all research participants of the same category. During the interview sessions, for example, the researcher ensured that the research participants fully understood the interview questions. This was done through politely asking whether the interviewee understood the question and if not, then the researcher tried to clarify the obscure questions. Similarly, the responses of the interviewees were verified through genuinely asking questions such as "is this what you mean?" This was done to ensure that the researcher and the interviewee have a mutual understanding of the research objective and purpose.

3.7.2 Validity

Creswell (2009) maintains that validity is critical to the researcher's journey in attaining in-depth insight into the way of life of individuals, groups or institutions. Validity refers to research outcomes that give a true reflection of the situation or phenomenon under investigation. According to Silverman (2011, p. 34), the validity of outcomes is a weakness in qualitative studies, because one may doubt the validity of justification because the researcher has not dealt with contrary views. Nevertheless, in this study, content validity was used to enhance the validity of qualitative research instruments. Content validity can be clarified as the extent to which each item in an established research tool precisely measures the variable it is envisioned to measure (Neuman, 2011). In this study, in adopting the content validity, the researcher requested a senior researcher at the University of the Western Cape to critique the extent in which each item in the research instruments was relevant to the variables measured in the study. The researcher used various methods such as in-depth and semi-structured interviews to collect data on the same phenomenon to assess the truthfulness of findings.

3.8 Delimitation of the Study

This study is delimited to the DS community with an understanding that the challenges to low-income housing in this community cannot be superimposed to other areas. The DS community is in the Delft area, approximately 34 kilometers east of Cape Town. This area is bounded to the south by the N2 highway, to the west by Cape Town International Airport, and the east by the R300, a major north-south link road (Chance, 2008). Delft was created in 1989 through subsidised housing projects for African families from either overcrowded housing in formal townships or informal settlements (Kuyasa Fund 2005, p. 16). Fifty percent (50%) of the sites in Delft South and Central were made available to people on the waiting list of the City of Cape Town's Tygerberg Administration area. Delft is a developed residential area of about 25, 000 and 92, 000 households (Chance, 2008, p. 7). Delft as one of the biggest townships in the Cape flats is divided into seven (7) sections. These are Voorburg, The Hague, Roosendaal, Eindhoven, Suburban, Leiden, and the Delft Symphony community (DS community).

Considering all these subdivisions in the Delft area, the DS community is the newest section consisting of low-income houses and informal settlements such as shacks constructed from poor housing material. The DS community is dominated by both the Afrikaans and IsiXhosa speaking residents. While there are various urban services such as low-income housing, water

and sanitation, road infrastructure, and public transport in this area, the urban service investigated in this study was low-income housing, with the main emphasis being on the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. Time boundaries for this study stretched from the year 2000 to 2015. Throughout this time, the DS community was characterised by active demonstrations with the central theme being low-income housing distribution. This situation gave impetus for the present study, in which the researcher examines the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community.

3.9 Fieldwork Challenges

In conducting the fieldwork for this study, the researcher experienced some challenges. For instance, the final stages of data collection were done during the nationwide lockdown due to the outbreak of the Coronavirus pandemic in South Africa. Therefore, the researcher had to work in compliance with the lockdown regulations and health measures such as social distancing. The researcher had to carry a hand sanitizer to be used before and after the interview to curb the spread of the Coronavirus pandemic. With careful adherence to the safety measures, the researcher managed to conduct the fieldwork. However, some face-to-face interviews had to be changed to telephone interviews and WhatsApp voice records. This presented a challenge as the researcher had to buy airtime for telephone interviews. Sometimes the phone call would break down due to network connections and insufficient airtime and this also disrupted the arranged telephone interview sessions with government officials. An additional challenge is that while the interview questions were not viewed as sensitive by the researcher some key informants decided not to answer certain questions during the interviews. However, satisfactory information required to enrich the study was gained.

3.10 Ethics Statement

The nature of this study implied careful consideration of research ethics, as the study found its stand in a very political and dialectical arena of low-income housing. The nature of the unit of analysis for this study demanded attention to intercultural communication principles to interact with heterogeneous groups of participants as aforementioned under the research methodology section. In this regard, the study was undertaken in consent with the existing research ethics guiding principles of the University of the Western Cape. With regards to literature interpretation, efforts were made to achieve the accurate and adequate translation of texts. Honesty and confidentiality are crucial principles of research ethics that should be considered

in any study (Silver, 2004). The study was conducted in careful consideration of these two but not limited principles of research ethics. Confidential information was maintained, and in this regard, the researcher did not divulge sensitive and private information of the research participants. The objectives of the research were communicated respectfully to the research participants and the principle of honesty was observed. In addition, the researcher was clear and honest before, during and after interviews. The researcher also avoided any form of harm and promoted the privacy of participants.

3.11 Chapter Conclusions and Summary

This chapter has presented the research methodology and methods employed in the study. The study was conducted using the qualitative methods as discussed in this chapter. The chapter also discussed the data collection instruments that were employed in the study and these included semi-structured interviews among others. This chapter has also displayed how qualitative data was analysed, with the aid of interpretation methods such as hermeneutics. Furthermore, articulated in the chapter are the techniques adopted in the study to enhance the reliability and validity of research instruments. The next chapter presents the findings of the study.
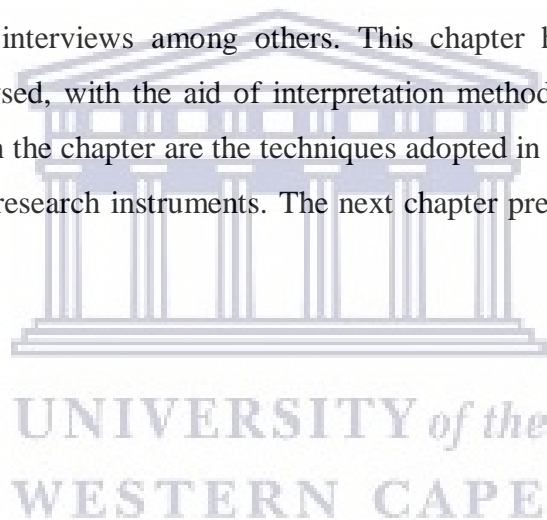
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the research methodology employed to investigate the challenges to the effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. To achieve this aim, a qualitative methodology was adopted. This current chapter provides the major findings of the study. The main research finding is that despite the significant progress made by the Western Cape provincial government in the distribution of low-income housing, much still needs to be done to make low-income housing delivery a success story in the DS community. In this chapter, the researcher used pseudo names to protect the identities of the research participants. As a recap, the main objectives of this study were (1) to critically analyse the legislative framework governing the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, since the inception of democracy in 1994; (2) to analyse the barriers to effective distribution of low-income housing specifically in the DS community, Cape Town; (3) to understand the processes and challenges encountered in low-income housing application (4) to understand data trends towards the distribution of low-income housing, since 2000 to 2015; and (5) to proffer the recommendations for improving the distribution of low-income housing. Before discussing the major challenges to the effective distribution of low-income housing, the next section provides demographic information of the research participants.

