

*The State of*  
***Human Settlements***  
**South Africa 1994-1998**

Prepared by the CSIR  
for the Department of Housing

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# *Foreword*

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# 1 Introduction

## The Challenge

People living in human settlements in South Africa are only now beginning to feel the benefits of the new policies and programmes that have been developed since the transition to democratic government in 1994. Not surprisingly, the spatial imprints of Colonial and Apartheid planning continue to dominate urban and regional settlement formations. The greatest challenge facing South Africa's policy makers is the need to restructure the inherited settlement formations, while at the same time responsibly addressing the development needs of people where they live.

The question asked in this context is: What impact have South African government policies had on human settlements and on their residents during the last five years?

## Goal and Objectives

The evaluative framework against which local policy is being measured is provided by the Habitat Agenda as adopted by the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in June 1996. As a signatory, the South African Department of Housing has taken on the responsibility of implementing the principles and goals of the Habitat Agenda. The central themes of 'adequate shelter for all' and 'sustainable human settlement development' are particularly important as broad objectives against which governmental and civil efforts can be reviewed.

The goal of this investigation is thus to assess the current state of human settlements in South Africa as measured against these visions, goals and principles. The objective is to identify strengths and weaknesses in government policies and programmes at a national level that impact on human settlements. In particular, the findings are to inform a review of the policy guideline that acts as the local interpretation of the Habitat Agenda, the Department of Housing's Urban Development Framework.

## Structure and Method

Firstly, the report reviews the international policy context in order to establish the framework against which national policies are to be reviewed. Secondly, it describes the broad social, economic, governance, biophysical technological and spatial trends that act as forces for change on human settlements. Thirdly, relevant policies of government are reviewed against the principles of the Habitat Agenda.

Fourthly, the products, processes and impacts of government programmes are discussed. Finally, broad recommendations are made based on the identified strengths and weaknesses of existing policy.

South African human settlements are the primary objects of the investigation. A human settlement is defined as an area where people live, work and play. Settlements may be classified into types depending on a range of shared characteristics which may include housing types, levels of service, types of government and civil intervention, and spatial layout and location.

The focus of the investigation is particularly on the types of urban and dense rural settlements that were most neglected in past political, planning and funding processes, as well as on new human settlement types that are emerging as a result of contemporary policies. A settlement typology is suggested below to structure observations on trends and policy impact.

There is an emphasis on empirical evidence of the measurable impacts of policy on human settlements. The general research method adopted has been to assess the inputs to human settlements in the form of government spending, capacity building and other resources, as against the outputs, process benefits and impacts on beneficiaries and the wider community.

## Assumptions

While an urban indicators monitoring programme exists in the country and sectoral initiatives have been introduced by many government departments, the programme is still in its infancy. It has not yet yielded comprehensive data on trends in human

***We recognise the imperative need to improve the quality of human settlements, which profoundly affects the daily lives and well-being of our peoples. There is a sense of great opportunity and hope that a new world can be built, in which economic development, social development and environmental protection as interdependent and mutually-reinforcing components of sustainable development can be realised through solidarity and co-operation within and between countries and through effective partnerships at all levels.***

***Habitat Agenda, 1996***

settlements that can be directly linked to government policies and programmes.

The assessment of the impact of policy is thus based on the information that is accessible, and in the area of beneficiary impact, draws from a range of project and programme evaluations.

Because of the variable quality of the source data, widely varying research methods, and the uneven geographical spread of case studies, the findings need to be interpreted against this paucity of consistent data. A positive aspect of this current weakness in data collection, is that an opportunity exists to propose a common research method that, if promulgated, will ensure the more comprehensive collection of data for subsequent studies of this kind<sup>1</sup>.

Another important point to make at the outset is that South African policies and programmes are still fairly flexible, and certain government departments have shown an ability to respond to impact information as it has become available. This is particularly true for housing and land policy which has shown significant adjustments in its mechanisms of implementation during the first term of government.

This study reviews the first five years of the current government's activities. The impacts of many of the policies on people, on settlements, and on urban structures, are only now emerging. Many of the policies are too new to have shown any impact. In other cases, policy is in its second iteration since 1994, having already responded to some of the trends and impacts that are described here. In attempting to take a 'snap shot' of human settlements at this point, many of the suggestions will have been acted on already, but others may still need to be noted. There is nevertheless value in taking stock, especially if the cumulative impact of a whole range of government policy on human settlements can be captured, and form the basis for future decision-making.

Finally, this is a discussion document and is intended to provide information to prompt further debate. It is intended that this kind of review exercise will be revisited regularly in order to build a more comprehensive picture of the evolution of human settlements and changes in the quality of life of residents.

## Context

### South Africa in the World

South Africa is classified as a middle income country. In 1996 it had a population of 40.6 million people<sup>2</sup> and a population growth rate of 2.06%<sup>3</sup>. The population was estimated to have grown to 43.05 million by mid-1990<sup>4</sup>. Although it

has one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa<sup>5</sup>, globally only Brazil has a higher income inequality coefficient<sup>6</sup>.

"The poorest 40% of households (equivalent to 50% of the population) receive only 11% of total income, while the richest 10% of households (equivalent to only 7% of the population) receive over 40% of total income"<sup>7</sup>. The national unemployment rate runs at 37.6%<sup>8</sup>.

While 55% of South Africa's population lives in urban areas<sup>9</sup>, 80% of the gross domestic product is produced in cities and towns. However, 75% of the country's poor and 81% of the ultra-poor live in rural areas, mostly in small towns or villages<sup>10</sup>.

Although classified as a developing country, South Africa is not typical for its geographical location, and is notorious for the extremes of rich and poor. The historical causes of this situation are well known, and many characteristics are evidenced in the location and structure of settlements<sup>11</sup>.

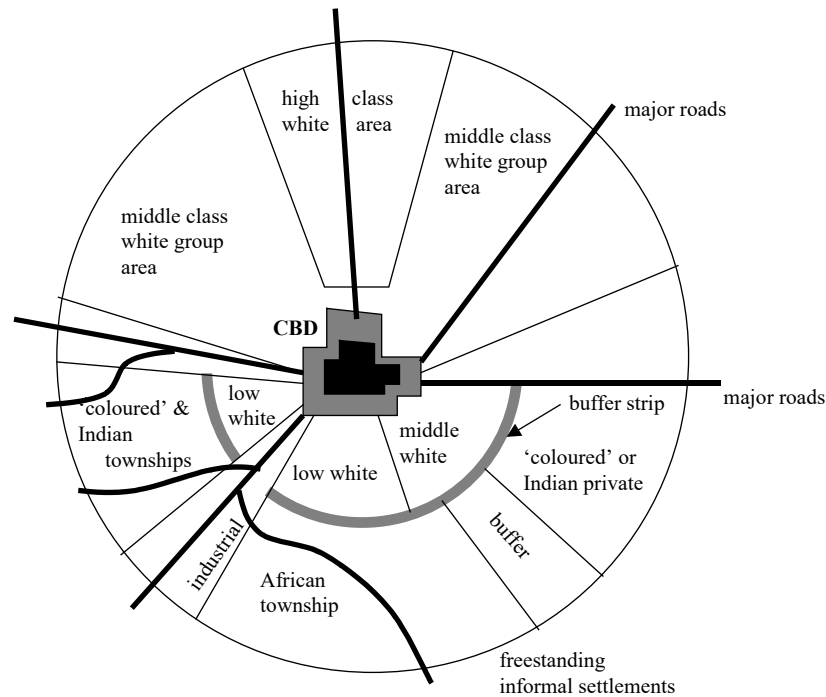
### The Apartheid Human Settlement Landscape

The state of human settlements towards the end of the apartheid era reflected the policies of separation and control that had dominated the country for some four decades.

At a regional level, large cities and towns were located in what was known as 'white' South Africa (where the movements and actions of black South Africans were controlled)<sup>12</sup>. Mass-built townships housed people who had permission to live in urban areas, and publicly and privately owned hostels accommodated migrant workers. From 1968 the policy to move African people to homeland areas was more vigorously applied. Attempts were made to move economic opportunities to decentralised growth points often far from ports or other essential links, and so dense, but dislocated, settlements were built or grew informally around such artificial nodes. These are referred to as 'displaced urban areas' and are a lasting element of the contemporary landscape<sup>13</sup>.

During the early part of the apartheid era, many people were forcefully removed from existing formal and informal settlements. Within three decades this affected more than a million African people in urban areas<sup>14</sup> and many settlements were destroyed in the process. Despite these attempts at control of the location of people in settlements, during the 1970s many informal settlements developed on homeland borders close to cities, as townships became overcrowded and people moving to the city found no legal space in which to settle. Given the already peripheral

## The Apartheid City



After R.J. Davies, "The spatial formation of the South African city", *GeoJournal* (Supplementary Issue 2, 1981).

location of the formal townships built by the State in the 1950s and 1960s, this meant that the poorest city residents were the most distant from urban opportunities such as economic and social amenities. Large buffer strips either of vacant land or sometimes of light industrial zones separated the racially-defined residential areas from one another. A developed road network linked city centres to suburban areas and to other regions. Public bus and rail transport was heavily subsidised to transport people living on the periphery (and often in the rural hinterland) to their places of employment. Daily experiences of long travelling times and distances became the norm.

At a settlement level, township areas were for the most part designed at low densities, with single, unattached houses on separate plots being the most common form. The settlement layouts were designed to enable authorities to control access to and egress from the areas, and residential zoning was rigidly applied and enforced. Houses were not owned but rented from the Municipality. Few commercial and recreational facilities were allowed for, meaning that township areas became purely places to live (thus commonly being described as having 'dormitory status'). However, a thriving home-based

enterprise and informal sector emerged within these conditions of institutional oppression<sup>15</sup>.

Upper class suburbs were designed according to the space and service standards more typical of Western Europe and the United States, although at lower densities. Between the informal settlements and suburbs were a range of settlement types with higher densities of mass, rental housing. These typified areas zoned for the use of the Asian and 'coloured' groups according to the segregationist legislation of the time (see diagram).

The early 1990s saw low levels of production of low cost housing of around 30,000 units per annum, many of them being built in inappropriate locations in homeland areas. The estimated urban housing shortage in 1994 was 1.5 million units<sup>16</sup>.

The separation and inequality evident in the spatial structure of South African settlements was reflected institutionally in the forms of government and legislation that existed. Much of the effort of writing new policy and legislation during the first years of democratic government has been directed at creating unified mechanisms at all levels. The aim has been to replace the duplication and confusion inherent in the inherited system.

The removal of apartheid legislation occasioned a limited, short-term filtering of

households according to income status. However, household mobility within urban areas has remained low and in most areas a market in low cost housing has not yet developed<sup>17</sup>.

It has become increasingly clear to South African policy makers and settlement residents alike, that the spatial patterns and physical forms of many human settlement types change only very slowly. Whereas the policies of government may have changed fundamentally in their intentions and focus when compared to past government approaches, the structure of cities and regions will begin to evidence that change only after a considerable amount of time has elapsed.

On the other hand, movements of people between settlements may change more quickly (as is shown in the section on Forces of Change below), depending on the absorptive capacity of settlements and societies. Essential to any understanding of the current state of human settlements in South Africa is a grasp of where we have come from. Although this report has not documented this in great detail, many more comprehensive commentaries do exist<sup>18</sup>.

A key question posed by this investigation is whether the inherent inequities of the inherited urban and regional spatial structures are being adequately addressed by current policies, and whether those policies are having the desired impact.

Central to this analysis is a view of the various typical settlement types that continue to characterise the South African built landscape.

## A Settlement Typology

In order to discuss and measure the impact of policy on settlements, the following typology is proposed. It is based on two main sources<sup>19</sup>, but has been adapted for the purposes of this investigation.

There are three aspects to the typology. Firstly, a human settlement may be located within a metropolitan area, a city or large town, a small town or a rural area.

**Table: Typical settlement sizes**

	Approximate sizes	Examples
<b>Metropolitan Area</b>	> 500,000 people	Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Pretoria
<b>Cities/ Large Towns</b>	50,000-500,000 people	Pietermaritzburg, Kimberley, Mafikeng

<b>Small Towns</b>	> 50,000 people	Vryheid, Louis Trichardt, Ficksburg
<b>Displaced Urban/ Dense Rural</b>	< 50,000 people	Bushbuckridge, Winterveldt, Mpumalanga, Atlantis
<i>Rural Villages</i>	500-5000 people	
<i>Dispersed or Scattered Settlements</i>	< 500 people	

The investigation has focused on the larger agglomerations of people, thus excluding for the most part, small village settlements and dispersed rural settlements.

The second aspect of the typology is that settlements may be located:

- in the core of cities and towns, have relatively higher densities and be located near the city centre, or
- on the fringe and have generally lower densities (excluding some informal settlements), being more distant from the centre, or
- some distance away from large agglomerations in the rural hinterland.

The third aspect of the typology is the description of the settlements which are typical within the South African built environment.

**Table: Urban Core Settlement Types**

<b>URBAN CORE</b> > 10 du/ha	<b>Core informal settlements:</b> previously or currently illegal, unplanned (often infill) settlements within towns or cities close to places of employment, e.g. parts of Cato Manor in Durban and parts of Alexandra in Johannesburg.
close to CBD	<b>Core townships:</b> formal mass-built settlements (old or new) within towns or cities, including backyard shacks, with short travel distances to places of employment, e.g. the formal Alexandra township in Johannesburg, or a township adjacent to a rural town or village.

**Inner city high rise flats:** areas comprising high proportions of medium and high rise rented and owned flats close to CBDs, e.g. Hillbrow in Johannesburg and Albert Park in Durban.

Also **inner city houses:** low density, low rise areas of single houses close to the city centre becoming increasingly commercial in nature, e.g. Arcadia in Pretoria, lower Berea in Durban.

**Squatting in disused buildings:** squatters occupying vacant commercial buildings within the CDB, e.g. parts of Johannesburg's eastern downtown section.

Urban core settlements often display high rates of change in uses, becoming mixed-use or transforming to commercial sectors. Areas that are not transforming in use often are host to processes of degradation of housing stock and the public realm.

**Table: Urban Fringe Settlement Types**

<b>URBAN FRINGE</b> < 10 du/ha within 25km of city	<b>Fringe informal settlements:</b> freestanding, previously or currently illegal, unplanned settlements whose inhabitants commute moderate distances to places of employment, e.g. Inanda in Durban, Crossroads in Cape Town, Ivory Park in Midrand.
	<b>Fringe townships:</b> planned, low cost settlements, including 1960s townships, backyard shacks and flats, new starter housing, and sites and services, with moderate distances to places of employment, e.g. Soweto in Johannesburg, Umlazi in Durban, and Khayelitsha in Cape Town.  Also typically within fringe townships are <b>collective dwellings:</b> hostels and similar institutions housing single people or households who rent from their employers or the municipality, and <b>infill informal settlements</b> on vacant land between formal development.
	<b>Fringe suburbs:</b> low density, low rise areas of medium to high income single houses planned on suburban layouts, located moderate distances from, but enjoying strong transport links with, the city centre, e.g. Sandton in Johannesburg, Westville in Durban, Rondebosch in Cape Town.

It should be noted that while suburban development is part of the typology for the sake of making a complete description of settlement types, the impact of policy (other than indirect impacts) on

such settlements has not been a point of emphasis in the investigation.

**Table: Displaced Urban Settlement Types**

<b>DIS-PLACED URBAN/DENSE RURAL</b> more than 25km from city	<b>Peri-urban traditional tenure/ mixed settlements:</b> concentrated settlements consisting of a mixture of traditional dwellings and tenant and sub-tenant infill, with long commuting distances to the nearest town or city, e.g. Bushbuckridge in the Northern Province
	<b>Former homeland border towns and townships:</b> (also known as 'betterment settlements') dense, planned settlements sometimes adjacent to industrial decentralisation points e.g. Siyabuswa in the former Kwa Ndebele, Butterworth in the former Transkei.
	<b>Agri-villages:</b> planned, dense settlements in rural areas, which service surrounding farms or have access to their own agricultural land.

Also **informal settlements in commercial farming areas** housing displaced farm workers.

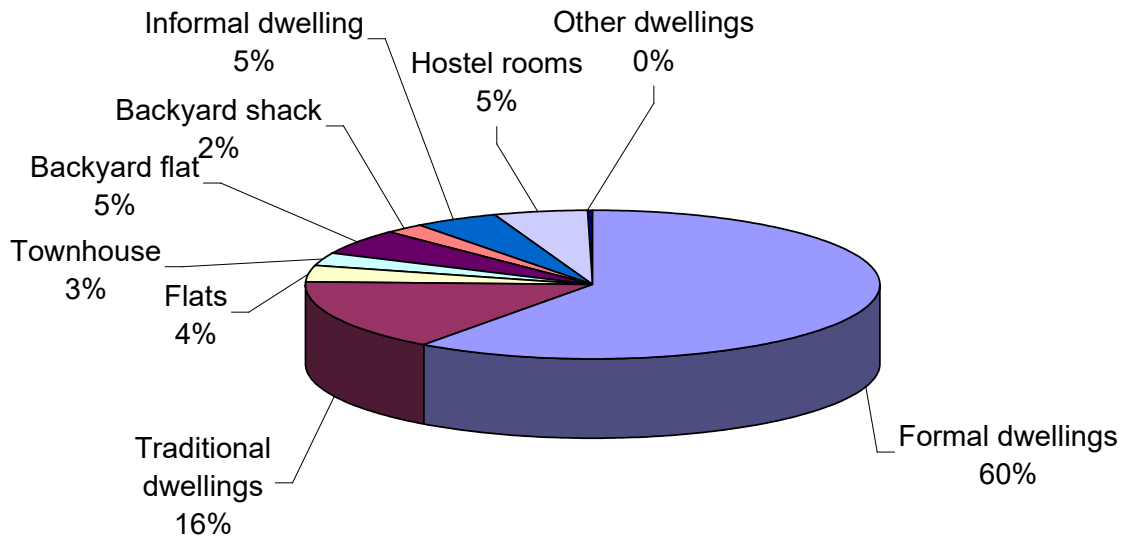
While exact figures on the incidence and population sizes within each settlement type as defined in this typology are not available, the following information from the Housing and Urbanisation Information System gives some indication of the proportions of people living in various house types (see graph next page).

