

**INFORMAL HOUSING AND SQUATTING ON THE CAPE FLATS:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FOUR AREAS**

BY



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UNIVERSITY of the

**Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of The Requirements For The Degree of
Magister Artium (MA) in The Department of Geography and
Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape.**

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May 2000



To my parents and husband

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"I declare that the thesis submitted for examination titled:

**INFORMAL HOUSING AND SQUATTING ON THE CAPE FLATS: A
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FOUR AREAS** is my own work and
that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any
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been indicated and acknowledged by means of completed
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people contributed in many different ways toward the completion of this study. It is therefore appropriate to acknowledge their support in an official manner. At the top of the list, is my Creator, God, who had granted me the necessary insight, willpower and spiritual assistance to accomplish all my academic endeavours. My faith in Him, was tested, but His grace extended far and allowed me to complete this project. A special thank you to my loving husband Russel for his longstanding support, motivation and prayers. Without him this thesis would not have been possible. My parents for their support and academic encouragement. Since this thesis is about homelessness, I witnessed the effects of homelessness in communities. Thank you for giving me a home, mom and dad. My twin sister Janine who spent hundreds of Swiss francs in telephone bills motivating me from a distance. Her encouragement helped me through the darkest time. Also my sister Gail for some crucial information and Carmon.

All theses require supervisors or mentors. My thesis is not unique in this respect. First of all, my intellectual debt goes to the late Professor Dave Myburgh, who initially shaped my thoughts and laid the groundwork for the

thesis. The other supervisors, Mr Calvyn Gillfellan and Mr Elsworth McPherson who worked under tremendous pressure as they read and commented on earlier drafts. The intellectual assistance provided by them, is hereby acknowledged. Many thanks to my colleague Wendy Hall who edited draft copies at the last minute and my colleagues Maarten Jordaan and Kevin Mearns for all their technical assistance.

I would like to thank the Centre for Science Development (CSD) and Mellon Foundation who provided me with a bursary and scholarship respectively. Books housed at various university libraries were very helpful. My gratitude to the University of the Western Cape, University of South Africa and Vista University is hereby acknowledged.

Thanks also to the researchers who distributed questionnaires in the study areas. Last, but certainly not the least, my thanks go also to all the people of Crossroads, Uitsig, Jakkalsvlei and Bishop Lavis for their willingness to be interviewed. Without their co-operation, the entire project would have been fruitless. I certainly hope that the authorities will access this thesis and take note of the current housing crisis which persists in the Western Cape and throughout South Africa more seriously. I hope, that homelessness would one day be totally eradicated.

However, despite the numerous individual and academic assistance and

comments, provided, any inadequacies remain, of course, my responsibility.



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ABSTRACT

The housing conditions of four surveyed areas namely Uitsig, Bishop Lavis, Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads, situated on the Cape Flats is the main thrust of the dissertation. It is a comparative analysis between two "coloured" residential areas, namely Bishop Lavis and Uitsig and "black" squatter settlements Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei. It investigates the struggle to eradicate homelessness by means of informal housing and squatting. Through scientific investigative research, interviews, data and statistical analysis, this dissertation falls within the sphere of urban geography. Although informal settlements have been part of the metropolitan area of Cape Town for several decades, the period since 1990 saw the mushrooming of informal settlements and the emergence of backyard squatting in "coloured" areas squatting on the periphery of "black" townships. The dissertation address issues associated with informal settlements such as health and disease within these settlements, access to clean water and refuse removal, environment conditions, physical structure in and around informal settlements, recreational facilities and the role of the Reconstruction and Development Programme(RDP). In eight chapters, the study outlines the quest of informal dwellers to eradicate homelessness by means of backyard squatting and informal settlements.

Though no longer regarded as an urban “problem”, communities and the local authorities within these areas are hard at work in finding ways to improve living conditions within informal settlements, by turning shacks into decent and liveable homes in the new millennium.



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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
ESCOM/ESKOM	Electricity Supply Commission
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NBI	National Business Initiative
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PHC	Primary Health Care
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SALDRU	Southern African Labour & Development Research Unit
SANTA	South African National Tuberculosis Association
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TB	Tuberculosis
UF	Urban Foundation
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organization

GLOSSARY

- Air pollution** : One or more chemicals or substances in high concentrations in the air which harm humans, other animals, vegetation, or materials. Such chemicals or physical conditions (such as excess heat or noise) are called air pollutants.
- Apartheid** : The official policy of racial segregation of the South African Government since 1948. It has officially also been referred to as the policy of separate development.
- Backyard shack** : A type of shelter erected in an unconventional way. It is erected on the premises of a landowner/landlord located within a formal township.
- Basic minimum level of service** : When water and sanitation are provided to meet certain minimum requirements in terms of costs, technical services, health benefits and environmental impacts.
- Berg winds** : A local wind in South Africa occurring mainly from April to September. They blow from the interior towards either the west or east coast. They are local in their effects, bringing a sharp rise in temperature, and a decrease in humidity.

Black people	:	A derogatory and racist word given to Africans or Bantu-speaking people living in South Africa.
Buffer zone	:	Something that separates the entities, as an area between.
Cape Flats	:	Refers to a specific geographical and spatial area outside the periphery of Cape Town. It usually includes "coloured" residential areas such as Mitchell's Plain, Athlone, Manenburg and other adjacent areas.
City Council	:	A local authority of the city which oversees the provision of basic services.
Coloured people	:	An ethnic category used to describe people of "mixed race". A derogatory term given to non-white people living in South Africa and descendants of slaves, Khoisan and white settlers.
Commuters	:	People undertaking home-to-work journeys on a regular and frequent basis over distances that require private or public transportation.
Communicable disease	:	A disease which is able to be passed on.
Community participation	:	Participation by a community in the development process. Ideally, participation occurs at all levels of decision-making in the process, from developing proposals through to implementation.
Conservation	:	Protects resources for future use by banning reckless exploitation. It promotes an end to wasteful use of non-renewable resources, more

		efficient extraction methods, and recycling.
Divisional Council	:	A local authority operating in certain areas of Cape Town to oversee basic services.
<i>En masse</i>	:	Refers to a large number of people.
First World	:	The industrialized non-Communist countries of the world.
Formal housing	:	Housing constructed with conventional building materials. Housing which is built according to approved plans and is accessible to basic services and infrastructure.
Gradual invasion	:	An invasion which occurs in a gradual way in already existing settlements (e.g. backyard shacks).
Group Areas Act	:	Legislation introduced by the National Party Government of South Africa in 1950 to prohibit the racial integration of residential areas. The prevention of racial integration was made possible by passing another act, the Population Registration Act in 1950.
Health	:	Soundness of body; condition of body as good.
High-mast lights	:	Refers to a cluster of lights mounted on poles 20 to 40 metres high. They light up an area of about 1,5 hectares.
Homelessness	:	Having no home or haven.
Incremental housing	:	Incremental housing refers to any additions and improvements to the basic structure. Can be made gradually over time as the

household has the means to do so.

- Indians** : The term describes the descendants of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent, many of whom arrived in the 1860s as indentured labourers for the sugar plantations of Kwazulu-Natal.
- Infectious** : Infecting with disease liable to be transmitted by agents namely air, water and contact. Apt to spread; quickly affecting others.
- Influx control** : Bureaucratic and legal mechanisms designed to restrict and control processes of African urbanization as well as access to the labour market.
- Informal housing** : Shelter usually constructed with unconventional building materials acquired informally, that is, outside of formal delivery mechanisms.
- Informal settlement** : Settlements where communities are housed and located initially in informal housing.
- Infrastructure** : Services needed by a population which include, among other things, physical services (roads, etc.) and social services (schools, hospitals, etc.).
- In-situ* upgrading** : The delivery of secure tenure and the required infrastructural services to ensure health and safety in existing informal settlements, and the promotion of the consolidation of such a settlement over time.
- Land Acts** : The first of the two Land Acts, the Natives Land Act of 1913 confined African land ownership to only 7

per cent of the total land area of South Africa. Later, African land ownership was confined to 13 per cent with the addition of the Released Areas (land “released” from the restrictive provision of the 1913 Act by the Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936). These two acts laid the basis for the South African Government’s homeland policy.

Land invasion : The organized or spontaneous invasion and occupation of land by people not specifically permitted to do so by authorities or property owners.

Landlord : A person who owns land (property) receiving fixed rents from tenants.

Laissez faire : The theory of practice of governmental abstention from interference in the workings of the market, etc.

Malnutrition : A dietary condition resulting from the absence of some foods of essential elements necessary for health; insufficient nutrition.

Migrants : Migrant labourers or people changing their permanent place of residence.

Migration : The movement of a person or group of people from one (usual) place of residence to another.

National electricity grid : Refers to the network of electrical cables which is used to distribute electricity from power stations to users all over the country. The electricity produced by the Koeberg nuclear power station near Cape

Tow and by the coal-burning stations in Mpumalanga is distributed through the same network.

- Nutrition** : Supplying or receiving of nourishment, food.
- Pit-latrine** : Make-shift toilets where a hole is dug in the ground and covered with wood.
- Pollution** : The process by which something becomes impure, defiled, dirty, or otherwise unclean.
- Pondok** : An Afrikaans word used to describe a form of shelter constructed to suit the basic needs of the unsheltered. Simply put, it is a shack.
- Popular housing** : Refers to housing constructed by the poor themselves.
- Poverty** : The absence or inadequacy of those diets, amenities, standards, services and activities which are common or customary in society.
- Recycling** : When things are reduced to their raw materials, which are then used in new products. For instance when glass bottles are recycled, many different types of bottles are melted down into the raw material that is used to make glass. Completely new bottles are made from this liquid glass.
- Regional Services Council** : An organization comprising various local authorities whose main function is to provide public services and financial resources to its constituent local authorities.

Respondents	:	Individuals who provided information/ opinions for the purposes of this study.
Rural areas	:	Places not classified as an “urban” area by the central statistics office of a country (unless otherwise specified, in which case other criteria are used or should be given to distinguish rural from “urban” areas).
Sanitation	:	Improving of sanitary conditions.
Sewage	:	Human <i>excreta</i> and waste water, flushed along a <i>sewer</i> pipe.
Sewerage	:	A system of <i>sewer</i> pipes.
Site-and-service schemes	:	Identification and preparation of land before settlement takes place. Land is laid out and basic infrastructural services provided. Serviced sites may then be purchased on which people initially erect informal housing. Further consolidation and upgrading follow, including the replacement of informal housing with formal dwellings.
Standard of living	:	Refers to the economic level at which an individual, family or nation lives.
Sullage	:	Domestic dirty water not containing <i>excreta</i> , also called gray water.
Sustainable development	:	Refers to development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.
Squatting	:	Refers to a process whereby

homeless people occupy land “illegally”. It also refers to the contravention of building codes or standards in the erection of structures.

- Taxi** : Refers to a (automobile) minibus which can carry or transport between 8 and 20 passengers.
- Tenure** : A condition, or form of right or title, under which property is held. The property rights associated with a parcel of residential land or housing (e.g. ownership versus rental, illegal versus legal).
- Third World** : It is taken broadly to include the countries of Africa, Central and South America. Underdeveloped or developing countries, especially those not allied with the Communist or non-Communist blocs.
- Trunk infrastructure** : The primary network of roads, water supply, sewerage and drainage, electricity, and telephone system, up to the limits of residential subdivision.
- Unemployment** : Refers to a predicament which emphasizes the imbalance between the supply and demand for labour in an economy. Unemployment also occurs when there is an oversupply of labour.
- Urban areas** : Places classified as “urban” by the central statistics office of a country (unless otherwise specified, in which case other criteria are used or should be given to distinguish urban from “rural” areas). Urban areas are usually characterized by a

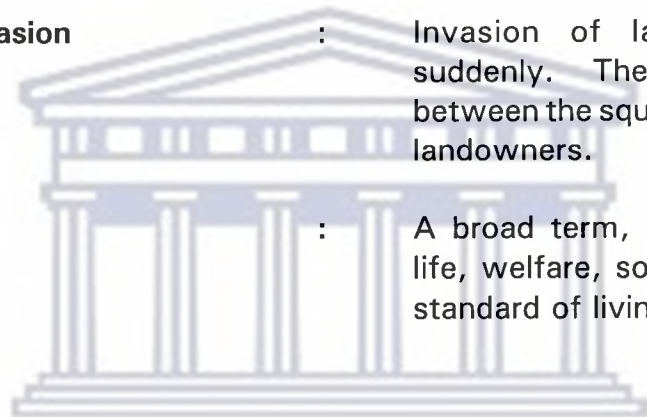
concentration of people who depend predominantly on incomes derived from non-agricultural pursuits, and they usually contain certain services associated with towns and or cities.

Urbanization : Refers to the relative increase of the population living in urban areas.

Urban sprawl : The unchecked and usually large-scale geographical expansion of urban areas into their agricultural and or rural hinterlands.

Violent invasion : Invasion of land which occurs suddenly. There is no prior link between the squatter (invaders) and landowners.

Well-being : A broad term, covering quality of life, welfare, social well-being and standard of living.



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CHAPTER ONE
A SHACK CALLED HOME

1.1 Introduction

Homelessness, poverty and social inequality are stark realities of South Africa. This is not a recent observation, but one with a long history brought about by centuries of dispossession, eviction, displacement and forced removals. The gap between the wealthy and the poor is entrenched, so much so that several decades will be needed to reconcile the seemingly irreconcilable as the contrasts which presently exist between Constantia and Crossroads, and Bishop's Court and Bishop Lavis are simply too vast.

In South Africa, homelessness is a political and ideological matter. Architects of Apartheid used landlessness, unemployment, poverty and homelessness among "blacks" and "coloureds" as a form of social control and oppression. Through the enactment of the Land Act of 1913, South Africa was re-divided to the skewed ratio which saw 87 per cent of the land allocated for white settlement, while a mere 13 per cent of carefully demarcated land was given

to the "black" majority (Bundy, 1988). The Group Areas Act of 1950 uprooted, evicted and displaced many people who often lived together in mixed communities. "Coloureds" were evicted from areas declared white, while "blacks" were evicted from areas declared "coloured." "Blacks" were thus pushed to the outer limits of "coloured" and "white" residential areas (Cloete, 1991).

The rapid growth of capitalism, industrialization, urbanization and the demand for cheap African labour during the 1960s and 1970s shifted the focus to the modern city (Posel, 1991). Impoverished "blacks" living in poverty-stricken rural areas in the most desolate parts of South Africa pinned their hope on the city for jobs and shelter. During the 1970s, throughout South Africa, major cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein saw an influx of rural "blacks" to city centres in the hope of alleviating the vicious circle of poverty which had plagued them for generations. Life in the city was not utopia. It neither alleviated the immediate dilemma of poverty, nor provided them with jobs. In fact, it plunged them into greater abject poverty. Apart from being poor, many became homeless too.

High unemployment fueled the emergence of informal and squatter settlements. Since a large percentage of the present population is

unemployed, it ignited a significant effect on many other social issues, for example, the acquisition of adequate and liveable housing. Invariably, the unemployed with no monthly or weekly income could ill-afford to sustain a house and its bond repayments, let alone pay for vital municipal services such as water and electricity. Job losses and sudden layoffs are additional factors which contributed to the rise of squatting and informal settlements.

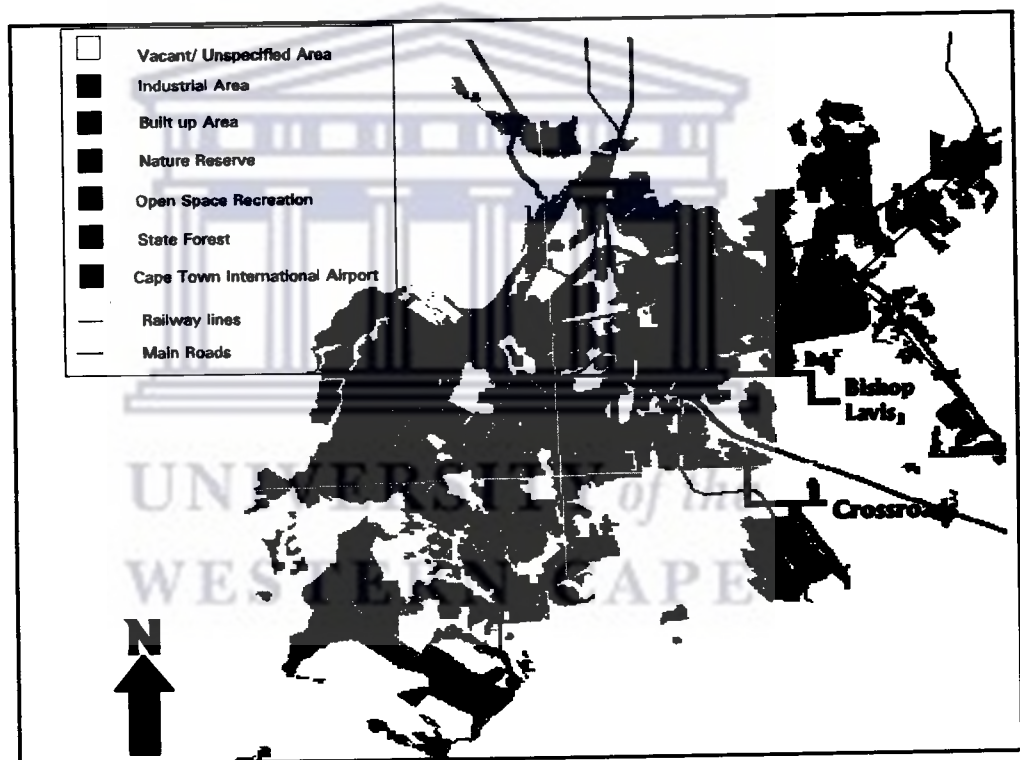


Figure 1: Spatial analysis of informal and squatter settlements in the study area

Crossroads, Jakkalsvlei, Bishop Lavis and Uitsig are examples on the Cape Flats of how ordinary people learnt to cope with poverty, and perfected the art to suppress a human need to acquire adequate housing. People do not become squatters by choice, but through necessity. Squatting and the growth of informal settlements became a means to an end. It provides desperate people with appropriate accommodation, usually a corrugated shack or an ill-equipped wooden structure erected in the backyard of a friend or relative. To many, the cardboard, corrugated or a wooden shack is home. It contains their possessions and gives them a personal home address. Informal housing and squatting became an acceptable alternative to the conventional brick house.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Informal housing and squatting are the result of migration, urban poverty, unemployment. The principal reason for pursuing research on informal housing and squatting is to highlight the dominant factors which perpetuate the mushrooming effect of informal housing on the Cape Flats, Cape Town. It can be argued that certain parts of greater Cape Town can be classified as Third World city, due to uncontrolled urban sprawls, high levels of poverty and unemployment. The root causes of these developments near city centres are largely attributed to Apartheid legislation which excluded and then

systematically marginalized “blacks” and “coloureds” from settling close to the city. “Blacks” and “coloureds” were deliberately shunted from white residential areas and the inner city. This can be attributed to the high land values of land in and around the city. They were relocated on the outskirts of residential areas in the city. This study is not a historical analysis of how informal and squatter settlements emerged in greater Cape Town, but aims to highlight it as an existing phenomenon. Informal and squatting settlements are part of modern society and the city and urban settlements in general. The research therefore emphasizes the impact of poor housing conditions (informal housing and squatting) on health and the environment; attitudes toward conservation and sustainability. It also investigates the typology of settlements and the perception of indoor and outdoor space.

1.3 Delimitation of the study areas

The principle reasons for undertaking this study are:

- to highlight the root causes of informal housing and squatting.
- to identify the mushrooming effect of backyard squatting in low-income areas.
- to highlight the differences and similarities between backyard squatting among “coloured” people in Bishop Lavis and Uitsig in comparison to squatting among “black” people in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei.

- to analyze the socio-economic conditions and health informal and squatter settlements on the lives of people.
- to highlight the needs of informal and squatter dwellers and to compare and contrast housing conditions within “black” and “coloured” people in the four surveyed areas.

This study focuses primarily on informal housing and squatting in the Cape Flats, namely Crossroads, Jakkalsvlei, Uitsig and Bishop Lavis. The location of the four study areas can be identified in Figure 2. Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei are labeled as “black” squatter areas. Crossroads, one of the largest and most well-known squatter settlements in Cape Town, is situated southeast from Cape Town. Crossroads was established in the mid-1970s when “black” families moved from a mixed “coloured” and “black” settlement called Brown’s Farm. It developed into an informal settlement known as Crossroads (Moloi, 1995). During the 1970s and 1980s, it became known world-wide for its struggle for survival and resistance during the Apartheid period. Local government authorities however, viewed Crossroads differently. According to Dewar, Rosmarin and Watson, (1991, p.18), “in 1976, Crossroads was officially declared an emergency camp in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act...”.

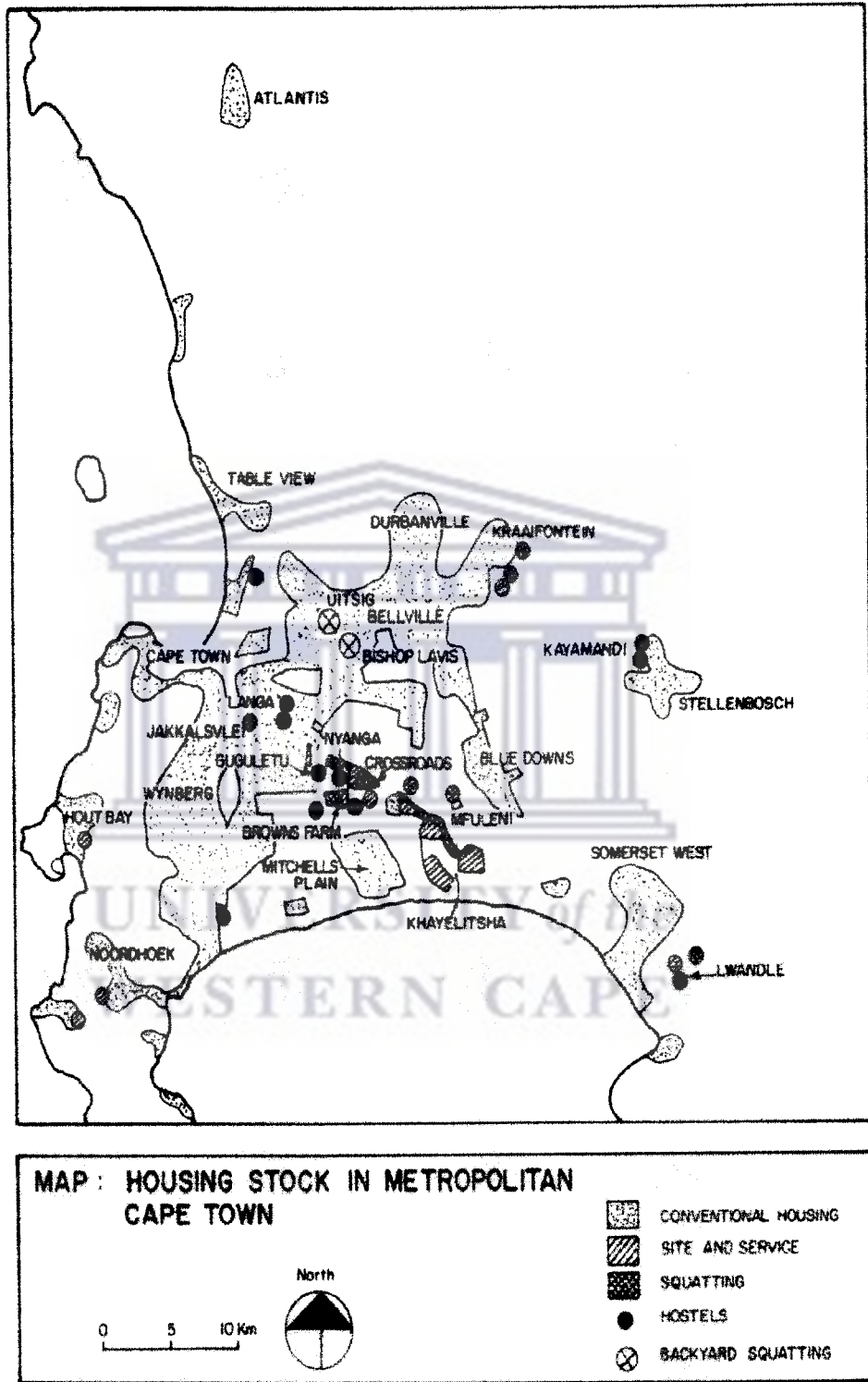


Figure 2: Housing stock in metropolitan Cape Town

In contrast to Crossroads, Jakkalsvlei is an example of how poverty and homelessness drove “blacks” to invade vacant land outside Cape Town. Jakkalsvlei is a fairly new squatter area which mushroomed in 1994. It commenced when about forty squatters erected corrugated shacks on council-owned land. It soon became an example of how desperate black urban dwellers obtained houses and employment within an urban area. Jakkalsvlei is located on the periphery of Langa (a “black” residential area or township) and Vanguard Estate (a “coloured” residential area). It is located to the south of Jakkalsvlei, opposite Vanguard Drive and runs parallel to the National Road (N2) which connects outlying residential areas with the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town. Jakkalsvlei derived its name from the adjacent Jakkalsvlei canal which runs in the outer boundary of Langa. Homeless squatters opted to erect homes on the vacant land next to the Jakkalsvlei canal because they were either evicted from other backyard settlements or were migrants. Jakkalsvlei also became a haven for hundreds of desperate migrants who sought employment in Cape Town (The Argus, 8 December 1994). Despite regular raids by armed police to evict squatters in 1994, shack-dwellers simply continued to rebuild their demolished homes after eviction.