4.1 Low-income Housing Allocation per Gender

The researcher interviewed the DS community residents, the Western Cape Department of Human Settlement, and the City of Cape Town, to achieve the objectives of the study. The study primarily sought to understand the gender of the participants to eliminate the possibility of getting the perspectives of one gender. The study also sought to understand if participants were the beneficiaries of low-cost housing or not. On the questionnaire, research participants were asked to indicate their gender, including ownership of low-cost housing. Figure 2 below displays the research participants by their gender.

Research Participants by Gender

35%

65%
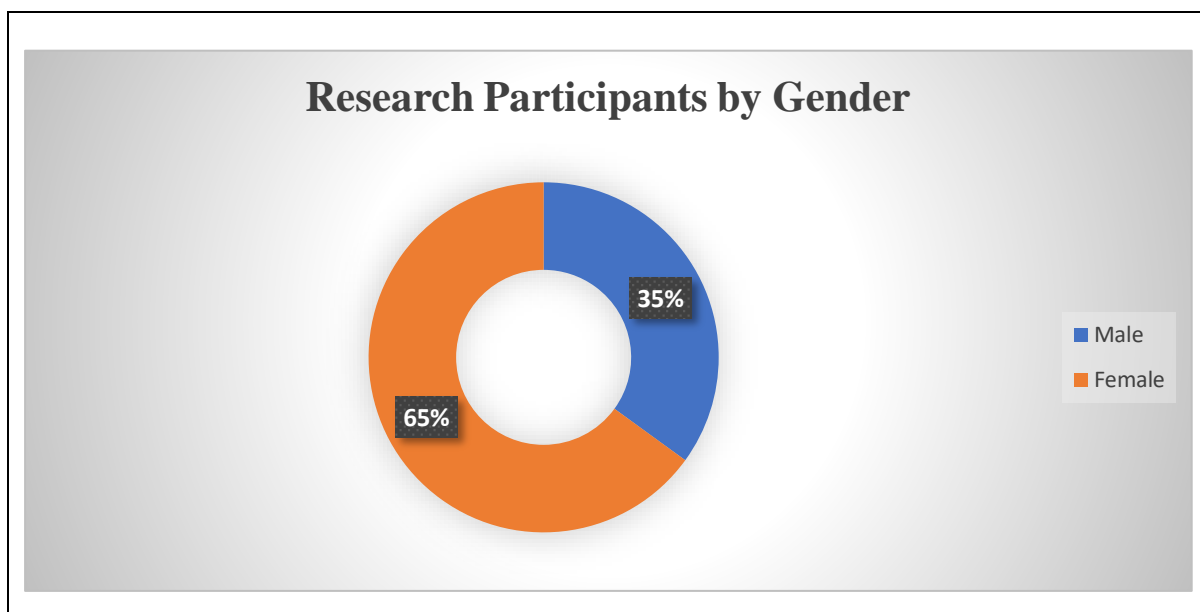
■ Male
■ Female

Figure 2: Overall Research Participants by Gender (*Source*: Researcher's construction from fieldwork, 2020).

Figure 2 above displays that the majority (65%) of the research participants in the DS community were females. These females are beneficiaries of low-cost housing. The male subjects interviewed constituted 35% of the total participants. These male participants were also beneficiaries of low-cost housing. According to StatsSA (2011), there are about 191,668 of households that are living in informal settlements in the Western Cape Province. Sixty per cent of these families are women-headed. Furthermore, StatsSA (2018) infer that in the Western Cape Province the low-income housing beneficiaries in 2015 were women who constituted 70% followed by the male gender who comprised 30% of the beneficiaries. In supporting this claim, the WCDHS (2014) argues that between 2013 and 2015, about 10,212 of low-income houses were delivered in the Western Cape and 6,896 of these were allocated to women, particularly in the DS community. Therefore, it reasonable to argue that most of the households in the DS community are women-headed. These residents have benefited from the distribution of low-income housing and their lives have improved as compared to their previous living conditions. This observation is consonant with the Public Value Theory discussed in chapter two of this thesis, which suggested that there is need for government developmental initiatives, including the low-income housing to add value to the lives of the citizens.

However, Millstein (2014) maintains that the progression in the distribution of low-income housing cannot be measured merely based on assessing gender dynamics. Rather, one needs to consider factors such as economic status in general. Considering this observation, the

interviewees in this study were requested to indicate their monthly income bracket or range. The study found that the interviewed women belong to low-income group earning around R2, 500 – R5000 per month. This finding seems to be concurrent with that of the Housing Development Agency (HDA, 2013), which maintains that 69% of households in in Cape Town's poor areas have a household income of less than R3 500 per month. As a result, the housing access and affordability challenge emanate from this context.