Clearly, people living in informal forms of housing, whether in freestanding settlements or located within formally-planned areas, continue to represent a large proportion of the population. In calculating housing shortages within the country, it is this group that constitutes the main part of the backlog being addressed by government housing policy.

The typology is used to identify the specific problems and challenges faced by the various settlement types. Government interventions directed at improving conditions within existing settlement types or at creating new housing stock through greenfields or infill developments are reviewed for their measurable impacts.

Desirable outcomes for policy are derived both from international thinking as described in the next section, and from local policy interpretations of international positions.

### Proportion of House Types: 1998



## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix C for a list of suggested housing indicators.

<sup>2</sup> Statistics South Africa, *The People of South Africa, Population Census, 1996: Census in brief* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 1998)

<sup>3</sup> 1991-1995 estimate by Statistics South Africa (<http://www.statssa.gov.za/SABrief/table3.htm>)

<sup>4</sup> Statistics South Africa. *Mid-year estimates, 1999* (<http://www.statssa.gov.za/Statistical%20releases/Statistical%20releases.htm>)

<sup>5</sup> The GNP per capita was US\$ 2450 in 1990 according to UNCHS, *An Urbanizing World: global report on human settlements 1996* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> J. May, D. Budlender, R. Mokate, C. Rogerson and A. Stavrou, *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa. Report prepared for the Office of the Executive Deputy President and the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality* (<http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/reports/poverty.html>, 1998)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> 1999 Budget Review. The 1996 Census estimate by Statistics South Africa was 34%.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> A. Bernstein (ed.), *South Africa's Small Towns: new strategies for growth and development* (Johannesburg: Centre for Development Enterprise, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> More detail on living conditions appears in the second part of Section 3 of this report.

<sup>12</sup> Reference to racial categories is necessary for historical reasons to demonstrate the unequal urban and rural structures resulting from racial classification according to the Group Areas Act.

<sup>13</sup> J. McCarthy and A. Bernstein, *South Africa's 'Discarded People': Survival Adaptation, and*

*Current Challenges. CDE Research, Policy in the Making* (Johannesburg: Centre for Development Enterprise, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> A. Lemon, "The Apartheid City" in *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities* (Cape Town: David Philip: 1991). Pages 1-25.

<sup>15</sup> See C. Rogerson, "Home-based enterprises of the urban poor: the case of spazas", in E. Preston-Whyte and C. Rogerson eds, *South Africa's Informal Economy* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>16</sup> As estimated in Republic of South Africa, *Housing White Paper* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1994)

<sup>17</sup> See L. Dueñas, K. Hall, and B. Russell, *Study of Former Township Property Market Dynamics. Volume One: Narrative Report*. Report by Abt Associates Inc. and Social Surveys (Pty) Ltd for Mortgage Indemnity Fund and National Housing Finance Corporation. (Johannesburg: National Housing Finance Corporation, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> See A. Lemon (ed.), *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1991); D.M. Smith (ed.), *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1992); and M. Swilling, R. Humphries, K. Shubane (eds), *Apartheid City in Transition* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> Republic of South Africa, *White Paper on Local Government* (Pretoria: Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998), and J. McCarthy and A. Bernstein, *South Africa's 'Discarded People': Survival Adaptation, and Current Challenges. CDE Research, Policy in the Making* (Johannesburg: Centre for Development Enterprise, 1998).

## 2 International Policy Background

### Late entry

South Africa was a late entrant into the international debate on human settlements. While the mass housing approach of the 1950s and 1960s township building process was comparable to housing delivery approaches in other parts of the world, the State agenda was to use the provision of housing to pursue segregationist ends, placing the country further and further from global thinking and practices.

In the same month that Habitat I was held in Vancouver, the Soweto uprisings were beginning (16 June 1976), and were followed by a more directed application of apartheid policies by the National Party government in the last decades of its tenure<sup>1</sup>. Although there was some flirtation with self-help processes by the State in the 1980s, the spirit of community-driven development was absent, being overshadowed by the non-democratic characteristics of the overarching political structures<sup>2</sup>.

It has only been since re-admission to the United Nations General Assembly and other world bodies, that the country has again begun to benefit from, and to participate in, international debates. In the interim there had been many developments in world thinking on human settlements.

### Adequate Shelter for All

By the late 1960s many governments were finding it increasingly difficult to act as direct providers of housing. Into the hiatus created by slowing housing delivery came a group of theorists who reviewed the efforts of informal settlement dwellers to house themselves. People such as John Turner, William Mangin and Charles Abrams observed unassisted self-help practices and used the lessons learnt to suggest how formal housing processes could benefit from the participation of residents.

The writings of these theorists and the entry of large international bodies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations into housing issues in developing countries in the early 1970s, led to a heightened awareness of the role of adequate shelter in wider development processes.

At first, innovative projects for affordable housing for the poor were funded directly by the large, multilateral organisations and by other, smaller donor agencies. As replicability of these projects was rarely achieved, the focus moved to stimulating the creation of financial intermediaries

formed with the purpose of making loans to poor households. Finally the approach shifted to trying to stimulate the wider housing sector to address housing needs, and to combine housing initiatives with economic development and poverty alleviation, and to support sustainable environments<sup>3</sup>.

In 1988 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000. The strategy captured many of the shifts in thinking on housing, including that the role of governments should be to enable housing delivery rather than to act as direct providers of housing.

At the same time that these conclusions were being reached, the debate around sustainable development was gaining ground and becoming more relevant to the human settlement debates.

### Sustainable Development

Since the 1950's there has been increasing pressure on humankind to consider the role its developmental activities play in environmental debilitation and the depletion of the natural resource base. The great London fogs, the poisoning of rivers in the United States and Europe, the accidents at Three Mile Island, Chernobyl and Bhopal, acid rain and the depletion of the ozone layer all highlighted the effect industrial processes were having on the environment.

It was also recognised that human settlement was an important contributor to environmental degradation. This was evidenced by the deforestation and subsequent desertification of areas around large human settlements in Africa; the erosion and mudslides that have become a common feature of informal settlements built on steep hillsides from South America to South East Asia; and the crippling smog found in many large cities like Los Angeles and Mexico City. These factors all contributed to the realisation that development could not be sustained without attention to environmental protection.

This led the Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) to create the concept of *sustainable development*. In 1987 the World Council for Economic Development (WCED) published a report called *Our Common Future*, also referred to as the Brundtland Report, after its Chair, Gro Brundtland, the then

**Sustainable Development means meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.**  
WCED, 1987

prime minister of Norway. This report provided a description of, and definition for, sustainable development that was adopted by the United Nations (and the South African government) so as to inform its policy on development: "Sustainable Development means meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"<sup>4</sup>.

At the same time the increasing awareness of human rights (sparked *inter alia* by the International Declaration of Human Rights), especially the rights of vulnerable groups such as women, children, the disabled and indigenous people, as well as the need for global peace, was also influencing the development debate.

It was soon realised that sustainable development was not just about addressing the conflict between protecting the environment and natural resources, and answering the developmental needs of the human race, but it also required social and economic changes leading to a reduction in poverty levels and greater social equity, both between people and between nations.

This led to the current view of sustainable development, as captured by Ed Barbier in 1986<sup>5</sup> of maximising goal achievement across the three systems identified as basic to development, namely the biological/ ecological resource system, the economic system and the social system.

This provided the foundation for the concept of sustainable development on which international policy documents such as *Agenda 21*, the *Habitat Agenda* and *Urban 21* were built. This starting point has influenced the South African Constitution and most post-1994 policy.

## Agenda 21

At the "Earth Summit" – the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro – the international community agreed on a framework for global sustainable development. The Conference produced two legally-binding agreements – *The United Nations' Framework Convention on Climate Change* and *The Convention on Biological Diversity*, as well as two non-binding agreements.

The first, *The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*, set out the principles for human interaction with the environment. The second, *Agenda 21*, formed the international guideline and action plan for sustainable development, and has been adopted by more than 178 nation states as a non-treaty agreement.

*Agenda 21* provides a broad overview of sustainable development, as well as a basis for action, objectives, recommended activities and the means of implementation for forty separate issues of concern spanning social and economic dimensions, conservation and management of resources for development, the role of major groups and means of implementation.

The position of *Agenda 21* on human settlements is summed up in this statement: "The objective is to achieve adequate shelter for rapidly growing populations and for the currently deprived urban and rural poor through an enabling approach to shelter development and improvement that is environmentally sound".

## Local Agenda 21

The aim of *Local Agenda 21* (LA 21) is to change the way local governments are organised and operated to ensure that municipal services can be sustained and equitably distributed between current and future generations. This objective requires a strategic planning approach that equally factors long-term community, ecological and economic concerns into the development and provision of current municipal services.

### LA 21 Initiatives in South Africa

In South Africa there are approximately ten formal LA 21 initiatives currently taking place. Among these are the cities of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, and a provincial LA 21 strategy in KwaZulu-Natal. At national level the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEA&T) has embarked on an awareness-raising and capacity-building programme and a National LA 21 Campaign. The LA 21 principles are also being integrated into Local Government planning processes, including Integrated Development Planning and Land Development Objectives. Several national policy documents, including the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the White Paper on Local Government, refer to the important role that local authorities have to play in the process of sustainable development. The Urban Development Framework of South Africa specifically encourages local authorities to embark on LA 21 initiatives<sup>6</sup>.

## Habitat Agenda

Following the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, there were several other international conferences that addressed important environmental, social and economic issues, including components of the sustainable development agenda. Of these, the 2<sup>nd</sup>

United Nations Conference for Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul, 1996, dealt specifically with sustainable human settlements.

Habitat II, having considered the experience since the first Habitat conference in Vancouver, 1976, as well as the results from the other United Nations world conferences, developed an agenda for the sustainable development of human settlements: the *Habitat Agenda*. It outlines goals and principles, commitments and a global plan of action for the achievement of sustainable human settlement development.

Two broad themes emerge as central to the whole agenda. The first is *adequate shelter for all*.

According to the Habitat Agenda, "Adequate shelter means more than a roof over one's head. It also means adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; security of tenure; structural stability and durability; adequate lighting, heating and ventilation; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water-supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities; suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should be available at an affordable cost. *Adequacy should be determined together with the people concerned, bearing in mind the prospect for gradual development.* Adequacy often varies from country to country, since it depends on specific cultural, social, environmental and economic factors" (para. 39)(italics added).

The second broad theme from Habitat Agenda is *sustainable human settlement development in an urbanising world*. The vision of sustainable human settlements is one where all have adequate shelter, a healthy and safe environment, basic services, and productive and freely-chosen employment. The wider issues are summed up so: "In order to sustain our global environment and improve the quality of living in our human settlements, we commit ourselves to *sustainable patterns of production, consumption, transportation and settlements development*; pollution prevention; respect for the carrying capacity of ecosystems; and the preservation of opportunities for future generations" (para. 10)(italics added).

As a signatory to the Habitat Agenda, the South African Department of Housing has taken responsibility for interpreting the principles into the local situation, and monitoring the implementation of the commitments of the agreement. As a result, this investigation uses the Habitat Agenda as its primary measure for South African human settlement policies and programmes.

## Urban 21

Still in draft form, the '*Urban 21 World Report on the Urban Future*' analyses the current trends in urban development throughout the world and devises concepts for urban development into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It describes the dimensions of the sustainable city and the challenges cities face in the new millennium. It illustrates the current trends and their outcomes in the urban world of 2020. It also outlines the government policies that will be needed to address the issues raised. The July 2000 Urban 21 Conference is one of the key elements of the Global Initiative on Sustainable Development, and is to be sponsored by Brazil, Germany, Singapore and South Africa<sup>7</sup>.

## Environmental agreements

South Africa is party to a number of multilateral environmental agreements for which the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism is primarily responsible. It is a member of influential international organisations such as the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and Wetlands International. The South African government treats these obligations seriously and the objective of meeting regional and/or international obligations is noted in several post-1994 policy documents<sup>8</sup>.

### International Agreements

South Africa is party to the following international agreements that affect the environment and human settlements (Geach, 1999)

#### *Stratospheric Ozone Depletion*

Vienna Convention  
Montreal Protocol

#### *Global Climate Change*

Framework Convention on Climate Change  
Kyoto Protocol

#### *Hazardous Waste*

Basel Convention

#### *Biological Resources*

CITES  
Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance  
Convention on Biological Diversity

#### *Land Degradation*

Convention to Combat Desertification

#### *Heritage Resources*

Heritage Convention (including World Heritage Sites)

## Habitat Agenda in South Africa

The Urban Development Framework released by the South African Department of Housing in 1997 is the main policy guideline for the implementation of Habitat Agenda in South Africa.

It outlines an urban vision that by 2020, South African cities and towns will be

- Spatially and socio-economically integrated, free of racial and gender discrimination and segregation, enabling people to make residential and employment choices to pursue their ideals.
- Centres of economic and social opportunity where people can live and work in a safe, healthy and peaceful environment.
- Centres of vibrant urban governance, managed by democratic, efficient, sustainable and accountable metropolitan and local governments in close co-operation with civil society and geared towards innovative community-led development.
- Environmentally sustainable, marked by a balance between a quality-built environment and open space; as well as a balance between consumption needs and renewable and non-renewable resources. Sustainable development, therefore, meets the needs of the present while not compromising the needs of future generations.
- Planned in a highly participatory fashion that promotes the integration and sustainability of urban environments.
- Marked by adequate housing and infrastructure and effective services that provide households and business a basis for equitable standards of living.
- Integrated industrial, commercial, residential, information and health, educational and recreational centres which provide easy access to a range of urban resources.
- Financed by government subsidies and by mobilising additional resources through partnerships, by more forcefully tapping capital markets, and by employing innovative off-budget methods.

Also defined in the Urban Development Framework are a set of goals to achieve this vision. These are summarised into four key programmes.

### Programme 1

Integrating the city which aims to negate apartheid-induced segregation, fragmentation and inequality. The focus is on integrated planning, rebuilding and

upgrading the townships and informal settlements, planning for higher density land-use and developments, reforming the urban land and planning system, urban transportation and environmental management.

### Programme 2

Improving housing and infrastructure involves the upgrading and construction of housing, restoring and extending infrastructure, alleviating environmental health hazards, encouraging investment and increasing access to finance, social development, building habitable and safe communities, maintaining safety and security and designing habitable urban communities.

### Programme 3

Promoting urban economic development aims to enhance the capacity of urban areas to build on local strengths to generate greater local economic activity, to achieve sustainability, to alleviate urban poverty, to increase access to informal economic opportunities and to maximise the direct employment opportunities and the multiplier effect from implementing development programmes.

### Programme 4

Creating institutions for delivery requires significant transformation and capacity-building of government at all levels and clarity on the roles and responsibilities of the different government spheres. This will also encompass a range of institutions, including civil society and the private sector, and require significant co-operation and co-ordination among all of them.

As a local interpretation of the principles and goals of Habitat Agenda, these key programmes are used as the basis for discussion of the impact of government programmes below.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> P. Gill and H. Touzel *South African National Report to Habitat II 'The City Summit'*. Report compiled by the CSIR under the auspices of the South African National Preparatory Committee (Pretoria: CSIR, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> For example, in Cape Town core housing and sites and services approaches were attempted in Khayelitsha, but secure tenure was not granted to residents.

<sup>3</sup> S.K. Mayo and S. Angel, *Enabling Housing Markets to Work*, A World Bank Policy Paper (Washington: The World Bank, 1993)

<sup>4</sup> World Council for Economic Development (WCED) *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). It should, however, be noted that there was widespread criticism of this definition as not being specific enough about what needs should be met, as well as for putting human needs above the needs of other species and their environmental rights, and for being so vague that it leads to many distorted interpretations, allowing

social actors to adopt a cosmetic approach to development projects that may not lead to environmental and social sustainability.

<sup>5</sup> E.B. Barbier "The concept of sustainable economic development," *Environmental Conservation*, 14/2 (1987), pp.101-110.

<sup>6</sup> Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, *South Africa's Local Agenda 21 News*. Issue 1, October 1998.

<sup>7</sup> See <http://www.urban21.de/english/index.html>

<sup>8</sup> B. Geach, *Overview of International Conventions: Implications for Spatial Planning and Natural Resource Management in South Africa*. Discussion paper prepared for Co-ordination and Implementation Unit in the Office of the Deputy President and presented at the Workshop on the Development of Spatial Guidelines for Infrastructure Investment and Development, 13-14 May 1999.