Six years later, Jakkalsvlei still exists and has mushroomed as a fully-fledged squatter settlement within the orbit of greater Cape Town. Cape Town and its inhabitants, are set to grapple with informal housing and squatting well into the 21st century.

Bishop Lavis and Uitsig are labeled as low-income "coloured" areas. However, backyard shacks (considered as informal housing and squatting) are prevalent in these areas. A large proportion (exact figure unknown) of formal low-income houses in Uitsig have backyard shacks erected on the premises, compared to Bishop Lavis which emerged as a low-income "coloured" township situated more or less twenty kilometers from Cape Town; and approximately four kilometers from Cape Town International Airport (Blau & Thomas, 1982, p.3). Bishop Lavis was formerly owned and administered by the Citizens' Housing League, a nonprofit welfare and religious organization founded to provide housing to disadvantaged residents of greater Cape Town. The township was named after a bishop (named Mr Lavis) of the Anglican Church at the time, hence the name Bishop Lavis. The township developed in phases and the first 400 houses were erected in 1941. These were four-bedroom houses fitted with electricity. At first, home-ownership was limited and most houses were rented. However, this situation changed as tenants were allowed to purchase the property. The proclamation of the Group Areas

Act had an immense impact on the development of Bishop Lavis as a "coloured" area. According to Blau et al, (1982, p.3), "in the early 1960's, with the proclamation of the Group Areas Act, the township acquired three-quarters of its present population who were relocated, mostly from Goodwood, Parow, Vasco and the Transkei". Most houses in the area are relatively small and vary in size and number of rooms. Houses, comprise four rooms (60 per cent), three rooms (16 per cent) or two rooms (24 per cent). Overcrowding increased progressively, which led to a greater need for housing or additional space in this area. The increasing backlog in housing, compounded by lack of adequate housing in Bishop Lavis, stimulated backyard squatting to such an extent that it became an integral part of township life during the 1990's.

The central theme of the thesis is that the provision of formal houses to squatters is not the only solution to the squatter problem. Provision of formal houses will not eradicate squatting and informal dwellings since the housing backlog is too monumental. Careful planning of settlements together with upgrading schemes can assist with the upliftment of such settlements. Once appropriate measures are put in place, then people can have access to basic services and improved infrastructure. As working residents, they would be able to pay for services such as electricity, refuse removal and water supply.

Squatting and informal housing is seen in some quarters as a metropolitan menace which perpetuates urban growth and poverty. However, it should be considered as a harsh reality of life. Viewed from a different perspective, informal housing and squatting could potentially house the homeless in this way. It should also be viewed as a strategy of the poor to eradicate poverty and homelessness. Such residents would eventually improve their socio-economic conditions given the proper motivation and employment opportunities.

1.4 Premises

Four major premises encapsulate the focus of this study:

- Informal housing and squatting are an alternative form of shelter for those who are either unemployed or poverty stricken.
- Informal housing and squatting should be recognized as a potential to be transformed into acceptable housing for the rapid expansion of population in the Cape Flats.
- The upliftment of informal and squatter housing, is a long term process which cannot be achieved overnight or in the near future.
- The need for housing by the poor population groups forms the cornerstone for land invasions in the Cape Flats.

1.5 Philosophical-methodological perspective

This study follows a socio-economic political approach to assess informal housing and squatting in the Cape Flats. It investigates the socio-economic differences and similarities between “black” and “coloured” informal housing among the poor and their initiatives to provide shelter for themselves. It accentuates the precedential role and impact of Apartheid legislation on the social, economic and political conditions of the majority of people living in the Cape Flats.

1.6 Research methods and processes

Information in this study was obtained through the use of research techniques which consisted of a questionnaire survey and interviews. Fifty questionnaires (Appendix B) were administered personally by the researcher in each of the four surveyed settlements. Stratified random sampling procedures were used. The households were divided into 4 unit squares, i.e.,

$$\begin{aligned} N/n &= 200/50 \\ &= 4 \text{ unit squares} \end{aligned}$$

where N is the total number of households of Crossroads, Jakkelsvlei, Uitsig and Bishop Lavis that were interviewed. In each unit (household), one person was interviewed. Two people were interviewed in the fourth unit. The fourth unit was selected randomly. Questionnaires were filled in by the researcher and then evaluated. Additional information given by respondents was recorded. The questionnaire survey is an important part of the study since indispensable information was obtained. Interviews led to group discussions in some instances and sensitive and detailed information was obtained. The questionnaire was then analyzed using a computerized statistical package (SPSS). Data was classified and categorized according to income and age groups. Frequency distributions of households according to income, age of respondents and various viewpoints were classified and categorized. Tables and a histogram are therefore used to make a visual summary of the frequency distribution of data. Inductive inferences were made and the conclusions are based on the sampled population. In addition to the questionnaire survey, primary and secondary sources such as newspapers, journal articles and books were used to substantiate viewpoints and ideas. This study encountered some constraints, in the sense that some respondents were apprehensive to interviews as they were under the impression that the researcher was a government official. Some respondents feared eviction from their homes. The questions were constructed in English and Afrikaans which were not

always understandable to some interviewees. In some cases, questions were translated into Xhosa by a Xhosa speaking research assistant who conducted the interviews in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei.

1.7 Summary of literature review on informal housing and squatting

The general theoretical context of literature on informal housing and squatting has primarily focused on the negative perceptions and consequences of informal housing and squatting. The tendency is to refer to informal housing and squatting as a Third World phenomenon. According to (Gilbert & Gugler, 1990, p.81), "housing is a highly visible dimension of poverty. Perhaps that is why it represents such an emotive issue in many Third World cities". However, these unconventional forms of shelter are a world-wide feature, particularly noticeable within the context of Third World or developing countries (Huggins, 1992). This could primarily be attributed to developing countries which are inclined to have high population densities. As a result of high rate of urbanization, unemployment, poverty, low living standards, inadequate infrastructure, lack of basic services, poor education, health care and inferior housing (Beddis, 1989). Housing is a critical component in addressing the challenges facing the new South Africa. It forms the cornerstone of the socio-economic development and prosperity of a society.

Wolpe (1974), attempted to rationalize the process of informal housing and squatting as a consequence of migration and urbanization. This view was also supported by Turner, Magnin and Charles Abrahams who argued that the government could not keep pace with conventional housing programmes for low-income families in urban areas (quoted in Maasdorp, 1985, p.1). The thrust of their argument is based on unprecedented rural-urban migration. According to Maasdorp (1985), "the World Bank actively promoted a policy of 'progressive development' which recognized that it was not the quality of housing that made a slum but the poor physical and social environment". The solution was not to demolish housing, but to improve the environment, by upgrading informal settlements and by providing serviced sites on vacant land and encouraging the construction and improvement of dwellings and services.

The process of informal housing and squatting is not unique to South Africa. The South African perspective of informal housing and squatting was entrenched in the Apartheid policies aimed at separate development of population groups. According to Hendler (1991, p.199), the reasoning was that "Africans had themselves to blame for their endemic housing crisis because they had been expanding too rapidly without the resources to satisfy their most pressing needs". It is evident that Apartheid has perpetuated some

significant socio-economic inequalities among the majority of South African population.

Even though research has been done on informal housing and squatting in Crossroads (Howe,1982; Appleton,1987; Moloï,1995), research on informal housing and backyard squatting in Bishop Lavis, Uitsig, and squatting in Jakkalsvlei is non-existent. This thesis hopes to contribute to studies on informal housing and squatting in the Cape Flats. Studies carried out on informal housing and squatting generally focuses on either "black" or "coloured" settlements. This study investigates the similarities and differences between "black" and "coloured" informal and squatter settlements. It also cover aspects such as health, typology and the physical structural conditions of informal and squatter settlements. The study hopes to contribute to the understanding of backyard squatting as a recent phenomenon in "coloured" areas, and how squatting remains popular in "black" areas. Informal housing and squatting remains a viable topic of research as the proliferation of "new" informal and squatter settlements forms an integral part of urban development in greater Cape Town. Despite the free and fair elections which took place in 1994 and 1999 respectively, the squatter problem persists in South Africa. The African National Congress's (ANC) slogan "houses for all" gave hope to the disadvantaged people of South Africa. Despite the many housing projects

undertaken, many South African people still live in informal and squatter settlements. Informal and squatter settlements in the Cape Flats have experienced very rapid population growth so much so that in recent years Cape Town surpassed Durban as one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in South Africa (Hart, 1992).

Environmental and health-care are important issues which are inextricably linked to informal housing and squatting. According to Cairncross et al (1990, p.8), "health risks from overcrowding and lack of infrastructures and services are inclined to be most severe within poorer communities". Consequently, squatter settlements (like Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei) and informal backyard shacks (in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis) are susceptible to diseases and poor nutrition. What is needed is primary health care (PHC). Informal dwellers and squatters need to be informed about the importance of PHC to their environment (Supplement to the Sunday Times, 1994, p.1). Site-and-service schemes and *in-situ* upgrading of informal and squatter housing can improve the adequate supply of services such as safe drinking water, basic nutrition and sanitation and the prevention of endemic diseases such as tuberculosis and cholera. According to Harpham, Lusty and Vaughn (1988, p.112), promotional and educational approaches to health and disease should "demonstrate a community development approach which includes integration of physical

improvements, voluntary organizations with slum communities and systematic linking of slum residents with financial institutions”.

A study done by the World Bank (1993, p.31), has shown how the “quality of the urban environment and the performance of the housing sector are inextricably linked”. Environmental awareness should be regarded as very significant. To be environmentally aware could be beneficial for those who are unemployed people by creating litter receptacles at various points within informal and squatter settlements. The effect can be twofold, namely an environment which promotes a healthy society and a form of job creation (recycling waste for an income). However, environmental management implies much more than a clean-living environment. It also refers to empowering people to make cities more sustainable.

1.8 Organization of chapters

The dissertation begins with an outline of its objectives and highlights how Apartheid influenced population and settlement patterns on the Cape Flats. Since squatting and informal housing is not unique to South Africa and its urban areas, chapter two focuses on the international and local perspectives on informal housing and squatting. Chapter three discusses the general

typology of informal and squatter settlements, while chapter four outlines the socio-economic conditions in and around informal dwellings. This is followed by chapter five which examines the availability of services and infrastructure within informal and squatter settlements. Chapter six is linked to chapter five and explores the relationship between poor environmental conditions and the effects of poor housing conditions on health. Chapter seven focuses on informal housing and squatting with particular reference to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It explores alternative solutions to the housing problem, but emphasizes the acceptance of such settlement types within an urban environment. To conclude this study, chapter eight provides a summary of the findings and list a few recommendations to be considered by policy and decision-making bodies.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized classical building with columns and a pediment.

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WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER TWO

LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON INFORMAL AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

In the next decades, the world will undergo, as a result of the urbanization process, the most radical changes ever in the social, economic and political life.

Rome Declaration on Population and the Urban Future, September 1980.

Predictions about urbanization made nearly twenty years ago have been realized in more ways than one. Recently we entered the new millennium and the international world is experiencing major changes regarding urbanization and social change. South Africa experiences problems related to poverty, unemployment and housing. Cape Town, as an international city since the 17th century, has seen the rise and fall of informal settlements and the so-called "squatter camps" over the last few decades. Informal and squatter settlements are by no means unique to Cape Town, but is a global phenomenon. Indeed international cities have experienced urbanization, the rise of slums, shanty towns and squatter settlements in the last few decades.

Thus, a striking feature over the past few decades has been the remarkable growth in both the size of cities and the proportion of the population that

lives in them. Internationally, sites for informal and squatter settlements are located on the periphery of residential areas, along river banks, railway lines and national roads. In time, squatters tend to assert a moral claim to a specific site, irrespective of its location. According to Bernstein, (1989, p.20), "the growth of very large cities in the Third World was essentially perceived as negative as it focussed on the problems occurring within cities". This negativity regarding the emergence of poor cities and squatting was predicted by Robert McNamara, a former President of the World Bank, who emphasized that "squatter settlements by definition and by city ordinance are illegal. Even the word squatter itself is vaguely obscene, as if somehow being penniless, landless and homeless were deliberate sins against the canons of proper etiquette. But it is not squatters that are obscene. It is the economic circumstances that make squatter settlements obscene" (in Harpham et al, p.24).

From an international perspective, McNamara's observation regarding squatting is probably appropriate, but from a South African viewpoint other factors are involved. The greatest single factor which should be added to the emergence of squatter settlements in South Africa was the policy of Apartheid. The rise of informal and squatter settlements in Cape Town, more specifically Uitsig, Jakkalsvlei, Crossroads and Bishop Lavis was a combination of economic, social and political factors emanating from the Apartheid system.

At the root of these developments is the process of urbanization and the rise of the urban poor. The urban poor have very few resources and seek to improve their predicament through city employment. Thus urbanization has had diverse social, economic and political consequences on the poor population. Naturally, in most countries, it has become, one of the most widely discussed issues. The process of urbanization has been most conspicuous in countries in the Third World. Statistics show that the world's urban population increases annually and the United Nations (UN) has estimated that it will reach 3.1 billion by the year 2000 (Harpham et al, 1988, p.5). Developed countries tend to accommodate the homeless, while poorer undeveloped countries ignore the problem or are restricted financially. Since South Africa has a variation of wealthy ("white") and poor population groups ("blacks" and "coloureds"), homeless masses experience the brunt of this absurdity. During the Apartheid, it was politically correct to keep the "black" and to a lesser degree "coloured" masses landless and homeless. McNamara has indeed warned that, "if cities do not begin to deal more constructively with poverty, poverty may begin to deal more constructively with cities" (Drakakis-Smith, 1987, p.37). Ignoring to improve the socio-economic conditions of the poor, has taken its toll on both local and international cities. Cape Town, for example, has experienced the proliferation of informal housing and squatting in a significant way.

The urban poor are a visible manifestation on the urban landscape of the Cape Flats. For decades, the former South African police succeeded in suppressing the urbanization of blacks through the pass system. Designed to prohibit the influx control of rural blacks to the city and their settlement in urban areas, it gave the former government leverage over rural “blacks”. Although the South African government prohibited “blacks” from settling in urban areas, land was still a “grey area” with regard to the law. Moreover, “blacks” who were already in the city could not be forced to return to former rural areas. Thus, the “black” urban poor responded in an innovative way through the establishment of informal and squatter settlements in the so-called “white” urban areas.

2.1 Urbanization: A global phenomenon

The process of urbanisation often occurs in two ways; through natural increase in urban populations and migration (Miller, 1996). The two components of urban population growth vary in relative importance in spatio-temporal context. According to Drakakis-Smith, (1987, p.29), “migration is more important in the early stages of urban population growth when the proportion of national population living in towns and cities are low. As the urban population rises, so does the contributory role of natural growth, although only up to a certain point. Beyond this point, urban fertility begins to decline and migrational growth once again becomes more

important”.

The conventional explanation used by social scientists regarding the causes of urbanization and the rapid growth of cities is through the “pull” and “push” factors (for example those which attract people to cities and those causing people to migrate from rural to urban areas). According to Kelley and Williamson, “the traditional explanation of urbanization highlight two principal reasons for the rapid growth namely:

- an increase in rapid rate of population growth pressing on limited land available for farming which pushes the landless poor into cities
- economic forces pulling migrants into the cities” (1984).

However, the social, economic and political implications of a fast-growing urban population in and around South Africa's cities has been astronomical. The reality of burgeoning “black” urbanization became visible and at the same time, policy makers, institutions and various structures had to deal with the situation. The government acknowledged that more South Africans would be living in urban areas, and many of them as informal dwellers or squatters (Bernstein, 1989). Large scale migration of people from regions like Transkei and Ciskei, had a significant impact on unemployment, housing, infrastructure and basic services. Cities became overcrowded, unemployment started to soar and infrastructural services congested. Tolerance from the government and local authorities towards

informal housing and squatting perpetuated the population movement from the former homelands and other areas designated as “black” spots. The newly elected government of South Africa, and the African National Congress (ANC), encouraged “blacks” to relocate to urban areas to counteract the white-dominated “Apartheid city” scenario (Swilling et al, 1991).

Over the last 30 years there have been sporadic shifts in ideas about appropriate shelter and settlement policies in developing countries (Pillay, 1994). These shifts had significantly affected the policies of governments, international aid agencies and academic institutions. The general view of informal housing and squatting housing was that it blighted the urban environment. At the same time, shanty towns were becoming increasingly more visible in cities. Attempts by policy makers and local authorities to divert growth away from cities have failed miserably. In this regard, an international survey conducted by the UN regarding urban growth, concluded that “despite many difficulties large cities are functional; investments are made; goods and services are produced and sold; shelter is built and upgraded...” (Bernstein, 1989).

In South Africa, the outcomes of rapid urbanization resulted in many negative characteristics associated with urban growth. Firstly, it gave rise to inefficient and unproductive urban areas which inevitably created

bottlenecks for economic expansion (Bernstein, 1989). In most cases, urbanization perpetuated the lack of welfare, basic education, health services; environmental decay; and water and power shortages. Urban inefficiency mostly affected poor. These challenges face the South African city as well as other and international cities.

Governments and policy makers are largely responsible for the future of cities as they make decisions (or lack of them) and have an impact on the effectiveness of city management. Bernstein (1989) recognised three possible responses to the growth of squatting and shack development on an international level. The first response is coercive: shack demolition, harassment, restrictions on land and housing are common. This response was implemented in the mid 1970s by authorities in South Africa who attempted to curb squatter development. However, throughout the developing world, this reaction from authorities has failed to prevent the large-scale growth of urban squatting (Bernstein, 1989).

The second response identified by Bernstein is essentially *laissez faire*. Shack development is allowed to take place, but without government intervention. This approach encourages urban growth outside the legal framework, contrary to official land-use plans and a contravention of property rights and health regulations (Bernstein, 1989). The third response is advocated by the international development agencies, including the World

Bank, and is increasingly being implemented by governments of developing countries. Informal settlements are accepted by the authorities as a critical component of the national housing policy. Community initiative and self-help schemes are therefore recognised and incorporated in the national housing policy (Bernstein, 1989).

The rapid growth of population in cities has been accompanied by an increased demand for employment and housing. However, insufficient opportunities for earning an income have resulted in the rapid increase and growth of the urban poor living in grossly substandard and overcrowded conditions (Harpham et al, 1988). The urban poor are often said to live in the shadow of the city, as many of the shacks or slums are often found on the periphery of the CBD or residential areas. This is referred to by Drakakis-Smith (1987, p.88) who points out that informal and squatter settlements tend to be centrally located. This is especially true in the case of "migrants who first settle close to sources of employment. Later when other family members appear, there is an incentive to move to the 'more spacious' areas of peripheral squatter settlements".

Undeniably the development of informal housing and squatting have mushroomed in many cities and the housing crisis is expected to remain so in the foreseeable future as slums and squatter settlements constitute the most important and persistent problem of the urban poor. Urban land

occupation has been especially sighted around most South African cities. In 1994, for example, it has been estimated that approximately "770 000 informal settlers west of Johannesburg and 800 000 in the Western Cape" (Sunday Times, 1994, p.15). In fact, it is evident that land occupation by the homeless is escalating at an alarming rate. The Department of Housing announced in 1999, that "nearly 54 per cent of the population live in urban settlements while an estimated 5.5 million people are living in about 1.5 million self-constructed informal dwellings" (South Africa Yearbook, 1999, p. 369). Ten years ago, a former Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing commented that "informal housing would be around for many years to come...". (Cape Times, 20 February 1991).

Internationally, informal and squatter settlements are of various types or forms. For example, "Bombay has its packed multi-storied chawls, New York its Harlem and its Lower East Side, Chicago its Black Belt, and London its well-known East End" (Clinard, 1966, p.3). Numerous forces have given rise to enormous social problems facing many cities, especially those of the Third World. The rapid population growth has surpassed even the most sincere attempt to cope with meeting the most basic need, namely that of low-cost housing (Drakakis-Smith, 1987). The escalation in housing costs has begun to take its toll in developed and developing countries. The negative outcomes of the supply and demand process may be interpreted in several ways. According to Bourne, (1981, p.255) this could be

attributed to:

- failure of the private market allocation mechanism
- excessive or misdirected government intervention
- the inevitable side-effects of continued changes affecting housing systems (for example the ageing of housing, shifting demands and needs, and transport innovations)

Bourne's (1981) argument does have at least one shortcoming. In regard to the negative historical outcome of the housing process. Unfortunately, this process is not that simple, but is linked to other social problems such as unemployment, underemployment, poverty, overpopulation, increasing urbanisation, political factors and more importantly the question of affordability. Inevitably, supply and demand of housing is affected by a plethora of problems.

According to Stokes, (1981, p.6) "people in industrial countries must spend an even larger share of their incomes if they want to own a home".

Moreover, affluent households are competing with the poor and minority population groups in search for less expensive homes, often uprooting them to occupy substandard and overcrowded houses. As the property prices are escalating informal and squatter settlements in developing countries are rocketing at alarming rate. Hence the urban poor are compelled to maintain their housing costs to a minimum living in shacks constructed of corrugated iron and plywood either in available open spaces or premises of landlords

at a nominal fee. Rising prices have turned the dream of owning a home into a nightmare. For example, “two in five householders in Japan and three in France have expressed dissatisfaction with their current homes” (Stokes, 1981, pp.6-7). At the same time, there is mounting hopelessness about the prevailing housing conditions in Third World cities. Among housing economists, controversy reigns over the difference between housing needs and housing demands. The differentiation between housing need and housing demand highlights an important difference.

The former (housing needs) refers to what people cannot do without, basic services such as water and electricity. The latter (housing demand) are non-essential things which people need (for example, people can live without a house with a swimming pool etc.). On the other hand, housing demand is the result of the impact of both population growth and economic variables such as family income, family size in relation to income cost and availability of resources (Stokes, 1981). Consequently, the high-cost of housing compelled many low-income households to concentrate in informal and squatter settlements. These initiatives neither lack official approval, nor do the erected dwellings comply with official housing or building standards (Maasdorp, 1985).

Informal housing and squatting manifest relatively poor socio-economic conditions. The term standard of living commonly refers to the economic

level at which an individual, family or nation lives. According to the World Book Encyclopaedia, the term standard of living may also refer to “the goal’s people set for themselves as users of goods, services or leisure. That is the level of comfort and happiness that people would like to reach” (1986, p.653). The above definition points out that squatters are living within their budget. For example, they have little or no money therefore they have “accepted” their poor living standards. This is evident from their modest dwellings. However, living as squatters and being looked upon as “illegal” urban residents, are definitely not goals which they have set for themselves. Regrettably, many squatters are compelled to resort to this low standard of living brought about by an array of social, economic and political circumstances.

According to Drakakis-Smith (1987, p.85) “there are three sources of supply for low cost housing in Third World cities. These may be labelled the public, private and popular sectors”. With reference to Figure 3, it is apparent that public and private sources are classified as the formal sector, in which housing is built according to local building standards. In comparison, “popular” housing refers to housing which is constructed by the poor themselves. This is normally in contravention of building regulations, notably those falling outside the established building conventions and below “acceptable” standards (Drakakis-Smith, 1987, p.86). According to Figure 3 There are two types of popular response

adopted by the poor to meet their shelter needs, namely informal and squatter housing (or slum formation). However, it is imperative to note that the discourse of housing in this context, revolves around the central theme of housing standards.

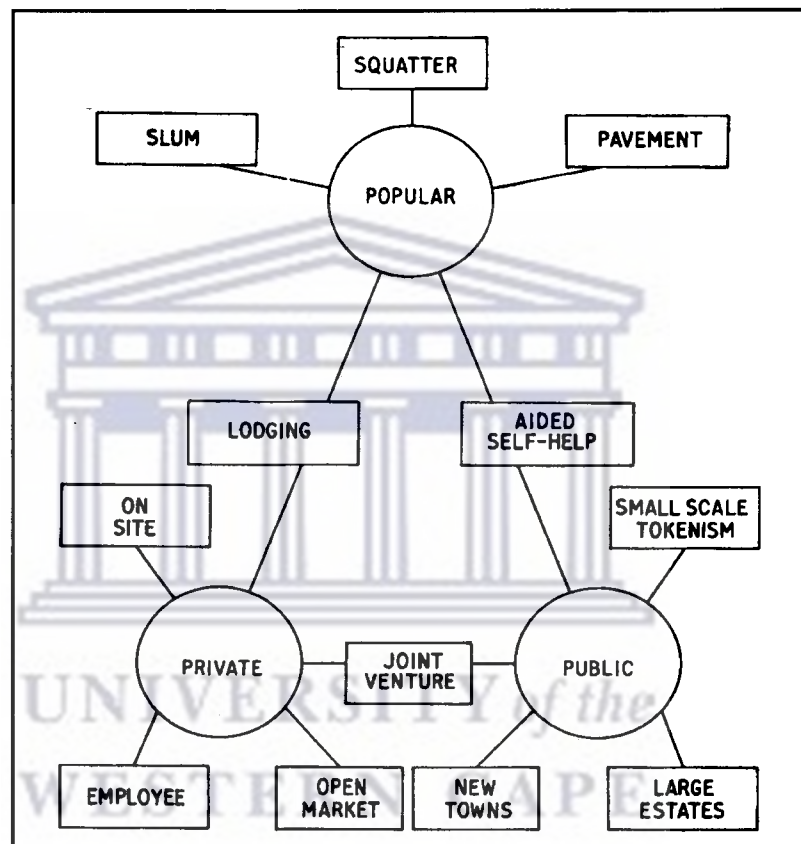


Figure 3: Main types of low-cost housing in the Third World

(Source: Drakakis Smith, 1987, p.86)

In order to assess the justification of dreadful standards and criteria in the provision of shelter, it is necessary to examine the objective of housing and shelter. Principal concepts such as safety and happiness have far-reaching

significance for human existence (Mabogunje et al, 1978). Nevertheless, housing or shelter provision inevitably entails the striving towards a better future. Rapid urbanization, unemployment and poverty have, however, exacerbated the housing crisis. This has forced many people to erect shacks in order to secure some form of security and "happiness" which is nothing more than the art of survival.