While responding to the question: what are the motives for applying for the low-income house? the interviewees in the DS community indicated that most of the women in the area are either unemployed or earning low-wages and this compelled them to apply and wait for the low-income housing scheme from the government. In this regard, the distribution of low-income housing must be carried in the framework of promoting the rights of the most vulnerable citizens as insisted in the theory of justice. The principles of justice as discussed in chapter two of this study, implies that low-income housing must be understood as bringing social justice to the most disadvantaged communities such as those in the DS community. It was also vital to consider the age of residents. This was done to determine the dominant age group of residents in the DS community. In this regard, the research participants were requested to indicate their age group on the questionnaire. Consequently, according to their age group, the interviewed DS community residents are depicted on the ensuing figure.
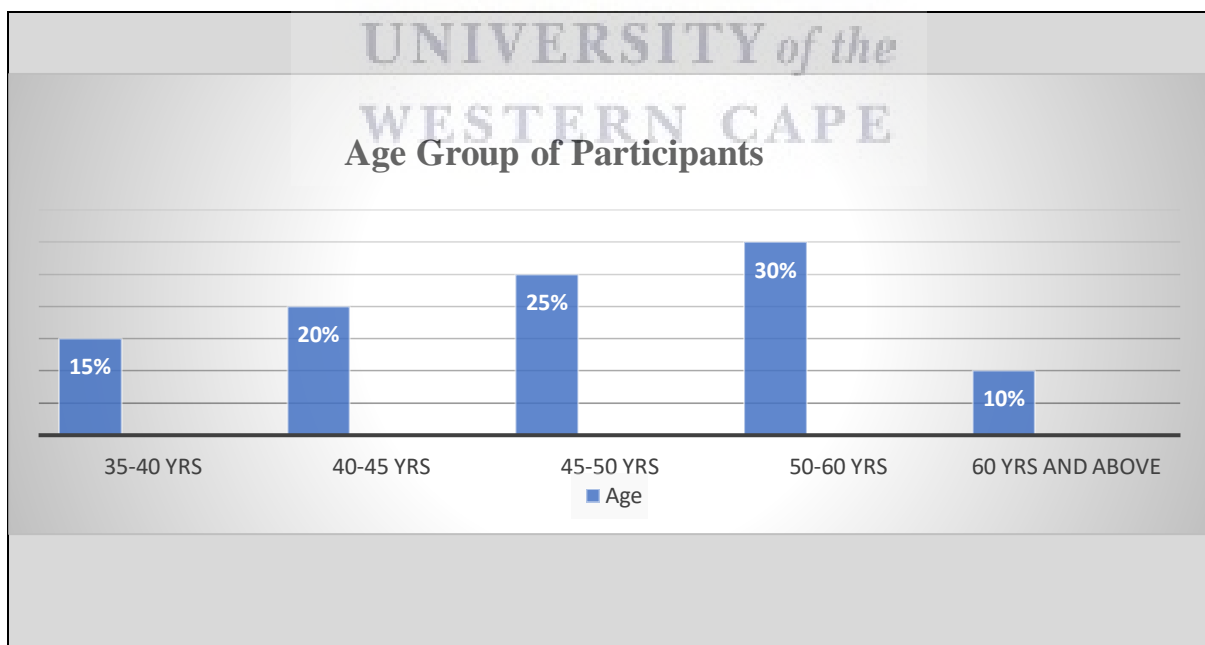

Figure 3: Outline of Participant's Age Groups (*Source*: Researcher's construction from fieldwork 2020).

As depicted in figure 3 above, residents in the DS community are mostly between the ages of 50-60 years. This finding is in line with StatsSA Reports (2001 & 2011) which indicated that the population of Cape Town in terms of age groups remains predominantly in the age of 60 years (48% in 2001, 51% in 2011). This means that most of the DS community residents were born during the Apartheid regime in South Africa. From figure 3, it can be observed that the majority of residents in the DS community are between the ages of 50-60 followed by 45-50 years. The lowest age group in the DS community as displayed in the graph above is 60 years and above followed by residents between the ages 35- 40 years.

Research participants were requested to indicate their province of origin before coming to Cape Town. In this regard, 50% of the participants indicated that they originate from the Eastern Cape Province, while 25% are from the Western Cape Province. Fifteen per cent of the participants were from KwaZulu Natal, while 10% come from the Gauteng province. These statistics indicated that most of the DS community residents originated from the Eastern Cape Province. These findings also correspond with StatsSA's 2011 mid-year population estimates, which reported that there are roughly two in-migrants for every one out-migrant in the Western Cape Province.

4.2 Major Barriers to Effective Distribution of Low-income Housing in the DS community

The study proceeded to investigate the barriers to effective distribution of low-cost housing in the DS community after an indication there appears to exist major challenges in the distribution of low-income housing in this area. From the interviews with key informants, it was revealed that the government is moving slowly in the distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. For example, against the target of 11 094 houses, the Western Cape government only managed to deliver 8, 085 low-cost houses in the 2013/2014 financial year (WCDHS, 2014). According to the interviewed DS residents, among the reasons behind the shortfall in the delivery of low-cost housing is lack of commitment from the side of government. In essence, the DS community subscribe to the Theory of Justice, which earlier indicated that government ought to initiate the delivery of low-cost housing. Furthermore, key informants from the WCDHS and the City of Cape Town attributed the delays in effective delivery of low-cost housing to government's internal bureaucratic procedures as they tend to prolong the processes involved in housing delivery. Similarly, the WCDHS (2014) attributed the sluggish distribution of low-income housing in the Western Cape to the bureaucratic administrative processes that need to be followed before the implementation of a certain housing development.

For example, it is procedural that prior to effect any housing project, Environmental Impact Assessments are conducted. This is the case since town planners are required to scrutinise suitable land zones and a certificate of approval from the Department of Environmental Affairs must be obtained, a process that normally takes about two years (HDA, 2013). The other contributing factor to the delays in the delivery of low-income housing is that not all payments to service providers such as contractors are processed within the minimum reasonable period of 30 days with the issuing of title deeds to beneficiaries taking about twenty months to two years (WCDHS, 2017, p. 23). The study found that these and other bureaucratic processes such as the approval of the suitable land for human settlements prolong the implementation of low-income housing programmes and projects in areas such as the DS community.

According to the DS community residents, while waiting for the government to deliver the low-income housing, poor citizens resort to illegal land invasions and establish informal settlements characterised by shacks built poor construction material. Fifty per cent of the interviewed residents in the DS community referred to the problem of housing affordability as the main driving force for residents to establish their own informal houses. On the other side, 50% of the residents insisted that the sluggish distribution of low-income housing is the major reason for them to invade land and build their own informal houses. This means that the majority of low-income earners cannot afford the exorbitant housing prices due to their low salaries and wages. These observations are consonant with the argument by Tomlinson (2015) who asserts that the failure of the government to provide housing contributes to the increase in the number of informal settlements especially in peripheral urban areas.

The WCDHS (2016, p. 1) revealed that in 2001, one in seven households in the Western Cape lived in informal settlements or backyard shacks; and by 2011, this number increased to one in six. Nonetheless, the government has made a significant progress regarding the distribution of low-income housing in the area through its provincial administrative structures. For instance, figures indicate that in 2013, the Western Cape Provincial government had managed to deliver around 4500 units in the Delft community at large HAD (2013). However, from 2013-2015 an estimated 60% of the residents were still residing in informal settlements characterised by squalid living circumstances as displayed in the above figure. This means that there is seemingly a mismatch between supply and demand in the delivery of low-income housing in South Africa and in Cape Town's poor areas such as the DS community.