### ***3 Forces of Change and Living Conditions***

#### **Forces of change**

**B**efore reviewing the policies and programmes that the State designed to address the problems and challenges faced by people in human settlements after the transition to democracy, it is necessary to look at wider forces which have caused changes in settlements. Some are local, or 'proximal', factors which act directly on the inhabitants of settlements, such as population growth and migration. Others are remote, or 'distal', factors which come mainly from outside of a society, such as the effects of globalisation and the information revolution. These are addressed for their combined influence on human settlements.

After the forces of change and their broad impacts on settlement types have been discussed, the living conditions that now pertain in human settlements are described.

#### **Demographic change**

##### **A young, growing population**

**S**outh Africa's population is growing at the rate of 2.06% per annum, and was expected to double by 2035. However, there are factors such as the spread of Aids, the improving status of women, and better quality of life that are likely to impact on this predicted growth trend. An 8% reduction in the population is expected by 2010 as a result of Aids<sup>1</sup>.

The population is getting younger, with 44% under the age of 20.<sup>2</sup> This would mean an increased need for youth-related services such as educational and recreational facilities, and job opportunities.

The traditional nuclear family is not the norm in South Africa. Many children do not live in the same household as their parents and 42% of children under the age of seven live only with their mother. Although this might have been a product of apartheid policies, the number of single female-headed households is not likely to change.

Aids is likely to play a major role in shaping the age and family structure of the population, as it is the main providers who are primarily the victims of Aids. They will leave behind an increasing number of Aids orphans, many of whom are themselves infected.

#### **The Aids pandemic**

**T**he single most important health trend is the rapid increase in HIV infection. Ante-natal clinic surveys conducted in April 1999<sup>3</sup> conservatively estimated that 22% of the population is infected, with 1 500 new infections per day. At this rate it is estimated that the average life expectancy will reduce from 62 to 40 years by 2010.

The rate of infection is highest among young adults between 20 and 35 years of age, affecting the bulk of the working population, and there is an increase of infection among the 5 to 14 age group.

The South African government has laid the basis for an equitable primary health care system, but it is ill-equipped to deal with the Aids crisis. There is also a culture of silence surrounding the disease, with many victims too scared to admit to being infected, and even more not willing to be tested. Given these factors it is likely that the disease will reach pandemic levels in the next five years.

Apart from serious economic repercussions in terms of increased medical care and pension costs, low productivity and loss of productive and experienced employees, the welfare and health care burden on the State will dramatically increase. At the same time the tax base is likely to be eroded due to loss of economically active adults. Aids will also impact on issues such as housing and infrastructure needs, as well as the provision of special health care facilities, orphanages and cemeteries.

Aids is, however, not the only significant cause of death in South Africa. The diseases connected with poverty remain the primary causes of death. In 1990, 20.8% of deaths in children under 5 were due to diarrhoea and 9.4% to upper respiratory infection, both indicators of a low quality environment and low quality of life<sup>4</sup>. Government programmes providing clean water, sanitation and electricity will hopefully alleviate some of the problems, but poverty remains a key contributor to ill-health.

#### **Emigration, immigration and xenophobia**

**S**outh Africa annually loses almost twice as many people through emigration than it gains through immigration. Of those who emigrate the majority have university degrees, with a quarter having Master's degrees, MBA's or PhD's. Almost

one-third are professionals, including doctors, lawyers and accountants.<sup>5</sup>

Most immigrants to South Africa come from the Southern African region and other African countries. The majority are semi-skilled and find employment in the mining and agricultural industries and in informal trading. The closure of the gold mines and continued civil strife in other parts of Africa will, however, have an influence on the skills make-up of the immigrant population.

Contrary to the stereotype of immigrants as increasing crime and creating competition for jobs, studies by the South African Migration Project in Johannesburg showed that many immigrants are self-employed and running businesses that create on average 3.33 job opportunities. Despite this positive contribution immigrants are making to the country, South Africa has the highest level of opposition to immigration recorded by any country in the world and attacks on immigrants are on the increase<sup>6</sup>.

Immigration has particularly changed the organisation, residential complexion and business make-up of the Johannesburg inner city. Large parts of the inner city have experienced the influence of foreign immigrants through residential and business activities. This has resulted in a vibrant cosmopolitan culture that is breathing new life into the inner city and may in time lead to its rehabilitation.

## Social forces of change

### Poverty and inequality

South Africa has the second highest inequality coefficient in the world<sup>7</sup>. While the inequality of income distribution between races is considerable, inequality within race groups is also substantial. With the growth of the black middle class and a black elite, this inequality is not likely to disappear, but will be more evenly distributed between racial groups.

The greatest inequality can be found between male- and female-headed households. Single female-headed households in rural areas still form the most impoverished sector of the population.

While South Africa has a relatively high per capita income, an effective unemployment rate of 37,6% and the fact that a quarter of the employed population earns less than R500 per month<sup>8</sup> means that poverty remains an obstacle to sustainable development. Job shedding in the private and public sector, the closure of gold mines and a steady decrease in employment opportunities for unskilled labour, coupled with a young, growing population and a decline in

economic growth, ensure that poverty will remain high on the agenda for some time to come.

### Growing unemployment

The South African labour market has been characterised by an increase in relative and absolute unemployment as the economy fails to create enough jobs to fulfil the need of its young and economically active population. The expanded unemployment rate increased from 32.7% in 1994 to 37.6% in 1999<sup>9</sup>.

The negative performance of the formal sector in creating employment could be attributed to, amongst others, the pressure exerted on domestic private-sector producers for higher real wages in an unfavourable international economic environment. The private sector opted for more capital-intensive production methods whilst reducing their work force, with a resultant decline in total employment. The move by government to improve the efficiency of its public service also has a negative effect on employment creation. Declining international commodity prices, especially of gold, and the expansion of subcontracting and outworking in a number of economic sectors, further reduce formal employment opportunities.

The occupational change from labour-based occupations to knowledge-based occupations also plays a role in the increase of unemployment. The shift towards a demand for skilled workers such as professionals and technicians is an international trend, although more marked in developed countries. In contrast the growth in jobs for the production-related workers has been low or even negative in both developed and developing countries. The exception to this is in the area of sales and services.<sup>10</sup>

While a large percentage of South Africans remain relatively uneducated, those areas where they traditionally could find work – mining and agriculture – are steadily shedding employment opportunities. The 1996 Census Report showed a definite decrease in the traditionally unskilled and semi-skilled jobs provided by the agricultural sector (from 30% to 10%) and the mining sector (from 9% to 7%) since the previous census. In contrast the community, social and personal service sector employed 31% of the population in 1996.

### Relevant education for all

There is steady growth in literacy levels and the Adult Basic Education Programme will further improve the skills base of those who have not received an adequate basic education because of the country's past. Despite a 22% drop in matriculation exemptions, enrolment for tertiary education has shown sustained growth. This is

laying the foundation for the transfer from a production economy towards a knowledge and service-based economy, in line with international trends.

In 2012 Curriculum 2005 will produce its first crop of learners with outcomes-based knowledge and life skills and an understanding of how their actions interact with the environment and with society at large. This will equip the new generation with the skills required for the trend towards increased public participation in development and governance.

## Communities and crime

Despite a decrease or stabilisation in most serious crimes, the crime rates remain unacceptably high.

Reported cases per 100 000 of the population <sup>11</sup>			
Type of crime	1994	1996	1998
Murder	32.9	28.8	25.9
Common robbery	37.1	60.4	63.1
Rape	46.7	57.5	52.8
Indecent assault	4.6	6.1	5.2
Illegal possession of a firearm	12.7	15.1	15.4

Notwithstanding the formation of over one thousand Community Policing Forums, communities still have little faith in the police to protect them. Perceptions that the criminal justice system and the police are failing in their protective duty are resulting in an increased use of armed response security guards by the wealthy, and the formation of vigilante groups by the poor.

The private security industry has shown phenomenal growth and now employs more active officers than the South African Police Service. Within the informal side sector, vigilante groups like 'People against Gangsterism and Drugs' (PAGAD) and Mapoga-a-Matamaga are applying a form of civil law, sometimes killing or otherwise punishing suspected drug dealers and other criminals. Communities are increasingly making use of 'kangaroo' courts to punish crime suspects. In some cases poor communities even contribute to bail in order to submit the suspect to mob justice.

Both social and economic factors are leading to growth in gang activity and organised crime. The job market is unable to provide for the number of young people entering the market, leading to dissatisfaction, tension and low self-esteem. The

situation is complicated by changes in the traditional family structure. The Institute for Security Studies predicts that South Africa is likely to experience serious repercussions should this trend continue.

In the light of the above, it is likely that South Africa's cities and towns will remain unsafe for some time. This is reflected in the form of buildings and settlements. High levels of crime are bringing major changes in the built environment, the spatial form of cities and in public spaces. Increasingly the higher income groups are taking refuge in fortified suburbs, office complexes and shopping centres, effectively widening gaps between rich and poor, and creating literal social exclusions (see also *Urban fortification*).

## Gender equality

While women are still worse off than men in terms of education, employment and pay, and are severely discriminated against in terms of customary law, the lot of women is steadily improving.

With 34% of the members of the National Assembly and a quarter of the provincial legislatures being female, the South African legislature is one of the most representative in the world. Women also account for the majority of students at universities, and the percentage of employed women who are professionals is higher than the percentage for men. However, women make up only 22% of managers and 39% of professionals, with their salaries averaging about 71% of those of men.<sup>12</sup>

The increasing equalisation of the genders and the improved status of women will affect population growth and have several impacts on human settlement. With more women being able to access finance, more houses will belong to women, giving them more power in communities and within their personal relationships. This may also lead to an increase in the demand for housing.

## Urbanisation trends

### Expanding cities

The majority of the world's population now lives in cities. In South Africa 55% of the population are city dwellers. Gauteng is the most urbanised province with 96.4% of its population living in an urban area.<sup>13</sup>

**Table: population living in urban areas by province<sup>14</sup>**

Eastern Cape	37.3%
Free State	69.6%
Gauteng	96.4%
Kwa Zulu- Natal	43.5%
Mpumalanga	38.3
Northern Cape	71.7%
Northern Province	11.9%
North West Province	34.8%
Western Cape	89.9%
Overall	55.4%

When South Africa experienced rapid migration to cities in the 1970s and 1980s, predictions were made of mushrooming metropolitan areas reaching mega-city proportions. An examination of populations of South African cities now confirms that these predictions were unfounded and that the flow of people to metropolitan areas was not sustained. Although the growth of informal settlements in and around the metropolitan areas continued, it was largely due to the decompression of township populations in many areas. In fact, population estimates in many cities have been revised downwards.<sup>15</sup>

There is a need now to look carefully, and in a more differentiated manner, at the complex patterns of population movement which are emerging and the resultant urbanisation trends. It could be argued that in the current context of weak economic performance and employment contraction, the urbanisation process has not only been significantly altered, but that there is a much more varied pattern with distinct regional trends emerging.

A factor that influences these changing urbanisation processes is the growing importance of Spatial Development Initiatives, which guide development towards other parts of the country, especially the coast, and other physical elements, such as natural resource deposits. Also playing a role is reluctance to move to cities due to perceptions of crime and violence, and the cheaper costs of living in rural areas.

### Changing migration patterns

**W**hile there still is a degree of rural-urban migration to some metropolitan areas, it is small compared to the current rural-rural migration taking place.

The migration patterns vary greatly from region to region. Cape Town and Gauteng are still

experiencing in-migration from rural areas, while this has slowed considerably in Durban. In fact, there is evidence of movement to the rural areas on the edges of Durban due to lower service costs and opportunities for livelihoods derived from the natural resource base, as well as from the city.

In general there is a migration trend towards the coast. These flows are encouraged by coastally-orientated development policies such as the Rural Development Framework and GEAR which encourage flows from declining intermediate regions<sup>16</sup>.

There is a national decline in migrant labour resulting in part from a shift by employers away from employing migrant labour, as well as the decline of the mining sector that was a major employer of migrant labour. This may also affect circular migration patterns and there is evidence that, in some areas at least, the links between urban populations and rural social networks are becoming weaker.<sup>17</sup>

What is clear, however, is that movement patterns are not static nor continuous, but are continually shifting and vary within settlement types and across provinces.

### Growth of small towns

**T**here is a remarkable trend of rural densification around small towns, especially in the Free State, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. This is in part because evicted farm workers and those unable to continue their subsistence living on degraded land tend to move to the nearest small town, rather than to more distant cities.

Movement has also occurred from tribal areas to small towns in ex-homeland areas. For example Butterworth in the Eastern Cape experienced a 10% per annum growth during the 1990's, despite the collapse of industrial employment in the area.<sup>18</sup> Similar growth in other towns appears to be placing a severe strain on infrastructure and services.

Another influence on the growth of small towns is reverse migration (or ex-urbanisation) from urban areas to small towns. Knowledge workers and the elite are moving to small towns with particular attractions in the form of environmental amenity, economic growth or a pleasant "rural" atmosphere (such as Franschoek and Kosmos). This trend is made possible largely by the new information technology and the resultant different organisation of work. It might result in significant commercial growth in these areas over time.<sup>19</sup>

## Spatial trends

### Perpetuating the apartheid city

Government policy as described in the Urban Development Framework, the Development Facilitation Act and the Housing Scheme Implementation Policy establishes a vision of the future South African city as a viable, socially and economically integrated set of communities situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, as well as health, educational and social amenities.

Despite this lofty vision many low-income subsidised housing projects have continued to be developed in peripheral locations, reinforcing the dysfunctional settlement patterns of the apartheid city.

The pressure to reach the government's goal of building 1 million houses in five years, lack of skills and capacity in local government, and the absence of strategic planning frameworks until recently, are often blamed for this state of affairs. These are, however, not the only causes. The main obstacles towards achieving an integrated city lie in both the economic and social realities.

The first obstacle is finding available and affordable land with access to bulk infrastructure that is well-located in terms of socio-economic opportunities. The second obstacle is the reality of existing land invasion and informal settlement. These are often on the periphery of existing settlements as a result of overflow from the adjacent settlement and/or of social and cultural links and networks. The third obstacle is referred to as the NIMBY factor ("not in my backyard"), where surrounding property owners block new development because of a perception that a low-income housing project would negatively affect their property values and increase crime rates.

Another factor contributing to the perpetuation of apartheid spatial patterns is the continuation and, in some of the better located areas, rapid growth of displaced urban areas. Although these creations of apartheid have very little inherent spatial or economic logic of their own, they are preferred as residential locations by large numbers of people living there.<sup>20</sup>

Given that these factors are not bound to disappear in the near future, the 'compact city' ideal is not likely to be achieved soon. What is emerging though, is a debate on the feasibility of achieving the envisioned compact city in a market economy, where most land is in private ownership and settlement development is largely a private sector activity.

### The compact city debate

Urban sprawl is a worldwide phenomenon causing many problems. In response, the Habitat Agenda and most international thinkers on urban sustainability have advocated the compaction of the city through measures such as delimiting growth boundaries and increasing residential densities.

In South Africa the vision of a compact city has been further strengthened by its ability to weave together the areas of the city that have been spatially separated by apartheid planning. This thinking is incorporated in many government policy documents dealing with urban planning and urban form issues.

However, despite these ideals of compaction, South African metropolitan areas in the 1990's are increasingly sprawling, with the poor continuing to locate on the periphery. This leads many to argue that apartheid urban patterns persist even in the new dispensation, and the viability of achieving the vision of a compact city for South African cities in the near future has been questioned.

The main question is whether the compact city is an economically preferential option. It is argued that a gap can be identified between current urban spatial form policies and what is required for economic development and satisfying market needs.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, studies on the economic efficiency of sprawl versus compaction<sup>22</sup> have found that there is not enough evidence to conclude that densification is the cost-effective alternative in all situations and under all conditions. Unless measures of wealth change radically, chances are that servicing new areas may continue to be cheaper than re-servicing and densifying older areas.

It should be noted, however, that these arguments come from a purely economic point of view and do not take into account costs to the environment and to society.

A more valid concern is whether the compact city is practically implementable given the fixed nature of the built environment, as well as the existing lifestyle patterns in South Africa.

Current thinking is to emphasise integration and not compaction, using the compact city principles where practicable, but also accepting the reality of sprawl, and to concentrate on mitigating its negative aspects by, for instance, upgrading informal and low-income settlements to improve quality of life. The main realisation is that there is not a single development imperative suitable for all circumstances.

## Commercial decentralisation

**U**rban sprawl in South Africa is as much a product of market forces as of apartheid. International trends such as residential and commercial sub-urbanisation, and office and commercial decentralisation, continue to evolve and to change the shape of the city. There is clear statistical evidence over the past fifty years of cities decentralising, and current thinking in urban sustainability supports the notion of the polycentric city. This supports the development of secondary business, commercial and entertainment nodes within residential areas, as well as on the urban periphery.

The latter type of commercial decentralisation is referred to as 'edge cities' and, in South Africa, is partly developing as a result of another trend, that of the secure 'country estates'

This trend can be attributed to the following factors:

- changing organisation of work leading to the changing location of work (e.g. telecommuting)
- changing urban economies and their sectoral composition leading to different uses of and needs for space.
- crime and grime (urban decay)
- increased economic class demarcation.

The last two factors also give rise to the trend of urban fortification.

## Urban fortification

**G**rowing crime rates worldwide are leading to the fortification of parts of the city. Modern urban families are keeping themselves safe by turning their houses into impregnable 'castles', and their neighbourhoods into walled towns. Although an international trend that can be found in any city with a high crime rate, it is particularly visible in middle-class South African suburbs.