The objective of good human settlement development should therefore be to provide housing that measures up to certain minimum standards such as access to clean air, water, security of tenure, basic amenities and infrastructure. Informal and squatter settlements in the Cape Flats often fail to provide basic services and amenities, and therefore cannot qualify as "adequate" human settlements. Long-standing squatter settlements sometimes do manage to establish some form of services such as mobile health clinics and day care centres. However, facilities such as day hospitals and other amenities have to contend with a large number of people dependent on the cheap services provided by local government agencies such as the City Council.

Despite the stringent imposition of influx control within the Western Cape, there was an increasing influx of migrants from the Transkei and Ciskei (Harrison, 1992). They were regarded as "illegal" entrants in the Western Cape and were not provided with housing. However, the Divisional Council

encouraged “blacks” to move from other areas to the new, “black” settlement at Crossroads (Harrison, 1992). The growing resistance to destroy squatter settlements such as Crossroads led to about a struggle between squatters and the government. This resulted in immense negative publicity on the government. During the 1970s, new and more positive government attitudes began to change towards informal housing and squatting (Harrison, 1992).

Numerous factors have contributed to the acceptance of informal housing and squatting in local, national and international circles. International trends, resistance to removals, influence of liberal academics, business sector and policy shifts of the state (the inescapable reality that informal housing and squatting are part of the urban scene), have contributed to the general acceptance of squatting worldwide in general and South Africa in particular. Crossroads can be seen as a “guinea pig” settlement which paved the way for the emergence of other informal and squatter settlements such as Jakkalsvlei in and around Cape Town. Evidence suggests that movement into an area occurs where land is available (Dewar, Rosmarin and Watson, 1991). This assertion is true since squatters encroached upon the vacant land between Langa township and Vanguard Drive which became known as Jakkalsvlei squatter camp. This “illegal” occupation of the Council’s land did not go unnoticed and without any form of resistance.

On the 8th of December 1994 squatters of Jakkalsvlei came face-to-face with local authorities and the police. They watched in anger as the police and local authorities demolished their homes. Despite the removal of shacks, residents of the Jakkalsvlei squatter camp demonstrated some resistance and hence rebuilt their shacks. Jakkalsvlei hence grew drastically providing more homeless people with a piece of land on which to erect some form of shelter. Since assuming power in 1994, the ANC government advocated banning the eviction of occupants of land without obtaining a proper court order. In 1998, this came into effect through parliamentary legislation repealing the former Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951 (Act 52 of 1952). By virtue of the Prevention of Illegal Evictions and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, 1998 (Act 19 of 1998) squatting was officially decriminalized. It became a criminal offence to evict occupants of land without a proper court order (South Africa, 1999, pp. 369-370).

Bishop Lavis and Uitsig witnessed the growth of backyard squatting. Backyard squatting in these low-income "coloured" areas was not met with strong opposition from local authorities as in the case of Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei. The reason for this is that these informal shacks were erected on private property, despite the landowners having contravened the law and the shacks having been built without approved standard building plans.

According to Bernstein (1989, p.23), "in many cities there is an increasing disjuncture between the "legal" city (formal planning rules, regulations etc.) and the "real" city (informal jobs, informal settlements)". It is therefore imperative to know what is at stake for South Africa regarding informal and squatter settlements. The question to be addressed here is how policymakers and society at large do manage the process of urbanisation. Policymakers, local authorities and politicians need to adopt a hands-on approach and become pro-active in addressing the issues of squatter communities. Otherwise, informal and squatter dwellers will ultimately empower themselves to reshape and reconstruct urban areas in South African cities beyond recognition. The solution to their plight is simple - the provision of affordable shelter and the acceptance of informal housing and squatting as a reality.

However, it is a process which requires monitoring and proper management by local authorities as housing trends are generally erratic and volatile. Squatting is a reflection of any government's inability to provide its citizens with employment and adequate houses. The overall acceptance and tolerance of informal and squatter settlements within urban areas by local authorities and urban planners can be interpreted as a voluntary "confession" of their inability to provide adequate shelter for the urban poor. The next chapter investigates the general typology of informal and squatter settlements in the study area.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GENERAL TYPOLOGY OF INFORMAL AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

“The democratic government must ensure a wide range of tenure options including individual and collective home ownership as well as rental, and facilitate a wide range of housing types” (RDP, 1994, p.24)

The influx of rural poor and their relocation to urban areas are some of the social dilemmas that city planners and the poor themselves constantly grapple with. In the previous chapter, it was emphasized that the need for housing in Cape Town is growing at an alarming rate. Following repeal of the Influx Control legislation in 1986, land-use within and outside the ambit of Cape Town is changing continuously as the need and demand for shelter increases. In Cape Town, as in other country's cities, the poor cannot afford to live in the city, because it is too expensive, and historically, they were not allowed to purchase land, even if they could have afforded to do so it. According to Wolfson (1991, p.231), “unemployment, low wages, and the private market prescribe land and housing affordability levels and, therefore residential location and conditions. Much land allocated for low-cost housing remains unaffordable for the urban poor”. In addition, they cannot afford to live on the periphery of the city, because of the

relatively high transport or commuting costs. Squatter settlements and backyard shacks are therefore the only viable solution to their social and economic predicament.

Residential land-use within the city is a combination of planned and unplanned settlement types. Hence, the typology of informal and squatter settlements differs from one another. It is therefore important to note that residential housing in developed cities differs considerably in terms of geographic setting, land acquisition, tenure and other physical characteristics. This chapter outlines the problems experienced by inhabitants of squatter areas and backyard shacks. It also examines the ways in which houses or shelters were built to address the immediate needs of the homeless. At this juncture, it is imperative to address the issue of housing as a basic need.

3.1 Housing: A basic need?

Housing as a basic human need has a definite root in the typology of settlements. Social and economic circumstances of the poor are manifested in their type of housing which is very rudimentary in nature. Unfortunately, the Department of Housing in South Africa cannot cope with the supply and demand of housing. Despite the promises made by the ANC during the election campaign of 1994, millions of people are still homeless,

and do not have access to a formal house. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), “endorses the principle that all South Africans have the right to a secure place in which to live in peace and dignity. Housing is a human right...” (ANC, 1994, p.23). Therefore, poor people have taken the initiative to satisfy their need for shelter. The homeless are thus coerced to occupy land and erect their own “type” of unconventional shelter. In doing so, they, have at least a roof over their head for protection from adverse climatic conditions. This desperate need for shelter brought about an increase in the number and size of informal squatter settlements in and around Cape Town.

The concept “*demand*”, features prominently in research on housing. Studies in the field of urban geography indicate a shift in the use of words, especially when dealing with housing. This study will make use of the concept “*need*” because it is considered more appropriate compared with the word “*demand*”. Use of the word “*demand*” appears somewhat inappropriate and implies that people want things free of charge. Bourne (1981), suggests that the word “*demand*” is inappropriate and proposes the concept “*need*” as an alternative, and suggests the concept “*need*”, because of the doubt whether the supply of housing would meet the demand.

Table: 1 Number of proportion of respondents' perceptions on housing delivery in the study area

Perceptions	Uitsig 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Bishop Lavis 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Crossroads 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Jakkalsvlei 50 Respondents i.e.25%
Empty words used in the elections	42%	20%	18%	13%
Mere words with no meaning	42%	20%	18%	13%
Politicians wanted votes	40%	18%	20%	22%
Houses promised but it will take quite some time	2%	4%	9%	6%
Maybe I will not get a house	24%	23%	9%	8%

Similar doubts were expressed by respondents in this study. 93 per cent of the respondents in this study said that the government made use of empty promises during the election campaign of 1994. This view is strongly expressed among the “coloured” respondents in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis and “black” respondents in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei. According to one respondent in Jakkalsvlei, “the slogan houses for all, were mere words with no meaning. We are forced to look after ourselves”. In Uitsig, the feeling among some backyard squatters was the similar, “the government promised us houses, jobs and many other things, yet our living conditions are still poor. They just wanted our vote now. They have forgotten us”. A backyard resident in Bishop Lavis expressed a different view, “the government promised us houses, but it will take a long time before it will happen. At least I read about it in the newspaper how they build houses for people. Maybe I will not get a house, but somewhere, in South Africa another family’s dreams have materialized”. It is evident that everyone does not have negative perceptions regarding the slow housing delivery process. However, the majority of the respondents have negative perceptions.

Another viewpoint highlighted by Bourne (1981), regarding the difference between the terms “*need*” for housing and “*demand*” for housing is affordability. “*Need*” however, is regulated by a predetermined minimum standard which depends on social and economic norms. “*Demand*” on the

other hand, is a direct derivative of affordability. This means that the demand for housing is determined by the ability of households to pay for their own house. The concept *"need"* as used in this study, is naturally linked to inequality and refers to the inadequacy of existing conditions in society in relation to the acceptable norm. In other words, the entire concept of *"need"* is perceived as problematic in terms of values set by society at large. If it is accepted that housing is a basic human *"need"*, then the views raised by respondents are indeed justified. Consequently, the basic types of shelter erected from simple materials (corrugated iron, wood, plastic and asbestos) on available land and in backyards is a simple solution to meet their most basic human need. Because, as one squatter retorted *"we are forced to look after ourselves"*, conventional squatting and backyard squatting proliferated itself over a short period of time. Once the house or shack is erected, it becomes not only a mere roof with four walls but a home.

Housing at its most basic level is certainly not only about the provision of shelter. According to Bourne (1981, p.13), *"it is both a physical entity, a social artifact, an economic good, capital stock, a status symbol, and at times a political 'hot-potato'"*. It is therefore imperative to note that housing constitutes a *"need"*. A fundamental difference exists between the terms *"need"* and *"want"*. The term *"need"* refer to something which people cannot do without, something which is regarded as essential. For

example, people “need” a house as means of shelter. The term “want” on the other hand, refers to something which people can do without, and is not considered essential. For example, people living in a shack would “need” a house more than they would need a swimming pool or cinema built in the area.

The “need” for affordable housing can be attributed to many different reasons. One of the most fundamental factors is the formation of new households caused by population growth. These new entrants into the “housing market” represent an additional demand as their “needs” have not been catered for. Hence, even if poor people have access to formal houses, it does not mean that they would be in an economic position to maintain that house. The problem is three-fold, namely:

- the lack of access to formal housing at its most basic level
- unemployment
- a stagnant economy coupled with the high cost of living negates access to affordable housing

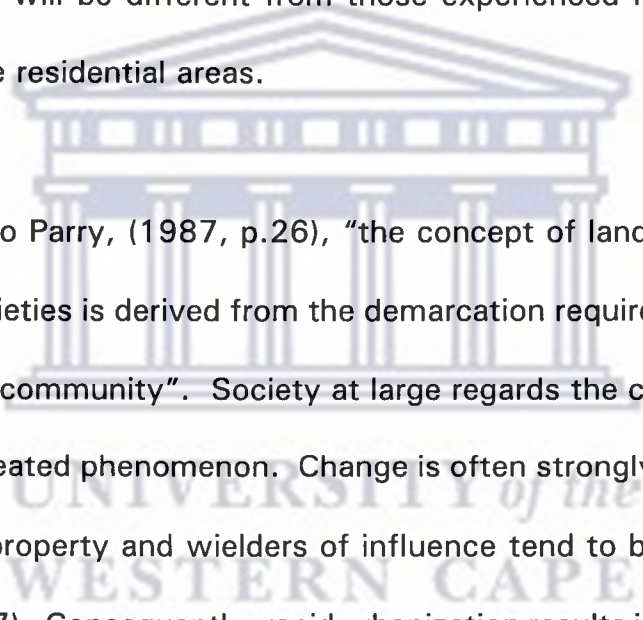
In essence, it is apparent that informal housing and squatting in the Cape Flats therefore originated as an expressive technique of the poor to provide shelter for themselves. This unconventional manner of building a house has raised much controversy. At the very least, self-constructed shelter combatted homelessness in a major way. People residing in Jakkalsvlei

and Crossroads provided themselves with shelter almost instantaneously. In Uitsig and Bishop Lavis, backyard shacks erected were “planned” and “organised”. Prospective backyard tenants first obtained permission from the property owner before constructing their shacks. In some cases, the property owners themselves constructed shacks on their premises, and rented them to secure an extra income. Since time was invariably of the essence with regards to how fast shelter could be erected in squatter settlements like Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads; crucial considerations (with regard to choice of location, site, the type of shelter, size, land tenure, possible upgrading and other related typological aspects), were often ignored at the expense of erecting a home at the quickest means possible. In the case of Jakkalsvlei, squatters were left with no choice of where to stay and simply invaded vacant land in close proximity to areas where they were originally evicted from. In their defence, Jakkalsvlei squatters claimed “they had nowhere else to go” (The Argus, 25 October 1994, p.10). Typological factors therefore had no bearing on the emergence of Jakkalsvlei as a fully-fledged squatter settlement. Jakkalsvlei is an example of an effective method of empowerment land seizure by the urban poor.

3.2 General typology of settlements in this study area

The concept typology of settlements, refers to type of settlements, land

acquisition, tenure, physical characteristics and its propensity for upgrading. There are two local terms for these low-income urban settlements, namely squatter settlements (informal settlements), and backyard squatting within formal legal townships. However, classification of settlements according to certain criteria can be useful. When considering various settlement types, it is easy to compare the different characteristics and problems experienced. For example, health-related problems experienced in squatter settlements will be different from those experienced in middle-class and high income residential areas.



According to Parry, (1987, p.26), “the concept of land tenure in most of today’s societies is derived from the demarcation requirements of a settled agricultural community”. Society at large regards the concept of property as a deep-seated phenomenon. Change is often strongly resisted, because holders of property and wielders of influence tend to be the same people (Parry, 1987). Consequently, rapid urbanization results in a greater need for conciliation and social strain between landowners, authorities and the landless poor. Legislation with respect to tenant rights, squatter rights and the right of people residing in informal settlements is issues which the RDP document embraces (RDP, 1994). Tenure options, such as collective ownership, rental and the facilitation of a wide range of housing types is also addressed in the RDP document. The fact that these issues are addressed implies that backyard shacks and squatter settlements may soon,

or have already, taken root in society.

3.3 Squatter settlements

Squatter settlements are also referred to as unplanned or spontaneous settlements. This kind of settlement pattern is often seen as "illegal". Land acquisition is therefore seen as the invasion of public or private land. Squatter settlements are usually located on vacant land on the periphery of residential areas. Parry (1987, pp.26-27) argues that squatting by definition is seen as "illegal". An important question to ask is: from which viewpoint is squatting perceived? Central government, local authorities or a private landowner? In the Cape Flats, Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei are considered as "illegal" settlements by government and local authorities. Despite vociferous attempts by local authorities and police to demolish settlements, squatters remained undaunted and even multiplied. Being "illegal" was a matter of opinion. With respect to legal status, the occupants do not regard themselves as invaders or "illegal" occupants. 95 per cent of the people living in Jakkalsvlei stated that they are not "illegal" occupants. According to a squatter residing in Jakkalsvlei, "how can they say we don't belong here? This is open land, and nobody lives here". The above comment was applauded by curious bystanders. This statement also prompted curious bystanders (they were not interviewed) to express their opinion. "We are the people of South Africa. Our government cannot

provide homes for us, so we have to look out for ourselves. What is wrong with that?" Generally speaking, similar views were held by 93 per cent of the residents of Crossroads. According to a female squatter, "we have no other place to go, so why can't we stay here? We are in nobody's way". This prompted an onlooker who preferred to remain anonymous to say: "we are just looking after ourselves, something which the government cannot do". From the above, it is conclusive that squatters do not regard themselves as "illegal" occupants or land invaders. On the contrary, many squatters believe that the land belongs to all South Africans. Land in squatter settlements is "owned" communally, which implies that all people have access to it, as the need arises. Thus, the type of tenure in Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads can be referred to as *de facto* or *de jure* "ownership".

3.4 Backyard squatting

Public housing plays a vital role to the poor and forms the basis for backyard squatting. Public housing is a synonym for low-income municipal or council housing schemes. Uitsig and Bishop Lavis are "coloured" areas which consist of a large percentage of public housing or low-income housing schemes. A large number (the exact amount is not known) of housing units in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis comprise backyard shacks. With reference to land ownership, the land belongs either to the municipality or

the property owner. Initially these low-income houses were owned by the municipality. Until recently, residents were given the opportunity to purchase these low-income houses from the municipality or City Council. Low-income houses are generally located on the periphery of other residential areas and close to factories, railway lines and sewerage works. A buffer zone (a railway line and Modderdam road) separates Belhar, a middle-income “coloured” area, from Uitsig. Uitsig is surrounded by factories such as Willards (an international food company), Mark’s Paints (a private business) and PEP Stores (a major clothing manufacturing company). Residents are prone to experience air and noise pollution. A refuse dump is located close to Uitsig. During summer, when berg wind conditions prevail, foul smelling air hovers over the area and attracts flying insects. Despite these health-hazards and life-threatening conditions, backyard squatting has expanded at an alarming rate. From mere observation, it is evident that backyard shacks are predominant in almost every plot. In some instances, two or more shacks are found in one plot.

Low-income or public housing forms the hallmark of Bishop Lavis. The majority of the low-income houses in Bishop Lavis consist of backyard shacks (unfortunately, the exact number is not known). Like Uitsig, Bishop Lavis is also situated parallel to the railway line and 4 km from Cape Town International Airport. Bishop Lavis experiences high levels of noise and air pollution. According to the residents of Bishop Lavis, they pay less

property rates and taxes, compared with other surrounding residential areas.

3.5 Landlord-tenant relationship

At this point, another equally crucial question should be raised. Who are the tenants and what are their needs? Tenants are people or residents who rent a room in the house or sublet an outbuilding erected on the property. Tenants and tenancy sparked the rise of backyard squatting in most “coloured” and “black” residential areas. From a legal standpoint, if the low-income house (or public house) is rented from the municipality or City Council, the lessee is not entitled to erect backyard shacks on the premises. In cases where the lessee allows backyard squatting, the municipality has the right to demolish such shacks and issue a warning to the lessee. This regulation, however, is not applicable to property-owners who purchased the land or public house from the municipality. With this in mind, backyard squatting flourished among property-owners.

This high proportion of backyard squatting can be attributed to factors such as the low standard of living, the current recession and high unemployment rate. In Uitsig and Bishop Lavis, backyard squatting is common as the poor cannot afford to build or buy their own homes. The need for alternative housing in the so-called “coloured” areas, notably Bishop Lavis and Uitsig, led to a new phenomenon within residential areas, namely landlord-tenant

relationship, which is on the increase. This landlord-tenant relationship in Bishop Lavis and Uitsig is based on securing an additional income mainly generated from backyard squatters. A cash-strapped landlord could easily allow more than one backyard shack in his yard. This is evident by the number of shacks on one plot. However, backyard squatters are normally close relatives, family members or friends of the landlord and pay cheap rates or in some instances they live “free” of charge. According to the data collected from the surveyed area, 55 per cent of the respondents perceived landlords as parasites or profiteers. 38 per cent regard themselves as providers of “homes” to the homeless and feel that their intention is not based on financial gain, while the remaining 7 per cent did not express any comment. Respondents from the surveyed settlements expressed that from a financial point of view, the average rent paid to landlords ranges between one and two-hundred rands per month. Backyard squatters who pay more than one hundred and fifty rands per month enjoy additional benefits such as use of electricity, toilet, and bathroom located in the main house of the landlord. Those who pay one-hundred rands or less, use outside toilets, and wash in a bucket of water in their one-roomed shack.

3.6 Types of building materials used

Table 2 highlights the different types of building materials used to erect

shacks. An important similarity between backyard shacks and squatter settlements in the study area are the various types of building materials used. During the 1970s and 1980s almost every informal settlement represented a creative approach to creating homes through recycled materials such as cardboard and plastic (Sowman, & Urquhart, 1998). This is evident from the combination of building materials used to erect shacks. Timber is the most commonly used building material. Squatter settlements erected in the late 1970s and 1980s made extensive use of corrugated iron and asbestos. The use of asbestos is avoided as it is quite expensive. Crossroads, is an excellent example where squatters predominantly used corrugated iron to erect shacks.

Table 2: Type of building materials used

Building materials used	Crossroads Number of respondents 50 i.e. 25%	Jakkalsvlei Number of respondents 50 i.e. 25%	Bishop Lavis Number of respondents 50 i.e. 25%	Uitsig Number of respondents 50 i.e. 25%
Asbestos	3	0,5	1,5	0,5
Cardboard	18	15	6	8
Corrugated iron	51	38	42	41
Plastic	2	1,5	1	2
Timber	26	45,5	49,5	48,5
Total percentage	100	100	100	100

The reason for using corrugated iron sheeting was that it was easily available (collecting from rubbish dumps or buying it from informal traders).

Table 2 depicts how timber replaced corrugated iron as a building material. It is evident that the use of timber in Crossroads is 26 per cent as compared to the other three areas, namely Jakkalsvlei (45,5 per cent), Bishop Lavis (49,5 per cent) Uitsig and 48,5 per cent respectively. The change in the types of building materials used can be attributed to two factors, namely availability and cost. Timber is easily obtainable and much cheaper compared to more costly corrugated iron. Timber is also much warmer in winter months. The use of cardboard is significant, especially during cold wet winter months. Cardboard is a relatively cheap insulator, even though it burns easily and retains water through dampness. In Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei cardboard is used much more compared to Bishop Lavis and Uitsig. In Crossroads 18 per cent of the squatters' make use of cardboard. This can probably be attributed to the fact that corrugated iron is cold during winter months, and cardboard is used as an insulator. Although these materials seemed adequate at the time when shelter was a dire need, they have some drawbacks. In the event of fire, cardboard and wood invoked havoc with disastrous consequences. Uncontrolled fires and the proximity of shacks often led to loss of life and destruction of minimal possessions. Heavy plastic is used to cover the roofs and walls during the rainy season from May to August. Plastic is used to prevent shacks from

flooding and also acts as an excellent insulator during the cold winter period.

Cape Town has grown substantially and elicited a sense of an African identity. This can be attributed to the modern approach to informal housing and squatting which has changed positively to acceptance and accommodation. Today, squatters are increasingly seen as the creators of the cities of the future. Although land has been acquired through invasions (be it gradual or violent), the security of these squatter communities remains precarious. Land invasions, as in the case of Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads, have overcome initial teething problems of "illegal" occupation of land and eviction. However, legal tenure in South Africa is rarely absolute. This is evident considering the political history and the current policy of land restitution which commenced in 1994. In a sense, squatters have a "right" to acquire land, since their forefathers were evicted from their land. Unless South Africa adopts an efficient housing policy, problems associated with land seizure will remain secondary and hence neglect the primary goal of access to affordable land by the urban poor (Wolfson, 1991). Consequently, occupation of land is a viable alternative when formal mechanisms for affordable and efficient land and housing delivery becomes unsatisfactory or non-existent. Although settlement and subsequent construction of homes occurred virtually overnight, the problems caused through unplanned and uncoordinated

settlements particularly with regard to indoor and outdoor space, will continue set to haunt backyard squatters in Bishop Lavis and Uitsig and freestanding squatter settlements of Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei. Another problem faced by such settlements is the future upgrading or owner-builder improvement. The following chapter investigates the physical structure of informal dwellings in the study area.



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CHAPTER FOUR

PHYSICAL AND STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS OF INFORMAL HOUSES

"When I built my shack, all I thought about was a place to stay. That is the most important thing for me and my family. Only once the house was built, did we realise how tiny it was. As you can see there is no room for movement".

A squatter resident, Crossroads.

The conditions in and around informal and squatter settlements is a major concern among most squatters in the study area. This concern stems from the limited amount of indoor and outdoor space. Occupation of vacant land or space, lawfully or unlawfully does not necessarily mean that the intended dwellings are spacious. Since land occupation usually takes place *en masse* - selectiveness in terms of size and space (indoor and outdoor) is often ruined. During building or assembling of shacks, the notion of indoor and outdoor space among squatters is often nonexistent. Only once shacks are erected and its occupants settled in, do they realise how restricted their living space really is. To homeless people, space is arbitrary, and only relevant in terms of acquiring land on which some form of shelter can be erected. It is imperative to understand that the concept

“space” encapsulates both indoor and outdoor space which, in turn, is interlinked with the concept of “privacy”.

4.1 Outdoor space

Research conducted in the four surveyed informal and squatter settlements revealed that there is generally a lack of indoor, outdoor and privacy space. The availability of adequate living space within these settlements is very small, or nonexistent, and overcrowding is a common phenomenon. From the outset, shack dwellers are often not conscious about the actual piece of land which they have acquired to build their homes. For them, building a shelter to serve as protection from adverse weather conditions and creating “a home” superceded all other considerations often associated with constructing a house. According to Schlyter, (1979, p.87), “people use the house and the close environment as one unit - their living area”. Thus, division between outdoor and indoor space seems somewhat artificial. Yet, this study has shown the opposite. Among shack dwellers, the desire for living space is often highlighted. In this study, it appears that the desire for indoor space is greater than the desire for outdoor space. This is evident in squatter settlements compared with backyard shacks. Table 3 illustrates the need for more outdoor space between backyard shack dwellers and informal settlement residents. The greatest demand for outdoor space was found in Jakkalsvlei (32,4 per cent) and Crossroads

(26,10 per cent) where it is needed for building expansion and renovation of the existing dwellings.