Furthermore, the HDA (2013, p. 12) contends that "in 2001 there were 142,706 households living in shacks not in backyards compared to 191,668 in 2011. Regarding enumeration areas (EAs), 116,096 households lived in areas demarcated by StatsSA as informal settlements in 2001 compared to 149,051 in 2011 in areas demarcated as informal residential". In response to the housing shortages, the Western Cape Provincial government has implemented several housing projects in Cape Town's poor areas such as the DS community. These include the N2 Gateway housing project which was initiated in 2005 with the aim to deliver 15000 low-income houses to poor communities in the Cape flats. In this regard, the HAD (2013, p. 1) argue that "while Delft 7-9 housing project was completed in 2013 with almost 4 500 houses handed over to beneficiaries, Delft Symphony is still under construction. To date, over 4 200 fully subsidised and 350 bonded houses have been completed in this area".

However, the N2 Gateway housing project has faced some challenges that resulted in massive community protests. These includes the delays and inconsistencies in the allocation of low-income housing to beneficiaries. Such scenarios contributed to the sprouting of informal settlements around the Cape flats areas in Cape Town. Thus, this study contends that the challenge of low-income housing is manifesting in the weak capacity of the government to eradicate informal settlements in poor areas such as the DS community. When asked to elaborate on the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community, an elderly grant beneficiary criticised the government for the slow distribution of low-income housing by stating that:

> *"The low-income housing waiting list is very corrupt. I applied in 1996, just after two years of democracy in South Africa. I am old now my days are numbered in this world, and I cannot even remember how many years I spent waiting for this house. Many citizens including young individuals who applied after me got their houses long ago and I just got mine in 2015, the councillors allocate houses to their families and friends therefore if you are unknown, just an ordinary citizen like me you will suffer forever".*

The preceding observation is consonant with the argument by Pillay (2008) who states that corruption, policy inconsistence and poor implementation at local level together with the lack of communication between the government and low-income housing beneficiaries are the main factors that hinders the low-income housing delivery. The problem of corruption in the low-income housing waiting list is seemingly a major issue in the DS community. Eighty per cent of residents, in the DS community insisted that they have participated in various violent public

demonstrations against corrupt low-income housing processes. With the intentions to communicate to the government their frustrations regarding the corrupt low-income housing waiting list the DS community, residents have engaged in violent protests. Concomitant with this finding, Hendrik (2015) contends that the low-income housing circumstances in South Africa is dialectical and paradoxical as ordinary citizens have consistently vented their concerns and frustrations about low-income housing delivery processes through violent protests.

South Africa consists of racial alienated and heterogeneous living conditions which defy the notion of solidarity and constitutional democracy (Pillay 2008). Indeed, the living conditions in the DS community are excruciatingly devastating and poor ordinary citizens in the area have lost trust and confidence in state-driven low-income housing provision approaches. In this regard, an ordinary resident in the DS community described the political conflicts in South Africa by stating "when two bulls combat the ground, the grass suffers the most". In this regard, the bulls referred to are the South African political parties, with the ground and the grass metaphorically representing the poor ordinary citizens who are still waiting for the low-income housing from the government. South Africa as one of the developing countries is well renowned for its democratic Constitution (chapter two, the bill of rights) which recognises and promote human rights as the essential foundation towards fully emancipation of the human nature. However, in contrary to these constitutional precepts, the living circumstances in the DS community are not disconcerting as there is evidence of the shortage of low-income housing amongst most of the citizens.

The low-income housing beneficiaries who were interviewed maintained that the allocation of low-income housing is unbearably taking longer than expected with a delivery timeframe of around 10-20 years to be precise as will be depicted later in this chapter. For example, out of 28 research participants, 18 who constitute 80% alluded to the fact that after the completion of their application for the low-income housing, it took more than ten years for them to get the low-income houses. Thus, it can be contended that the distribution of low-income housing is slowly progressing. For instance, to address the housing backlog in Cape Town, 30 000 houses need to be delivered annually, but only 8-10 000 houses are delivered in a year (McGaffin, 2018, WCDHS, 2018). It is within this context that citizens are bound to reside in poor housing conditions. The extant literature depicts that the failure of the government to effectively distribute low-income housing to urban poor and marginalised contribute to squalid living

conditions in peripheral urban areas (Rolnik, 2013). At this point it can be stated that the state-driven low-income housing is not effective enough to transform the lives of ordinary citizens. When asked to explain the low-income housing application process for residents. One of the key informants from the City of Cape Town explained the low-income housing application process as follows:

"Once a housing subsidy application has been captured on the Housing Subsidy Scheme, the application is submitted through three electronic searches that are performed overnight. Firstly, the application is compared to the population to ensure the validity of the applicant's and spouse's identity numbers, and that the applicant and or spouse are not deceased. Secondly, the application is compared to the National Housing Subsidy Database (NHSDB) to ensure that neither the applicant nor his or her spouse has previously been assisted by the government. Lastly, the application is compared to the Registrar of Deeds to ensure that neither the applicant nor his/her spouse has previously owned a property and this process normally take one to two years to be completed".

Based on the above bureaucratic process of low-income housing application, it can be argued that the low-income housing application in South Africa is a long process full of administrative procedures. While this process is necessary for checks and balances, one may argue that it is one of the main factors contributing to the slow progress in the distribution of low-income housing in urban townships such as the DS community. In this regard, Schensul and Heller (2011) maintains that the low-income housing application in South Africa involves unclear government internal processes that delays the distribution of low-income housing especially to the urban poor. However, key informants from both the Western Cape provincial government and the City of Cape Town maintained that this process is essential to prevent fraud and corruption in the allocation of low-income housing. It was crucial to determine how long it took for low-income housing beneficiaries in the DS community to get houses. Figure 4 below displays how long it took for the DS community low-income beneficiaries to get houses.
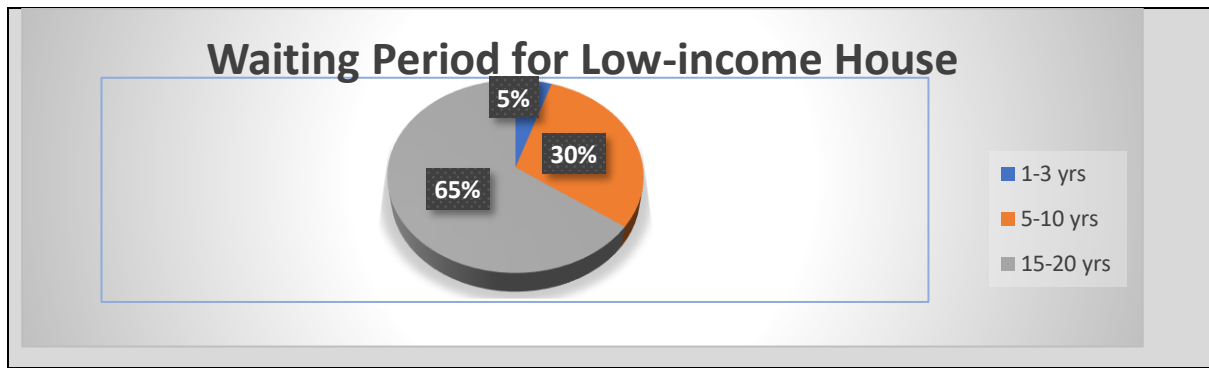
Waiting Period for Low-income House