Three-metre high walls topped by razor wire, electric fencing, security gates and burglar bars, and the services of a 24-hour armed response security company form the first line of defence. Many neighbourhoods are also attempting to limit access by closing streets and establishing a manned security entry point. While these measures have some effect on crime levels, as many soon find out they are often not enough to keep determined criminals out.

The need for ultimate security without the feel of living in a prison has given rise to what is possibly the fastest growing residential sector: the security complex and its luxury counterpart – the

Planned Community Project. These are literally small villages, some even with schools, golf courses and clubs, providing full perimeter and entry security, 24 hours a day. Often situated on the urban periphery, these estates offer a safe, semi-rural lifestyle close to the city.

The trend for urban fortification is resulting in fragmented cities with public space becoming mainly movement channels from one enclave to another.

## De-racialisation of the city

**T**wo trends are evident in intra-urban residential movement patterns and can be linked partly to the emergence of a new black middle-class in South Africa. State employees and professionals such as teachers, nurses, and State bureaucrats, tend to either be moving to newer, more elite or "gentrified" areas of the former townships, or into middle and upper class residential areas in cities or suburbs. There is some evidence of the de-racialisation of these former white residential areas although the class stratification of urban residential areas remains largely intact.

## Gentrification

**A**n international trend towards gentrification is evident in the core of cities with the growth of professional and managerial professions and the rise of young university-educated inhabitants with a strong orientation towards cultural facilities of the inner city. Former working class areas become gentrified as degraded stock is bought up and renovated. The areas become the focus of high quality, differentiated cultural services. Gentrification could be seen as part of a counter-trend to sub-urbanisation.

In South Africa there are a few areas which have experienced the gentrification process. These include Melville in Johannesburg and the City Bowl in Cape Town, and there is evidence of gentrification in some townships. In general, however, this trend is still fairly weak.

## Economic forces of change

### Growth of the informal sector

**T**he Statistics South Africa Economic Report, June 1999, reported that the informal sector contributes 6.9% to the GDP. This is more than agriculture (3.9%) and almost as much as mining (7%).

Several factors in the labour market, as discussed above, are resulting in increased unemployment. This means that a growing number

of the South African population has to gear itself to the informal sector in which they either supplement their formal sector wages or are totally dependent on self-employment or casual wage employment.

The impact of economic restructuring on informal activity in South Africa has changed the growing urban informal sector from being dominated by manufacturing activities to principally trading activity. This can be seen in the proliferation of street trading and craft markets. There is also an expansion into the service industry, and the growth of service-orientated home-based enterprises reflects this.

The informal sector will influence the spatial development and design of the built environment and give rise to different patterns of commercial development. It can also provide the key to the integration of the city by stimulating the development of commercial nodes in the townships.

## Development of Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs)

The ability of SMMEs to create additional employment opportunities and promote technical innovation, has meant that they are being recognised as an important component in South Africa's economic development.

South Africa's official economic strategy assumes a large portion of new jobs created will derive from the SMME sector and specific principles have been incorporated in a range of government policies to benefit SMMEs, particularly with reference to public sector procurement.

SMMEs require a different type and form of built environment from the traditional industrial and corporate model. The development of the SMME sector is already influencing the urban fabric through the increase of small, service-orientated businesses in residential areas, the development of small office nodes and manufacturing hives, and the growth in home-based enterprises

## Expansion of the tourism industry

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world, employing 1 in every 10 workers in the global work force, and 1 in 9 on the African continent. South Africa's economy, with its shift away from the production of raw materials towards a service industry, of which tourism is part, is also reflecting this trend. Tourism is already a key source of South Africa's foreign exchange earnings.

The relatively new trend in adventure tourism and eco-tourism, coupled with the country's excellent infrastructure and political stability, is

definitely in favour of South Africa's tourism industry. South Africa ranked as the top tourist destination in Africa in 1997. However, the high levels of crime in the country continue to have a negative effect on the number of international tourists and damage South Africa's prospects as a globally competitive destination.

Attempts are also made in South Africa to ensure that the benefits of tourism initiatives reach local communities. These include ensuring that there is a degree of participation by local communities, that possibilities for land leasing between communal authorities and conservation agencies or private enterprises are explored, and that ventures are jointly administered and community led.<sup>23</sup>

The sectors that can be expected to derive the most benefit from tourism are agriculture, construction, service and manufacturing. However, the indirect employment benefits are dependent on the sophistication of the local economy, and indirect employment stemming from tourism is unlikely to accrue in rural areas where the economy is underdeveloped.

## Globalisation

The rise of the global economy is associated with the growing integration of the production and markets of different countries. This was largely made possible by telecommunications and other technological improvements that have enabled economic activities to be connected without having to be in close proximity and to operate across time zones 24 hours a day. This new process has naturally led to the more efficient allocation of resources around the globe, enabling countries to specialise in the areas of high productivity and import in those areas where their companies are less productive.

One result of globalisation is the increasing competition between cities for investment. Cities therefore have to take heed of the factors influencing the location choices of multinational corporations. According to the OECD these corporations review three main factors:

- production cost estimates,
- potential market position advantages, and
- local supporting services.

Where it used to be advantageous to be located close to markets or natural resources, it is now the availability of specialised technology-oriented infrastructure, research facilities, institutional and financial support to businesses and higher education services that have become more important.

For products with low added value, the production cost is usually the determining factor. For products with high added value, the decisions are more complex. Businesses evaluate the education structure, the availability of skilled workers, the concentration of local support enterprises, the quality of life and the flexibility of the labour market.

Economic transformation manifests itself in different ways in urban development and globalisation is no exception. Sassen<sup>24</sup> narrows globalisation's impact down to three types of sites in cities where global processes are embedded, namely production zones, tourism centres and major business, and financial centres.

### Decrease in inner city property investment

The worldwide trend of investors to limit the proportion of property within their investment portfolios is also evident in South Africa with a definite impact on the country's property market, especially in the CBD's. Internationally, factors such as structural economic change, the diseconomies found in congested cities, the high cost of living and doing business, and especially in South Africa, the 'crime and grime' factors, all influence inner city development changes.

The Central Business Districts of the major cities in South Africa show high vacancy levels. This situation is, however, not exclusive to South Africa and corresponds to the situation in other parts of the world. Johannesburg (16.1%) and Pretoria (19.7%) compare well in terms of office vacancy levels with cities such as New York (19%), Los Angeles (24.9%) and Mexico City (13.7%).<sup>25</sup> In contrast, the vacancy levels in decentralised nodes are low and development in this direction continues unabated.

This economic trend has a major impact on the growth of cities, influencing decentralisation patterns and fuelling urban decay.

### Expanding the measure of wealth

Organisations like the World Bank and the World Business Council for Sustainable Development are rethinking the way we measure the assets, income and expenditure of countries, cities and companies. This rethink attempts to find a compromise between maintaining irreplaceable resources and satisfying market forces.

The World Bank's report '*Expanding the Measures of Wealth*'<sup>26</sup> holds that the measure of a country's wealth should include natural capital and human resources in addition to produced assets (the traditional measure of wealth). This approach

is advocated, in part, because economic growth is paid for by rapid resource depletion or degradation which results in major health and productivity impacts on society.

The view is that the natural environment has a fixed capital of non-renewable resources (source limits) and limited capacity to absorb and assimilate the effects of human production processes (sink limits). Over-exploitation of this critical natural capital will result in overall economic and social bankruptcy.

Following from this is the development of market-based instruments for the implementation of environmental economics. These include shifting the tax burden from taxes on productivity (e.g. income tax) to taxes on consumption (e.g. fuel levies). Another tool is life-cycle costing in which the combined production, maintenance, operation and disposal costs of a product or an action is measured from 'cradle-to-grave' to arrive at its 'true cost' to the environment and to society.

Environmental economics will play an increasingly important role in the decisions made for the development of human settlement, especially in terms of location, service provision, and type of industrial and commercial development.

## Governance trends

### Decentralisation of power to Local Government

The increased importance given to local government internationally is related both to growing concern about the inability of many governments to deliver development programmes to their people at a local level, and to a wave of 'democratisation' from the late 1970's through the early 1990's. This emphasis on developmental local government forms the basis for Local Agenda 21.

In South Africa the new Constitution responded to these trends by creating local government as a separate distinctive, yet inter-related sphere of government with its own executive and legislative authority and an important developmental role. One of the key tools for developmental local government is Integrated Development Planning, a legally-required process that will become increasingly influential over the next five years.

## The Mega-city (or Uni-city) governance model

Although traditionally a mega-city is declared according to the size of its population (more than 10 million), the mega-city governance model is not dependent on population size. It involves the amalgamation of local governments under one over-arching metropolitan government. These metropolitan structures will have full municipal powers for the entire metropolitan area.

Proponents of this model see it as the equitable and affordable option that allows for cross-subsidisation of under-developed areas. Opponents argue that the system is unwieldy, undemocratic and expensive to maintain. There is also the danger of loss of accountability.

In South Africa, the mega-city governance model has been institutionalised through the Local Government Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998). It is now a ministerial responsibility to determine which cities will accept this single metropolitan form of government.

## Growth in involvement of civil society

Through provisions in the Development Facilitation Act and the Integrated Development Planning process, community-based organisations are becoming more involved in development.

Urban development agencies and neighbourhood pressure groups are movements now explicitly provided for in legal processes. This is especially the case in social and rental housing where resident associations play a leading role in administering their own housing, thus pressurising other property owners into providing better services and maintenance. Communities, especially in informal settlements, are also becoming increasingly involved in providing their own housing and service needs. At times the performance of informal processes has outstripped those of government, at least in terms of delivery of housing units.

In terms of union activity, the number of registered trade unions and members, employer's organisations and bargaining councils has shown a significant increase from 1993 onwards. The nature of the activity of unions is likely to influence investor attitudes, productivity costs, and type and location of investments in cities.

One of the areas where civic involvement is strong and showing positive results is that of crime prevention. Groups like Business Against Crime, Traders Against Crime and initiatives such as Business Improvement Districts and Community

Policing Forums are increasingly taking responsibility for crime prevention initiatives in co-operation with the South African Police Service.

## Biophysical forces of change

### The looming water crisis

Two-thirds of the world's population will be affected by water shortages by the year 2020 and it is predicted that the major wars of the next century will be about access to water. The right to water from the Okavango River is already proving a point of contention between Namibia and Botswana.

	Global <sup>27</sup>	National <sup>28</sup>
Average annual rainfall	875 mm	470 mm
Water availability/person/year	10 000 kilolitres	1 700 kilolitres

With even less water available per person than its arid neighbours, Botswana and Namibia, South Africa is fast approaching water-scarcity. The Rand Water Board estimates that South Africa has, at best, 40 years before the demand exceeds the supply of surface and ground water. If current water consumption practices are not changed, the country could run out of water by 2015.

With increased development and urbanisation in South Africa, the country's water resources are becoming increasingly polluted. The bulk of the major agricultural, as well as coal and gold mining areas are situated in the upper reaches of the country's major rivers. Informal settlement and badly-maintained sanitation and storm water infrastructure also contribute to pollution of both surface and ground water.

Already South Africa is becoming reliant on its neighbours for water through schemes such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. Twelve million South Africans still do not have access to safe drinking water. This places us under pressure to conserve and make maximum use of our own water supply leading to an increase in 'water-wise' practices for agriculture, industry and domestic water supply and use.

## Climate change

Climate change as a result of human activities is believed to be one of the most serious problems facing the world. Although climate change can be considered natural, there is well-founded concern that the unprecedented human industrial and development activities of the past

two centuries have caused changes over and above natural variation. The average global temperature has risen by 0.5% over the past century.

This is thought to be the result of the 'greenhouse effect', caused by so-called greenhouse gases.

It is predicted that climate change will affect rainfall, food production, spread of biological disease agents, survival of biodiversity, and sea levels, and cause an increase in extreme weather events. The impact is already being measured. The international natural disaster bill for 1998 was more than R550 billion, while global insurance losses over the last decade have cost the world economy nine times more than in the sixties.<sup>29</sup>

In South Africa, a country that ranks as one of the top twenty emitters of greenhouse gases in the world, climate models predict that the mean air temperature will rise by about 2°C over the next century.<sup>30</sup> As yet there is no agreement on the effect the change in climate will have. However, with the very real danger that the country will exhaust its ground and surface water within the next century, reduced rainfall and increased evaporation may have disastrous consequences.

## Loss of agricultural land

The Millennium Institute estimates that even if the world follows a mainly vegetarian diet, there are only 38 years left before we run out of land to feed the growing population. The situation is especially severe in Africa where land degradation has been identified as a major problem.

The main causes of land degradation are overgrazing, immoderate clearing of vegetation, droughts, toxification through pollution and agricultural chemicals, and urbanisation.

Loss of agricultural land, coupled with rapid population growth is increasing deficits in food production and security. This means an increase in environmental refugees fleeing to towns and cities or even to other countries with better food security.

In South Africa only 10% of the country is arable land<sup>31</sup>, most of it in the grain basket of the Highveld plateau. With the increasing urbanisation of Gauteng and open-cast mining activity in Mpumalanga, as well as the acidification of the soil due to air pollution in both provinces, the percentage of arable land is slowly decreasing. Erosion is further contributing to the annual loss of 500 million tons of topsoil.

To combat the loss of land through urban sprawl the trend is towards more efficient land use

in human settlements (see box). Environmentally-sound principles in planning and constructing large housing and commercial developments, such as building roads to follow contours and not clearing the entire site of vegetation, are also becoming accepted practice.

### Measures for more efficient urban land use

- Use of under-developed land e.g. road and rail reserves.
- Recycling of abandoned military and industrial land.
- Conversion of unused or partly-occupied buildings to other uses.
- Densification of settlements.
- Encouragement of recycling to limit landfill requirements.
- Urban agriculture.

## Biodiversity loss

Every day the world loses 104 species. This is more than a thousand times the natural rate of extinction. The domestication of land is identified as one of the major causes of biodiversity loss on a global scale.

South Africa ranks as the third most biologically diverse country in the world, and as such is of major global importance for biodiversity conservation. Already many important ecosystems have been degraded and ecological processes impaired because of agricultural and industrial development and increased urbanisation. Some of these ecosystems, like the Cape Fynbos, have very high diversity per square metre, and are therefore extremely sensitive to development, while other ecosystems are less sensitive or have been degraded to the point of no return.

In addition to habitat loss and degradation, the over-exploitation of certain species, the introduction of exotic species, and the pollution and toxification of the soil, water and atmosphere have had major effects on South Africa's biodiversity. Trends indicate that this situation is not improving, and that growing human populations and unsustainable rates of resource consumption will result in increasingly negative impacts on biodiversity.

While it is clear that human settlement plays a major role in biodiversity loss, our limited understanding of the complexities of ecosystems prevents us from fully comprehending the effect of biodiversity loss on human settlement. The international trend, therefore, is to use the precautionary principle when planning and developing human settlement. However, this trend is not yet visible in South Africa.

## Environmental refugees

The Red Cross World Disasters Report (1999) predicts that the developing world will continue to be hit by "super disasters" because of human-driven climate change, environmental degradation and population growth. The annual survey said that events, including El Niño, declining soil fertility and deforestation, drove 25 million 'environmental refugees' from their land and into shanty towns around the fast-growing cities of the Third World. This represents 58% of the total refugee population worldwide.<sup>32</sup>

In South Africa, a major cause of displacement from rural areas is the fact that people can no longer cover their basic needs from natural resources in their home areas. Population growth, climate change and land degradation are likely to contribute to a steady increase in environmental refugees, not only within South Africa, but also from neighbouring countries.

## Sustainable energy

The growing pressure for alternatives to fossil fuel is increasingly inspired, not by the fear that the world will run out of fossil fuel reserves, but by the knowledge of the environmental damage caused by burning fossil fuels and the impacts this has on human health. There are two ways this 'energy crisis' is being dealt with.

The first is through energy efficiency. This takes into account such diverse factors as demand-side management, better insulation of buildings and replacing electrical fittings with more energy-efficient ones.

The second strategy is to use renewable sources of energy, for example wind, hydro-electricity and solar power. Worldwide hydro-electric and other renewable energy use is projected to increase by 62% between 1996 and 2020. Almost half of the increase is expected in the developing world, with countries like Mozambique, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast and Zambia already deriving virtually all their on-grid electricity from hydropower.<sup>33</sup>

While renewable energy sources have been around for some time in South Africa, these have never really been exploited. This is set to change with Eskom embarking on a major project to deliver solar power to schools, clinics and houses in rural areas and the Department of Minerals and Energy's increased investment in renewable energy programmes.

## Air pollution

Apart from contributing to climate change, air pollution also has an impact on human health, agriculture and the conservation of biodiversity. Between 18 and 50 million incidences per year of respiratory disease are due to ambient air pollution. Worldwide, about 3 million people die annually because of air pollution, 2.8 million of them because of indoor air pollution.<sup>34</sup> The figures in South Africa are exceptionally high. For every European child that dies of upper respiratory tract infection, 240 South African children die.

Urban and rural areas are most affected by CO<sub>2</sub> and SO<sub>2</sub> emissions from the energy sector (electricity generation, coal mining and refining, wood and coal burning, and oil burning for industrial and other purposes). This causes smog and is toxic to animals and plants. Urban areas are particularly affected by air pollution (nitric oxide and volatile organic carbon) from the transport sector, exacerbated by urban sprawl and lack of public transport. Rural areas are affected by methane and nitrous oxide from agricultural activities (respectively causing ozone depletion and climate change)<sup>35</sup>.