Table 3: Respondents' desire for more outdoor space

Study areas'	Desire for more outdoor space
Crossroads - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	26,10%
Jakkalsvlei - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	32,35%
Bishop Lavis - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	18,75%
Uitsig - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	22,79%

Lack of space can be attributed to the vast number of dwellings erected in squatter settlements. Squatter dwellings in Jakkalsvlei are built close to each other, with no space or yard. In Crossroads, however, plot sizes are relatively big and often more spacious to create a small yard. Backyard gardening or farming with small livestock such as chickens and goats is practised by 20 per cent of the respondents in Crossroads.

Indoor and outdoor space extends beyond the conventional house and yard. The concept incorporates outdoor facilities as well. In "black" squatter settlements of Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads, there are no parks, or green open spaces for sports or leisure. Therefore, the desire for outdoor space is greater. However, in low-income "coloured" areas, like Uitsig and Bishop Lavis, the desire for outdoor space, particularly recreational facilities are not an important requirement. This can be attributed to the fact that

outdoor these facilities are available on hand. In Bishop Lavis, for example, there are community swimming pools, soccer fields (not well maintained though), tennis and netball courts and a fairly well-maintained parks with swings and slippery slides. In Uitsig, (a poorer area compared to Bishop Lavis) the only recreational facility available is a park, for young children. The surface has no grass, benches and ablution blocks. It is neither enclosed with a fence, even though it runs parallel to Francie Van Zijl Street, a busy road connecting adjacent residential areas with Parow.

4.2 Indoor space

Table 4 depicts the desire of respondents for more indoor space. It shows that between 20 and 30 per cent of the respondents expressed a desire for more indoor space.

Table 4: Respondents' desire for more indoor space

Study areas'	Desire for more indoor space
Crossroads - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	25,23%
Jakkalsvlei - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	30,22%
Bishop Lavis - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	20,25%
Uitsig - 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	24,30%

This study revealed that 78 per cent of backyard shacks and squatters have one bedroom only which is shared by the entire household. The

remaining 19 per cent have two bedrooms and only 3 per cent have three bedrooms. It is significant to note that even though some shacks have two or three bedrooms, the total area ranges only between 25m² and 35m². Figure 4, shows the number of rooms in informal and squatter settlements. As indicated in the figure, most dwellings consist of one room only. A dwelling which consists of a single room usually meets all the requirements for indoor living, such as kitchen, bathroom and bedroom. Two-roomed dwellings normally contain some division or partitioning such as a curtain, piece of furniture or cardboard. Schlyter (1979), perceives this division between the rooms as functional. The kitchen and bedrooms are regarded as the most important spaces of the dwelling. The general lack of adequate indoor space or rooms, redefines the traditional functions usually associated with certain rooms which serve multi-functional purposes. For example, kitchens are used for cooking and serves simultaneously as family rooms (i.e. a formal lounge where the family interacts with friends and relatives).

87 per cent of informal and squatter residents only have a one-room home - the bedroom is shared by the entire family. In Uitsig, a family of five members (who prefers to remain anonymous), confessed to sharing a double bed. This is common among many families. In other words, the room was shared as well, but children slept on the floor during summer and squeezed on the double bed during winter. According to a backyard

squatter in Uitsig, "Dit was okay om dieselfde kamer te deel met die kinders toe hulle nog klein was. Nou dat hulle groot is, is dit nogal ongemaklik. My outste kind wil nie meer 'n kamer met ons deel nie en verkies om te kuier of oor te slaap by sy vriende." [It was okay to share the same room with the children when they were small. Now that they are big, it is actually uncomfortable. My eldest child does not want to share a room with us but goes to sleep over at friends houses]. A similar concern was voiced by a squatter residing in Jakkalsvlei, "I have a one-bedroom house which I share with my wife and four children. My two sons sleep under the kitchen table since there is not enough space for them in the room with my wife and two daughters. At night they make their bed there. It is better that way and more comfortable for all of us".

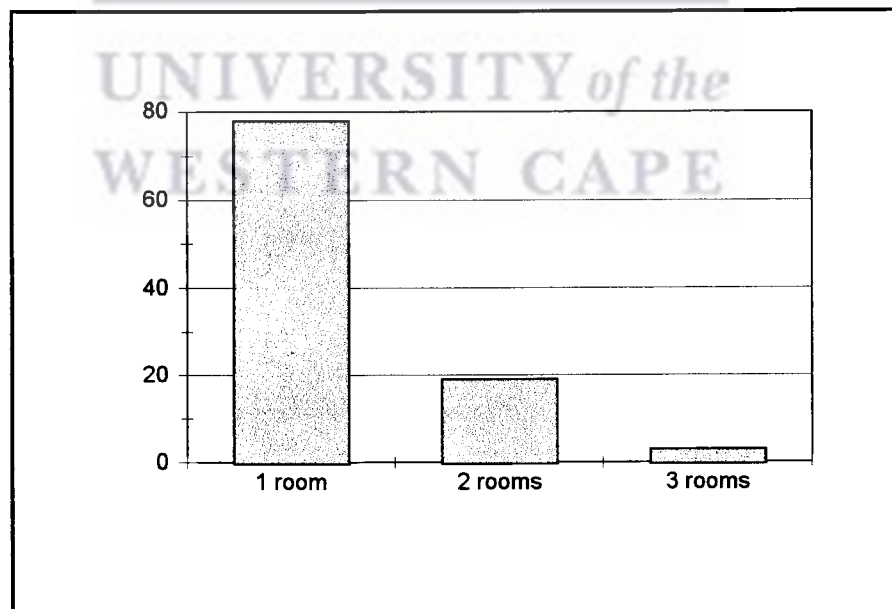


Figure 4: Number of rooms per shack

4.3. Architectural design of dwellings

According to Tremlett (1979), architects or designers always consider layout and position of dwellings to create enclosed spaces. This approach however, is not practised by informal or squatter dwellers. Informal and squatter settlements usually occur independently without formal planning and consent from government or local authorities. According to Boaden (1986, p.1), "shacks built in unplanned, peripheral areas of the city are thus by far the most predominant form of housing in the metropolitan area". The unplanned nature of informal and squatter settlements ultimately impacts upon the design of settlements. This study has shown that 62 per cent of the squatter settlements were mainly built by the owners themselves, or through some help provided by friends or relatives in relation to the 45 per cent of the backyard shacks built by the informal dwellers. The rationale for building the dwellings themselves is related to completing them as soon as possible. The expeditiousness constructing the dwellings can be attributed to the simplicity of the design. Consequently, architectural design of informal and squatter dwellings with limited space, is not regarded as an important consideration. The basic design of informal houses is usually square, rectangular, or L-shaped.

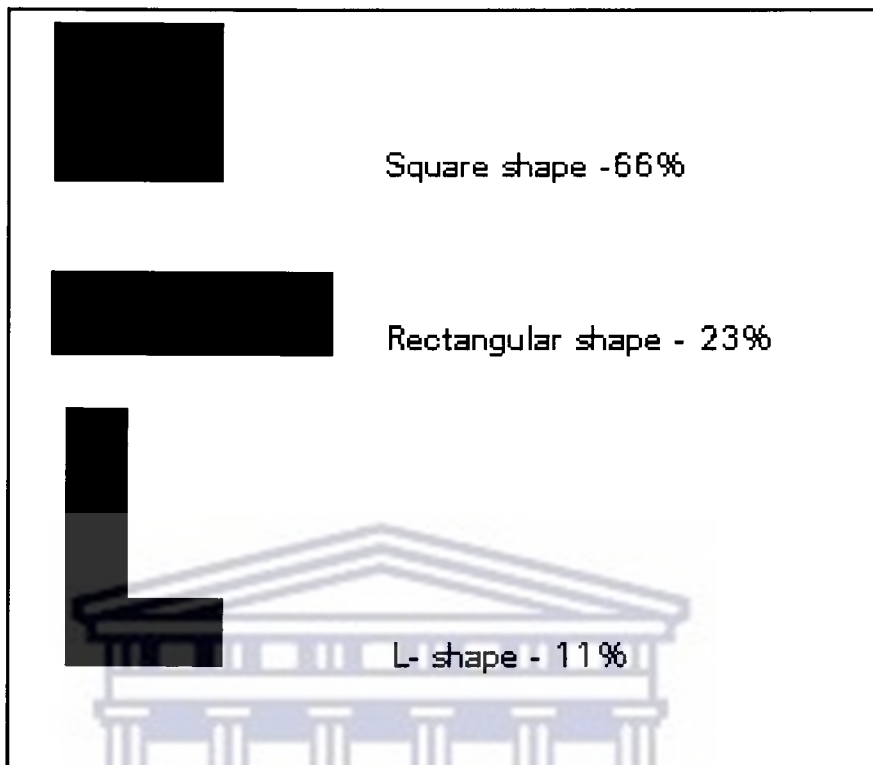


Figure 5: Architectural designs of informal and squatter dwellings

This study has shown that 66 per cent of the dwellings were square shaped, 23 per cent rectangular shaped and the remaining 11 per cent were L-shaped. Houses which are L-shaped, however, were not built like this from the start. These houses were square or rectangular design, but due to extensions, automatically assumed a L-shaped form. These houses were built in a random manner.

During the course of constructing a dwelling, vital considerations such as

ventilation and windows are often dismissed as non-essential. Poor ventilation in shacks reinforces the notion of poor living conditions. 87 per cent of the dwellings comprise three windows, while 13 per cent comprise four windows. To prevent indoor pollution, windows are only found in the kitchen. Windows in the bedroom provide sunlight, but cannot be opened. In squatter dwellings windows in the bedroom are seen as problematic, particularly during winter. Since windows are not properly fitted, squatters fear that heavy rains could penetrate through openings and flood their homes. Informal and squatter residents, therefore do not install too many windows in order to prevent water leakages during rainy periods.

Data gathered from the four surveyed settlements has shown that 90 per cent of the respondents do not consider space, indoor or outdoor, as important when constructing their houses. The above-mentioned trends are in line with what respondents actually stated at interviews. According to a squatter resident in Crossroads, “when I built my shack, all I thought about was a place to stay. That is the most important thing for me and my family. Only once the house was built, did we realise how tiny it was. As you can see there is no room for movement”. Another squatter residing in Jakkalsvlei uttered similar sentiments and said “at that moment in time there are so many homeless people wanting a piece of land to build a house, it would be selfish to take too much ground for yourself. After all, our needs are the same”. A culture of sharing was clearly evident among

most squatter dwellers. Community needs outweighed individual needs as many shack owners sacrificed having more spacious shacks in order to allow others to own a “house” as well.

4.4. Space and family life

Lack of indoor and outdoor space impinges on all members of the family. Due to the limited amount of indoor space, many women in this study, (i.e. “coloured” and “black”) do some of their domestic chores outside in front of their dwellings. 73 per cent of the women (unemployed or at home taking care of their children) do their laundry by hand outside whilst chatting with friends or neighbours. According to a backyard squatter in Uitsig, “Dit is makliker om die wasgoed buite te doen omdat die huis baie klein is. As ek mors dan is dit okay” [It is better to do the washing outside, because the house is very small. Should I mess then it is alright]. Another backyard squatter residing in Bishop Lavis expressed another view point. “It is much better to do the washing outside since I can keep a watchful eye over the children while they are playing outside. My landlady also instructed me to do my washing outside when it is hot in order to avoid water spillage on the wooden floors”. Among “black” women, 36,5 per cent preferred to peel their vegetables or sell their commodities outside (ranging from fruit and vegetables, chickens and so forth). In a rare case, however, small indoor space produced positive outcomes. According to a

squatter resident in Crossroads (who prefers to remain anonymous), “in the beginning I used to sit outside and cook supper for my family because it is too hot inside the pondok in summer. People who walked passed, said the food smelled good. Since then I decided to sell my food. Today my food stall attracts many people and I make good money. This small house is the reason for my success. Now I can pay for my children’s education”. Indeed, the small size of the house was a blessing in disguise and set the success in motion. It led to financial benefits when a small business outside the dwelling was started.

4.5. Perceptions of indoor and outdoor space among backyard and squatter dwellers

The question of space among “coloured” backyard squatters was not considered in a similar way as was for “black” squatters. 95 per cent of the “coloured” backyard squatters in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis felt well satisfied with the size of their house. In Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, only 82 per cent of “black” squatters felt complacent about the size of their house. Even if they express satisfaction about their houses, they are not entirely satisfied with the living conditions, and only hoped that their socio-economic conditions would improve in the near future.

Another important facet which ties well with the acquisition of additional

indoor space, is the cost involved in constructing a house. Additional indoor space automatically implies the need for more money to acquire building materials. For the cash-strapped poor, purchase of additional materials was often impossible. Apart from the additional financial burden, alterations to houses often delayed completion of much-needed shelter. Moving into the dwelling as soon as possible superceded the urge for additional space. Most residents interviewed, regarded having a roof over their head as more important than indoor space. Apart from the added financial burden, many shack dwellers have no choice regarding additional space. Since potential shack dwellers are not landowners, their input regarding indoor and outdoor space is restricted. Approximately 83 per cent of backyard squatters did not build their houses themselves, as they were already in existence on the landlord's property. Thus, to many backyard squatters, the choice of indoor space was not applicable. It was imposed on either them, or their input was not considered as important. Exceptions, however, do exist. In some instances, informal dwellers obtained prior permission from landlords to erect shacks on their premises. In this context, the landlord is either related to the backyard squatters or has very close or intimate relationships. Though many respondents erected their own shacks, they were still restricted in regard to the size of their "houses". These restrictions could be attributed to various reasons:

- Firstly, the size of the existing property in these low-income "coloured" settlements of Uitsig and Bishop Lavis are relatively

small.

- Secondly, it contravenes the council or municipal regulations to erect any structure on existing property without an approved plan. Thus, a huge backyard shack might attract the attention of the local authorities. Builders of backyard shacks are often conscious of these possible contraventions of the law. The fear of facing a possible fine in most cases deterred the building of large backyard shacks.

Despite the predicament of indoor and outdoor space, 95 per cent of the respondents' regard having a "home" or "place to stay" more important, particularly since it provides them a sense of identity, security and feeling of belonging in society. To squatters, the small urban space "allotted" to them creates an unpretentious feeling of satisfaction. According to a resident of Jakkalsvlei, "this is my little palace, no matter how small it is, it is mine, I built it with my own hands". A similar feeling was expressed by a backyard squatter in Uitsig "Ek en my vrou het nie 'n keuse gehad hoe groot ons huis kan wees nie. Ons woon op genade op my skoonbroer se erf. Ek en my vrou is albei werkloos, en woon verniet hier. Die plek is baie klein maar te minste het ons 'n dak oor ons kop". [My wife and I did not have a choice regarding the size of our house. We live by God's grace on my brother-in-law's property. My wife and I are both unemployed, and live for nothing here. The place is very small, but at least we have a roof over our heads]. Another backyard squatter residing in Bishop Lavis, "yes, my

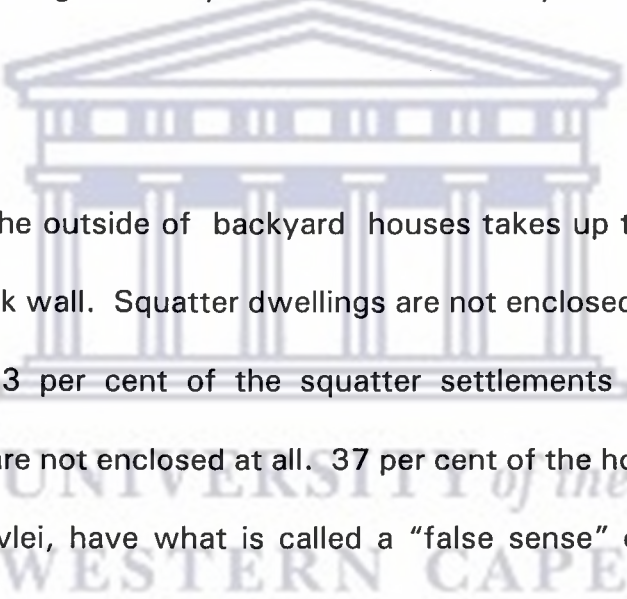
place is small, but at least I am on my own and so is my son (owner of the property). I have my own electricity which I get from the main house and feel free to do as I please”.

From the above-mentioned responses, it is clear that similarities between “black” and “coloured” settlements do exist with regard to indoor and outdoor space. For example, informal and squatter dwellers are not space-conscious in the beginning. Their main focus is to obtain some form of shelter, or house to live in. Once settled, they become aware of the limited indoor space. In most cases, it is too late to alleviate the space problem since there is no room for expansion or renovations.

4.6. Space and privacy

As argued in the beginning of the chapter, the concept of privacy encapsulates the indoor and outdoor spaces. Lack of space suggests an “invasion” of individual’s privacy. This is especially true in squatter settlements of Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, where privacy is virtually nonexistent within and outside home. For example, most dwellings do not have bathroom facilities. 95 per cent of the people in this study utilize their bedrooms for this purpose, while the remaining 5 per cent (i.e. backyard “coloured” dwellers) make use of the landlord’s bathroom. Bathing is done in a small plastic or metal bath which is kept under the bed

when not in use. One bath of water is used by the entire family. Bathing is done in a hierarchical way; first the father, followed by the mother and then children. Another striking feature associated with privacy is the lack of doors to separate rooms. In most cases only a front door is found in these dwellings. In exceptional cases, some shacks comprise both a front door and backdoor. The front door serves as the main entrance to the squatter dwelling. Internal doors are rare, because the structure of squatter dwellings or backyard shacks is not firmly built to support interior doors.



Privacy on the outside of backyard houses takes up the form of a wired fence or brick wall. Squatter dwellings are not enclosed with brick walls or fences. 63 per cent of the squatter settlements in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei are not enclosed at all. 37 per cent of the houses in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, have what is called a "false sense" of privacy. Plants, small shrubs and barbed wire indicate their territory and indoor space. In the case of backyard squatting, security or delimiting territory does not pose a problem. 97 per cent of the low-income houses in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis are enclosed with a fence. This offers ample security to backyard squatters.

In conclusion, it is apparent that backyard dwellers and squatters are not often space conscious initially. However, they gradually become conscious

of it as more possessions are acquired and families expand. Space is often imposed on most squatters and backyard dwellers unilaterally. However, while squatters have some say regarding size, shape and even space - backyard shack dwellers are not accorded this "privilege". A common problem and predicament faced by both "black" and "coloured" squatters' is the desire for more indoor space. The lack of indoor space implies a lack of privacy. Unfortunately, there is no easy or immediate solution to alleviate the space problem as experienced by these respondents in the study area. Even if there is a dire need for greater indoor and outdoor spaces, many simply endure their present living conditions and hope that one day their children, would be in better position to purchase a formal house. The same applies to backyard dwellers. 2 per cent of the "coloured" respondents regard the promise "Houses for All" as an impossible promise, while 19 per cent of the "black" respondents feel that it is a good policy which requires time in order to materialize. The next chapter investigates the availability of infrastructural facilities and services in the study area.

CHAPTER FIVE

AVAILABILITY OF INFRASTRUCTURAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES

"The link between meeting basic needs through an infrastructural programme and reviving economic growth in manufacturing and other sectors is the essence of the link between reconstruction and development. However, it is more than just providing electricity, water and telecommunications. It is a programme that integrates and upgrades infrastructure at the same time" (RDP, 1994, p.107).

Housing in the conventional sense includes not only shelter, but also the provision of basic services such as water and energy, sanitation, and sewerage, rainwater drainage, refuse removal, transport, telecommunications and roads. Service infrastructures are generally provided by the state or local authorities. The provision of appropriate services is geared towards better quality of life, reduction of health risks and to foster a balance between people and their environment. According to Kruger, (1992, p.28) "the growing population in South Africa increasingly demands more from the environment, especially in respect of available land for urban development, water supply, agricultural production, mining, industrial development, recreation and the provision of infrastructure".

Residents in and around Cape Town are subjected to numerous dislocations arising from unrestrained urban expansion. Because of the prevailing socio-

economic conditions in the surveyed settlements, the provision of services is limited.

Basic services and infrastructural facilities for residential areas are normally considered during the planning stage of development projects. These services are crucial for the development and functioning of any community. The World Bank coined the term "trunk infrastructure systems" which include roads, water supply, sewerage and drainage, electricity, and telephone systems (World Bank, 1993). These systems require long-term planning and substantial funding. As a rule, local authorities ensure the provision of "trunk infrastructure systems" strictly to planned residential areas where payment for services are secured. Squatter settlements such as Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, and backyard squatters of Bishop Lavis and Uitsig lack these infrastructural services because they evolve spontaneously.

The RDP promises the delivery of basic services for all. Both central and local governments are responsible for the provision of essential services. In cases, where the local government lacks resources to provide these services, the central government has to provide finances to supply the basic minimum level of services (Sowman & Urquhart, 1998, p.83). Access to services and infrastructure is limited as residents do not possess the financial resources to pay for them. In most cases, the poor are wittingly excluded from the essential "trunk or bulk infrastructural services".

Exclusion is based on non-payment for services provided. A viable solution is the introduction of minimum user charges for basic services rendered.

In spite of the minimum user charges, some people cannot afford to pay. In the past and until recently, the provision of basic services and infrastructure within informal and squatter settlements has been neglected for a variety of reasons:

- Informal and squatter settlements are not planned, and provision of services has been neglected.
- These unplanned settlements are not regarded as "standard" housing where rates and taxes are paid by occupants to local authorities. This resulted in the delivery of inadequate basic services and infrastructure.

This study has revealed that the vast majority of informal and squatter dwellers cannot afford to pay for basic services. 83,5 per cent of squatter households have only one breadwinner, 14,5 per cent have no breadwinner and the remaining 2 per cent are pensioners. High unemployment rates are a fundamental reason for poor living conditions and the lack of services within informal and squatter settlements. Local municipal authorities, such as the Cape Town City Council and Tygerberg sub-structure are reluctant to provide "trunk infrastructural services" or to upgrade poor communities since payment for services provided and use of facilities is not guaranteed.

Some respondents in Jakkalsvlei (12 per cent) said they are prepared to pay for services, but at a rate agreed upon by an elected community leader or speaker. Community leaders are elected to voice the needs of squatter residents. Squatters are of the opinion that policymakers and town planners have in the past made unilateral decisions which have affected them negatively in the past. According to a backyard squatter in Uitsig: "Ons is bereid om te betaal vir die dienste wat aan ons gegee is, maar hulle moet besef dat ons inkomste nie baie groot is nie. Ek het drie kinders om na te sien en my vrou is werkloos. Hulle moet net nie die pryse te hoog maak nie" [we are prepared to pay for services which we use. However, they must realize that our income is not big. I have three children to take care of and my wife is unemployed. They should not have high tariffs]. Another point of view was expressed by squatters who live in Jakkalsvlei; "why must we pay for water and electricity? The government promised jobs for all. We have no jobs so how can they expect us to pay? First give us jobs then we will pay". Despite the high rate of unemployment among squatters, many people are against squatters and feel that squatters should pay for services and facilities like everyone else.

According to an upper-class Noordhoek resident; "they (squatters) live without basic facilities because they choose to, no one forced them to live there. They never paid one cent for the land they are living on - what gives them the right?" (Cape Times,1991). According to Mr Smith (a

pseudonym), "Let's do away with discrimination. I fully support Mrs De Rooy's way of thinking. Let them pay for what they want, the same as everyone else has to". (Cape Times, 1991). Many squatters and backyard dwellers are under the impression that the solution is simple; namely providing them with basic services and infrastructure. To simply provide services where they are non-existent can be chaotic. Many "white" people feel that everyone should pay for services and facilities. Khayelitsha, a "black" informal settlement on the Cape Flats, is a good example where there exists a "mounting multimillion rand service charge arrears..." (The Argus, 1996, p.13). In Khayelitsha, the residents proposed to pay a "monthly R15,00 flat rate across the board as opposed to the council's suggestion of R50,00 for bond houses, R40,00 for rented core-houses and between R10,00 and R25,00 for the squatter areas" (The Argus, 1996, p.13). Many of the residents in Khayelitsha argued that "the council should take note of the poor socio-economic conditions of the township" (The Argus, 1996, p.13). There is a lesson to be learnt from the Khayelitsha experience. Before any services or facilities are provided, both interested parties; the people and the council should collectively agree on the rate to be paid by residents for services rendered.

What follows is a detailed discussion on the status of infrastructural services in the four surveyed settlements. These include, services such as adequate water and energy supply, rainwater drainage, refuse removal, roads,

transport services and telecommunications and recreational and leisure facilities.

5.1 Water supply

A Clean, safe and reliable tap water supply would greatly improve the quality of life and health of residents in poor underprivileged settlements. The provision of accessible water could decrease the occurrence of some diseases. According to an environmental health specialist, "we must realize though that there are some people the infrastructure will never be able to reach..." (Derry, 1995, p.4). In Uitsig and Bishop Lavis, backyard squatters have access to an adequate water supply. Especially the main house of the property owner by the municipality. The low-income "coloured" houses in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis have a water-tap in the backyard of their property. Backyard dwellers make use of this piped water supply at a nominal fee ranging from R15,00 and R30,00 per month. 38 per cent of the property owners do a random calculation of money to be paid by backyard squatters for water consumption. 57 per cent pay for half of the water consumed while the remaining 5 per cent do not pay for any water consumption claiming that they pay a flat rate for shelter (i.e. living on the premises and for the provision of services). According to a migrant worker from Pniel residing in Bishop Lavis, (the only case in this study), "Ek is dankbaar om 'n dak oor my kop te het. Alhoewel dit 'n klein plek is het ek te minste 'n water kraan naby, dit is

darem meer gerieflik as die plek waarin ek gewoon het in Pniel” [I am thankful to have a roof over my head. Even though it is a small place, I at least have a tap which provides me with water. It is much more comfortable than the place where I lived before in Pniel]. The above-mentioned case, bears witness to the gratefulness of some migrants who compare their present living conditions in urban areas to that experienced in rural areas. This kind of thinking can be attributed to a variety of reasons:

- Firstly, the trek of homeless and jobless from areas of desperate poverty to a perceived paradise. This perception has proved to have a “trickle down effect”, thus perpetuating an increase in urbanisation, homelessness and unemployment.
- Secondly, the attraction of “bright city lights” theory within the city.