- 1-3 yrs
- 5-10 yrs
- 15-20 yrs

5%
30%
65%

Figure 4: Waiting Period for Low-income Housing in the DS community (*Source*: Researcher's construction from fieldwork 2020).

Based on the interviews conducted, Figure 4 demonstrates that the majority of residents, i.e., 65%, had to wait for a period of 15-20 years to get low-income houses. In light of these findings and according to the WCDHS (2016, p. 1), over 40% of informal settlements have existed for over 15 years and almost 3 out of 4 informal settlements have existed for ten years or more. While living in poor conditions, residents are placed on the waiting list for low-income housing with some residents waiting for about 5-10 years before getting a house as depicted in figure 4 above. Both the community leaders and residents attributed the delays in low-income housing distribution to the inconsistency and loopholes in low-income housing waiting list administration. A total of 73% of the respondents associated the processes of low-income housing distribution with the slow progress in the issuing of title deeds to correct individuals.

A title deed is the most crucial aspect in the distribution of low-income housing. This is because a title deed serves as a legal confirmation of the ownership of the house. As such, in practical cases, low-income housing beneficiaries are expected to have a document confirming their ownership of the house (the title deed). In cases where "a financial institution holds a mortgage over the property, the title deed should rest with the financial institution" (HAD, 2013, p. 38). However, the issuance of title deeds to housing beneficiaries seems to be a key challenge that delays the ownership of low-income houses in the DS community. While 70% of low-income housing beneficiaries in the DS community have received their title deeds, 30% residents are still waiting for these documents which means that some low-income housing beneficiaries are still busy with the processes of getting their title deeds to legally own the houses (WCDHS (2016, p. 1).

Thus, it can be argued that the processes of low-income housing for such residents is not yet complete. From those residents who have received their title deeds, it emerged that some of them had to wait for more than two years. In this regard, Schensul and Heller (2011, p. 24) argued that the main challenge in the distribution of low-income housing is "perhaps in the issuing of title deeds, which is lagging, and which means that people's ownership of a house cannot be established legally, leaving them unable to use it as an asset or as security for a loan". Thus, the problem of low-income housing ownership and title deeds in the Western Cape Province and in the DS community, is associated with discrepancies in the Deeds Register offices. One the key informants commented that:

> "The local and provincial government's officials and their service providers do not prepare applications correctly. This create unnecessary delays in the registration of title deeds because now the documents are consistently referred to municipalities for correction and this backwards and forwards between the Deeds office, the attorneys and the municipalities".

Based on the above extract, it can be argued that the problem of low-income housing ownership and tittle deeds seems to emanate from internal government processes enforced through legislations. The justification for these government processes would be the elimination of possible fraud and corruption in the distribution of low-income housing. To the government, this is important to ensure that the title deeds are correctly assigned to right beneficiaries. According to Jutal and Matsiliza (2014), unethical behaviour in the public sector has resulted in fraud and corruption in the distribution of low-income housing particularly in South Africa. This undermines the supremacy of the South African Constitution and makes it difficult for poor ordinary citizens who do not have connections with public office bearers such as the ward councillor to benefit from low-income housing distribution processes. Thus, one can contend that ordinary citizens who because of their economic status deserve to benefit from low-income housing are not consistently considered in the housing allocation processes.

4.2.1 The Processes and Challenges Encountered in Low-income Housing Application

Starting from an understanding of the premise that transparency is a principle emphasised in various pieces of service delivery charts in South Africa, such as Bantu Pele principles, it is recommended that the government should embrace transparency in low-income housing distribution. The processes of low-income housing are expected to incorporate the principle of transparency to ensure that citizens fully understand all the low-income housing delivery

processes (Schensul and Heller, 2011). However, drawing from the views of the DS community residents, one can argue that low-income housing processes in South Africa seem to be covert as citizens are not aware of the processes involved in the distribution of low-income housing. All the interviewed DS community residents maintained that there is a lack of transparency in low-income housing distribution processes and this is supported by the fact that residents have no idea of where and how to follow up on their low-income housing applications. Commenting on the problem of transparency in low-income housing, one of the interviewed DS community residents maintained that:

> "*Residents are not even aware that they are supposed to be engaged and have a say in low-income housing processes, as low-income housing beneficiaries what we only know is that we supposed to apply for houses by submitting and signing the required documents nothing else".*

From the preceding extract, it can be maintained that the lack of transparency continues to be a challenge that hinders the processes of low-income housing in the DS community. The DS community leaders also further highlighted the problem of transparency in the processes of low-income housing distribution. According to them, the low-income housing waiting list is controlled and manipulated by political leaders. In this regard, low-income houses are not duly allocated to deserving beneficiaries. Explaining the ambiguities in low-income housing allocation, a low-income house owner in the DS community insisted that:

> "*There was a problematic case of a resident who was erroneously given a low-income house in DS community. It was found after some time that the house did not belong to the resident. Later, the house was reallocated to the right individual. Very astonishingly the resident was given another house and the case disappeared".*

Based on the above claim, it can be argued that the low-income housing processes in the DS community are seemingly influenced by political contestations especially between the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the African National Congress (ANC). From the hitherto extract, it can be argued that the lack of transparency in low-income housing distribution contribute to fraud and corruption. In this regard, Landman and Napier (2010) state that the processes of low-income housing in South Africa have been marked by inconsistences and fraud mainly associated with abuse of political power and lack of transparency. This means that when the processes of low-income housing are not transparent to citizens, this becomes an opportunity to those in positions of power to manipulate the processes to suit their own interests. Indeed, the low-income housing process in the DS community is seemingly

controlled and influenced by those in positions of power, as the study revealed. The low-income housing strategies and policies are merely formulated by the elites and thereafter superimposed to the DS community. This in turn results in poor implementation and failure of such low-income housing strategies and projects in the community. This is because the plights of the community regarding low-income housing are hardly incorporated in such policies and projects.