In South Africa the highest levels of air pollution at ground level are found in townships due to the use of coal stoves for cooking and space heating. Some of the highest levels of pollution can be found inside houses, a situation which is exacerbated by poor ventilation.

Programmes to raise awareness of the dangers and to provide clean energy to settlements are already being prioritised by government, with 1.4 million electricity connections being made since 1995.

## Solid waste

Solid waste generation, both municipal and industrial, continues to increase worldwide in both absolute and per capita terms. With increased wealth the composition of the waste changes from primarily biodegradable organic materials to glass, metals, plastics and other synthetic materials that can be reused and recycled. The recycling of both biodegradable and other wastes has become a viable business prospect in many places.

The Department of Finance estimates the job creation potential of waste management at 6 million jobs over the next fifteen years, of which 83% will be for unskilled workers<sup>36</sup>. To harness the potential of waste a more businesslike approach is needed. The international trend towards integrated waste management, with its emphasis on pollution prevention, resource recovery, cross-media integration and involvement of all sectors of society

attempts to provide an integrated platform for the waste management business.

Apart from recycling, solid waste can also provide energy. In North America and Europe methane gas, a by-product of land-filling, is 'mined' to produce over 800 million kilowatt hours of electricity annually.<sup>37</sup>

## Technological trends

### De-industrialisation

There is a worldwide shift from production working (manufacturing) to service, and further to information industries and technologies. De-industrialisation has become the norm in developed cities and manufacturing and goods-handling jobs have moved to the developing world, which used to concentrate on producing raw materials.

In the developing world the highly mechanised nature of most imported industries, requiring high-tech knowledge, creates a skills gap that is difficult to bridge for both the over-50 employee and the uneducated and unskilled young. Thus while manufacturing might be moving to the developing world, it does not necessarily create jobs for those who most need it.

As South Africa moves from production of raw materials (e.g. minerals) to manufacturing and services (particularly tourism), the economic development nodes also shift. This is particularly visible in the location of the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs). A general shift in population can be expected to follow the movement of employment opportunities and will influence the decisions made regarding infrastructure and housing investment in the country.

### The growth of information technology

Developments in information technology (IT) and telecommunications such as electronic mail, the Internet, fibre-optics and satellite and mobile phone networks are changing the locational patterns of both industries and individuals. It is no longer necessary for economic activities to be in close physical proximity.

Coupled with the shift towards more knowledge-based economies, companies can now work 24 hours a day, moving the work electronically from one office to the next around the globe. This also means that workers are free to live where they want and work from home (tele-commute), provided that a technology-orientated infrastructure is available.

The 'death of distance' which these development imply, enables several spatial trends such as decentralisation and even ex-urbanisation, where knowledge workers move to small towns offering a better environmental quality (e.g. Franschoek) and telecommute to their urban offices.

Although the technology involved is still alien to the vast majority of South Africans and the trend is therefore limited to a very small, affluent sector of the population, the rapid growth of connectivity makes this a trend that will have a definite influence on spatial and urbanisation patterns and on the quality of life. Access to information by poor communities is an initiative being supported by several local and international bodies, through the provision of 'tele-centres' in remote or badly connected areas.

### Eco-efficiency

One of the leading trends shaping industries is the concept of eco-efficiency. Narrowly defined it is about producing more with less resources and pollution. It holds that the present system of production is massively sub-optimal and inefficient and that it is possible to develop a system which uses half the inputs to produce double the outputs – the so-called 'Factor Four' concept.

Taking eco-efficiency to its logical conclusion is the concept of 'zero emissions'. In a nutshell, it means the complete utilisation of raw materials and by-products, so that all waste is eliminated. There are currently over 20 zero emissions project running in Africa alone, making use of the principle to reduce waste and achieve optimum use of resources and creation of job opportunities.

What makes the zero emissions industrial model particularly relevant to the future of human settlements is that the concept works best on a small scale, making it perfect for SMME clusters. Many of the projects also depend on a close symbiosis with human settlement. Together with the fact that these industries are clean and release no harmful emissions, this means that zero emission industrial nodes can be incorporated into residential areas, bringing job opportunities closer to where people live.

## Trends and Settlement

### Types

South African society is still characterised by large, and increasing, gaps between rich and poor. As a result the various forces of change affect settlement types in markedly different ways. Trends to do with population growth and family structure, Aids, poverty and

inequality, lack of education, migration patterns, the growth of the informal sector and the perpetuation of apartheid spatial patterns particularly affect those living in townships, informal settlements and rural areas.

Trends driven by technological changes, such as the spread of information technology, as well as those dealing with fear of crime (fortification, decentralisation) mostly affect the more affluent suburbs. Immigration and decrease in property investment are related trends that mainly affect the inner city.

Although the biophysical trends cut across all settlement types, they will most seriously affect the poorer settlement types. Levels of poverty coupled with the large numbers of people inhabiting such settlements, make these communities particularly vulnerable to any negative changes in living conditions. Air and water pollution in particular most affect people in poorer areas. This can be linked to issues of availability and affordability of services such as tapped water and electricity, as well as poor access to knowledge on health, safety and hygiene.

Gender inequality, unemployment and poor access to education are further cross-cutting

issues that mainly affect poorer settlement types. All areas are also experiencing a growth in civil society involvement. In the suburbs and inner city this mostly is through participation in crime prevention or neighbourhood or business improvement district initiatives. In townships and informal settlements civil society involvement tends to revolve around the delivery and improvement of housing and infrastructure.

While crime is far more of a problem in the less affluent areas, it has more of an impact on investment and urban form in the wealthier areas. The different settlement types also suffer from different types of crime, with the poorer settlement types suffering most from violent crime and the more affluent areas being affected more by property crimes.

Despite variable effects of trends, an important observation to make is that all settlement types form part of an interlinked urban/ rural system and the effects of a trend in any one of these settlement types will have an impact on all other settlement types.

These trends are summarised in the table below.

Table: Forces of change as they affect settlement types.

FORCES OF CHANGE	SETTLEMENT TYPE						
	Inner city high rise flats	Inner city houses	Townships and backyard shacks	Urban informal settlement	Fringe suburbs	Small town township and informal settlement	Displaced urban settlements
- - Little or no impact							
+ - Some impact							
++ - Major impact							
A young, growing population	+	-	++	++	-	++	++
The Aids pandemic	++	+	++	++	+	+	++
Emigration, immigration and xenophobia	++	-	+	++	-	+	+
Poverty and inequality	++	-	++	++	-	++	++
Growing unemployment	++	-	++	++	+	++	++
Relevant education for all	++	+	++	++	+	++	++
Communities and crime	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Gender equality	++	+	++	++	-	++	++
Expanding cities	+	-	-	++	++	+	++
Changing migration patterns	+	-	-	++	-	++	++
Growth of small towns	-	-	-	+	+	++	-
Perpetuating the apartheid city	-	-	++	++	-	-	++

Debunking the myth of the compact city	+	+	+	++	++	-	++
Commercial decentralisation	++	++	-	-	++	-	-
Urban fortification	++	++	-	-	++	-	-
Deracialisation of the city	++	++	+	-	+	-	-
Gentrification	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
Growth of the informal sector	++	+	++	++	++	++	++
Development of SMMEs	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Expansion of the tourism industry	-	-	-	-	-	++	-
Globalisation	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
Decrease in inner city property investment	++	+	-	-	++	-	-
Expanding the measure of wealth	-	-	+	+	++	+	+
Decentralisation of power to Local Government	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
The Mega-city governance model	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Growth in civil society involvement	++	+	+	++	+	+	+
The looming water crisis	+	+	++	++	++	++	++
Climate change	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Loss of agricultural land	+	-	-	+	+	++	++
Biodiversity loss	+	+	+	+	+	++	+
Environmental refugees	+	-	-	+	-	++	++
Sustainable energy	-	-	+	+	-	+	++
Air pollution	++	+	++	++	-	++	++
Waste – the new gold	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
Deindustrialization	-	-	++	++	++	++	++
The death of distance	++	++	-	-	++	++	-
Eco-efficiency	-	-	+	+	+	+	+

## Living Conditions

Within this context of the global and local pressures exerted on South African settlements, the *state* of human settlements can be described in terms of the living conditions as experienced by residents.

Key national statistics and historical causes were discussed in the introduction. This brief summary represents the *status quo* after the combined interventions of government and a variety of other actors, as well as the impacts of the forces of change, over the last five years. It is only in the subsequent sections that the direct impact of national government programmes are further investigated, and hence causal links established between the state of settlements as described here, and State policies.

## Formal to informal housing

The production of informal housing remains an important form of shelter supply for many people. In 1995, some 11.5% of dwellings in the country were freestanding informal houses, while another 4.5% of informal dwellings were located on properties in formal settlements. Traditional dwellings, mostly in rural areas accounted for 18% of the national housing stock.

Recent figures indicate that in 1998, freestanding informal settlement now constitutes 4.7% of dwellings, and backyard shacks, 2.4%. Traditional dwellings now represent 15.5% of housing stock. Formal housing types now constitute 72% of the total<sup>38</sup>. While it is difficult to establish fully comparable information, this does

indicate an improvement in the level of formal housing stock.

However, what this also means is that less than three quarters of housing is formal in nature. Policies need to continue to build in the capacity to address the needs of the more than a quarter of households who live in non-conventional housing.

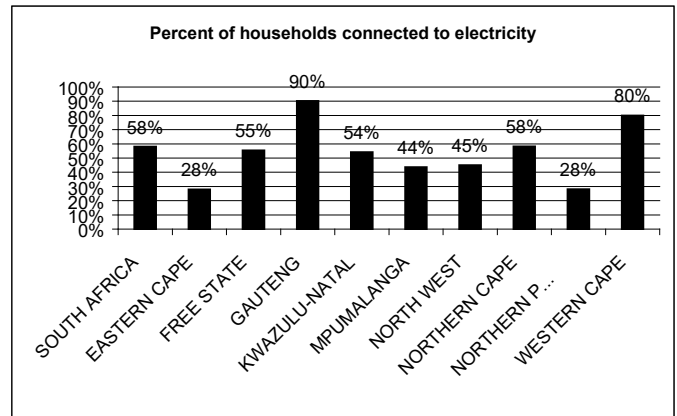
The 1995 estimate of the *urban* housing backlog was 1.5 million units which was increasing at a rate of 178,000 units per annum<sup>39</sup>. More recent estimates of backlog are based on the 1996 census information. If shack dwellings in informal settlements and backyards, and households who have no shelter, are considered to be a measure of the formal housing that needs to be built, then current figures would indicate a need for 1.45 million units. If rural households living in traditional houses are also considered to qualify for the housing subsidy, then the backlog grows to a total of around 3.1 million dwelling units<sup>40</sup>.

If the production of subsidy housing is fiscally limited to 200,000 units per annum, then what this means is that the current levels of production are likely to keep pace with the growth of the need for housing units, but not to substantially reduce the backlog. The stimulation of other sectors to produce non-subsidy housing for the low income

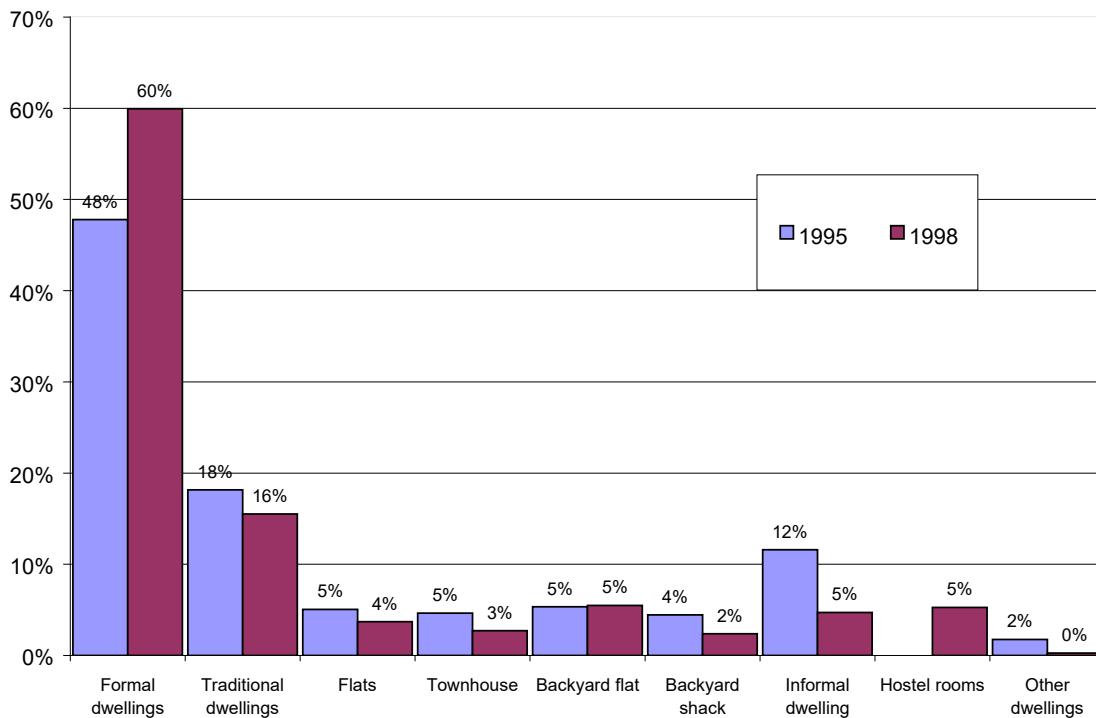
as a result of death from Aids would have on the type, quantity and location of housing.

### Access to basic services

The national average of households connected to **electricity** is 59%. Gauteng and the Western Cape have higher connection levels at 90% and 80% respectively. Energy supply is one of the yardsticks of the quality of life. Electricity facilitates development by, for example, making possible the emergence of home-based enterprises. It also improves the environmental quality within the household, as less coal and wood are burnt for energy purposes.



### Comparison of house types, 1995 to 1998

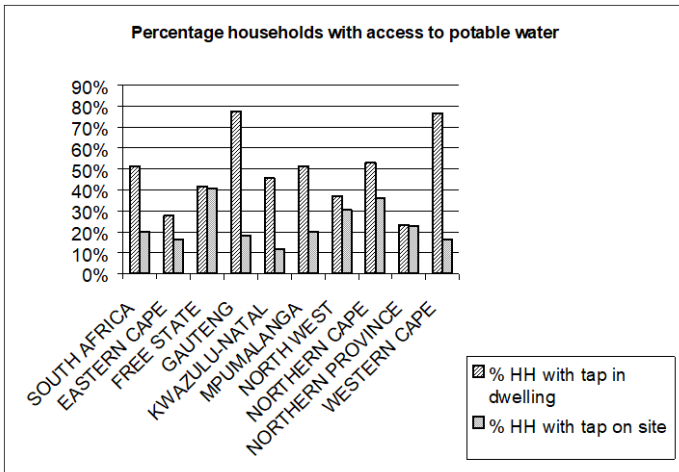


sector seems to be an important area for attention.

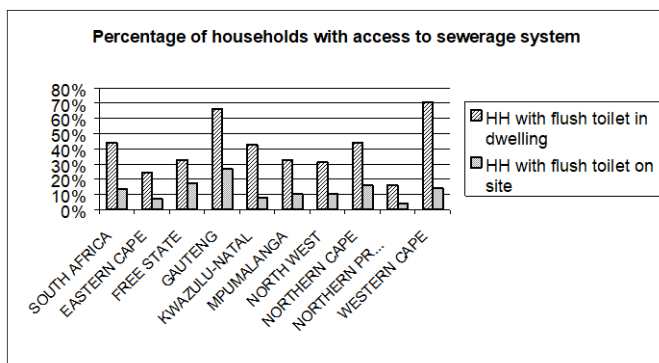
A factor which would change these scenarios would be the impact that increasing mortality rates

**Water** is another basic service associated with improved quality of life. More than half of South African households (51%) have a tap in their dwellings, and another 20% have taps on their

sites. When public stand-pipes are included, almost all urban residents have access to potable water. This is reflected in that fact that the more urban provinces, namely Gauteng and the Western Cape have high levels of access to clean water when compared to more rural areas such as the Northern Province and Eastern Cape. In 1995 it was estimated that some 12 million South Africans were still without access to clean drinking water<sup>41</sup>.

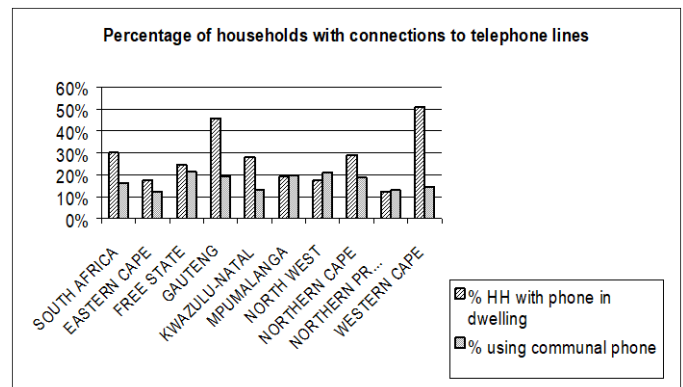


Apart from being a basic service, adequate and environmentally sustainable **sanitation** and sewerage systems can contribute to the reduction of diseases. Some 58% of South Africans have a flush toilet either in the dwelling (44%) or on their site (14%). Another 9% have their own ventilated improved pit (VIP) or direct access to a VIP or chemical system. There is however still a significant proportion of people who use less well-performing systems, such as informal pit systems (19%), bucket systems (5%) or have no access to sanitation (8%). More rural provinces are again the places where access to sanitation is least satisfactory.