In general, water is collected in buckets and kept in a sealed container in the kitchen for numerous household needs, particularly for cooking, drinking, bathing and washing clothes. Hot piped water is not available to backyard squatters who usually heat their water on a gas stove or outside on an open fire.

Squatters in Crossroads obtain piped water from communal stand taps located at various points within the settlement. Women and children collect water in buckets for the entire household. Similarly, water for use is kept in a sealed container in the kitchen. In Jakkalsvlei, squatters do not have the advantage of communal taps within their settlement. They meet their water

needs by collecting water from the Jakkalsvlei canal which runs parallel to the settlement. However, the water in the canal is dirty and polluted. Some squatters use the water from the canal to water their plants and “gardens” and for washing clothes. Women and children collect water in buckets for household consumption. Reliable water supply is not only important to sustain life, but also helps to maintain small-scale agricultural gardens is practised by 40 per cent of backyard dwellers and squatters. Small-scale backyard gardens (i.e. growing tomatoes, carrots and lettuce) provide a source of food and income to these families.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the water sources should be to be brought closer at a 100 metres from the dwelling. At this distance, enough water can be carried to provide the greatest health benefit (Sowman & Urquhart, 1989, p.99).

There is a definite link between the provision of water and sanitation. Sanitation systems are essential for the removal of excreta and sullage (dirty water from washing and cooking). Backyard squatters in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis makes use of toilet facilities in the main house. Sanitation is not a *bona fide* problem since these low-income areas have access to water-borne sewerage systems. Toilets are thus shared between two households in multi-dwelling units.

In Crossroads residents still makes use of communal toilets is built in a straight line on the fringe of the squatter settlement. Residents in Langa complain that squatters in Jakkalsvlei added greatly to an unhealthy environment and social problems in the area. Previously Jakkalsvlei squatters had no access to toilets. Residents in Langa accused squatters of soiling the adjacent Isilimela Comprehensive School grounds (The Argus, 1994, p.10). Complaints by residents in Langa, together with the positive attitudes of local authorities towards squatters, resulted in some upgrading in the settlement. Presently, Jakkalsvlei has a communal toilet built on the periphery of the settlement. The rationale for building toilets on the fringe of settlements is that it makes sewerage collection much easier.

5.2 Electrification and energy supply

The provision of electricity is not considered a basic need, but is often required to meet requirements and sustain life (Sowman & Urquhart, 1998). Electricity supply is, however, considered important to provide proper illumination for public spaces. Electricity is cleaner, safer, more convenient and reduces fire risks. Cape Town receives electricity from the national electricity grid. In general, provision of electricity improves the quality of life of people. It increases entertainment options, and allows safer cooking and heating options. Electrification scheme of low-income houses in Bishop Lavis implemented in the 1940s.

37 per cent of backyard squatters in Bishop Lavis have access to electricity and 63 per cent make use of paraffin and candles. Firewood continues to dominate the generation of heat and cooking purposes. Backyard squatters who have access to electricity usually obtain access illegally, via cables and wires which are connected from the central power point located in the formal house to the shack in the yard. 8 per cent of the respondents share the cost of the electricity bill. Backyard squatters pay half of the electricity bill and the property owner the other half. Street illumination is common in Bishop Lavis. It helps to increase visibility at night and improves the safety of residents in the area.

Electricity supply has undergone innovations in the past few years. Service provision can be done to suit the economic needs of a specific household. The installation of pre-paid electricity metres has brought the wonder of electricity in reach of many poorer people. Property owners have installed a pre-payment metre in their homes to monitor the use of electricity consumption. Residents can purchase electricity from Eskom on a need-to-have basis. Only 8 per cent of backyard squatters in Uitsig have entered an agreement with property owners to sharing the cost of electricity supply.

92 per cent of backyard squatters in Uitsig do not have access to electricity supply and prefer to generate energy by means of paraffin, gas, candles and firewood. Backyard dwellers listed their reasons for not entering into

agreements with property owners. According to a female backyard squatter in Uitsig, “ons kan nie bekostig om elektrisiteit te koop nie, daar is skaars genoeg geld vir kos. Ons is gewoon om kerse en lampolie te gebruik” [We cannot afford to buy electricity, there is hardly enough money for food. We are used to burning candles and paraffin]. A similar view was reiterated by another backyard squatter in Uitsig, who said, “as ek elektrisiteit koop van die mense in die voorhuis, dan sal my kinders dit misbruik. Dit is ‘n luxury wat ons nie kan bekostig nie” [If I buy electricity from the people in the main house, then my children will abuse it. It is a luxury which we cannot afford]. Compared to Bishop Lavis, street illumination is absent in Uitsig. 74 per cent of Uitsig backyard squatters stated that they would like street lighting in the area, as it ensured their safety at night. The only street lights close to Uitsig are those which are installed along Francie Van Zijl street or way. The high-mast lighting is used by the industrial areas across the street.

In Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, squatters rely mainly on coal, paraffin, firewood, candles, gas and car batteries to generate heat and electricity. Ironically though, Jakkalsvlei squatters have located themselves next to electricity pylons, and many say they can hear the electricity buzzing in the pylons over their settlements. Electricity generated is mainly used for lights and low-power appliances such as radios and television. Non-electric fuels such as gas and paraffin are used for cooking and heating purposes. For many squatter residents, electricity is perceived as a luxury. According to a

squatter resident in Jakkalsvlei, “no, we do not have electricity, that is a luxury we cannot afford. It would be nice to have it, but at least we have other sources from which we can get heat”. Similar opinions were expressed by two squatter residents in Crossroads “Unfortunately we do not have electricity, we make use of candles, paraffin and gas for heat and light. It is not that bad, we grew up without such luxuries, so we don’t feel disadvantaged”.

The potential peril which candles present are unknown to squatter residents. During the winter months, many squatters light fires inside (i.e. made inside a metal container to serve as a heater) their homes for heat. Alternative methods to generating heat and energy such as firewood and gas stoves contribute greatly to an increase in health problems among squatter and backyard-dwellers. Inhalation of gases emitted by gas stoves over a considerable period often proved life-threatening.

The lack of adequate electrification in squatter settlements, implies that street illumination is non-existent too. The unplanned nature of these squatter settlements and lack of streets imply that street lighting is impossible. In Crossroads high-mast lighting has been installed. It is visually unattractive and intrusive and keeps people awake all night. In Jakkalsvlei, high-mast lighting is absent, but residents do obtain some light from electrical lights on the N2, Vanguard Drive and streets lights in Langa. Generally, respondents

from Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei feel that the provision of water and electricity to shacks is ridiculous. To them it makes no sense, since they prefer to have a proper home with proper services and facilities.

To provide people with electricity is relatively good, but at what cost and at whose expense? The Cape Town City Council devised a plan to put the Athlone power station back on line (The Argus, 1996, p.5) Plate 1. It was opposed by the residents of surrounding residential areas as they fear that pollution associated with coal-fired power stations will affect their health. Plate 1 depicts the pollution emanating from the Athlone power station. For this reason, a delegation from Langa, Pinelands and Athlone requested the help of Legal Resources Centre "to push for a public participation process, and for proper environmental monitoring in all surrounding residential areas" (The Argus, 1996, p.5). According to the Langa Development Forum, "the residents of Langa face a high incidence of tuberculosis, and feared that the power station would further compromise their health" (The Argus, 1996, p.5). Clearly, the power station could provide cheaper electricity, but it would be costly in the long run as it would affect people in adjacent areas. Contrary to the fear of residents, an electrical engineer, said that "the power station was complying with all safety requirements... I don't believe there is any danger" (The Argus, 1996, p.5).

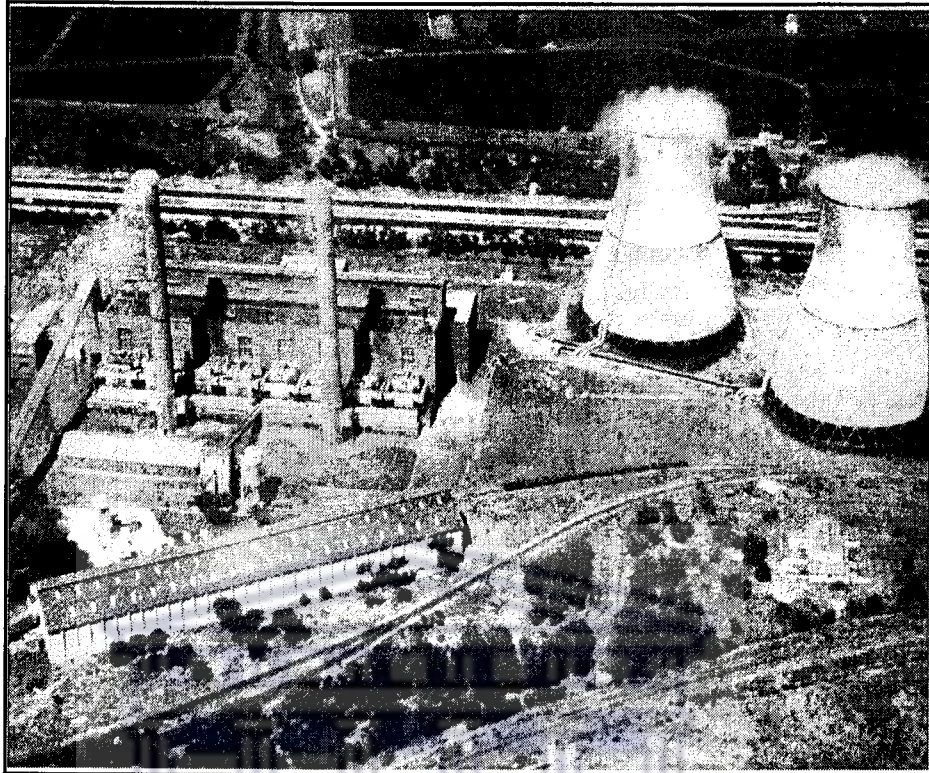


Plate 1: Athlone power station

This controversial decision to fire up Athlone power station came as a direct result of the influx of people into the Cape metropole demanding cheaper electricity. Despite the uproar from residents in the surrounding residential areas, the Athlone power station is spewing out steam to help provide people with cheaper electricity. The people in the surrounding areas feel that “in spite of the modifications done to the power station and the installation of a range of filters and sound mufflers, the noise and air pollution emanating from the plant still exceeds acceptable levels” (The Argus, 1996, p.5).

5.3 Rainwater drainage

Proper management of stormwater is important to prevent flooding and ensure ground stability. In Bishop Lavis there are sufficient drains to collect rain water. Flooding and damage to property has not been a cause for concern among backyard squatters. However, drain covers are stolen and sold by scrap metal collectors. Uncovered drains then become hazardous, particularly to children who play in the streets. In Uitsig, however, backyard squatters encounter flooding after heavy rain, especially during winter. In some cases, shacks are not flooded, but water puddles are formed, making it difficult for backyard squatters to move around their homes. According to a backyard squatter in Uitsig, "elke winter is daar water voor my deur. Ons vee dit weg en het meer sand en klippe neergegooi" [Every winter water collects in front of my door. We sweep it away and even put down more sand and stones]. Another resident expressed the concern that: "'n groot bekommernis vir my is die feit dat my kinders in die water speel. Hulle word siek en dan moet ek kliniek toe gaan en onnodig geld spandeer" [A big concern for me is that my children tend to play in these pools of water. They end up getting ill and I have to rush them to the clinic and spend money unnecessarily]. Similarly, in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei there is a lack of rainwater drainage. Puddles of water collect after heavy rains, attracting children to play in them. Squatters have learned from past experiences how to cope when their homes are flooded after a heavy downpour. 42 per cent of squatters in Crossroads have

created some diversion for rainwater by, planting vegetables which absorb some of the water. Others have channelled water away from their shacks by putting stones and bricks right around their homes. In Jakkalsvlei, the squatter settlement is slightly elevated from the road. Run-off of rainwater takes place on the sides, into the Jakkalsvlei canal, or on the side of the National Road (N2). All of the squatters that were interviewed in Jakkalsvlei, said they have not experienced any flooding as yet. However, the amount of run-off which takes place after heavy rains can lead to removal of essential top soil which could lead to soil erosion.

5.4 Refuse removal

Refuse removal is an important service to any community or informal settlement since it reduces health risks. Backyard squatters in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis do not have any problems regarding refuse removal. This is attributed to the fact that they are situated within the confines of formal legal residential areas. Refuse is collected once a week by the Tygerberg municipality. In Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, refuse in black bags is collected twice a week and refuse in bins on wheels is collected once a week by the Cape Town municipality. Squatters feel collection times should be increased too at least twice or thrice a week, since there is a large number of people living in the squatter settlement. Refuse is placed at specific points for collection. Additional refuse can be placed in a huge container centrally

located within the settlement. Some residents have started to burn their waste since refuse not collected attracts flies, mosquitoes and mice. One squatter in Crossroads, has a homemade cart which is used for collecting paper and bottles for recycling, and remarked "I collect paper and bottles and get money for it. I can buy some food and beer from the money I get. It is really a dirty job to go through other people's dirt. Their dirt keeps me alive".

Another squatter in Jakkalsvlei also collects waste paper and bottles for an extra income. "Lots of people here are doing it for money. We don't get a lot of money, but it helps. The only problem is that we fight a lot because too many people are collecting scrap".

5.5 Roads, transport services and telecommunications

Roads, transport services and telecommunications form the hallmark of any modern society. Trunk or bulk infrastructure services, are vital for day-to-day communication, summoning emergency services and finding employment. Roads are essential as they provide access to areas for the collection of refuse by the relevant local municipality.

Bishop Lavis has a combination of tarred and cement roads. These roads are very narrow and white lines are not indicated on the roads. Formal and informal transport services are accessible. The taxi industry is an important means of transport for backyard squatters. Bus services (Golden Arrow) also

service the residents of Bishop Lavis, which is relatively well-equipped with local cafes' which have public telephones. Despite these road problems, accessibility into these "coloured" townships is guaranteed. In Bishop Lavis, Lavis Drive is the main connecting road, while in Uitsig, Owen Road is the key connecting road. Very few accessible "roads" exist in Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads. Since these settlements were unplanned, it seems advisable to refer to them as footpaths rather than roads. Pathways are either sandy or layered with gravel. Pathways are self-made by those who walk the same route on daily basis. Accessibility to major connecting roads is effectively hampered and those who commute walk vast distances to a designated taxi rank or bus stop located along Vanguard Drive. Squatter residents of Jakkalsvlei often hitch a taxi ride to Vanguard Drive.

As far as transportation is concerned, the taxi industry provides an important service to informal dwellers as many do not own vehicles. Minibus taxis' provide fairly efficient services to commuters from squatter areas. Be it legal or illegal, but taxi operators in both "black" and "coloured" communities have met the transportation demands of poorer people in a major way. Studies conducted on the growth of the black taxi industry have shown how it originated in the townships and major cities throughout South Africa (Barolsky,1989, McCaul, 1990, Khosa,1992). Since the use of public transport was "legislated" by Apartheid laws, the minibus taxi became the only mode of transport for "black" and "coloured" commuters. Despite the

fact that the taxi industry became a cut-throat business within townships and a menace to other road-users, it provides an affordable means of transport to thousands of people living in informal settlements.

Backyard squatters in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis, rely mainly on taxis', but also commute by train. Residents of Uitsig, for example, can board the train at Modderdam railway station which is approximately 500 metres from Uitsig. Bishop Lavis has its own station platform. Owing to location, squatter residents in Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads, do not have access to trains. In general, most squatters who have employment are dependent on taxis' for commuting as it is cheaper and very accessible. Most taxis operate from and within squatter settlements. Some hitchhike a ride from passing trucks or motorists to their destinations. Many own bicycles as the mode of transport, while the vast majority, particularly women, walk to their respective destinations.

Both Uitsig and Bishop Lavis are fairly well-equipped with local cafes' which have public telephones. Most landlords in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis possess a private telephone which backyard shack dwellers have access to at a nominal fee of fifty cents per minute. No public telephones were found within Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads squatter settlements at the time when research was conducted. At present, public telephones have been installed in Crossroads. Squatter residents of Crossroads utilise telephones installed in

nearby cafes or petrol garages. In Jakkalsvlei, squatters and residents walk to Langa, should they require the use of a public or private telephone. Unfortunately, many public telephones are either stolen or out of order. Many telephones are vandalised and sold for scrap. In order to prevent future vandalising of public telephones, they could, for example, be installed in public places, such as schools, clinics and cafe's. Public telephones ought to be maintained at regular intervals as they are an invaluable medium of communication, particularly in case of medical emergencies and shack fires which squatter settlements are prone to. The introduction and use of pre-paid cellular phones have made modern telecommunications accessible even to squatters and backyard dwellers.

5.6 Recreational facilities

The lack of recreational facilities in designated "coloured" and "black" residential areas is part and parcel of the Apartheid legacy. The constraints of recreation and leisure facilities are highlighted in terms of spatial location and social impact on disadvantaged communities. In Bishop Lavis, sport fields are found on school premises. Sport fields are multi-functional, and used for rugby, cricket, soccer and other leisure activities. A communal swimming pool is located in Bishop Lavis where access is allowed at a nominal fee. There are at least four parks which are fairly well-maintained with planted grass in the area. A public library and community hall is located

in the centre of Bishop Lavis.

In Uitsig there is only one park with one swing, slippery slide and merry-go-round (play structures have lost their paint and luster and appear unattractive). The park does not have any grass or benches. The park is not enclosed with a fence, yet it faces the busy Francie Van Zijl street. There is no public library or community hall in the area. Residents make use of Belhar public library which is approximately a half a kilometre from Uitsig.

In Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei no recreational facilities exist. Children play soccer on any open space, especially school yards in neighbouring residential areas. Since there are no recreational facilities in these squatter settlements, children are prone to delinquency and gangsterism.

Table 5 highlights the recreational facilities desired by respondents in the four surveyed settlements. It is evident that respondents have expressed an overwhelming need for various types of recreational facilities. In Crossroads 45 per cent of the respondents wanted more sport facilities, 55 per cent in Jakkalsvlei and 27 per cent in Uitsig. The desire for a police station in Uitsig was expressed by 6 per cent of the respondents.

Table 5: Proportion of recreational facilities desired by respondents

Recreational facilities desired	Crossroads 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Jakkalsvlei 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Bishop Lavis 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Uitsig 50 Respondents ie. 25%
Cinema	0%	7%	11%	0%
Community hall	17%	0%	0%	0%
Games centre/arcade	0%	14%	21%	0%
Green open spaces	12%	0%	18%	0%
Libraries	14%	19%	0%	19%
Parks	0%	5%	0%	39%
Police station	0%	0%	0%	6%
Restaurants	0%	0%	4%	0%
Sport facilities	45%	55%	0%	27%
Swimming pool/baths	12%	0%	0%	0%
More shops/cafe's	0%	0%	0%	9%
Social clubs	0%	0%	46%	0%

Though the expressed desire (i.e. police station) is not classified as a recreational facility, it has been included in Table 5 since respondents have listed it. 27 per cent of the backyard squatters want proper sport facilities, 19 per cent a public library, 39 per cent more parks for children with better facilities, 9 per cent more shops and access to public phones and 6 per cent a police station built in the area.

Despite the fact that Bishop Lavis has few facilities, 46 per cent of backyard

squatters expressed the need for more social clubs offering a variety of activities on different days in the area; 18 per cent more green open spaces with trees and benches for picnics, 11 per cent a cinema in the area, 21 per cent a games' arcade for children and 4 per cent wanted restaurants in the area.

In Crossroads, 45 per cent of the squatters wanted the establishment of more sports facilities in the area, 12 per cent green open spaces with benches, 17 per cent a community hall where people could socialize, 14 per cent a community library, and 12 per cent a community swimming pool. In Jakkalsvlei, 55 per cent of the residents expressed the need for more sport facilities, 19 per cent a library, 14 per cent a game centre, 7 per cent wanted a cinema and 5 per cent a park for small children.

The survey revealed that 45 per cent of the respondents prefers to relax and watch television in their leisure time, 16 per cent enjoy playing sports, 10 per cent are engaged in church or religious activities, 10 per cent enjoy social entertainment with friends and relatives, 4,5 per cent enjoy walking around shopping centres, 6,5 per cent enjoy working on hobbies (reading, knitting, working on cars and cooking), and 8 per cent enjoy reading.

The lack of infrastructural facilities and services affect the urban poor in many ways. However, the needs and wants of the people have proved different

from one study area to another. Backyard dwellers and squatter residents expressed that the government should provide services to the poor at a much cheaper rate. The promises made by the ANC during their political campaign in the 1994 elections, is regarded as very important.

5.7 Service provision

It is important to note that these impoverished settlements are also frequently beyond the reach of public water services. Access to roads is limited and sand or gravel streets within informal settlements are of a poor quality. Infrastructure and services are virtually non-existent within "black" informal settlements compared to "coloured" informal settlements. This is largely attributed to the legacy of Apartheid in South Africa. This is noticeable when one examines the housing stock provided to "coloured" people, in Bonteheuwel, Bishop Lavis and Uitsig. This study had noted significant levels of discrepancies and differences between "black" and "coloured" informal settlements. Despite the fact that both population groups reside in poverty, it is imperative to note that the situation within "black" informal settlements is far worse compared to that of "coloured" informal settlements.

According to the (Sunday Times, Business Times, 1997, p.3), "the delivery of basic services to impoverished areas picked up considerable momentum but the backlog faced by most government departments is growing". The key to

the delivery of services and infrastructure is good planning. Planning by local authorities and involvement or cooperation on the part of informal dwellers is an important determining factor in urban development management. The provision of residential services such as water and electricity, stormwater drainage, sewerage, streets, refuse removal can only be delivered with accurate planning and financial backing. These services are interrelated, but also expensive. They should be carefully planned in order for residents to have a comfortable and healthy existence.

The provision of electricity and water has the potential to transform the lives of millions of people living in informal and squatter settlements on the Cape Flats. According to May, (1994, p.133) "informal settlements are generally overlooked by developers. This can be attributed to residents not being able to pay for the services which they receive". However, where service provision has occurred, it has transformed the lives of many people. For example in Uitsig, houses are built to suit the economic needs of many people. People in the area are very enthusiastic about the new houses and many backyard dwellers have eagerly placed their names onto a long waiting list.

The involvement of corporations could play a major role in service-providing programmes. Involvement can take place in two ways, namely financial support and planning. Research has shown that interaction by large corporations or public utilities has proved to be positive. For example,

“Eskom has consistently met its electrification targets and last year connected more than 300 000 homes to the grid” (Sunday Times, Business Times, 1997,p.3). Similarly, the provision of tap water to townships and rural villages has been more successful when public utilities such as the Rand Water Board in Gauteng and Umgeni Water in Kwazulu Natal have been involved (Sunday Times, Business Times, 1997). By contrast, most local authorities, charged by the Constitution for delivering the bulk of social services, are failing amid chaotic administration systems. After the election and the implementation of the RDP, “white Afrikaners like Poen Herst and Andre Bonthuys, took Eskom’s RDP target very seriously. Electricity was installed in up to 250 000 homes in 1994 and 300 000 homes in 1995. The installation cost residents only R45, 00” (Sunday Times, 1995, p.17).

Success stories like this can only occur in cases where strong local governments have been elected. Where this is the case, the provision of services is making considerable progress. These contrasting performances by public utilities and local authorities are under close scrutiny. The objective has therefore been made, namely to restructure the water and electricity supply industry. According to the Sunday Times (1995, p.17), “the government is examining proposals by the National Electricity Regulator to rationalise the existing 400 distributors of electricity (mainly municipalities) into the maximum number of financially viable regional distributors” (Sunday Times, Business Times, 1997,p.3).

The need for basic services and infrastructure is on the increase. This implies that areas with no services or facilities will need such facilities. However, areas whose facilities are dilapidated will in turn lead to upgrading as an alternative. Effective delivery of services will also depend upon community participation in collaboration with the RDP. Thus, the vision and implementation of the RDP will be a challenge to the new government. The success of the RDP in terms of delivering the infrastructural facilities and services to the people also depends on the active participation by non-government organizations (NGOs) and other stakeholders. Moreover, effective involvement of the stakeholders should take place at national, provincial and local level (RDP, 1994). The next chapter therefore examines the effect of poor housing conditions on health and health care facilities in the informal and squatter settlements in the study area.

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CHAPTER SIX

HOUSING: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS AND HEALTH

“So that our efforts do not become mere palliatives reinforcing the unjust structures that perpetuate poor health services, health should be viewed as inter-related with the problems of unemployment, high prices, inadequate housing, etc. Health care, be it in an urban or rural setting, to be liberating in action for the poor, should take into consideration the root causes of ill-health”. Jaime Galvez Tan, (1985, p.2)

Urbanisation, poor housing conditions, lack of essential services, and poverty is root cause of ill-health among the urban poor. It can be said that a positive relationship exists between ill-health and those who are ill-housed. Recent studies on housing, particularly, informal housing and squatting recognize the importance of housing and health (Phillips,1990, WHO,1988, Smith, 1991). Based on poverty alone, it is evident that the poor are often more susceptible towards disease than the affluent. Poverty, illiteracy and unemployment ultimately determine the standard living standards of the poor. In turn, low standard of living ultimately, determines health status of people. Socio-economic status and income earned bear profound relation to disease, health and health care (Van Rensburg & Mans,1982).