The burden of corruption in low-income housing is linked to extensive governmental processes leading to lack of transparency. From the interviews held with the key informants in the DS community, it became apparent that the processes of low-income housing contribute to the problem of lack of transparency in low-income housing delivery. As Lategan (2017) insisted, transparency in the processes of low-income housing is a prerequisite for effective distribution of housing for the urban poor. The principle of transparency is emphasised in various government service delivery strategies including low-income housing policies such as BNG. Thereafter, the South African government, particularly the Western Cape provincial government, is expected to revive the effective enforcement of transparency in low-income housing distribution. To improve low-income housing delivery, the government must prioritise the principle of transparency. This need to be considered as a strategic plan to open the low-income housing processes to the scrutiny of citizens. It is recommended that if low-income housing is to be effective, all the application processes and low-income housing delivery phases must be open to the public and this could eliminate the issues of fraud and corruption discussed above. One of the low-income housing beneficiaries in the DS community, indicated that:

> "*While residing in the shack waiting for the low-income house, I had no idea when and where my house was to be build*".

This sentiment demonstrates that the processes of low-income housing are not transparent to citizens. It is in light of this, that the government should promote transparency to ensure effective low-income housing provision. To achieve this, the government should establish institutions and revitalise existing structures such as Community Development workers (CDWs) to promote transparency in the distribution of low-income housing. These institutions and structures should engage consistently with citizens and keep them updated on the status of their low-income housing application. However, this is seemingly lacking in South Africa particularly in the DS community. Since the timeframe for this study stretched from the years

2000 to 2015, the next section provides the low-income housing trends in the Western Cape Province within this period.

4.2.2 Low-income Housing Distribution Trends in the Western Cape from 2000-2015

It is paramount that low-income housing delivery trends in the Western Cape Province during the years 2000-2015 are explained. The niche of this research has been to narrate the low-income housing trajectory in South Africa using the DS community in the Western Cape Province. The premise is that the low-income housing challenge in the Western Cape seems to persist as already indicated in the study. The following table shows that between the years 2000-2015 the low-income housing problem in the Western Cape Province has been characterised by the mismatch between the housing demand and supply.

Table 4: Western Cape Province Low-income Housing Distribution Trends from 2000-2015

Year	Target	Actual Delivery	Housing Backlog
2000/2001	19, 524	17, 730	310,000
2002/2003	16, 647	12, 795	320, 000
2004/2005	16,854	14, 524	40, 000
2006/2007	18, 412	16,042	410,000
2008/2009	16,541	15,491	409, 827
2010/2011	18, 000	11, 141	426, 711
2012/2013	15, 567	13, 128	426, 710
2014/2015	10, 357	18, 817	500, 000

Source: Researcher's Construction Based on the WCDHS's Annual reports (2000-2015)

Table 4 above displays that in the Western Cape Province the low-income housing backlog has been gradually growing since from the year 2000 to 2015. This means that the Western Cape government has not been effective in the distribution of low-income housing to the urban poor. The study found that the sluggish distribution of low-income housing in South Africa particularly in the Western Cape is associated with various factors including the weak technical and financial capacity of both provincial and local government to shelter the urban poor. Ntema (2011) contends that the challenge of low-income housing in South Africa has been characterised by lack of funds to speed up the implementation of housing programmes in urban townships.

4.3 Measures to Improve the Distribution of Low-income Housing

Now that the challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community has been discussed, this section discusses the measures for effective distribution of low-income housing as extracted from the interviews held with the study participants. The DS community residents and key informants recommended different measures that can be implemented to improve the provision of low-income housing in their area. From the interviews conducted, 70% of the DS community residents emphasised that if the government is committed to effective distribution of low-income housing, pragmatic strategies must be devised to combat corruption in low-income housing delivery processes. Furthermore, they also advised that it is important to invigorate the commitment of government institutions responsible for low-income housing. The following low-income housing delivery measures stood out to be the most recommended by the study participants.

4.3.1 Revitalising the Commitment of Government to Low-income Housing

The study found that for effective distribution of low-income housing, there is an urgent need for commitment from government and low-income housing policy makers. From the interviews and discussions held with the key informants, it became clear that there is a lack of commitment from government side to eradicate the challenges of low-income housing. In light of this, an interviewee from the DS community stated:

> "*In this community (DS community) as residents we feel neglected by the government, I don't remember how many times we participated in active demonstrations for low-income housing, but the ward councillor and the Western Cape government were nowhere to be found*".

Basing on this assertion, it can be argued that seemingly, the government hardly attend the demands from ordinary citizens with regards to the low-income housing challenge. As a remedial action, the government must enhance its dedication and commitment to effective distribution of low-income housing to everyone in need. This can be done through ensuring that when citizens engage in public protests the government timeously attend to their demands. However, according to Tomlinson (2015), the commitment to effective distribution of low-income housing cannot be achieved until government institutions such as the Department of Human Settlements and local governments commit themselves to ensuring progressive and effective delivery of low-income housing to poor ordinary citizens. This means that those individuals within the space of providing low-income housing, need to understand their daily

responsibilities which are to work towards providing low-income housing to the disadvantaged communities. Scholars have argued that to invigorate government's commitment to progressive provision of low-income housing to ordinary citizens, public servants must prioritise the plights of the poor (Tomlinson, 2015). With this in practice, one can anticipates effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa at large and in the DS community.

4.3.2 Reviving Effective Cooperation between Community Leaders and Government

The cooperation between community leaders and the government is imperative for effective distribution of low-income housing is not in doubt (Mnguni, 2010). However, from the views of the DS community residents and their community leaders, it was established that the relationship between community leaders and government leaders such as local government officials is precisely antagonistic and unstable. Seemingly, the hostile relationship between community leaders and the government stems from the fact that government officials do not attend community meetings when invited (Moroke, 2009). In this regard, interviewed community residents were seemingly very hostile in explaining the challenges to low-income housing in the DS community. The researcher noticed that all the community leaders were demonstrating signs of frustration with regards to the relationship between them and government institutions. Therefore, it can be argued that the coordination among key stakeholders of low-income housing such as community leaders and government officials is not strong enough to bring about effective distribution of low-income housing particularly in the DS community.