**Refuse removal** by municipalities in urban areas stands at about 91% of houses. For township and informal settlement areas the coverage is not as great, with only about 85% of households enjoying refuse removal from near or on their sites.

Although they are sometimes regarded as a non-basic need by some, **telephones** are crucial for the well-being of a household. They facilitate quick information sharing, support the development of home-based enterprises, can be useful in emergencies and can be a deterrent to crime. The national average for the proportion of households with telephones is about 30%. In the Western Cape about 50% of households have telephone lines in their dwellings, compared with 13% in the Northern Province. In developed countries such as the US, Norway and Canada this average is well above 50%<sup>42</sup>.



## Access to social facilities

In August 1997 a survey of some 32 000 educational institutions found 'serious shortcomings' in **schools**, ranging from poor access to water, telephones and electricity to the poor condition of many school buildings<sup>43</sup>. The school register of needs survey completed by the Human Sciences Resource Council in 1996 found that there was a countrywide shortage of more than 64 000 classrooms. It also revealed that almost 17% of school buildings in South Africa were in a 'weak to very weak' condition.

According to the Department of Health there were 2 604 **clinics** and 420 **hospitals** in the public sector in 1997. Together these hospitals provided more than 111,000 beds. Including the private sector, which provides 20% of the number of hospital beds, South Africa offers about three beds per one thousand of the population<sup>44</sup>.

## Conclusion

There is evidence to suggest that living conditions in settlements, if measured in this instance purely in terms of access to adequate housing, services and social infrastructure, have shown marked improvement in the period under review. However, in many sectors, the lack of reliable and comparable information makes it difficult to prove this.

There is little indication of the location of facilities (with the exception of health facilities, which are located on a point system in the health facilities database), other than at a provincial level. Sometimes the data exists at a magisterial district level, but it is difficult to link this to particular settlement types.

Time series data, including baseline data, is also needed to measure impact over time. Further support is needed for the national indicators which can go further towards providing a common set of criteria or indicators to measure information about the range of social and physical infrastructure that is being facilitated by government. It would then be possible to establish whether the spending of the various sectors was being located in mutually beneficial locations and whether it was following some form of spatial logic.

As a result of a dearth of consistent data, the main method for measuring the impact of combined government spending in the following sections has been derived from evaluations of local housing and other projects. Project level investigations show that certain infrastructure is lacking, inadequate or sufficient according to the perceptions of residents, local authorities and developers. This can be taken as evidence of the co-ordination, or the lack of co-ordination, of government spending in (mostly urban) human settlements.

Before the impact of programmes is discussed, however, national policies are reviewed for their relevance to the principles of the Habitat Agenda.

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*Census in brief* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 1998). A more complex method of calculating backlogs is required, with estimates of the needs of homeless urban dwellers, and a correction for adequate shack and traditional housing.

<sup>41</sup> Mvula Trust, *Review of Rural Sanitation in South Africa* (Pretoria: Water Research Commission Report No KV71/95, 1995).

<sup>42</sup> UNDP, 1998

<sup>43</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South Africa Survey 1997-1998* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1998)

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

## 4 National Human Settlement Policies and Habitat Agenda

### Introduction

Given its relatively recent transition to democracy, South Africa is in the privileged position of having new policy that reflects many of the tenets of contemporary development thinking. The policy-making process has generally involved a wide range of local stakeholders as well as international experts and is grounded in the reality of the national situation (as reflected briefly in the Forces of Change and Living Conditions sections of this report).

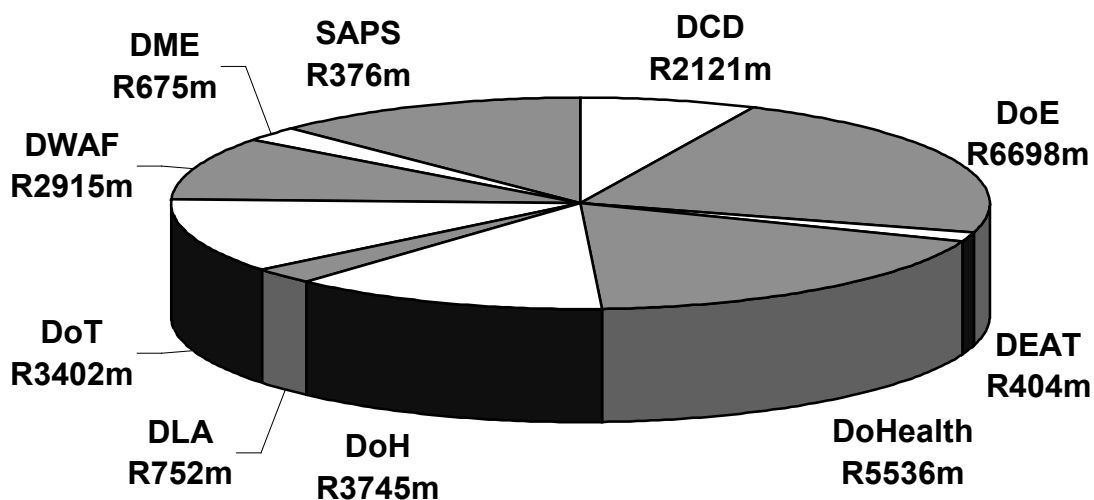
Many recent progressive developments in the international policy context are reflected in emergent South African policy. Notable is the sustainable development thinking, on which policy documents such as Agenda 21, the Habitat Agenda and Urban 21, are based and the 1988 Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000, that have influenced the South African Constitution and most post-1994 policy.

Much policy has been guided by the basic needs approach of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994) which outlined six principles:

- Integration and sustainability;
- People-driven processes;
- Assuring peace and security for all;
- Nation-building;
- Linking reconstruction and development;
- Democratisation.

On the other hand, policy also aims to give substance to the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy. This macro-economic strategy aims to strengthen economic growth in South Africa with a broadening of employment opportunities and the redistribution of economic opportunities. Central to this strategy is achieving a competitive fast-growing economy in South Africa. Some would argue that there are underlying contradictions between the RDP and GEAR but suffice to say here that they both, to a greater or lesser extent, plot the direction of current South African policy.

### Relative budget expenditure 1998/99 for selected government departments



Although clear policy directions have been set, many South African policy instruments are still flexible. The exact form that policy and programmes will take is still emerging in some sectors. It is also evident that policy, particularly housing and land policy, has shown significant adjustments in its mechanisms of implementation in the past five years. Hopefully this process of refining policy in response to an assessment of its impact and ongoing monitoring, evaluation and review, will continue into the future.

From the myriad of policies being formulated, the focus here, due to the scope of this report, is on policy that impacts directly on human settlements, primarily in urban and displaced urban areas (as outlined in the Settlement Typology section). These national human settlement policies will be reviewed against the Habitat Agenda to assess the extent to which they comply with the tenets of the Habitat Agenda.

For each department a sense will also be given of the shifting priority of policy in budgetary terms over the past five years. This will give an indication of which policies are receiving national government priority in terms of the resources they are allocating to them. The following figure illustrates the proportional budgetary allocation to the relevant departments in 1998/99.<sup>1</sup>

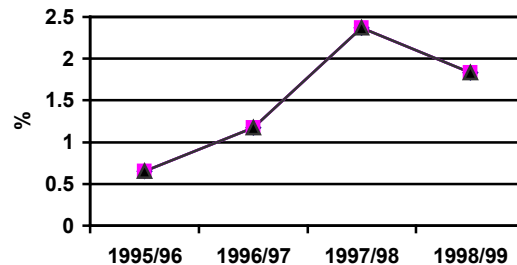
Broad policy will be dealt with on a department by department basis. The Housing Department policy is reviewed first and then other departments with a focus on infrastructure delivery in human settlements (particularly the Health and Education Departments and the Department of Mineral and Energy with its new energy policy which impacts on electrification of settlements).

Next, the policies of those departments with an emphasis on effective planning and management of human settlements, as well as their economic viability and environmental sustainability will be reviewed. These include the Department of Constitutional Development, the Department of Transport, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the Department of Safety and Security. The policies of the Department of Land Affairs are then reviewed focusing on development facilitation and spatial planning in urban areas and briefly mentioning the land reform, redistribution and restitution policies which tend to be more rural in their focus. Finally, brief consideration is given to the policy of the Department of Water Affairs which has a strong rural bias and therefore does not form the primary focus of this report.

## Department of Housing

National housing policy is encapsulated in the Housing White Paper<sup>2</sup> and the Housing Act (1997) in which the government commits itself to attaining **adequate shelter for all** South African citizens, thus supporting the central theme of the Habitat Agenda. It is evident from the national budgetary allocations, that this provision of shelter is a medium term national priority. The proportion of the total national budget spent on housing increased from 0.65% in the 1995/96 financial year to 2.37% in 1997/98 but has dropped slightly to 1.83% for the 1998/99 financial year.

Housing Budget Allocations



Two common policy themes can be identified in South African housing policy and Habitat Agenda:

- adequate shelter for all; and
- sustainable human settlement development.

A reflection follows of the extent to which the way they are addressed in the South African housing policy is in line with that of the Habitat Agenda. The first theme is divided into two sub-components focusing on the issue of adequacy of shelter and then on housing for all.

### Adequate shelter

A comparison of the South African definition of the 'minimum standard complete house'<sup>3</sup> with that of adequate shelter in the Habitat Agenda<sup>4</sup> (provided in Table 1) shows that virtually all the key elements outlined by the Habitat Agenda are present. The only direct omission in South African policy is any reference to the need for adequate space. However the inclusion of the need for privacy could imply the need for space to achieve privacy.

**Table: Comparative Definitions of Adequate Housing**

Habitat Agenda (Global Plan of Action) (para. 60)	South African Housing White Paper (Section 4.2 unless otherwise stated)
Adequate privacy, adequate space	Ensuring privacy
Physical accessibility	State housing policies and subsidy programmes must reflect a constant awareness of and provision for the special needs of the youth, disabled people and the elderly. (Section 4.5.4)
Security of tenure	Secure tenure
Structural stability and durability	A permanent residential structure
Adequate lighting, heating and ventilation	Providing adequate protection against the elements
Adequate basic infrastructure, such as water supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities.	Potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply
Suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate security	Government aims to establish a sustainable housing process which will eventually enable all South Africa's people to secure housing ...within a safe and healthy environment
Adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities:	Government strives for the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities.
All of which should be available at an affordable cost	Where people, due to socio-economic adversity, are not in a position to afford access to secure tenure, basic services and basic shelter, society in general and the State specifically has the responsibility to address this situation within the resource and other constraints applicable to it. (Section 4.4.3)

The South African Housing Act echoes the calls of paragraph 61 of Habitat Agenda that states that housing policy and programmes should ensure:

- a) non-discriminatory access,
- b) security of tenure and equal access to all,
- c) that housing is made accessible through a series of interventions to improve the supply of affordable housing...[and]

- d) monitoring and evaluation of homelessness and inadequate housing.

South African policy is therefore strong in its commitment to achieve a holistic concept of adequate housing by supporting citizens to achieve this vision incrementally.

## Housing for all

Although policy provides for an effective right to housing for all South African citizens, the issue of prioritisation becomes important in a context of extreme housing needs and shortages. In the Habitat Agenda, the interest groups singled out for special attention are suggested as:

- homeless, inadequately housed and those in absolute poverty (para. 11)
- displaced persons e.g. refugees (para. 12)
- children and youth (para. 13)
- indigenous people (para. 14)
- women (para. 15)
- persons with disabilities (para. 16)
- older persons (para. 17)

South African policy, in the Housing Act, gives priority to the poor and to addressing special needs. It also states that steps will be taken to ensure that both the housing development process and the allocation of benefits is equitable and avoids discrimination in terms of gender "and other forms of unfair discrimination". These policy ideals match well with those of Habitat Agenda. The broad category of "special needs" can be seen to encapsulate many of the Habitat interest groups singled out for special attention.

## Sustainable human settlement development

South African policy repeatedly refers to the creation and maintenance of viable communities and households, and the creation and maintenance of "habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments" <sup>5</sup>. It also identifies the process characteristics that should be attained in achieving this. These goals include:

- favouring small and medium-sized businesses;
- labour-intensive building methods;
- promoting participation of communities;
- maximising job creation;
- improving economic linkages;

- promoting skills transfer;
- promoting capacity-building;
- promoting upward mobility;
- stimulating entrepreneurial development especially disadvantaged entrepreneurs;
- supporting the role of women; and
- creating and supporting viable communities.

Both the creation of such residential environments and the process goals outlined are analogous to the Habitat Agenda call for sustainable human settlement development. The Housing Act also commits to a housing development process that is itself "economically, fiscally, socially and financially affordable and sustainable".

For the development of sustainable human settlements, Habitat Agenda encourages the promotion of enabling structures that facilitate independent initiative and creativity and that encourage a broad range of partnerships<sup>6</sup>. The mechanisms and framework available for the promotion of social housing in South Africa (although in the absence of specific policy on social housing) are in line with the need identified by the Habitat Agenda for empowerment and involvement of people if sustainable settlements are to be achieved.

The national programmes that flow out of housing policy and the Urban Development Framework, and which themselves take on the more detailed challenges of Habitat Agenda are described in Section 5 - The Impact of Government Programmes.

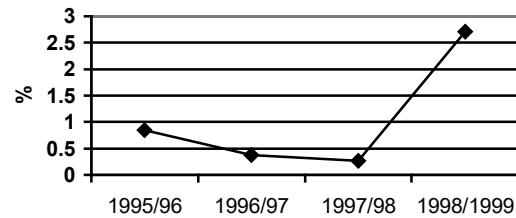
## Department of Health

The proportion of the national budget spent on health was reduced from 0.85% in 1995/96 to 0.27% in 1997/98. There is, however, a marked increase in budget allocation for the 1998/99 financial year in which 2.71% of the budget is allocated to health<sup>7</sup>.

In its White Paper on the Transformation of the Health System of South Africa (April 1997) the Department of Health has adopted a strong primary health care policy which promotes equity, accessibility and utilisation of health services as well as extending the availability of appropriate health services. Health policy is thus strong on the Habitat Agenda requirements of promoting access to facilities and basic services, particularly for women and children. It has also given priority and resources to combat HIV/AIDS, TB, malaria and diarrhoeal diseases as is encouraged in the Habitat Agenda.

Although the White Paper also addresses environmental health issues and outlines a number

**Health Budget Allocation**



of environmental health principles<sup>8</sup>, policy is weak in comparison to that of the Habitat Agenda on this issue. It does not commit itself to raise awareness of the interdependencies between the environment and health nor does it develop health plans to prevent, mitigate and respond to diseases and ill health resulting from poor conditions in living and working environments. No guidelines are provided for the assessment of environmental health impacts.

## Department of Education

Education policy focuses on the quantity and quality of educational infrastructure as well as the need for increased relevance, environmental awareness and understanding of diverse cultures in school curricula. To this end, the Department of Education receives a relatively large and increasing chunk of the national budget. In the 1995/96 financial year it received 27.4% and this has increased to 32.8% in 1998/99.

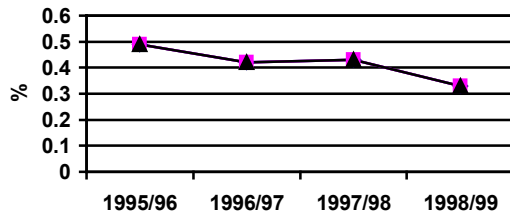
Strengths of educational policy which are in compliance with Habitat Agenda requirements are its attempts to increase the relevance and quality of education and to utilise formal and non-formal educational and training activities and programmes. The policy of promoting access to facilities (which should be having a more direct impact on human settlements) is weak in terms of the lack of effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms set up to assess policy impact. This will be discussed in Section 5 where the impact of the National Schools Building Programme on human settlements will be mentioned.

## Department of Minerals and Energy

The Department of Minerals and Energy attracts a small and declining proportion of the national budget. Its White Paper on Energy Policy (December 1998) commits the government to the provision of affordable and sustainable energy services. Energy production

and distribution should not only be sustainable, but should lead to improvement in the standard of living for all the country's citizens.

### Minerals and Energy Budget Allocation



Whereas the South African energy sector has historically tended to promote policies that predominantly address supply side issues, this White Paper endeavours to address demand side issues as well and introduces a more holistic integrated energy planning approach. In line with Habitat Agenda's plan of action it addresses issues such as energy efficiency, reduction of emissions and concomitant health problems, the development of alternative and renewable energy sources, and the building of thermally efficient low-cost housing. The White Paper also looks at the need for equitable access to affordable public transport and comments on several energy-related transport challenges. The White Paper furthermore declares the negative environmental and health effects of air pollution arising from coal and wood use in households as an immediate priority for energy-environment policy.

This policy restructures the electricity distribution sector into a small number of regional electricity distributors, leading to increased efficiency and reduced costs. It also promotes energy efficiency and increased use of renewable energy through the installation of solar home systems and the better use of biomass fuel.