A key factor causing the balance between health and ill-health, is the uncontrolled influx of people and overpopulated squatter settlements within cities. During this arduous process of finding a shelter, health matters are severely ignored. Having a place to stay, supercedes all other considerations, even health and the prevention of diseases. Based on the information collected from the four surveyed settlements, it underscores the anomalous effects of urbanisation on the Cape Flats and how they impact on the physical well-being of individuals. This chapter ties up with the previous one and hence examines the poor housing conditions affecting the health of both informal and squatter residents. In effect, respondents' perceptions of health and associated problems are the issues elucidated.

6.1 Measuring health

Before discussing health within informal and squatter settlements, there is a need to understand the term health and how it is measured. The World Health Organization (WHO), defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (Gray, 1993, p.6). However, this definition is too idealistic and absolute. It creates difficulties in actually measuring the health of a country, area or individual. In applying this definition one should ask a related question: what proportion of one's life is healthy? Much criticism is levelled at this WHO definition, for example, the difficulty of defining the

term “complete well-being” (Gray, 1993, p.6). The term “complete well-being” is relative, and varies from person to person. This study confirms that “well-being” is indeed relative and also varies from one settlement to another. Health and ill-health depend largely on an individual’s outlook of life, standard of living and access to adequate housing and medical care.

6.2 Influences on health: Respondents’ viewpoints

In order to prevent disease and foster good health care, there is need to identify influences on health and how it can be gauged (Hubley, 1993). It is crucial to identify the influences that can and those which cannot be altered. Hubley (1993) identified three approaches that can be followed in order to improve health conditions.

- Firstly, it includes poverty-related problems such as unemployment, low income, limited education and an inadequate diet.
- Secondly, it relates to human-made conditions within the urban environment, such as poor housing, overcrowding, pollution and the general exposure to infectious diseases.
- Thirdly, it refers to health systems or facilities which are availed to meet the needs of the urban poor.

Wilson and Ramphele assert that the political economy of Apartheid has exacerbated both its magnitude and consequences (1989, pp. 96-97).

According to Myrdal (1988, p.14) "... income can be regarded as one of the most important factors affecting health since it often determines other factors which have an influence on health such as nutrition, housing etc."

Table: 6 Number of breadwinners in the study area

Number of Breadwinners	Uitsig 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Bishop Lavis 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Crossroads 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Jakkalsvlei 50 Respondents i.e. 25%
One Breadwinner	19%	26,5%	21%	17%
No breadwinner	4%	1%	3%	6,5%
Pensioner	0,5%	0,5%	1%	0%
Total Percentage	23,5%	28%	25%	23,5%

According to Table 6, approximately 83,5 per cent of the informal and squatter households have only one breadwinner, while 14,5 per cent have no breadwinner and only 2 per cent are pensioners. According to Table 7, 12 per cent of the respondents left school at standard five, and 69 per cent of them completed schooling at standard six; 16 per cent standard eight; and only 3 per cent completed matric. Low level of education has an impact on their income level. 41 per cent of the respondents earn between R800,00 and R1000,00 per month, while 37 per cent earn between R500,00 and R800,00; and only 22 per cent earn between R200,00 and

R500,00 a month.

Table 7: Level of education of respondents' in the study area

Level of Education	Uitsig 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Bishop Lavis 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Crossroads 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Jakkalsvlei 50 Respondents i.e. 25%
Standard Five	3%	2%	4%	3%
Standard Six	19%	26%	14%	10%
Standard Eight	4%	6%	3%	3%
Standard Ten	0,5%	1%	1%	0,5%
Total Percentage	26,5%	35%	22%	16,5%

Generally, respondents felt that their income was too low to support their households. These statistics are indicative of the deplorable socio-economic conditions in the study area. Low incomes certainly influence the diet of the people which is substantially below minimum requirements. According to Gray (1993, p.86) the average daily calorie intake per person in a low-income economy is estimated at 2407 calories, in middle-income economies it is approximately 2738 calories and in high-income economies it is approximately 3398 calories. Table 8, depicts the actual problems of poverty and how they are interrelated with environmental problems and health care systems. An inadequate diet, implies that backyard and squatter residents are more susceptible to infectious disease. Statistics on malnutrition in the surveyed settlements are relatively high, namely 33 per

cent in Crossroads, 46 per cent in Jakkalsvlei, 17 per cent in Uitsig and 4 per cent in Bishop Lavis respectively.

Table 8: Influences on health as reported by respondents

Direct problems of poverty	Environmental problems	Health care systems
Unemployment	Poor housing	Health policy
Low income	Overcrowding	Primary health care
Limited education	Inadequate water/sanitation	Traditional medicines
Inadequate diet	Pollution	Preventative services
	Climate	Clinics/day hospital
	Infectious diseases	General hospital

Observation in the study area has revealed that living standards of backyard squatters in Uitsig is much worse than Bishop Lavis. In cases where both parents are unemployed, young children (as young as 5 years old) are sent begging for food in the surrounding areas like Belhar and Ravensmead. The rationale for sending young children is that people tend to pity them and adults feel embarrassed to beg for food. Similarly, the residents in Jakkalsvlei are generally worse off than those in Crossroads. However, the economic status of respondents in Crossroads cannot be underscored.

The urban environment influences health by facilitating the spread of infectious diseases due to inefficient sanitation. Consequently, the quality of the urban environment also influences health and disease. The problems highlighted in Table 8, are all inter-linked. Make-shift shelters do not provide adequate protection from heat and cold, making shack settlements more susceptible to damp walls and floors especially in winter. Squatter settlements often lack adequate insulation which permit infiltration of dust, rain, unwanted insects and rodents (mice, rats, etc.). Overcrowding is another problem which often exacerbates illnesses among the poor. On average, 4 persons share a room in the study area. Overcrowding poses a real problem as dwellings are poorly ventilated and hence promote the spread of communicable disease by aerosol droplets, for example, influenza, tuberculosis, meningitis, all of which are associated with poor housing and overcrowding. In this study transmitted diseases through personal contact is profound, especially epidemic diseases such as measles, chicken pox and mumps. Overcrowding has an impact on the sharing of toilet facilities, be it water-borne or a pit-latrine.

• An important facet of housing conditions with far-reaching implications for the health status of dwellers is the nature and state of basic services and facilities in and outside houses. These are toilet facilities, bathrooms, kitchens, water supply, electricity, type of cooking fuel and provisions for drainage and sewerage (The Argus, 1990, p.76). Poor housing conditions

are associated with inadequate sewerage and refuse removal. Among the squatters in Crossroads only 35 per cent do not have any form of sanitation, in Jakkalsvlei only 8 per cent, while 60 per cent of informal dwellers in Uitsig have access to some form of sanitation and 74 per cent in Bishop Lavis.

According to Sinnatamby (1990, p.132), "the pit-latrine is still by far the most common sanitation system in the Third World, mainly because it is the cheapest and simplest to operate". The pit-latrine has two components; namely an excavated pit and a covering platform. The pit latrine can produce repulsive odours thus attracting flies, mosquitos and mice which could result in serious illnesses. This study has revealed that 45 per cent of the respondents make use of the pit-latrine system, while 40 per cent use outside toilets. In the case of the latter, sewerage is collected by the municipality. 15 per cent of backyard squatters have access to the water toilets of their landlords. Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, still make extensive use of the pit-latrine system together with communal toilets built on the periphery of the squatter settlements. 90 per cent of the respondents in Jakkalsvlei use the pit-latrine system. The reason for this is that homes are considered inadequate and therefore toilets and pipes do not exist to convey water to homes. Backyard squatters in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis share the outside toilets and water facilities of their landlords. This is only prevalent in Uitsig, where 84 per cent of the respondents share a toilet. In most

cases, an average of 6 to 10 persons use one toilet. The dangers of inadequate lavatories was stressed by Friedman (1989, p.131) who learned that "a negative correlation exists, between the existence of toilets and illnesses". Statistics in this study reveal that "coloured" people residing in backyard shacks have better access to some form of sanitation facilities than the "black" residents of squatter settlements.

- ✦ An important facet of housing conditions with far-reaching implications for the health status of dwellers is the nature and state of basic services and facilities in and outside houses. These are toilet facilities, bathrooms, kitchens, water supply, electricity, type of cooking fuel and provisions for drainage and sewerage (The Argus, 1990, p.76). Poor housing conditions are associated with inadequate sewerage and refuse removal. Among the squatters in Crossroads only 35 per cent do not have any form of sanitation, in Jakkalsvlei only 8 per cent, while 60 per cent of informal dwellers in Uitsig have access to some form of sanitation and 74 per cent in Bishop Lavis.

Without proper management of stormwater, to prevent flooding and ensure ground stability, related sanitation measures are practically impossible. The incidence of flooding within squatter settlements is relatively frequent during winter period due to lack of drains. Water accumulates in little pools in front of the doorsteps of many homes. According to a squatter, "we are

living for five years in Crossroads and every winter we have the same problem, because the council don't want to put drains in our areas. How are we supposed to live in these conditions"? Another respondent echoed a similar complaint: "these puddles of water are the cause of my children's illnesses because they play in them once the rain has stopped. Now we have to pay high medical bills because the municipality do not care about us". These complaints of respondents are backed up by evidence in the study area. After a storm, sun rays penetrate the water and bacterium is formed in stagnant pools. These stagnant pools of water create a stench and attract flies and mosquitoes which then transmit diseases. Another factor causing health problem according to an informal shack dweller residing in Uitsig is "the waste water from bathing, washing clothes and dishes. Many women living here just throws the dirty water out and children play in it. We must teach our women more about health care because children are closest to their mothers". Such behaviour from people in our community place children at risk to illness and disease.

Pollution is a common problem within low-income and squatter settlements. Air pollution caused by indoor fires and insufficient cooking stoves, seriously affects the health of people. Women and children are the most susceptible to respiratory illnesses. The levels of air pollution from factories located opposite Uitsig are fairly high. Factories like Willards and Cape Gate produce too much pollution. According to WHO, (1988, p.18), "city-based

power stations and industries burning coal or oil with high sulphur content often make a major contribution to air pollution". Reference can be made to the location of the Athlone power station. Pollution associated with coal-fired power stations adversely affect the health of people not only in Jakkalsvlei, but also in Langa and Athlone (Refer to Plate 1). While the power station could provide cheaper electricity, the people in Langa and Jakkalsvlei area could "pay indirectly" with their health (The Argus, 1996). The pollution levels are striking when berg wind conditions prevail and the Southeaster wind (also known as the Cape Doctor) occurs.

Climatic conditions in Cape Town impact greatly on the health status of people. Summer temperatures are relatively high and can reach up to 40° Celsius. Extreme heat impacts severely on the health of children and the elderly. 23 per cent of the respondents in the study area suffer from dehydration during hot summer months. Winter months on the Cape Flats are cold and wet. Shacks are prone to flooding and damp walls. These adverse conditions, cause common illnesses such as colds and flu's. However, a lack of proper precautionary measures, can lead to influenza, pneumonia and even death.

Backyard and squatter settlements highlight the health conditions and health risks the poor are subjected to. The lack of facilities in some areas (in Uitsig and Jakkalsvlei) places enormous pressure on other existing health-

care facilities. According to Cairncross (1990, p.14), “many case studies within specific cities have highlighted the fact that those living in poorer districts face more serious health problems than those living in richer districts”. The assertion made by Cairncross can indeed be warranted. With reference to the four surveyed settlements, health conditions vary considerably from one area to another and within socio-economic groups. This study has revealed that remarkable discrepancies exist in health conditions of squatter settlements compared to backyard settlements.

Table 9 depicts the common illnesses identified by respondents in the study area. These illnesses are generally related to poor living conditions and poverty. Diarrhoea, cholera and hepatitis are the result of contaminated water. From Table 9, it is evident that cholera is more serious in “black” squatter settlements like Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads compared to “coloured” informal settlements. Protection of water supply and the promotion of knowledge of hygienic water storage should be practised. Inadequate waste water and garbage removal are breeding grounds for mosquitos spreading malaria and other germs. Inadequate housing (size and ventilation) and overcrowding help spread diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza, measles, mumps and meningitis. Table 9 highlights the high incidence of Tuberculosis, 13 per cent in Jakkalsvlei, 11 per cent in Crossroads, 10 per cent in Uitsig and 5 per cent in Bishop Lavis. Close contact increases contamination of individuals in the household and informal

settlement. Close examination of the common diseases and illnesses in the study area suggests that poor housing conditions, lack of basic services (water and electricity), low education and poverty exacerbate health conditions of backyard and squatter residents.

Respondents identified colds and flu's, diarrhoea, malnutrition and allergies as the most common illness. About 69,5 per cent of the respondents suffer from diarrhoea, while 30,5 per cent of the casualties result from diarrhoea, and cholera 3,5 per cent particularly reside in Jakkalsvlei. The origins of these illnesses, could be attributed to use of dirty water from the Jakkalsvlei canal in conjunction with an inadequate diet and sewerage facilities. According to (The Argus, 1994, p.10), "shack dwellers do not have water except for the dirty water in the canal, and they have to travel almost a kilometre for clean water for cooking and washing". Some respondents in Jakkalsvlei reported to using polluted water from the Jakkalsvlei canal. When this survey was conducted in Jakkalsvlei, there were no communal toilets. Jakkalsvlei residents have been accused by Langa residents of soiling the adjacent Isilimela Comprehensive School grounds (The Argus, 1994). Jakkalsvlei residents also admitted to using drains for toilets. In the study area about 39 per cent of the respondents suffer from tuberculosis, of whom 8 per cent are children. This is a reflection of the poor socio-economic conditions. According to Wilson and Ramphela (1989, p.116) "tuberculosis is acknowledged by all, including the

South African health authorities to be a major health problem. It constitutes 61 per cent of all notifiable diseases”.

According to the South African National Tuberculosis Association (SANTA), “active tuberculosis rates in Elsies River, Ravensmead, Uitsig, New Crossroads, Guguletu and Nyanga are up to fifty times higher than international levels” (The Argus, 1995, p.15). These shocking figures released by SANTA show that 1012 people in every 100 000 are being treated for the disease, as compared with every 0 to 50 in 100 000 elsewhere in the world.

According to a community project manager of SANTA, “this can mainly be attributed to high unemployment in these areas giving rise to poverty, overcrowding and malnutrition” (The Argus, 1995, p.15).

Table 9: Common diseases and illnesses reported in the study area

Common disease and illnesses	Uitsig 50 Respondents i.e 25%	Bishop Lavis 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Crossroads 50 Respondents i.e. 25%	Jakkalsvlie 50 Respondents i.e. 25%
Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)	1,5%	0%	0%	0%
Allergies (Hay fever, sinuses etc.)	9%	8,5%	12,5%	13%
Anorexia	0,5%	1,5%	0%	0%
Asthma	10%	6%	5%	6%
Bacterial skin infection	2,5%	1%	3%	5,5%
Bronchitis	7,5%	6,5%	10%	13,5%
Cancer	1%	2%	3%	1%
Cholera	0,5%	0%	1%	2%
Chicken pox	6,5%	6%	7%	9%
Colds/flu	21%	19%	22%	24%
Diabetes	3%	2,5%	5%	2%
Hepatitis	2%	0%	1%	0%
High blood pressure	9%	12%	8%	4%
Low blood pressure	5%	7%	4,5%	5%
Malnutrition	14,5%	6%	13,5%	14%
Malaria	1%	0%	0%	2%
Measles	3%	2,5%	9%	2,5%
Pneumonia	3%	1%	3%	4%
Tuberculosis (TB)	10%	5%	11%	13%
Violence related injuries	9%	4,5%	2%	2%

An investigation has shown that the poor, especially infants, children and the elderly are the most vulnerable to diseases. Diseases such as tuberculosis, gastro-enteritis, respiratory disorders, malnutrition and diarrhoea are commonly associated with poor living standards. According to Glatthaar, (1991, p.5) "tuberculosis is a true example of a disease influenced by unfavourable socio-economic conditions. Poor housing, overcrowding, malnutrition, lack of hygiene, emotional and physical stress, lowered resistance are all factors that promote the development and spread of tuberculosis". De Haan (1988, p.59) validates Glatthaar's argument and expressed a similar viewpoint:

"inadequate housing and overcrowding are associated with: (a) an increase in the incidence of communicable diseases such as tuberculosis which are transmitted by droplets, (b) infections of the gastro-intestinal tract, because sanitation is lacking or inadequate, (c) poor water supply and (d) increased frequency of home accidents due to lack of separate facilities for cooking, sleeping and also because the building is often in a state of despair..." (1988, p.59).

These conditions are a reflection of the South African reality, namely the plight of the urban poor. The identification of common diseases and illnesses has also prompted an investigation for medical attention sought by respondents. Health services in Cape Town are provided by both the public and private sectors. The underlying difference is that the private sector provides curative services only, whereas the public sector provides both preventative and curative services (Myrdal et al, 1988). The private sector consists of, private practitioners, private hospitals and welfare

organizations, many of which are state aided. The public sector consists of curative and preventative services, provincial hospitals and day hospitals. Responsibility for health services in the public sector is shared between the local authorities, provincial administrations and the Department of Health. Table 10, highlights the importance of the public sector. 80 per cent of the respondents in the study area rely on provincial and day hospitals for medical care. This is attributed to two reasons, accessibility and affordability. Only 13 per cent of the respondents belongs to a medical aid or health scheme. This implies, that people cannot afford to seek expensive medical attention. About shows that 53 per cent of the respondents make use of a day hospital while 27 per cent make use of a clinic. Provincial services such as day hospitals and clinics ensure that medical services are more affordable and accessible to low income earners and to the unemployed. Unfortunately, these facilities are extremely overcrowded and patients have to queue in waiting rooms and hospital pharmacies. Patients wake up early in the morning in order to seek medical attention and medication. According to Myrdal et al, (1983, p.58) "long queues in the Outpatients departments at the pharmacies has always been a serious problem".

Table 10: Medical advice sought by respondents

Medical advice sought by	Percentages
Private Doctor	6,5%
Day Hospital	53%
Clinic	27%
Pharmacist	0,5%
Traditional Healer	7%
Friend	1,5%
Home Remedies	4,5%

Provincial health facilities are easily accessible to the respondents in Uitsig, Bishop Lavis, Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei. Backyard squatters in Uitsig seek medical attention from Tygerberg Hospital, or the Day Hospital in Bishop Lavis. In 1999 the Prime Cure Clinic, situated close to Tygerberg Hospital, was opened to cater for people not belonging to a health or medical aid scheme. Patients visiting the Prime Cure Clinic pay R60,00. This fee includes consultation, treatment and medicines. This fee is considerably less than a private doctor. The Prime Cure Clinic offers an array of community medicine which includes pre-and post natal care, advice on family planning, dentistry, optometry and basic day-to-day medical care. Uitsig squatters make use of taxi's when in need of medical attention. Backyard squatters in Bishop Lavis are fortunate to have a day hospital located in their area, thereby reducing travelling cost and time. A clinic and day hospital are situated in Langa, which are accessible to Jakkalsvlei

squatters as well. In 1999 a clinic was built in Vanguard Estate, is situated opposite Jakkalsvlei. The clinic is near completion and will serve the greater Langa and Bonteheuwel areas. For the time being Jakkalsvlei squatters are compelled to use health facilities in Langa, since the Vanguard Estate Clinic is not operational. The lack of clinics in Uitsig and Jakkalsvlei has negative repercussions on the health facilities in surrounding areas. This puts pressure on medical services in adjacent areas, with a large threshold population. Crossroads has two clinics, one is situated in Crossroads One and the other in Crossroads Two. Crossroads One has a day hospital which is always busy and extremely overcrowded. The following services are available free of charge at the clinic in Crossroads One:

- Baby Clinic
- Tuberculosis Clinic
- HIV and Aids Clinic
- Sexually Transmitted Disease (STD) Clinic
- Family Planning Clinic

Overcrowding is exacerbated due to free medical services which is given to pregnant mothers and children under the age of six. This suggests that people have to wake up early in the morning in order to walk and seek medical assistance.

Health care in South Africa is characterized by a sharp contrast in the parallel existence of traditional and modern healers. According to Van

Rensburg & Mans, (1982, p.179), "on the one hand, modern Western medicine permeates the entire social structure and serves all population groups; on the other hand, traditional or tribal medicine is still well established and is relatively popular among the Black population". Hence, traditional healers and Western doctors co-exist within the field of health care. Irrespective of the small percentage of people seeking medical advice from traditional healers (i.e. 7 per cent), it highlights the importance of tribal medicine in the study. Interestingly though, all of the 7 per cent who visited traditional healers were males. According to a Jakkalsvlei respondent, "traditional healers have been blessed with the gift to heal, they do not have to study to heal people. The muti they make is not as expensive as the white-man's medicine". Another respondent in Crossroads said: "in Transkei, we only make use of traditional healers, that is what we were taught. Traditional healers are religious therefore God works through them to cure the sick". It is evident that these respondents attach immense faith and value to their cultural customs and traditional medicines.

Since coming into power, in 1994, the ANC introduced the RDP to meet the needs of the disadvantaged South Africans. Free and cheap medical services are available for large numbers of pregnant women and children under the age of six years, as well as for the homeless (RDP, 1994, p.46). Consequently the gist of the RDP, in terms of health asserts that, "the mental, physical and social health of South Africans has been severely

damaged by apartheid policies and their consequences” (ANC, 1994, p.42). This statement implies that health care and social services have been neglected for far too long. Furthermore, it is estimated that South Africa spends approximately five hundred and fifty rands per capita per annum on health care. This is nearly ten times more than what the World Bank estimates it should cost to provide basic health services and clinical care. However, millions of people do not have access to such services. From the findings, it can be concluded that health services are ineffective, poorly administered and resources blatantly mismanaged (ANC, 1994, p.43).

6.3 Primary health care and the poor

The health problems of the poor have been outlined above and poverty is identified as its root cause. Poverty is associated with a lack of food, of finance, education, poor sanitation and inadequate housing - all of which are major causes of ill-health. In spite of the well-known concentration of health resources and the relative proximity of hospitals and other medical facilities in Cape Town and within many residential areas, for those who live in informal and squatter settlements, the standard of health services falls far below required minimum levels. This is also due to the vast number of people (pregnant women and children) who can now receive free medical treatment. The underlying problem concerning health care is that too much emphasis is placed on curative services rather than preventative services.

With this in mind, a related question could be posed: What can be done? The focus should be placed on Primary Health Care (PHC). According to Harpham et al, (1988, p.61), "PHC represented a qualitative jump in relation to the old concept of basic health services. Its concepts convey a philosophical message which emphasises equity and justice in matters related to health". With the emphasis on preventative rather than curative medicine the implication is that health centres will not be severely overloaded as they are at present. This implies that the underlying causes of ill-health are unlikely to be tackled (Harpham et al, 1988). This approach also shifts the focus to help actions within communities requiring these medical services. PHC services could prevent many unnecessary deaths and alleviate much human suffering.

According to the Department of National Health and Population Development (1995, p.4), by definition "PHC services include important elements which were accepted internationally at the Alma Ata conference in 1978. These include health education in respect of prevailing health problems, and methods of controlling and preventing such problems; the promotion of proper nutrition; immunisation against the major infectious diseases; maternal and child care services, including family planning ...". Finally, PHC emphasises action at primary level, the level of contact between people and the health system. If health-promotion measures are implemented, they should emphasize community responsibility and self-

help. More importantly, the community should be educated in order to understand the nature of the disease and measures of prevention. Community projects could also encourage the establishment of care-groups to promote personal hygiene, immunization, proper usage of pit-latrines and refuse pits. Such initiatives could the feeling of hopelessness and guarantee that real needs are met.

Socio-economic conditions have a definite influence on health risks and ill-health. Public health facilities are accessible in the study area. However, despite the geographic accessibility of certain health facilities, overcrowding, doctor-patient ratios, expenditure and the nature of services offered remain a problem. The government has accepted that it is only through primary health care that an affordable health service can be rendered to all the inhabitants of South Africa. In order to overcome these problems, local authorities together with provincial administrators and the Department of Health need to recognize the health needs of all those within their specific areas. The role of NGO's is also very important. However, without active community participation, no primary health care service can be successful.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INFORMAL HOUSING AND THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

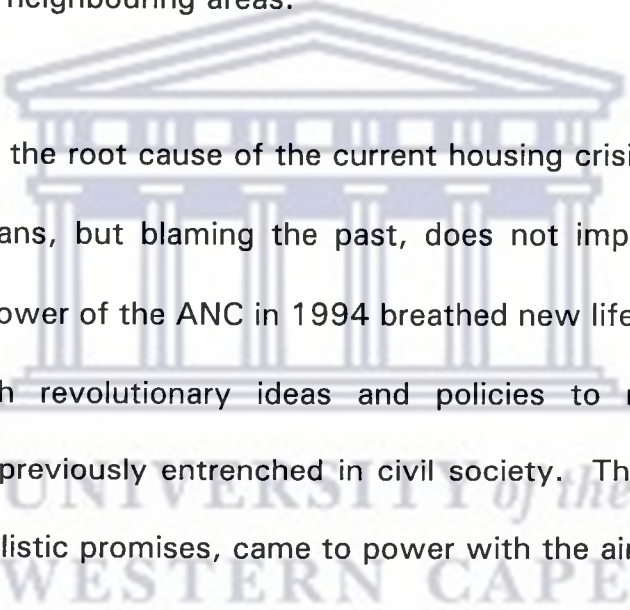
“Let him not, whom not is homeless, pull down the house of another man, but let him work diligently and build one for himself. Property is the fruit of labour, property is desirable, it is the positive good in the world”

Abraham Lincoln

Although the RDP document emphasizes the economic reconstruction and social upliftment of the entire nation, particularly the disadvantaged, the clause dealing with “right to housing” is of great significance to this study. It states that, “the RDP endorses the principle that all South Africans have a right to a secure place in which to live in peace and dignity. Housing is a human right. One of the RDP’s first priorities is to provide for the homeless” (RDP, 1994, p.23) [my emphasis].