Residents and community leaders felt disrespected by government leaders. According to the DS community leaders, this situation has contributed to a complete disconnection and disunity between community leaders and the ward councillor who is a government local community representative. As a result of this lack of cooperation, residents are unable to engage their ward councillor with regards to low-income housing demands. Basing on this extract, it can be argued that for effective distribution of low-income housing, the government must ensure a stable and conducive relationship between community leaders and government officials. This can be done through ensuring that government leaders are active in attending community meetings to discuss the plights of ordinary citizens with regards to low-income housing. In this regard, the researcher summarises the major challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community as follows:

- Government internal bureaucratic procedures and undue processes such as the land approval process seems to be tedious as they normally take up to two years to complete.

- The problem of housing affordability and unemployment has contributed to the spread of informal settlements such as shacks.

- There is partisan allocation of low-income housing. The low-income housing processes in the DS community are seemingly driven by politics with houses being allocated based on political affiliations.

- There is poor coordination between low-income housing stakeholders including the government, community leaders and residents.

- There is lack of transparency in the processes of low-income housing allocation which in turn seems to be the breeding ground for fraud and corruption.

- There is limited capacity at municipal and provincial level to plan, implement and monitor housing projects.

4.4 Chapter Conclusions and Summary

The chapter presented the principal findings of the study. Throughout the chapter it has become evident that there is a great deal of inefficiency in the distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. The study revealed that despite the existing low-income housing policies such as the BNG, low-income housing continues to be a major challenge facing the government of South Africa. The study found that one of the challenges to low-income housing distribution is lack of transparency in housing distribution and allocation processes. This means that the administrative processes for low-income housing are seemingly done covertly and therefore ordinary citizens remain oblivious of what happens behind the scenes. The lack of transparency in low-income housing distribution contributes to fraud and corruption which on the other side emerged as a challenge to effective distribution of low-income housing in the DS community. This chapter further provided the measures to bring about effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, and the DS community. For example, revitalising the commitment of government to low-income housing has been outlined in the chapter as imperative to improve the delivery of low-income housing. The next chapter provides conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the findings of the study were presented and analysed. It is imperative to reiterate that the central aim of this study was to understand the challenges encountered in the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa with specific reference to the DS community. The study findings contend that there is inefficiency in the distribution of low-income housing in South African urban peripheral areas particularly in the DS community in Cape Town. Research findings established that the sluggish distribution of low-income housing in the DS community evolves from poor cooperation between low-income housing stakeholders such as the government and communities. The present chapter provides conclusions and recommendations of the study. Before providing the recommendations of the study, this chapter discusses the low-income housing phenomenon from and international perspective. The chapter concludes by suggesting areas for future research.

5.1 Conclusions

Low-income housing is a basic human right enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa 1996. As reiterated before, the right to adequate housing is stipulated in chapter three, section twenty-six subsection one of the South African Constitution. Low-income housing provision in South Africa is a responsibility of the central, provincial and local government. The interaction between these three spheres of government is a prerequisite for effective low-income housing distribution. Empirical evidence obtained from fieldwork depicts that there are challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. In the DS community for example, the lack of coordination between community leaders such as ward committees and government officials such as ward councillor has stalled progress in the distribution of low-income housing. This unstable relationship between community leaders and government representatives has led to confusion, conflict and contestations in the delivery of low-income housing in the DS community especially during the years 2000-2015. Thus, it can be concluded that the interaction between low-income housing stakeholders is not conducive for effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa.

In principle, the local government plays a transformative role in urban townships with its role including ensuring effective distribution of low-income housing to ordinary citizens. Nevertheless, in South Africa, the low-income housing challenge continue to manifest in the weak financial capacity of the local government to provide low-income housing to urban townships such as the DS community. Insufficient funding for low-income housing is seemingly a major challenge contributing to the ineffective distribution of low-income housing. Both the provincial government and local authorities are facing financial instability that culminates into poor service delivery in South African urban areas. Alongside the shortage of funds to improve the distribution of low-income housing in Cape Town, urbanisation is rapidly increasing. This means that while the government is failing to provide low-income housing, the population in urban areas is consistently increasing. It can be argued that there is a mismatch between housing demand and the delivery capacity of the government due to the exponentially growing population in most of South Africa's communities.

Fraud and corruption are the major challenges to effective distribution of low-income housing in most of South Africa's local communities. In the DS community, fraud and corruption have been displayed in partisan allocation of low-income houses disregarding the rights of the low-income housing deserving residents. Furthermore, inconsistencies in low-income housing allocation in the DS community have triggered active demonstrations which culminated into residents demolishing public properties such as libraries. The waiting period for the distribution of low-income housing turn to be a tedious process. The study revealed that most residents had to wait for a long time which is normally not less than ten years before getting the low-income house. This delay in the distribution of low-income is due to government internal processes. Apparently, there exists some bureaucratic delays regarding the distribution of low-income housing that contributes to slow progress in the delivery of low-income housing in the DS community. Further, there is a lack of determination and urgency by government to ameliorate the plights of citizens regarding low-income housing in South African urban townships.

Despite the above, in the epoch 2000 to 2015 there was social change in the DS community manifested in the distribution of low-income housing to ordinary citizens. However, most of the DS community residents are living in informal settlements characterised by squalid conditions such as poor sanitation. Evidently, there is inefficiency in the distribution of low-income housing in the DS community expressing itself in the swelling of informal settlements such as shacks. Therefore, the existing South African legislative framework for low-income

housing as articulated in chapter two of this study is apparently ineffective. There is apparently poor implementation of the devised low-income housing policies and strategies in South Africa.