## Department of Constitutional Development

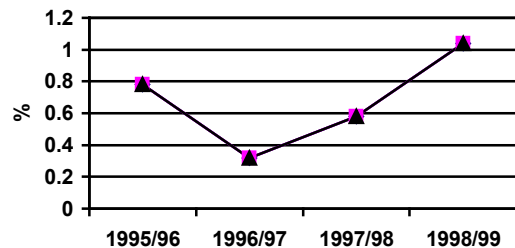
The aim of Department of Constitutional Development (DCD) is to develop and implement the constitution and to develop provincial and local government. Its budget allocation reached a low in 1996/97 but has increased significantly since then.

A key focus of the Department that is impacting on human settlements is the promotion of the capacity and long-term sustainability of the local sphere of government. This has resulted in the policy of creating developmental local

government as outlined in the White Paper on Local Government (1998). Developmental local government is characterised by:

- a maximisation of social development and economic growth;
- integration and co-ordination;
- democratisation of development, empowerment and redistribution;
- a leading and learning approach.

### DCD Budget Allocation



A number of tools for the promotion of developmental local government are identified in the White Paper, including those of integrated development planning and performance management. The White Paper also highlights three key developmental outcomes of local government:

- Provision of household infrastructure and services;
- Creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas;
- Local economic development.

There are numerous programmes emanating from this policy targeted at effective planning and management at a local government level as well as programmes facilitating infrastructure provision via local government. Some of these will be addressed in Section 5: The Impact of Government Programmes.

Underlying the DCD policy is the need, as outlined in the Habitat Agenda, to "promote decentralisation through democratic local authorities and work to strengthen their financial and institutional capacities ..., while ensuring their transparency, accountability and responsiveness to the needs of the people"<sup>9</sup>. The local government planning approach put forward in the South African policy that is integrative, equitable, transparent, representative and co-operative is completely in line with the Habitat Agenda requirements.

## Department of Transport

The aim of the Department of Transport is to promote efficient transport systems on a national level. Its vision is

*"To provide safe, reliable, effective efficient and fully-integrated transport operations and infrastructure which will best meet the needs of freight and passenger customers at improving levels of service and cost, in a fashion which supports government strategies for economic and social development whilst being environmentally and economically sustainable" 10*

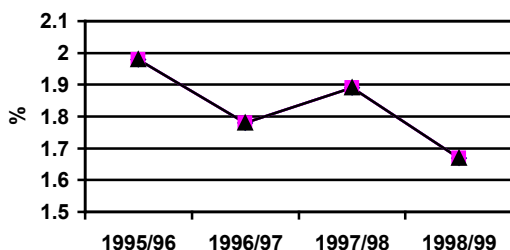
This vision, is clearly in line with the broader aims of Habitat Agenda which works towards the creation of a sustainable global environment and human life so that both urban and rural life are economically buoyant, socially vibrant and economically sound<sup>11</sup>.

Transport is seen in South African policy as having a key role not only in promoting access for citizens but also in integrating South Africa's cities and regions which are spatially, as well as socially, racially and economically divided and disjointed. The key policy being employed by the Department of Transport is that of development corridors. This vision is set out in the White Paper on National Transport Policy and is developed further in the Department's 1998 Moving South Africa document which identifies three strategic actions:

- Densify corridors;
- Optimise modal economics and service mix;
- Improve performance of private firms.

Transport policy is closely linked with that of the Department of Trade and Industry and its Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) which aim to unlock inherent economic potential in specific spatial locations in southern Africa and thereby also promote regional integration and trade relations (to be discussed further in Section 5 - The Impact of Government Programmes).

**Transport Budget Allocation**



Habitat Agenda thinking has had a noticeable impact on South African policy and most of the tenets of Habitat thinking about developing an integrated network of settlements, promoting access as well as employing sustainable patterns of transport and settlement development have found their way into South African transport policy. The development corridor policy fits well with the call to co-ordinate land-use and transport planning in the Habitat Agenda's Global Plan of Action<sup>12</sup>.

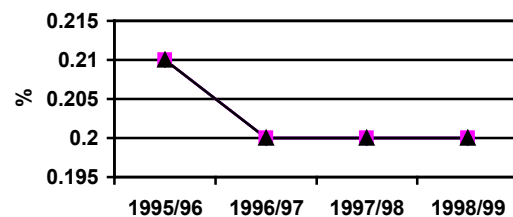
The Department of Transport attracts a relatively high percentage of the national budget (only second to the Department of Education in the Departments being considered here). The budgetary allocation has however declined slightly since 1995/96.

## Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

Over the past five years, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism has concentrated on the development of policy that takes account of South Africa's return to the international fold and the responsibilities that that entails, as well as the shift towards sustainable development in government policy priorities. It has received a small but consistent budget between 1995 and 1999 in order to achieve this.

South African environmental policy is summed up in the White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa published in May 1998. There are numerous other policy outputs focusing on specific issues such as sustainable coastal development, pollution and waste management and the conservation of biological diversity but the focus here is on the broad environmental management policy which impacts on human settlements.

**Environment Affairs and Tourism Budget Allocation**



The White Paper adopts a new paradigm of sustainable development based on integrated and co-ordinated environmental management. While it recognises the need for people-centred

development that promotes social justice and equity, the White Paper cautions against growth and development that ignores environmental issues. It argues that while this approach may lead to short term improvements in standards, it will further degrade living environments and degrade the resource base upon which we depend for survival. Policy therefore places sustainable development as a national priority for government.

The National Environmental Management Act (107 of 1998) requires every national department exercising functions which may affect the environment, and every province, to prepare an environmental implementation plan every four years, and every national department exercising functions involving the management of the environment must prepare an environmental management plan every four years.

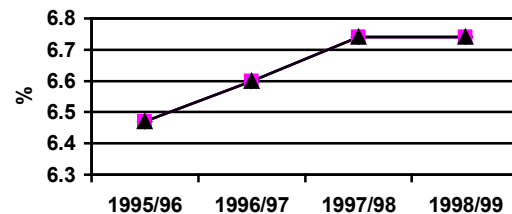
Promulgated in September 1997, under sections 26 and 28 of the Environmental Conservation Act (73 of 1989), the National Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) regulations require mandatory EIA's for proposed specified activities and for changes in listed land uses, and prescribes the process to be followed. This affects housing areas in the few cases where there is a change in land use. The regulations have been criticized for being activity, instead of impact, based; for not providing a comprehensive list of activities requiring EIA; for not being coordinated with other legislation; and for allowing a situation where an appeal against a decision made by the Minister must be made to the Minister<sup>13</sup>.

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism has shown itself eager to adopt the sustainable development paradigm as expressed in Agenda 21 and the Habitat Agenda. It has developed a series of policies to guide future development that, if implemented as intended, will go a long way towards the creation of sustainable human settlements. The policy that has been adopted places an emphasis on synergy between man-made and natural environments that will certainly influence the way human settlement of all types will be planned and constructed if it is given expression in legislation. Answering the requirements of the Habitat Agenda, the new policies are strong on environmental management and education, but are weak on the setting of environmental norms and standards, protecting cultural heritage, sustainable transport policies, and providing incentives and disincentives for sustainable development practices.

## Department of Safety and Security

In their White Paper on Safety and Security released in September 1998 the Department of Safety and Security identified two strategies for reducing crime, namely law enforcement and social crime prevention. Law enforcement largely involves the police and a substantial budget has been allocated to them over the past five years in order to achieve this. In terms of the medium-term expenditure framework the government planned to increase spending on justice, police and prisons by an average of 7.8% a year from 1998/99 to 2000/01.<sup>14</sup>

South African Police Services  
Budget Allocation



Crime prevention is, however, seen as needing much broader participation of all spheres of government and also of community members. The White Paper clarifies the roles of the various spheres of government and identifies practical ways for local government to reduce crime.

The crime prevention policy, with its emphasis on promoting awareness and providing education to establish lawful communities, lines up well with the Habitat Agenda. South African policy could still place more emphasis on the Habitat Agenda guidelines of using environmental design to prevent crime, as well as on establishing an efficient and equitable justice system, as provided for in the National Crime Prevention Strategy discussed below.

## Department of Land Affairs

Land policy in South Africa has two broad thrusts:

- **Development facilitation and spatial land development planning** which is currently legislated in the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 that is likely to eventually be amended in line with recommendations in the Green Paper on Development Planning 1999.

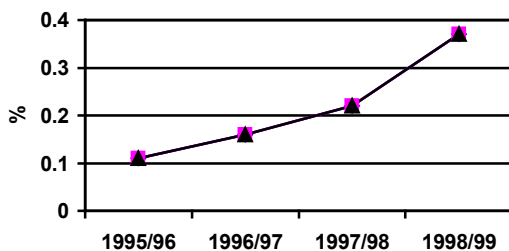
- **Land reform including redistribution, restitution and tenure reform** which tend to have a more rural focus and impact.

The Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (DFA) was one of the first pieces of legislation in the new dispensation that attempted to facilitate development and promote rapid delivery in South Africa. It goes hand-in-hand with the local government policy (contained in the Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act, 1996 and the Systems Bill, 1999) that requires municipalities to undertake integrated development planning. The DFA places a responsibility on municipalities to prepare Land Development Objectives (LDOs), which carry statutory power, for their area and are one output of the overall integrated development planning process.

The principles of the DFA are in line with Habitat Agenda<sup>15</sup>. They are in sync with the way in which Habitat Global Plan of Action views shelter delivery systems, the need for sustainable land use, the importance of decentralising and strengthening local authorities and the metropolitan planning and management approaches outlined in the Habitat Agenda.

According to Habitat Agenda, every government must show a commitment to promoting the provision of an adequate supply of

**Land Budget Allocation**



land in the context of sustainable land-use policies. It identifies actions that should be taken to ensure an adequate supply of serviceable land. These include things such as: recognising a diversity of land delivery systems; decentralising land management responsibilities; promoting rural development; ensuring simple procedures for the transfer of land and conversion of land-use; and encouraging optimal densities and the full use of existing infrastructure in urban areas. The South African land policy is in compliance with these but does also take on emphases that are particularly suited to previous unjust land policies. These specific land reform programmes will be dealt with briefly in Section 5.

Budgetary allocations to the Department of Land Affairs are relatively small but have shown an

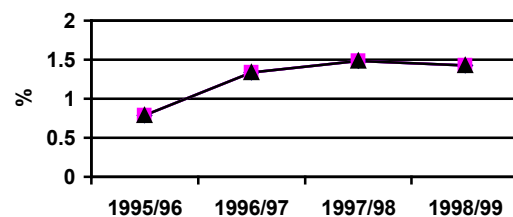
increase over the past five years indicating that providing access to land and land development processes are receiving some priority from national government.

## Department of Water Affairs and Forestry

The Department of Water Affairs has attracted an increasing proportion of the budget over the past five years, although 1998/99 saw a slight decline. It has successfully formulated water supply and sanitation policy, from a situation prior to 1994 where there was no structured national legislation regulating the provision of these services. Water supply and sanitation services prior to 1994 had been dealt with in a fragmented and inconsistent manner in provincial ordinances, with rural water supply and sanitation being left largely to the "Homeland" governments to deal with.

In the White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation (November, 1994), DWAF formulated a strategy to build competent local and provincial agencies capable of providing adequate water supply and sanitation services. It also developed a Framework for Water Services, 1997 targeted at the new democratic local government structures. The Water Services Act (1997) provides a

**Water and Forestry Budget Allocation**



regulatory framework for the provision of water services by clearly defining the roles and responsibilities of the different spheres of government. It reinforces the constitutional right of every citizen to basic water supply and sanitation<sup>16</sup> and places a duty on all water institutions to take reasonable measures to realise these rights. The Act also requires every Water Services Authority<sup>17</sup> to prepare a Water Services Development Plan (as one output of the integrated development planning process) for its area in consultation with the community.

Habitat Agenda states that adequate housing includes promoting access for all people to safe drinking water, sanitation and other basic services, facilities and amenities, especially for people living in poverty, women and those belonging to

vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. It also states that part of sustainable human settlements is promoting integrated water-use planning with a view to identifying effective and cost-efficient alternatives for mobilising a sustainable supply of water for communities and other uses. All of these principles underlie the South African policy. Notable is the initiative of the Minister of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry to form a Gender Secretariat that formulated a specific gender policy that was approved by the Minister. This gender policy is built around the core Habitat principles of equality, sustainability and empowerment. Much of this focus has been stimulated by the activities of the Commission on Gender Equality.

## Policies on Gender

The Commission on Gender Equality was established as one of the "six state institutions supporting constitutional democracy" called for in the 1996 Constitution. The aim of the Commission is to promote gender equality and to advise and make recommendations to Parliament or any other legislature on any laws or proposed legislation which affect gender equality and the status of women<sup>18</sup>.

The South African government has stated that each national department should fund a Transformation and Gender Unit. Furthermore the government has signed the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

The Housing Act (Act 107 of 1997) obliges government at all levels to prohibit unfair discrimination on the ground of gender by those in the housing development process. Government is further obliged to promote the housing needs of marginalised women and female headed households. National housing policy and programmes, such as the National Housing Subsidy Scheme, provide women with equal access to housing benefits and opportunities. The National Housing Policy: 'Supporting the People's Housing Process', was designed particularly with women in mind in recognition of the prominent role that women have traditionally played, and increasingly play, in providing homes for their families through savings and sweat equity.

Further to this, in order to determine the impact of housing policies and programs, and their implementation, on women the Department of Housing has set up the Reference Group for Women's Role and Access to Housing. The Department of Housing is also refining the guidelines for housing subsidy assistance, especially in rural areas, to provide for the needs of

women to whom the provisions of the Customary Marriages Act, 1998, apply.

## Conclusion

The expressions of policy in the South African context are, for the most part, true to the spirit of the Habitat Agenda and other international guidelines. The key definitions and intentions of policy align with the concepts inherent in adequate shelter for all, and sustainable human settlement development. This is not surprising given that South Africa has rewritten much of its policy within the last five years, when this thinking has been current.

Whether the visions and goals of policy have yet found expression in programmes, and whether having been translated into programmes, they have now had the desired impact, are the subjects for subsequent discussion.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This information is from the Department of Finance's web page. Table 4 - National budget expenditure: 1995/96 to 2001/2 on page 13 of the Overview document.

<sup>2</sup> Department of Housing, *Housing White Paper: A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa* (Pretoria: Government Press, 1994). The White Paper applies for the period under review but is currently being re-written and may reflect shifts or refinements in policy for the next five years.

<sup>3</sup> The 'minimum standard complete house' to which all South Africans are entitled to have access on a progressive basis (a right further strengthened by section 26 of the Constitution and by the enactment of the Housing Act) is seen as:

a) A permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring [external and internal] privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and

b) potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic [energy] supply.

<sup>4</sup> The Global Plan of Action gives the most complete definition of the elements of habitability or adequacy, stating that "Adequate shelter means more than a roof over one's head". It also means adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; security of tenure; structural stability and durability; adequate lighting, heating and ventilation; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water-supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities; suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should be available at an affordable cost. This definition is summarised in Table 1.

<sup>5</sup> Housing White Paper, 1994.

<sup>6</sup> Paragraph 18 of Habitat Agenda

<sup>7</sup> This can be attributed in large measure to Aids and vaccination programmes, as well as to the Hospital Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Programme that is receiving an amount of slightly less than R1 billion over the next three years.

<sup>8</sup> The environmental health principles identified in the White Paper on the Transformation of the Health System of South Africa (April, 1997) are as follows:

- Every South African has the right to a living and working environment that is not detrimental to his/her health and well-being.
- All persons should have access to knowledge on environmental health matters and the services available to them;
- Environmental health services should be accessible, acceptable, affordable and

equitable. They must be implemented with the active participation of the communities;

- Environmental health services should contribute positively towards sustainable physical and socio-economic development.

<sup>9</sup> Paragraph 12 of the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements (Annexure 1 of the Habitat Agenda).

<sup>10</sup> The Department of Transport's White Paper on National Transport Policy, 1996.

<sup>11</sup> The Habitat Agenda, paragraph 101.

<sup>12</sup> Action 151 (b) in the Global Plan of Action says "Co-ordinate land-use and transport planning in order to encourage spatial settlement patterns that facilitate access to such basic necessities as workplace, schools, health care, places of worship, goods and services, and leisure, thereby reducing the need to travel"

<sup>13</sup> T. Winstanley. The Legal Implications of the Environmental Impact Assessment Regulations. Paper presented at a course for the CSIR on integrated environmental management, 3-5 May 1999, Pretoria, 1999.

<sup>14</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, 1988, South Africa Survey 1997-1998.

<sup>15</sup> Section 3. (1) (c) of the Development Facilitation Act (1995) says:

"Policy, administrative practice and laws should promote efficient and integrated land development in that they -

- (i) promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development;
- (ii) promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other;
- (iii) promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to or integrated with each other;
- (iv) optimise the use of existing resources including such resources relating to agriculture, land, minerals, bulk infrastructure, roads, transportation and social facilities;
- (v) promote a diverse combination of land uses, also at the level of individual erven or subdivisions of land;
- (vi) discourage the phenomenon of "urban sprawl" in urban areas and contribute to the development of more compact towns and cities;
- (vii) contribute to the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in the Republic and to the optimum use of existing infrastructure in excess of current needs; and
- (viii) encourage environmentally-sustainable land development practices and processes.