Each country has its own reasons for actively pursuing an effective housing policy. There is obviously universal justification for government involvement in the housing sector. In South Africa, past legislation resulted in a housing “crisis”. Those mostly affected by this backlog were “blacks”, “coloureds” and “Indians”. The existing land and housing crisis in South Africa has its roots deeply embedded in the Apartheid past. Mandatory

urban segregation was enforced by law as early as the twentieth century. Geographical segregation was an obvious solution for Apartheid legislators. “Blacks” and “coloureds” were given low-cost dwellings in unsafe and environmentally-unfriendly areas. “Black” townships were developed without proper planning. Authorities and town planners ignored the future population growth within townships. This resulted in the expansion of squatter settlements, followed by overcrowding of facilities and transport networks in neighbouring areas.



Apartheid is the root cause of the current housing crisis facing millions of South Africans, but blaming the past, does not improve society. The coming to power of the ANC in 1994 breathed new life into South African politics with revolutionary ideas and policies to redress the social imbalances previously entrenched in civil society. The new government with its idealistic promises, came to power with the aim of redressing the socio-economic crisis prevalent among many disadvantaged South Africans. The utopia upon which the ANC based their national victory stems from the policy framework known as the RDP which aimed to improve the social and economic conditions in South Africa. A plan was needed and the RDP formed an important starting point to ameliorate the injustices of the past.

The Housing Act, 1997 (Act 107 of 1997), introduced a new housing dispensation for South Africa. It focusses on the implementation of an

imperative in the Constitution of South Africa that everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. According to the Department of Housing, the principles of the Housing Act can be classified into:

- relating to the interests of those, who cannot independently provide for their housing needs
- aimed at promoting integrated housing development which is economically, fiscally and financially affordable and sustainable
- guiding the effective functioning of the housing market
- relating to human rights (South Africa Year Book, 1999, p.370)

Good progress has been made with the implementation of the Housing Act. However, it is important to revisit the concept of “incremental housing”, a deft phrase adopted by Cobbett in 1994 to justify breaking RDP promises of “Affordable Housing for All” (quoted in Bond, 1997).

7.1 Incremental housing

The issue of incremental housing has remained a focal point in the South African debate. The issue is centred around how policy and strategies of implementation should best be organized in the national initiative to attain “housing for all” (Napier, 1997). Incremental housing, upgrading and consolidation of informal settlements refer to

“the provision of infrastructure and services such as roads, water and sanitation, and, also, in principle, improvements in dwellings on sites

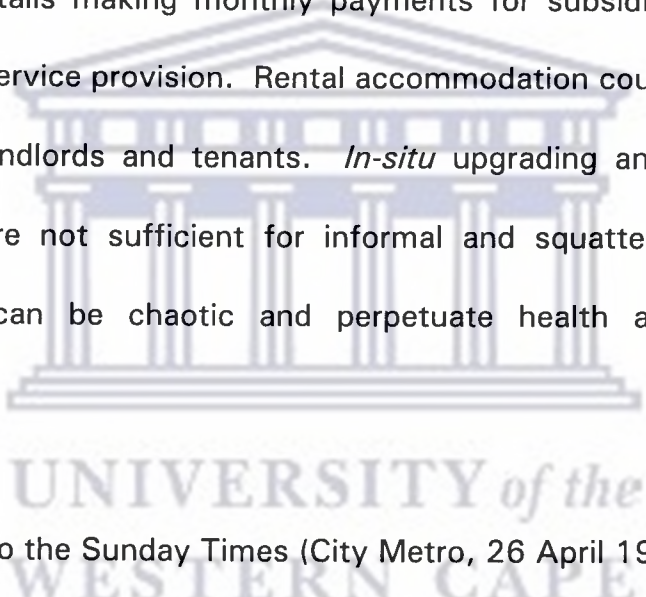
that have already been settled... [or] the provision of infrastructure and services to [unoccupied, greenfield] sites... The basic idea in developing incremental housing is that additions and improvements to this top structure can be made gradually over time as the household gains the means to do so" (Bond, 1997, p.90).

According to the National Business Initiative (NBI), informal settlements should be seen as part of an overall solution to the housing crisis rather than as such a large part of the problem (Bond, 1997). NBI researchers argue that there is no alternative and conventional housing cannot be provided for the poor immediately. However, upgrading of informal and squatter settlements can lead to major health and environmental problems. Poor housing and sanitation perpetuates health and environmental problems. Yet, the introduction of large-scale incremental housing schemes is in direct contradiction with the RDP, which specifies "housing standards" which must be adhered to (i.e. "as a minimum, all housing must provide protection from weather, a durable structure, and reasonable living space and privacy"). The ANC's promise "houses for all" was considered viable at the time of the election. Incremental housing was not regarded as humane. Therefore, the ANC embarked upon a mass housing programme, aimed to build one million houses (not incremental) within five years.

7.2 Housing

The promise "houses for all" did not materialize within the specified five-

year period. Considering the large proportion of low-income and disadvantaged communities in South Africa, it is imperative to evaluate and combine a number of housing policies (i.e. mass housing, incremental housing, rental accommodation, *in-situ* upgrading and site-and-service schemes). All these options are not without their problems. The onus should be on informal and squatter residents to decide for themselves the option that best suits them in terms of costs and benefits. Naturally, mass housing entails making monthly payments for subsidies and paying for municipal service provision. Rental accommodation could result in discord between landlords and tenants. *In-situ* upgrading and site-and service schemes are not sufficient for informal and squatter dwellers. Such initiatives can be chaotic and perpetuate health and environmental problems.



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According to the Sunday Times (City Metro, 26 April 1998, p.7), "...since the democratically elected government came to power, shelter has been provided for 2,2 million homeless people. Through the Mortgage Indemnity Fund (a government plan to encourage banks to lend money to poor home buyers), the government has facilitated more than 133 000 loans worth R3,9-billion to those who qualified for government subsidies. These people would otherwise not have been able to buy houses". 'The low-cost housing arena is fraught with problems which hampers the delivery process. For example, the reluctance of financial institutions to lend to the low-income

sector, finding land for development purposes, high building costs, a lack of capacity in some provinces to provide housing and a subsidy market which is plagued by corruption.

7.3 Fulfilment of promises

According to statistics and interviews conducted in the study area, the respondents eagerly await the fulfilment and implementation of the ANC's slogan "houses for all" as advocated during the 1994 election campaign. Many do not have the means to acquire a home of their own, but this serious promise was not taken light-heartedly. One Crossroads interviewee showed me his souvenir placard highlighting this promise. For him, the slogan is one which is to be treasured.

In spite of governmental input and other success stories, some people were not swayed in believing the promises made by the ANC. Subsequently, many people have lost faith in the promise made by the ANC government. According to a backyard squatter in Uitsig, "they keep on saying that the housing delivery process cannot happen overnight. When will it happen then?" Many informal residents felt that the ANC government mobilised squatters to rally support before the national election. In spite of non-delivery, pro-ANC respondents still embrace the ANC. According to a Jakkalsvlei squatter, "at least this government (ANC) is allowing us to live

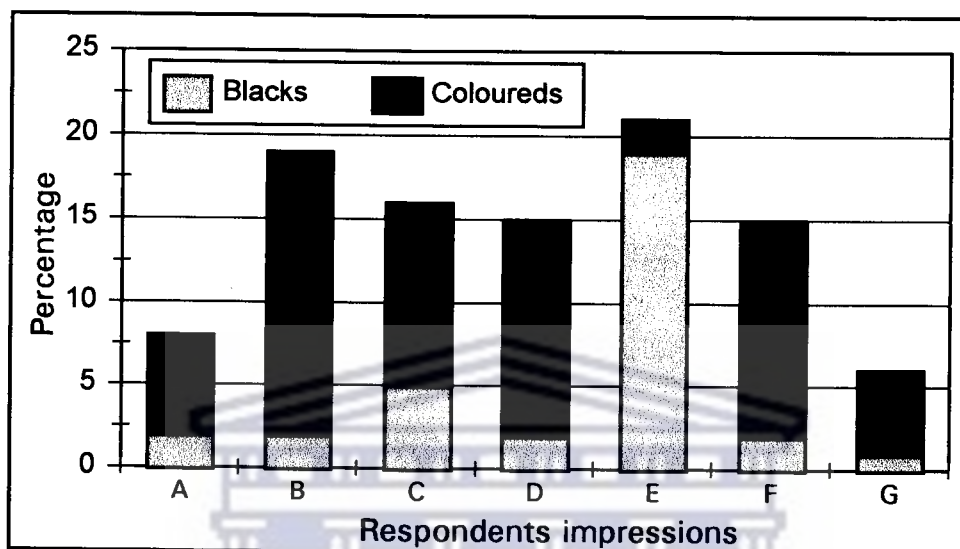
in our shacks. Unlike the Apartheid government, the bulldozer was seen as the only solution to the squatting problem. People should be more patient, if we don't get houses today, at least our children or grandchildren will one day have that opportunity.”

The rationale for acquiring a house under the present government is based on numerous arguments. Figure 6, highlights the sentiments of respondents to the slogan “houses for all” as used during the 1994 elections. It is evident that “black” respondents have more faith in the ANC’s promises compared with “coloured” respondents. 17 per cent of the “coloured” respondents see the ANC as serving the needs of the “black” population group only. Ironically, only 2 per cent of the “black” respondents believe that the government is willing to help “black” people only.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized building with columns and a pediment.

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Figure 6: Respondents impressions of the ANC's political slogans



Key to symbols

A	Only a political slogan
B	Policy aimed at "blacks" only
C	Ploy to win votes
D	Impossible promises
E	Good policy, but need time to happen
F	Nothing but lies
G	Not politically minded

According to a squatter resident in Crossroads, "the policy of the ANC is to help all South Africans, no matter what colour people are. The struggle was won and we will get what is rightfully ours, we have to be patient". Contrary to the belief of the squatter in Crossroads, a backyard squatter in

Uitsig said: “die ANC het ons ‘kleurlinge’ gebruik om die election te wen. Toe die wit goeverment regeer het, was ‘kleurlinge’ onderdruk, niks het verander nie” [the ANC used ‘coloured’ people in order to win the election. When the ‘white’ government was in power, ‘coloured’ people were also oppressed, nothing has changed]. This thought is generally perceived by 11 per cent of “coloured” respondents.

Some respondents are realistic concerning the promises on housing ‘delivery’ made during the 1994 elections. 13 per cent of the “coloured” respondents regard this as an impossible promise and only 2 per cent see it as a good policy which can materialise over time. Once again, “coloured” respondents have little faith in the ANC. 19 per cent of the squatter respondents in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei have faith in the promises and regard it as a good policy which needs time to materialize.

The RDP Policy Document of the Western Cape refers to housing as one of the most important basic needs. It also endorses the principle that “all South Africans have a right to a secure place where they may live in peace and dignity” (RDP, 1994, p.7). This objective outlined by the RDP policy document can be regarded as a utopia. The fast growing population, together with high unemployment rates and the increase in the cost of living make it unrealistic to house all the people in South Africa. This study has shown that respondents are not optimistic about the prospect of securing

a home of their own at the time when interviews were conducted. It has revealed that 65 per cent of respondents do not envisage moving into a formal house, 21 per cent have faith that the government would build houses for them while 14 per cent are unsure. 48 per cent of the respondents who are not optimistic about obtaining a formal house are "coloured" backyard-dwellers residing in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis. The remaining 17 per cent are squatter residents in Jakkalsvlei and Crossroads. Only 9 per cent (from the total of 21 per cent) are positive that they will secure a house, are "coloured" people, while 12 per cent are "blacks". Of the remaining 14 per cent, 8 per cent are unclear were "coloureds" and 6 per cent are "blacks".

Consequently, as a result of the promises made by the ANC before and during their election campaign, a new catchword emerged, namely "delivery". The question to ask at this stage is: how willing is the government to deliver on their promise of "houses for all"? And what has been done in these areas since the 1994 elections? Are the above-mentioned promises empty promises? Evidently the five-year plan as set out by the ANC was too short to achieve all the promises made, specifically to those who have been disadvantaged. At a recent international conference on housing and development held in Cape Town, the French Deputy Housing Minister, Evelyne Ratte was sceptical about the ANC's plans for "delivery". Speaking in personal capacity, said the

"government's plan's to build one million houses in its first five years in office cannot be realised. No government has the resources to finance housing on such a grand scale. Housing is a very sensitive and emotive issue and there is a lot at stake. People should realise that a housing policy is an economic policy and will take time to implement. It has taken France more than two centuries to house its people. France, like South Africa, needs to build more houses...the housing situation deteriorated as private investors were discouraged from entering the market" (The Argus, 10 March, 1995).

Housing is considered to be a vital part of the five-year plan of the ANC.

The Cape Town City Council needs a comprehensive and integrated five-year plan for reconstruction and development, and the housing committee has an important role to play. According to municipal staff members, "part of the recommendation to the full committee was that the city planner, city treasurer and city administrator ensure that the groundwork was laid for a housing component in the council's five-year plan" (The Argus, 8 June, 1995).

Other aspects of the recommendations of the housing committee accepted included: "research into the need for housing in the council's jurisdiction; identifying council-owned land and determining what parcels could be set aside for low-cost housing; researching various options for providing affordable housing; developing a set of policies to address all aspects of housing, including the council's role in housing, allocation policy, encouraging a culture of payment, location of housing, and arrears and eviction; and ensuring that the setting up of a single development forum for

the whole municipal area is a priority" (The Argus, 8 June, 1995). All of the above-mentioned policies are crucial to the success of the five-year housing plan. However, one very significant recommendation has not been highlighted. Namely, the upgrading of informal settlements and the development of site-and service-programmes. *In-situ* upgrading can be regarded as one of the primary strategies of improving the lifestyles of many poor people in and around the Cape Flats. It would be very idealistic to provide all people with adequate homes.

The first step is to implement a policy to upgrade existing shacks into more "formal" homes, provide shack settlements with basic services and infrastructure, and more importantly to improve transport routes to the settlements. Theoretically speaking, it is indeed easy to say "houses for all" but practically it is an utopia which cannot materialize in the near future, because of the large housing demand and backlog.

This, however, does not mean that no "formal" houses should be built at all. Houses should be built for those who can afford payment for services provided. Where people live in shacks or informal settlements and are unemployed, it is obvious that no payment can be made for services provided. In such a situation, *in-situ* and site-and service-schemes would be the alternatives. As mentioned in the recommendation of the five-year housing plan, a culture of payment should be developed among people.

Thus, if people cannot afford to live in a formal home, the best solution would be to upgrade or formalise their existing shacks from corrugated iron shacks to brick and mortar houses or adding on to existing houses. Community participation is also imperative as people know what they “need” and what they “want”. Informal builders can be used to help “develop” informal settlements and building contractors from the formal sector could be incorporated to develop the building skills of informal builders.

Another important aspect to be considered when making homes accessible to the poor is the concept of self-help housing. This entails that building materials should revolve around the saving accruing to the builder. According to a regional representative of Building Materials Suppliers (Cape), “almost 80 per cent of the people needing houses earn less than R800,00 a month and these were the ones who qualify for the maximum subsidy of R15 000” (The Argus, 25 May, 1995). A major problem facing people who wished to own their homes, in spite of the housing subsidy available to them, is the problem of finding bridging finance. Another problem at this level is that the amount left over after land costs are deducted is at best R7 000 which is not enough for a conventional house.

There are many families which do not have homes and hence need assistance from government, developers and employers to obtaining houses

or homes. The best solution instituted by the government is housing subsidies to help people achieve the goal of owning . The housing subsidy scheme announced in March 1994 is available to people with household incomes under R3 500. It is project-linked, which means prospective homeowners must buy a house or unit within a development. The most important criterion for such a development is an agreement among all the stakeholders involved.

Table 11: Subsidy according to monthly household income

Monthly household income	Subsidy available
R800	R 5 000
R801 - R1 500	R 9 500
R1501 - R2 500	R12 500
R2 501 - R3 500	R15 000

(Adapted from The Argus, 25 May, 1995).

Table 11 shows that the maximum subsidy of R5 000 is available to families earning less than R800,00 per month. Families earning above R801,00 to R1 500 qualify for R9 500; those with an income of between R1 501 and R2 500 are eligible for R12 500 and those with an income ranging between R2 501 and R3 500 qualify for R15 000. However, this subsidy is only available to first time owners of residential property (The Argus, 25 May, 1995). Past beneficiaries of subsidy schemes in respect

of site-and-service projects will be eligible to a supplementary amount under certain conditions (The Argus, 25 May, 1995). From the statistics in Table 8 it is evident that the majority of backyard and squatter residents in the study area will not qualify for a subsidy. Since 41 per cent of the respondents earn between R800,00 and R1000,00 a month, it means they qualify for a subsidy of R9 500. 37 per cent earn between R500,00 and R800,00 a month allowing a few (those earning R800,00) to qualify for a subsidy. The remaining 22 per cent who earn between R200,00 and R500,00 a month will not qualify for a subsidy at all. Even though subsidies are available, it is not always certain that the poor will be able to make monthly repayments on their subsidy. If one repayment is skipped, it is highly unlikely that a double installment will be made the following month.

It is imperative to consider the current housing backlog and to also project future growths in the homeless population who will also be homeless. According to Spier (1989, p.6), "the present backlog of 800 000 housing units needs to meet future requirements of a growing urbanising population, and some 130 000 units would have to be built annually between 1990 and 2010". Many of these houses would, however, be informal and substandard.

Assessing and forecasting the housing needs and demands is normally done

by developers and builders. Realistically speaking, this approach is not viable in the Cape Flats as builders are either squatters themselves or informal contractors. What then is needed to alleviate this burgeoning number of houses to be built is the upgrading of informal houses. In this way the community can be actively involved in the community “upliftment” programmes.

‘ An important component of the housing policy process is the monitoring evaluation and implementation. The monitoring process refers to the ongoing assessment of the housing situation and programmes. On the other hand, housing policy and programme evaluation refers to the periodic in-depth assessment of the effectiveness of specific housing programmes or housing policy instruments. The evaluation of such programmes takes place every three to five years. It therefore implies that the present government faces a formidable task to provide houses to such a large number of homeless people.

Despite the general pessimistic outlook among “coloureds” in acquiring homes, the dream for some has materialised. In Uitsig, for example, some squatter families have become home-owners for the first time through a R3 million project. By March 1995, at least ten families have moved into starter houses on a site in Uitsig Avenue and more are to follow. According to the chairperson of the Uitsig Community Trust,

"187 homeless families would own homes soon. The project was made possible by funds supplied six years ago by the former House of Representatives for housing in the area. The funds were passed on to the Regional Services Council which made them available to the community". A community activist, formed a trust and negotiated with Utility Homes for help". (The Argus, 23 March, 1995, p.17). Refer to appendix A.

One of the first couples to move into their new starter homes, said "we were on the Regional Services Council's waiting list for nine years." An overjoyed first time property owner said: "at least now our children will be reared in a home and not in a shack." (Sunday Times Cape Metro, 26 March 1995, p.3). Another excited home-owner said: "you can't just imagine how I feel, I can't even work properly due to the excitement. All I can say to other people is save, save, save, your dream to move into a real house can materialise with hard work. If you wait for the government to give you everything on a platter, your dream will never come true". Houses were sold for R23 500 each and are secured with a deposit of R300,00.

The dream of owning a formal or standard home can indeed be achieved. However, financial investment is required from financial institutions and outside investors. Although only R300,00 is needed as a deposit, to unemployed people it is indeed a small fortune and often difficult to accrue. The housing crisis essentially remains a two-fold problem. To secure a home is merely the tip of the ice-berg. Repayments of housing loans, general home maintenance, and payment for services such as water and electricity

remains a matter of concern. It is senseless providing or making formal houses accessible to the poor, if they cannot afford basic services and maintenance attached to owning a home. The cycle of poverty will resume as many would lose their homes and revert to informal housing in the form of conventional squatting or backyard-squatting. Alternatively, it could work, if the state is prepared to maintain such housing schemes. This is possible, but extremely expensive.

The Department of Housing recognises the need for incremental housing and the upgrading and consolidation of informal settlements. Nowadays, the focus has shifted from the slogan "houses for all" to "shack refinement". In hindsight, it can be argued that advocates of the RDP and housing policy-makers realise that they were indeed too optimistic and the five-year plan was too short to accomplish what they initially set out to do. Bond (1997) highlights another weakness of the RDP policy makers, namely that they failed to expand upon existing late-apartheid programmes and tried to start their own programmes which were not very successful.

According to the National Business Initiative (NBI), "the incremental approach is being widely supported by those who have benefited from it so far.... allegations that conventional housing solutions are beyond the means of the state" (Bond, 1997, p.91). The NBI therefore proposes that informal settlements should be seen as part of an overall solution to the housing

crisis rather than as such a large part of the problem (Bond, 1997). This is certainly a justifiable solution to the existing housing crisis.

- Firstly, the housing backlog is too enormous and cannot be remedied within the near future.
- Secondly, the economy of South Africa is fluctuating between stability and instability as determined by foreign investments, volatile markets and world trends. Unemployment rates are escalating all the time.
- Thirdly, even if people are provided homes, they would not be in a position to maintain the homes.

Thus, to speak of achievements of the RDP at this stage seems somewhat ludicrous. However six years later, an assessment of some kind at national, but more so at local level is needed. At this stage the achievements of the RDP are very limited. Progress regarding delivering is extremely slow. This can be attributed to a variety of reasons, namely, "information on subsidies has been slow to reach communities, and it has taken time for people to understand how the subsidy system works" (Sunday Times City Metro, 26 April 1998, p.7). Another problem is the language barrier. The Department of Housing has now compiled an information leaflet in a simple format that has been translated into various languages (Sunday Times City Metro, 26 April 1998). Both national and local housing departments are lagging far behind the set plan of building one

million houses within five years.

Compared to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry achieving this goal by May 1997, the Department of Housing still has a long way to go. Although it remains optimistic about achieving this goal, it seems politicians and other role players concerned with housing at local level are losing touch with the people. At grassroots level the situation is very different. People who voted for the ANC feel betrayed, seriously questioning their motives of the election campaign heralding the slogan - "houses for all". At this stage, it all seems a typical political talk in order to secure votes. The "houses for all" scenario remains an unlikely utopia.

In order to meet the housing demand, it is crucial to realise that houses which are built, should suit the needs of the people which are important in shaping of The National Housing Policy. Manong (1994) observed the Hungarian experience and tried to draw a comparison with the South African experience. According to Manong, (1994, p.1), "after the second world war, the first task of the government was to build houses for the people. Urban planning was the first exercise towards this goal. The building of new residential areas was accompanied with the simultaneous provision of transport into these areas. This necessitated close coordination and joint planning between the Departments of Housing and Transport." The goal of the state was to build millions of affordable houses.

As most people could not afford to build their own houses, the state built rental accommodation. For Manong (1994), “the rationale for building affordable rental accommodation is the avoidance and prevention of the mushrooming of shanty towns and in tin cities”. With reference to South Africa, the objective of the present housing policy is aimed at encouraging home-ownership for the low-income and disadvantaged communities. Manong (1994) is of the opinion that “hard as we may try to implement this policy of home-ownership, the chances of its success are far less than that’s of its failure. Experience has shown that low-income groups do not have the capacity of building proper houses of their own even if they are partly assisted by the state. In most cases the end product resembles nothing more than a glorified shack”. The above-mentioned reasoning is indeed valid. Inflation and high rates of unemployment in South Africa today, make it virtually impossible for the unemployed or low-income population to acquire “standard affordable homes”. The Rental Housing Bill was introduced in Parliament in January 1999 aimed at promoting access to rental housing for historically disadvantaged people, by regulating housing rental matters only in areas where severe breakdowns in landlord or tenant relations have occurred (South Africa Year Book, 1999, p.371).

The fundamental question to ask is: What lessons can be learnt from the Hungarian experience? In order to improve the pace of delivery of houses and the quality of life of informal and squatter dwellers, Manong (1994)

suggests some crucial aspects:

- Firstly, reintroduce the policy of rental accommodation for the low-income groups, and it has been argued that “this will drastically improve the quality of houses to be built and also the pace of delivery as the present cumbersome method of going through the banks and other parties would be unnecessary”.
- Secondly, people ought to be encouraged to stay in affordable rental homes which are accompanied by transportation networks.
- Thirdly, that a state lottery be introduced to fund public spending. In March 2000 South Africa introduced a state lottery which promised to give money to various organizations. Hopefully, a proportion of this money accrued from the state lottery would be used to uplift disadvantaged communities.

A major shortcoming of Manong’s (1994) ideas is implementing the Hungarian experience in South Africa. However, it should be recognized that the South African situation is unique. Racist policies of the past have left the majority of South Africans poor, homeless and landless. These factors had ramifications, namely the culture of non-payment which began as a boycott against the Apartheid government and has continued for a variety of reasons, including protest against non-delivery of services (Sowman & Urquhart, 1998). The introduction of rental homes in South Africa can become unnecessary burden on the state, especially if the culture

of non-payment for services provided. The rental housing option could be construed as the fulfilment of the “houses for all” promise. Thus, the acceptance of informal and squatter settlements as part of the residential fabric of South African cities is vital (Urban Foundation, 1991). Upgrading of settlements is imperative and can be implemented through *in-situ* upgrading or site-and service schemes. These upgrading schemes should be carefully planned together with active community participation.