In addition, political contestations between the ANC and DA are also worsening the low-income housing challenge in the DS community. There seems to be a prevalent of partisan political allocation of low-income housing in South Africa contributing to social tensions and contestations within the communities. For instance, tensions and contestations arise amongst residents still living in informal settlements such as shacks and low-income housing beneficiaries. Ultimately, evidence depicts that ward councillors are influencing the distribution of low-income housing to benefit only members of their political parties. One can therefore safely conclude that low-income housing distribution in South Africa is a political process influenced by political leaders. However, attributing the sluggish distribution of low-income housing to merely corruption and political contestations in Cape Town's poor areas including the DS community triggers the difficult problem of attribution. This is precisely because it is hard to furnish complete empirical evidence for such claims as they turn to be mostly hypothetical. Nonetheless, the fact that corruption and political contestations have directly and indirectly affected the distribution of low-income housing in South African urban areas is not in doubt. The recommendations and suggestions for future research are provided in the next section based on the main findings and conclusions of this study.

5.2 Recommendations

Despite the existing low-income housing policies including the BNG, in South Africa, this study contends that low-income housing is still a perennial challenge especially in Cape Town's peripheral areas such as the DS community. Empirical evidence demonstrates ineffectiveness in the distribution of low-income housing as reflected by the proliferation of informal settlements in peripheral urban areas particularly in the DS community. The section hereunder provides pragmatic recommendations based on the findings of the study. Thus, for effective distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, the research proposes the following recommendations.

5.2.1 The Establishment of Effective Community Communication Platforms

The process of communication between different stakeholders in the distribution of low-income housing is imperative. This study has discovered that in the delivery of low-income housing in the DS community, there is apparently a lack of pragmatic communication amongst citizens, community leaders and government representatives such as the ward councillor. Therefore, the government must establish and vividly define the channels of communication for effective distribution of low-income housing. This means that the government must consistently consult with ordinary citizens and create awareness of existing communication systems for low-income housing distribution such as CDWs. There is also the need to strengthen effective communication between local political leaders particularly ward councillors and the community so that the low-income housing process is inclusive and well-coordinated.

5.2.2 Fostering the Involvement of Community Leaders in Low-income Housing Delivery

For effective distribution of low-income housing, the government must devise legislations, policies and strategies that will formally promote the crucial roles of community leaders in the distribution of low-income housing. This process should include policies that will formalise the participation of community representatives in planning and implementation of low-income housing projects. Such an approach can invigorate a conducive relationship among the ward councillors and community leaders such as ward and street committees to accelerate the distribution of low-income housing in South African communities.

5.2.3 Effective Community Participation and Private Public Partnerships

Existing policies and strategies for community participation in low-income housing in South Africa are not effective. In this regard, the researcher proposes the revision and revitalisation of the existing structures for citizen's participation in the distribution of low-income housing. This means that in consultation with ordinary citizens, the government must invigorate the channels and structures to improve community participation in low-income housing distribution. The role of CDWs in ensuring effective community participation in urban services including low-income housing needs to be restored. Further, the government needs to promote the Private Public Partnerships (PPPs) towards improving the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. The collaboration between the private sector and government needs to be revitalised particularly in the distribution of low-income housing.

5.2.4 Increasing Budgetary Support Towards Low-income Housing Delivery

The government should increase budget for low-income housing provision. Insufficient financial support for low-income housing has emerged as a key challenge that contributes to slow delivery of low-income housing in Cape Town's poor areas. Thus, the budget increase for low-income housing will capacitate the provincial government and local municipalities to improve the distribution of low-income housing in poor communities. The government should consider re-allocating unused funds from various departments and institutions to invest on low-income housing distribution. Considering this, the Department of Human Settlements under the Ministry of Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation in South Africa must ensure that the funds allocated for low-income housing are used in compliance with the existing financial regulations such as the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA).

5.2.5 Formulating Robust Cost Recovery Methods for Low-income Housing

Cost recovery methods are imperative to enable the government to generate more funds for progressive low-income housing delivery. Instead of focusing only on state driven low-income housing, the government should consider supporting low-income groups to access housing through promoting pro-poor financial schemes. These financial schemes need to be organised considering the economic status of the low-income groups in South Africa. The rationale behind these pro-poor financial schemes should be to assist low-income households to be able to pay for their houses. This is an essential measure for recovering the cost in the distribution of low-income housing and ensure sustainable community development.

5.3.6 Reducing Logistical and Administrative Barriers to Accessing Housing Land

Rigid logistical and administrative processes contribute to slow progress in the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa. Subsequently, the government should consider reducing logistical and administrative barriers to accessing housing land. For example, the processes of obtaining land approval for housing purposes in South Africa need to be decentralised to local authorities instead of it to be administered by the central government. This will give more power and autonomy to the local government to accelerate the processes of land administration for low-income housing. Furthermore, this will reduce unnecessary logistical and administrative processes between municipalities and provincial government.

5.4 Suggestions for future Research

The central aim of the study was to understand the challenges in the distribution of low-income housing in South Africa, with a focus on the DS community. As the study unfolds, areas for future research emerged. Firstly, a study to investigate the effectiveness of the existing structures for citizen's participation in low-income housing in the DS community is needed. This is because there is seemingly some confusion and contradiction within the existing structures. For instance, the roles of CDWs in relation to low-income housing and community development at large are not clear. Secondly, a study to examine transparency and accountability systems in low-income housing in South Africa is imperative. This will assist in determining the extent to which transparency and accountability in low-income housing is promoted by central, provincial and local government.

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Appendix: Semi-structured Interview Questions

1. Indicate your gender | Female | | Male |

2. Indicate your age group

35-40 yrs [ ]   41-45 yrs [ ]   46-50 yrs [ ]   51-60 yrs [ ]   61 & Above [ ]

3. Please indicate your Province of origin

Eastern Cape [ ]   Free State [ ]   Gauteng [ ]   KwaZulu Natal [ ]   North West [ ]

Northern Cape [ ]   Limpopo [ ]   Mpumalanga [ ]   Western Cape [ ]

4. How long have you been staying in this community?

5 yrs [ ]   10 yrs [ ]   15&above [ ]

5. Please indicate your monthly income

R1500-2000 [ ]   R3000-4500 [ ]   R5000-6500 [ ]   R7000-8500 [ ]

6. Did you apply for a low-income house? If so, when did you apply? Were you given a reference number for your application?

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……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Are you a low-income house owner?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

8. If your answer above is no, do you know the procedures followed for one to get a house in your area?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

9. If your answer above is Yes, can you explain the process according to your understanding?

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……

10. If your answer above is Yes, how long did it take for you to get a low-income house?

1-4 yrs. ☐   5-10 ☐   15& above ☐

11. Can you please elaborate on the challenges you experienced applying for the low-income house?

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12. What will you advise the government to do to speed up the delivery of low-income housing?

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