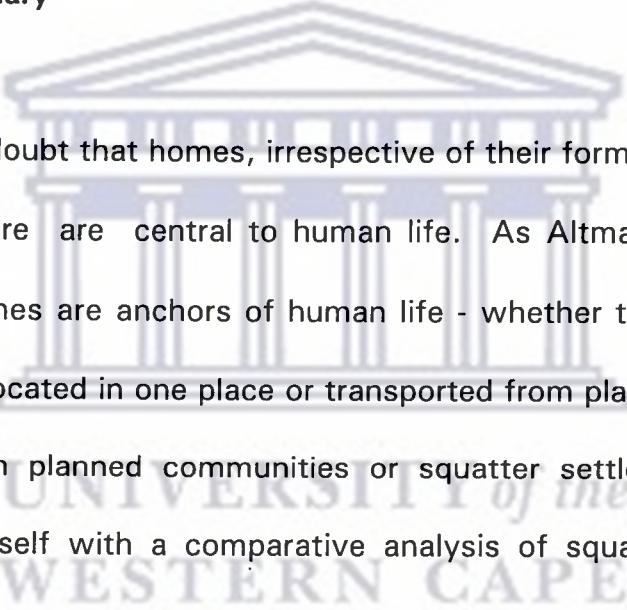
Theoretically these ideas sound good, but practically they are too impossible to implement. What is needed is to encourage people to pay for rent and services provided or rendered. The Xhosa word *Masakhane* which means “let us build each other” should form the basis of future endeavours. *Masakhane* therefore creates a positive relationship between the local people and government authorities, and encourages the payment for services rendered thus removing the causes for non-payment (Sowman & Urquhart, 1998). What is needed is to boost the morale of informal and squatter residents, through gradual improvements in living conditions, by creating the potential of a more habitable environment.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HOUSING THE UNHOUSED AND SHELTERING THE UNSHELTERED: HOUSING IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary



There is no doubt that homes, irrespective of their form, shape, size, location and structure are central to human life. As Altman (1993, p.xix) has written “homes are anchors of human life - whether they are permanent or temporary; located in one place or transported from place to place; owned or rented, or in planned communities or squatter settlements.” This thesis concerned itself with a comparative analysis of squatter settlements and informal housing in four surveyed settlements located on the Cape Flats - Jakkalsvlei, Crossroads, Bishop Lavis and Uitsig. Earlier chapters have indicated the implications of informal and squatter settlements.

Informal and squatter settlements, otherwise known as “popular housing,” are recognized as an essential component of the national housing agenda of

South Africa. The origins and consequences of rapid growth of informal and squatter settlements are found in the country's former social, economic and political policies and dispensation. The legacy of Apartheid legislation, mass migration to cities and high unemployment in rural areas proliferated the evolution of informal and squatter settlements.

Backyard squatting is more prevalent among "coloured" people, while conventional squatting seems more popular among "black" people. This however, is not a hard and fast rule, as backyard squatting also occurs in many formal "black" townships. All the same, "coloured" squatter settlements also exist. This study has revealed the similarities and differences that exist between "coloured" backyard squatters residing in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis and conventional squatter settlements of Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei. For example, the typology of their settlements and building materials used is similar. However, the underlying difference is tenure. Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei emerged through "illegal" occupation or invasion of available land. Backyard shacks erected in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis exist within formal and legally established townships where dwellers have obtained permission from the property owner or landlord to erect shacks. They could even rent unoccupied existing shacks.

Squatters and to a lesser extent, backyard dwellers in the study area do not have security of tenure and are vulnerable to eviction and shack demolition. During the 1980s and 1990s, squatter dwellers in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei often faced the wrath of police and bulldozers who on many occasions demolished shacks at will. Backyard squatters are hardly harassed by building inspectors or threatened with demolition of shacks. Eviction however, is more real among backyard squatters, particularly since shacks are effectively owned by the landlord. Presently, informal and squatter settlements are accepted by the central government and local authorities. It is seen as politically correct to accept rather than oppose the development of these settlements (Urban Foundation, 1990). In a sense, the government and local authorities have decriminalized, destigmatized and deracialized informal housing and squatting.

Squatter settlements like Crossroads and Jakkasvlei emerged at an exceptional rate which ultimately influenced the size and shape of settlements. Backyard squatters of Bishop Lavis and Uitsig had little choice regarding the size and shape of their shacks as building space is restricted and limited. Respondents in the study area attested that indoor and outdoor space was initially not a major concern to them. Only once their shacks were erected and they had occupied their "homes," did space become a problem. Limited space restricts

personal privacy and causes overcrowding. Bedrooms are shared by three or more persons. The architectural shape of backyard and squatter settlements is simple, namely square-shape, rectangular shape or L-shaped.

Informal and squatter settlements lack proper service provision and infrastructure. In areas where services and infrastructure are available, it exists in its most basic level. This study has shown that “coloured” backyard squatters in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis have generally better access to services compared to “black” squatter settlements in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei. The majority of respondents cannot afford to pay high costs for service provision.

Informal and squatter residents are willing to pay for service provision, but argue that their financial situation should be taken into consideration by the local authorities. In Crossroads, a community leader has been appointed to liaise with officials in order to pay a flat rate for future services rendered. Bishop Lavis is a fairly well-established low-income “coloured” residential area. Compared to Uitsig, where service provision is erratic, the provision of services and infrastructure is well-established. Backyard squatters in Uitsig and Bishop Lavis have access to an outside water-tap whereas in Crossroads communal water-taps are located at central points. Residents in Jakkalsvlei do not have the privilege of a communal tap within their settlement. They obtain water from the Jakkalsvlei canal or collect clean water from the adjacent township.

Respondents do not consider electricity supply as a basic need and consider it a luxury they cannot afford. In Uitsig, 8 per cent of the backyard squatters have entered into an agreement with property owners to share electricity supply and cost compared to 37 per cent of the backyard squatters in Bishop Lavis. In Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, squatters rely heavily on coal, paraffin, firewood, candles, gas and car batteries to generate heat and electricity.

Respondents in Bishop Lavis have not experienced excessive flooding since stormwater drains are commonly found in the area. In Uitsig and Crossroads flooding is considered a problem particularly after heavy rains due to the absence of a drainage system. Squatters have learnt to divert water by packing bricks around the shacks and to direct or channel water. In Jakkalsvlei, respondents have not experienced severe flooding since the Jakkalsvlei canal serves as a catchment reservoir.

Refuse is collected in all four surveyed settlements. It is collected once a week in Bishop Lavis and Uitsig. However, in Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei, refuse placed in black plastic bags is collected twice a week and refuse in green bins on wheels is collected once a week. In Crossroads, additional refuse containers are located at central points. Refuse such as waste paper, cardboard, metal and glass is collected by unemployed squatters for recycling.

Collection of recyclable refuse is fast becoming a cut-throat business among squatters.

Roads, transport and telecommunication form a fundamental part of service provision. Both Bishop Lavis and Uitsig have a combination of tarred and cement roads. In Uitsig, however, roads are tarred, but are very narrow. In contrast to Bishop Lavis and Uitsig, Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei do not have tarred roads. Gravel or sandy foot paths are common in unplanned squatter settlements. In all four surveyed settlements, the taxi industry is a lucrative business. It has become the sole income for many, and it provides jobs to members of the community while delivering a vital service of transportation.

Public telephones are accessible at local cafe's in Bishop Lavis, but are not easily found in Uitsig. Public telephones are found within Crossroads, however, Jakkalsvlei squatters make use of public telephones in Langa. Squatters use public telephones installed in adjacent residential areas, or nearby garages and cafe's.

Leisure and recreational facilities such as community swimming baths, sport fields, parks, a public library and a community halls are located in Bishop Lavis. In Uitsig, leisure and recreational facilities are virtually non-existent. There is

one poorly-equipped park. It is not enclosed by a fence, and it has no grass or benches. In Crossroads and Jakkalsvlei no recreational facilities exist. Children play soccer on any open space, especially school yards in neighboring residential areas. Due to the lack of leisure and recreational facilities, the youth are often exposed to a life of delinquency, gangsterism and other social evils.

Health, housing, living conditions and sustainable development are all interlinked. Healthy people are needed to achieve sustainable development, thus development, access to health care and empowerment are necessary to achieve healthy communities (Walmsley & Botten, 1994). Not many life-threatening illnesses are prevalent within the four surveyed settlements. Common illnesses are colds/flu's (86 per cent), followed by diarrhoea (69,5 per cent) and malnutrition (48 per cent). These illnesses are directly connected to poor living conditions. A day hospital is situated in Bishop Lavis which also serves the residents of Uitsig. Tygerberg Hospital is also accessible and is located on the transport route. The Prime Cure Clinic (situated close to Tygerberg Hospital) has been founded to cater for people who are not members of any health or medical aid scheme. Patients visiting the Prime Cure a fee of R60,00, which includes consultation, treatment and medicines. This is considerably less than visiting a private doctor. The Prime Cure Clinic offers

an array of community medicine which includes pre-and post natal care, advice on family planning, dentistry, optometry and basic day-to-day medical care. Jakkalsvlei residents have access to the Day Hospital in Langa. The focus has shifted to PHC, which emphasizes preventative rather than curative medicine. Commitment to PHC places the onus solely on people themselves. At its most basic level, it implies the empowerment of disadvantaged communities with respect to health and health care. Without active community participation no primary health care service can be successful.

Research was conducted shortly after the ANC assumed political power in 1994. Prior to the 1994 elections the ANC perceived shack-dwellers as the “new pioneers” of modern society and cities (Carter, 1993, p.96).

The promises made by the ANC, channeled through the much-talked about RDP, forms a crucial aspect in the delivery of houses. Unfortunately, the five-year plan, as suggested, was far too short and over ambitious to ensure delivery. Respondents in the study area have expressed that the ANC made empty promises and only wanted to secure their votes. An important facet of this study has shown the lack of willingness to pay for services provided. Even if services and infrastructural facilities are provided, they are unwilling to pay for them, as many are hampered by unemployment. In many instances,

the unkept promises of the ANC exacerbated the culture of non-payment among informal and squatter residents in Jakkalsvlei, Cross Roads and Uitsig.

No quick-fix solutions exist with respect to informal and squatter settlements. What is needed is a combination of solutions such as incremental housing, upgrading (*in-situ* and site-and-service schemes), active community participation and consolidation of informal and squatter settlements. Hence the term *Masakhane*, "let us build each other" should form the bedrock of future endeavors.

8.2 Recommendations

Counteracting the current housing crisis in the new millennium is daunting, but not entirely insurmountable. The Department of Housing has estimated that they need to build 220 000 houses "every year to keep up with the growth of the South African population" (South Africa Yearbook, 1999, p.369). This figure clearly excludes the millions presently unhoused or unsheltered. But, the ANC remains committed to housing the nation. In this same report, the government reaffirms their commitment that they "are ultimately responsible for ensuring that housing opportunities are provided to all" (South Africa, Yearbook, 1999, p.369).

Before any action is taken with regards to informal and squatter settlements, it is imperative to assess the wants and needs of these people. It is a myth that all informal or squatter residents would want and prefer shack upgrading. Shack upgrading could be interpreted negatively, namely that people are destined to a life of poverty and low standard of living. Such a notion could also underscore the unfounded rhetoric that "blacks like to live in shacks." Alternatively, Cape Town and other cities, could solve their housing problems by being transformed into high-density urban areas.

The underlying problem facing informal and squatter residents stems from poverty and unemployment. What is needed is an economic policy to secure employment opportunities which could allow the poor entry into the formal housing market. New townships could be established to transfer land to squatters at a nominal fee. This could ensure land and home ownership. In this way, individuals could determine their own standard of living, according to their own wants and needs.

Emphasis on informal and squatter settlements should be placed on the upliftment of the community as a whole. Social upliftment should embrace, health care (for example, proper insulation and use of adequate building materials) and environmental sustainability. To achieve this within a

reasonably determined time frame, input from various stakeholders is needed. Social upliftment requires human and financial resources. A division of responsibility is needed. First and foremost, governmental intervention is needed a national, provincial and local level. Assistance from NGO's, financial institutions, building and related industries could alleviate the national housing crisis. Tax concessions could be offered to multinational corporations and big businesses in return for building houses or providing funds to erect homes. The recent launching of the national lottery could contribute immensely to the housing crisis by donating funds to construct homes for the homeless. An important component of the housing policy process is the monitoring, evaluation and implementation of housing programmes. This requires the commitment and active involvement of the entire community. After all, it is ultimately the improvement of their lives which is at stake.

Finally, the presence of backyard squatting and conventional squatter settlements need to be accepted as a reality of the new millennium. This is adequately outlined by Ann Bernstein, who argues persuasively that "squatters are in fact, South Africa's new city builders, and the implications of this reality for the city and its management should be fully considered" (1989, p.23).

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APPENDICES

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Home, sweet home for Uitsig squatters

By **AYESHA ISMAIL**

UITSIG squatter families wept with joy as they were handed keys to their new homes this week — a dream come true after nine years of living in shacks.

Twenty families have already moved into their R23 000 starter homes which form part of a R3-million project.

"At least now our children will be reared in a home and not in a shack," said an overjoyed Christopher Sola when he and wife, Rosa, were handed the keys to their new home. They have been on the Regional Services Council waiting list for nine years and had lived with their three children in a shack in a friend's backyard.

Uitsig Community Trust chairperson Annie Jacobs said the project would not have been successful without community co-operation and participation.

"There was a dire need for houses in Uitsig. The number of shacks in people's backyards was growing rapidly causing a health and fire hazard.

"A delegation from the community met with Regional Services Council six years ago about the shortage of houses.

"The meetings continued until finally we saw there was light at the end of the tunnel," Mrs Jacobs said.

There was enough vacant land in Uitsig on which to build houses,



DREAMHOUSE . . . Mr and Mrs Sola with the key to their new home after nine years as squatters living in a shack. Picture: **AMBROSE PETERS**

she added.

"Last year in October we were informed that 187 houses would be built in Uitsig Avenue. The community was very happy. It was like a dream come true.

"The first 20 families have already started moving in.

"People were so happy, they cried openly when we handed the keys to them," Mrs Jacobs said.

Although the houses are small, they can be extended at a later stage.

Monthly payments from as little as R150 are determined by each family's income. The houses, which cost R23 300, are built by Cape Utility homes.

The project was made possible by funds supplied by the former House of Representatives six years ago for housing in the area.

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND

ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

RESEARCHER: GILLIAN ANN VILJOEN (nee SIMPSON)

STUDENT NO: 9031424

Dear Respondent

Housing forms an integral part of human life. This is evident in the distinctive types of houses occupied by rich and poor people in society. In Cape Town, the housing crisis has grown considerably. This ultimately has some impact on the quality of life of those residing in Cape Town. This questionnaire intends to inquire more into informal housing and squatting settlements. It looks at the lifestyles of people, the predicament of space, health, the provision of basic services, and the attitudes and aspirations of informal and squatters.

Your household has been selected on random basis and forms an important part of the research which will be used for academic purposes only. You are not obliged to give your name and address. All information in the questionnaire will be treated with **CONFIDENTIALITY!**

Thank you for taking the time to help me in this important task.

1. Sex/Geslag
Male/Manlik
Female/Vroulik

2. How old are you?/ Hoe oud is u?
 - a) Between/Tussen 20-30 years/jare
 - b) Between/Tussen 30-40 years/jare
 - c) Between/Tussen 40-50 years/jare
 - d) Between/Tussen 50-60 years/jare
 - e) Between/Tussen 60-70 years/Jare
 - f) Between/Tussen 70-80 years/jare
 - g) 80 years or more/ jare of meer

3. Where are you from originally? / Van waar is u oorspronklik?
.....

4. Why did you choose to live in Cape Town? / Hoekom het u verkies om in Kaapstad te woon?
 - a) I was born here / Ek was hier gebore
 - b) Family & friends live in Cape Town / My familie en vriende woon in Kaapstad
 - c) For employment purposes / Vir werk doeleindes
 - d) To live in a city / Om in 'n stad te woon

5. For how long have you been living in Cape Town? / Omtrent hoe lank woon u al in Kaapstad?
 - a) Between/Tussen 1-10 years/jare
 - b) Between/Tussen 20-30 years/jare

- c) Between/Tussen 40-50 years/jare
 - d) Between/Tussen 60-70 years/jare
 - e) Between/Tussen 80 + years/jare
- ✓ 6. Are you employed? If so what work do you do? / Het u 'n vaste werk?
Watter soort werk doen u?

.....

- ✓ 7. Who is the main breadwinner? / Wie is die broodwinner?
- a) Myself / Ek
 - b) Husband / Man
 - c) Wife / Vrou
 - d) Aunt / Uncle
 - e) Brother or sister / Broer of suster
 - f) One or more of the children / Een of twee van die kinders



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

- ✓ 8. Are you the homeowner or do you rent this dwelling? / Is u die huiseienaar of huurder?

.....

- ✓ 9. If it is your house, who built it? / As dit u huis is, wie het dit gebou?
- a) Husband / Man
 - b) Friends / Vriende
 - c) Family / Familie
 - d) Informal Contractor / 'n Informele kontrakteur

10. From where did you get or purchase the building materials for your house?
/ Waar het u die bou materiall vir u huis gekry of gekoop?

.....
.....

11. Approximately how much did it cost you to build your hous? / Ongeveer
hoeveel het dit gekos om us huis te bou?

.....

12. Approxiametely how big is your house? / Ongeveer hoe groot is u huis?

.....

13. What do you consider your house? / Hoe aanskou u u huis?

a) Adequate / Toepaslik

b) Informal dwelling / Informele woning

c) Squatter dwelling / Plakke woning

d) Shack / Pondok

e) Other / Ander

14. List the materials used to build your house? / Identifiseer die soort bou
materiaal wat gebruik was om die huis te bou.

.....
.....

15. How many people live in the house? Please indicate the number of
children and adults. / Hoeveel mense woon in die huis? Dui aan die aantal
kinders en volwasenes.

a) Total number of people
Aantal mense

b) Total number of adults
Aantal volwasenes

c) Total number of children
Aantal kinders

16. How many rooms are in your house? (e.g. Kitchen, bedroom etc.) /
Hoeveel vertrekke is in die huis? (bv. Kombuis, slaapkamers ens.)
.....

17. Did you ever feel that your house is overcrowded or too small? / Het u
ooit gevoel dat u huis beknop is?

a) Ye/Ja

b) No/Nee

18. Do you have any solutions to alleviate the space problem that you
experience? Explain your answer. / Het u enige oplossings vir die spasio
probleem wat u ondervind? Verduidelik u antwoord.

.....
.....
.....
.....

19. Which do you regard as more important, indoor space or outdoor space? /
Watter een is vir u meer belangrik, binne ruimte of buite ruimte?



.....
.....

20. How many windows and doors does your house have? Explain / Hoeveel
vensters en deure het u huis? Verduidelik

.....
.....
.....

21. How many entrances are there in your house? / Hoeveel ingange is daar in
u huis?

.....
.....
.....

22. ✓ Which season is the worst and why? / Watter sisoen is die ergste en hoekom?

.....
.....

23. ✓ Was your home ever exposed to harsh climatic conditions? (e.g. roof blown off during winter, home flooded due to heavy rain?) Explain / Was u huis al ooit blootgestel aan hewige klimaatstoestande? (bv. Dak afgewaai of u huis oorstroom as gevolg van swaar reënval?) Verduidelik.

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.....
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24. ✓ Do you have any of the following in your house? / Word u huis voorsien van die volgende?

a) Clean water / Skoon water Yes/Ja
No/Nee

b) Electricity/ Elektrisiteit Yes/Ja
No/Nee

c) Toilet facilities / Toilet geriewe Yes/Ja
No/Nee

d) Bathroom/ Badkamer Yes/Ja
No/Nee

25. ✓ From which source do you get heat and light? / Van watter bron kry u hitte en lig?

a) Electricity / Elektrisiteit

b) Candles / Kerse

c) Paraffin / Parafien

d) Fire wood / Braaihout

e) If other please specify / In dien anders, verduidelik asseblief.

.....

26. Are any of the following easily accessible? / Is enige van die volgende maklik toeganklik?

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------|
| a) | Educational institutions (primary, secondary and tertiary)
Opvoedkundige instellings (primêre, sekondêre en tersiêr) | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |
| b) | Transport facilities (trains, taxi's etc.)
Openbare vervoer (teine, taxi's ens.) | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |
| c) | Day care centre or nursery school
Dagskool of kleuterskool | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |
| d) | Recreational facilities
Ontspannings fasiliteite | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |
| e) | Hospital or Family clinic
Hospitaal of Gesinskliniek | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |
| f) | Police station
Polisie stasie | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |
| g) | Refuse or garbage removal
Vullis verwydering | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |
| h) | Shopping centre
Winkelsentrum | Yes/No
Ja/Nee |

27. What do you do in your free time or relaxation? / Wat doen u in u vrye tyd vir ontspanning?

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.....
.....

28. Are you involved in any sport ? Neem u deel aan enige sport?

.....

29. Do you belong to any social clubs? If yes, mention them. / Is u lid van enige sosiale klub? Indien so, noem dit.

.....

30. Do you regard recreation or leisure as important? Explain your answer. /
Beskou u ontspanning en plesier as 'n belangrik? Verduidelik u antwoord.

.....
.....

31. What recreational facilities are located close to your home? (in your area)/
Watter tipe ontspanningsgeriewe is in u omgewing geleë? (in u
woongebied).

.....

32. What kind of recreational facilities would you like to have close to
yourhome? / Watter tipe ontspanningsgeriewe of fasiliteite sou u verkies
het in u omgewing?

.....
.....

33. Traditionally, children are considered as an important indicator of wealth.
Do you believe in this statement? / Tradisioneel is kinders beskou as 'n
belangrike aanwyser van rykdom. Is hierdie stelling waar?

.....

34. Do you think that the use of contraceptives is a women's or man's
responsibility? / Glo u dat die gebruik van voorbehoedmiddels die man of
die vrou se verantwoordelikheid is?

.....
.....

35. Do you belong to a medical aid or health scheme? / Behoort u aan 'n
mediese of gesondheids fonds?

.....

36. If you or one of your family members should get ill, (or if you got ill in the
past), who would or did you consult? / As u of enige van u familielede
oitsiek sou word, (of as u siek was in die verlede) wie sou of het u
raadpleeg?

- a) No-one / Niemand
- b) Friend / Vriend
- c) Private Doctor / Privaat Doktor
- d) Traditional healer / Tradisionele genesheer
- e) Health centre or clinic / Gesondheidssentrum of kliniek

- f) Day hospital / Daghospitaal
- g) Pharmacist/ Apteeker
- h) Supermarket shop / Supermark winkel
- i) Home remedy (ies) / Tuisgemaakte geneersmiddels

37. Have you or any of your family members suffered from any of the illnesses below? / Het u of enige van u familieleden aan die volgende siektes gely?

a)	Aids/Vigs	Yes/Ja	No/ Nee
b)	Allergies/Allergieë	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
c)	Anorexia/Anoreksia	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
d)	Asthma/Asthma	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
e)	Chicken Pppox/ Waterpokkies	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
f)	Cold (flu)/Verkoues	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
g)	Cholera/Cholera	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
h)	Diabetes/Diabetes	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
i)	Diarrhoea/Diarree	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
j)	High Blood Pressure/Hoë Bloedruk	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
k)	Jaundice/Geelsig	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
l)	Malaria/Malaria	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
m)	Malnutrition/Ondervoeding	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
n)	Tuberculosis/Tuberkulose	Yes/jA	No/Nee
o)	Violence related injury/ Besering as gevolg van geweld	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
p)	Other/ Ander

38. Would you like to be more informed about the following? / Sal u graag daarvan hou om meer ingelig te wes omtrent die volgende?

a)	Health/Gesondheid	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
b)	Education/Opvoeding	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
c)	Environmental issues/Omgewingsake	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
d)	Politics/Politiek	Yes/Ja	No/Nee

39. Are you able to read and write?/ Kan u lees en skryf? Yes/Ja No/Nee

40. Do you know what the following terms mean? / Weet u wat die volgende woorde beteeke?

a)	Conservation/ Bewaring	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
b)	Environment /Omgewing	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
c)	Pollution/Besoedeling	Yes/Ja	No/Nee
d)	Overpopulation/Oorbevolking	Yes/ja	No/Nee

41. In your opinion, do you think you can or have made a positive contribution to a "greener society"? Explain your answer. / Dink u dat u 'n poistiewe bydrae kan maak of gemaak het, tot 'n "groener gemeenskap"? Verduidelik u antwoord.

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42. How often is your garbage collected? If your garbage is not collected, how do you dispose of it? / Hoe gereeld word u vullis gekollekteer? As u vullis nie gekollekteer word nie, sê asseblief hoe u van u vullis ontslae raak.

.....
.....

43. If you have an outside toilet, how often is your waste collected? If not, how and where do you get rid of the waste? / As u 'n buite-toilet het, hoe gereeld word u afval gekollekteer? Indien nie, hoe en waar raak u ontslae van die afval?

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.....

44. What improvements would you like to see in your area? Watter verbeteringe sal u wil sien in u gebied ?

.....
.....

45. Did you vote in the 1994 elections? / Het u gestem in die 1994 verskeising?

.....

46. What was the main reason(s) for casting your vote? / Wat was die belangrikste rede(s) waarom u gestem het?

.....
.....

47. What is your view concerning the African National Congress (ANC) slogans which they used in the election campaign? / Wat is u siening omtrent die 'African Natiinal Congress' (ANC) se slagspreuke wat gebruik is in die verkeisings van 1994?

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48. Do you think it is possible that all people should own houses? Elaborate your answer. / Dink u dat dit moontlik is dat alle mense huise kan besit? Verduidelik u antwoord.

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.....

49. Are you optimistic about the possibility of owning a house one day?/ Is u optimisties (positief) oor die moontlikheid dat u eendag 'n huis kan besit?

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50. If you choose to live in any area, where would you like to live and why? / As u kan kies om in enige gebied te woon, in watter gebied wil u graag woon en hoekom?

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