<sup>16</sup> Basic water supply and basic sanitation are defined in the White Paper on Water Supply (November 1994).

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<sup>17</sup> A Water Services Authority is the local government structure that has the duty to provide access to water services in a specific area. The Local Government Transition Act, 1993 stipulates which local government structure has this duty to

provide access to services. It may be a district/regional council, a regional services council, a rural council, a local council or a metropolitan council.

<sup>18</sup> Source: <http://cge.org.za/>

## 5 The Impact of Government Programmes

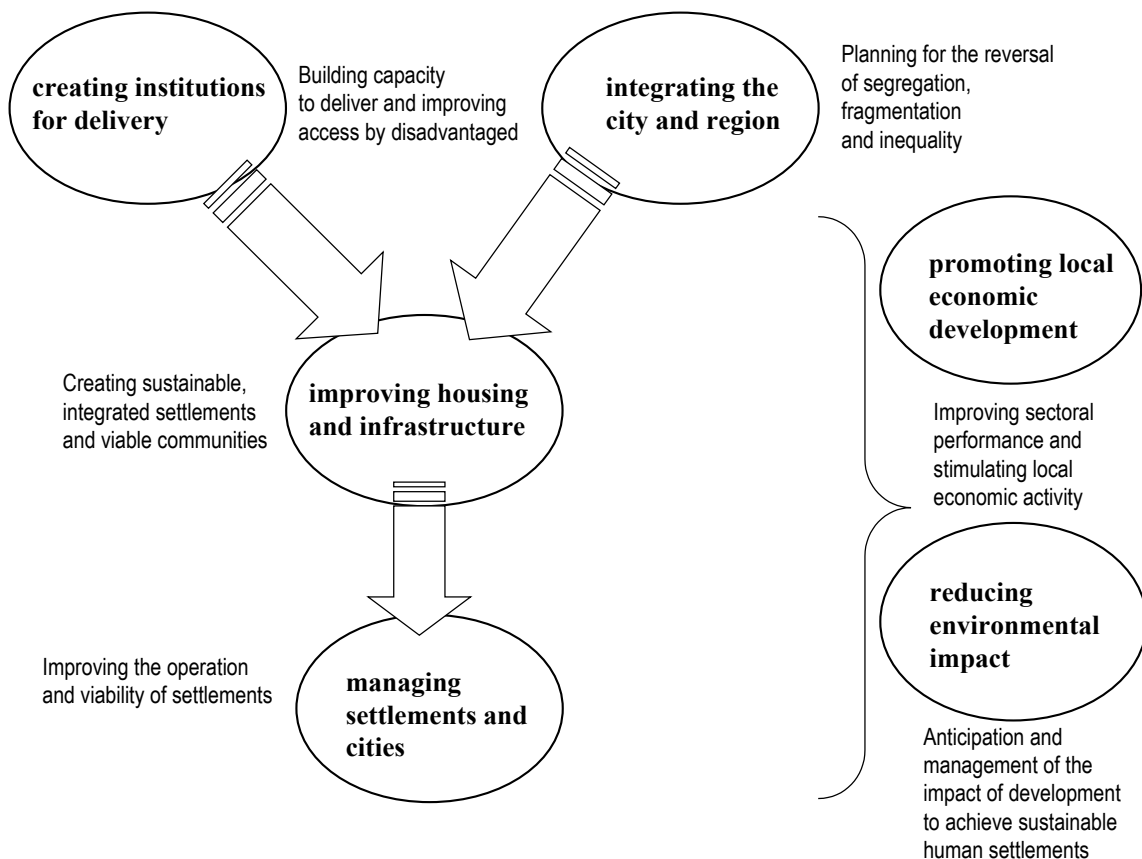
### Introduction

It has been shown that national policy enshrines many of the principles of the Habitat Agenda. But what of the programmes that flow out of policy? What are the outputs, process benefits and impacts on beneficiaries of the many projects that have been stimulated by government enablement over the last 5 years?

The four key programmes of the Urban Development Framework introduced at the close of section two (International Policy Background) were the local interpretation of what the South African government intended to achieve in order to implement Habitat Agenda. As such they are used here as the basis for the assessment of impact. Two further categories have been added to address areas not covered explicitly by the original programmes, namely managing settlements and cities and reducing environmental impact. The key programme areas can be described under the following headings:

- A. Creating institutions for delivery
- B. Integrating the city and region
- C. Improving housing and infrastructure
- D. Managing settlements and cities
- E. Promoting local economic development
- F. Reducing environmental impact

The first four programmes can be seen as chronological steps in the human settlement improvement process (i.e. institution building, planning, design and delivery, and management). The last two are overarching concerns that need to be addressed if the performance and impact of the human settlement development process is to become more sustainable. The programme areas seek to bring together a potentially wide range of cross-sectoral programmes and initiatives. They address all stages of the human settlement improvement process, so as to maximise the benefits of national and local programmes to urban structure and to society. The programmes are represented in the diagram below.



## A. Creating Institutions for Delivery

The general move away from direct government provision of housing and infrastructure, and the demise of the apartheid system, has meant that much energy has had to be put into transforming the State apparatus at all levels. National government therefore is increasingly needing to support both provincial and local government, private enterprise and civil bodies to play their respective roles in delivery processes.

### Transformation and capacity-building of government

All spheres of government are responsible to see that transformation and capacity-building take place within their respective sectors. The State's role in transformation and capacity-building includes such initiatives as,

- training programmes for local authority officials and councillors (Department of Constitutional Development);
- training programmes for housing officials (Department of Housing);
- training of community builders and facilitators (Department of Housing, under the auspices of the People's Housing Partnership Trust); and
- framework for accreditation of municipalities to administer national housing programmes.

The decentralisation and strengthening of local authorities and their associations and networks is particularly the role of the **Department of Constitutional Development**, with its vision of developmental local government (see Section 4). DCD has in place the mechanisms to support the development of local government in the Local Government Training Fund, municipal management audits, municipal financial support programme, and the Masakhane campaign (see below). DCD is also responsible for financial and management capacity building at local government level.

What evidence is there at a provincial level that the efforts to build government capacity are succeeding?

In a very broad sense, the graph below shows provinces attracting varying proportions of the

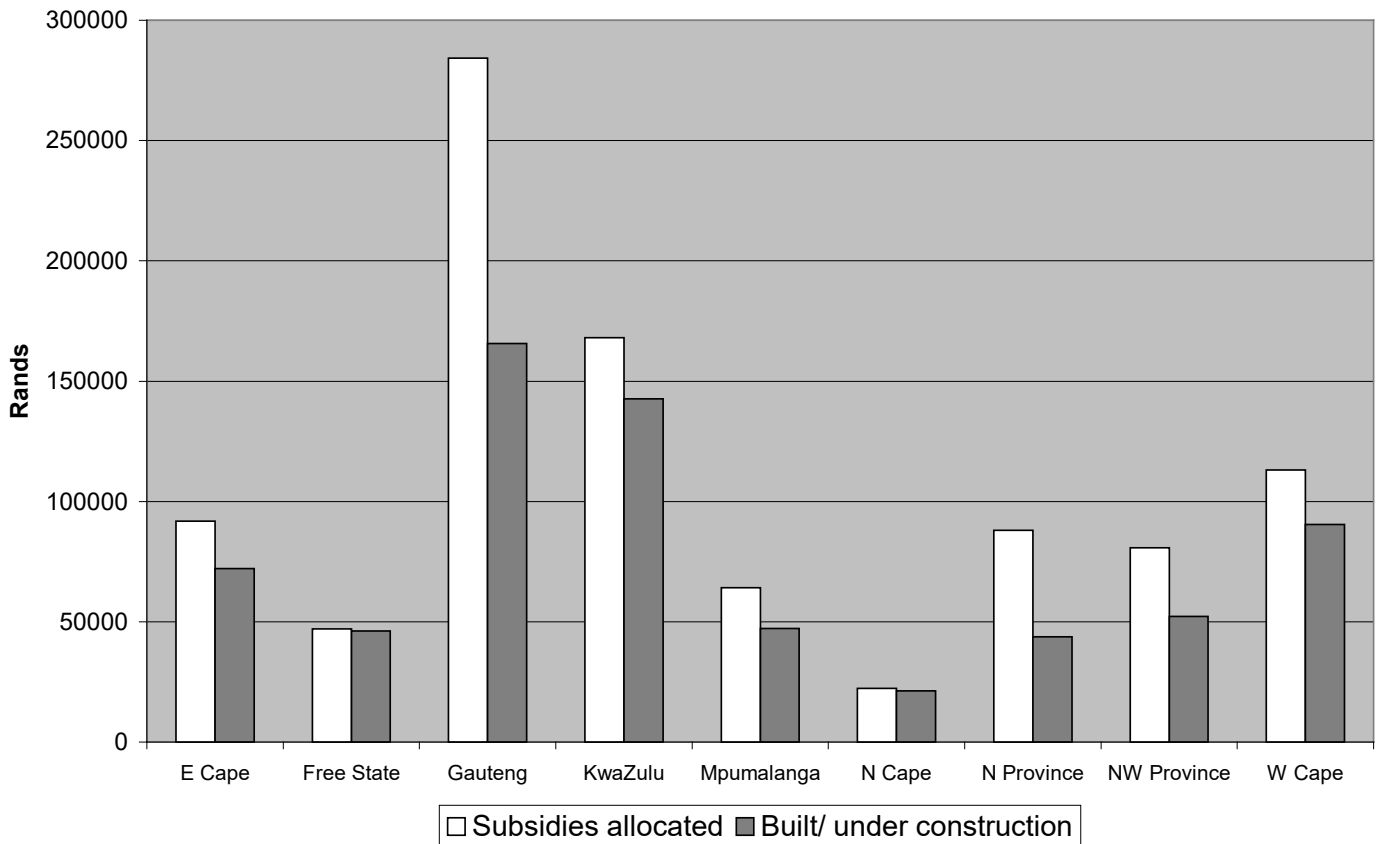
housing subsidy budget, with varying numbers of houses being built by the end of 1998. The Free State and Northern Cape, although receiving relatively small numbers of subsidies, are producing a commensurate number of houses (i.e. more than 95% of the subsidy allocation is built or under construction). The Western Cape, KwaZulu and the Eastern Cape are showing production levels of around 80%. Other provinces show shortfalls which may be indicative of weak institutional capacity (Northern Province 50%, Gauteng 58%, North West Province 65%, and Mpumalanga 74%).

There have been a number of initiatives to identify weaknesses in the institutions and processes of delivery<sup>1</sup>. Measures to improve delivery are chiefly applicable at provincial and local level, and hence beyond the scope of this investigation. However, continued monitoring of the situation through the Department of Housing's Housing and Urbanisation Information System (HUIS), will be necessary to establish whether the trends are worsening or improving. Evidence is presented below that shows that local authorities are better positioned to support some types of human settlement development than others.

In the broader housing sphere, there are certain delivery areas which were institutionally weak, for a variety of reasons. The **Department of Housing** has put in place bodies to build capacity in these areas. They include the *Social Housing Foundation*, the *People's Housing Partnership* (supporting people-driven initiatives), and the *Rural Housing Loan Fund*.

*The Social Housing Foundation* was established in 1997 to promote the development of housing institutions, as a broad concept, while also assisting fledgling institutions to build the necessary capacity so as to qualify for finance from the National Housing Finance Corporation (described below). The vision of the Social Housing Foundation is to facilitate the establishment of 50 sustainable, social housing institutions in South Africa by 2002. Strong links have been built with countries that have experience in the formation of housing institutions (notably the Netherlands and Britain) and support programmes and materials have been developed to stimulate existing and emerging housing institutions.

### Subsidies allocated vs houses built



The social housing movement is gaining momentum nationally. While initially most pilot projects have taken place in Johannesburg, the influence of the Foundation is spreading. This initiative has particular impact on the urban regeneration of inner cities and the production of new housing on central 'brownfields' sites. Given the wider drive towards more compact cities and towns, social housing provides an institutional framework in which high density housing can be produced or upgraded (see box on Social Housing in Hillbrow).

In cases where communities or households within communities opted to become more involved in the housing development process, the *People's Housing Process* programme provided a way to achieve this. A major constraint to the People's Housing Process was a lack of capacity at all levels and in many communities. The *People's Housing Partnership Trust* (a partnership supported by the Department of Housing, UNDP, UNCHS and USAID), was established to implement government's national capacitation programme in support of the People's Housing Process.

In the budget for the 1998/99 financial year, R50 million was set aside for a number of housing support initiatives based on interim implementation guidelines for supporting the People's Housing Process. During the 1997/8 financial year, nine initiatives were directly supported and a further 25 initiatives received start up funding.

The Rural Housing Loan Fund (RHLF) is a wholesale fund for rural directed lending and was established with funding from the international donor agencies through an intergovernmental agreement. The RHLF is presently focused on three main areas:

- Loans to existing lenders for the development of their branch network in rural areas or for piloting new loan products;
- Loans to start-up lenders with strong initial marketing presence in strategic niches, of which RHLF had assisted four by the end of 1998; and
- Facilitation of schemes to investigate means of lending to farm workers and for private service connections to bulk infrastructure in rural areas.

R105 million had been disbursed by December 1998 with a projected impact on 22 378 households.

In that these initiatives stimulate the creation of a wider variety of human settlement options, they should be vigorously supported and grown.

Finally, the **Department of Land Affairs** has various mechanisms created under the Development Facilitation Act that support the speedy release of land for development.

Despite some of the concerns about the quality of what has been delivered over the past five years, particularly in terms of size of units and the quality of the public realm (see below), there is little doubt that the scale of delivery in South Africa is impressive. After a slow start where only 25 000 housing 'opportunities' had been delivered after the first two years<sup>2</sup>, the focus on holding to the original policy and creating institutions to deliver seems to have paid off. From the production of 30 000 low-cost units per annum at the end of the apartheid era, to an annual production of 200 000 units (and a peak of 300 000), the gearing up of institutional capacity to deliver can be viewed as successful.

## Improving access to housing benefits and finance

Early in the new policy era, it was recognised that the majority of households who most needed shelter were not able to afford adequate housing. Influenced by the basic needs approach of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, a principle decision was made by several government departments to fund the housing sector through the widest possible spread of relatively small capital grants, or subsidies, enabling the maximum possible number of households to benefit. Of particular relevance are the subsidies that apply to urban housing and infrastructure, and to rural land.

The **Department of Housing** initiated the *housing subsidy scheme* which is central to the government housing programme, and is essential for the targeting of the most needy. It was structured in such a way that maximum benefit went to the poorest households.

Four kinds of subsidies were designed to suit different methods of housing delivery: the project-linked subsidy (awarded to developers on behalf of beneficiaries), the individual subsidy (awarded to individual applicants), the consolidation subsidy (to fund top structures on serviced sites), and the institutional subsidy (for the establishment of social housing) (see box on the Housing Subsidy Scheme).

As efforts to build certain areas of the housing sector proceed, careful monitoring of their impact will be necessary to assess whether they are achieving their objectives. They are important as exploratory initiatives to apply new housing delivery processes to the South African context.

Other bodies were formed to improve access to housing benefits. The *National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency* (Nurcha) was established to facilitate delivery of adequate, sustainable housing through unblocking financial obstacles to the provision of subsidised housing. It was registered as a tax-exempt, non-profit company in May 1995 and began operations in October that year. Nurcha is a facilitator of housing for low-income groups that has a life expectancy of five to ten years.

The **NGO sector** supported by local and international donor agencies has been particularly important in improving the ability of residents to access government benefits in the form of the government housing subsidy. Initiatives such as the Community and Urban Services Support Project (CUSSP) were instrumental in building the capacity of marginalised communities to access benefits<sup>3</sup>. The member organisations of the Urban Sector Network in many cases maintained contact with communities they had partnered over many years in resisting the apartheid apparatus, and successfully became delivery agents (see Box on the Southern Pinetown Housing Consolidation Project). In other models, close partnerships between NGOs and community-based organisations, such as that between People's Dialogue and the Homeless People's Federation have resulted in successful models of community-driven housing delivery (see Box on Victoria Mxenge).

Apart from the successful subsidy allocation figures, most evidence suggests that targeting of the housing subsidy has been fairly effective<sup>4</sup>. Firstly, most subsidies have gone to the lowest income band that the subsidy caters for. Over 92% of subsidies granted have gone to households earning less than R1 500 per month.

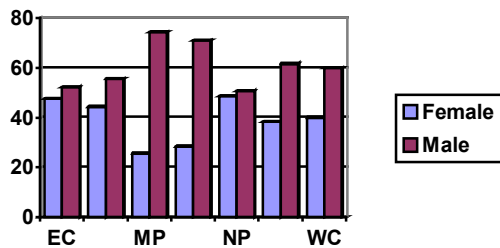
Secondly, and perhaps slightly less successfully, 39% of subsidies were allocated to women-headed households. The gender balance varies from province to province. The differences are more pronounced in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape. Eastern Cape and Northern Province have a relatively balanced allocation between genders (see graph). Measured against the proportions of female- to male-headed households overall, these allocation figures are encouraging.

In 1998 the Commission on Gender Equality conducted an audit of current legislation to identify inequality and discrimination in the law on the basis of sex and gender. The audit revealed that most of the inequality and discrimination experienced by women lies not in the letter of the law, but in its impact. Hence a seemingly neutral law may adversely affect women, or a good law may be poorly implemented or administered in a discriminatory manner. In the areas of land and housing, the audit concluded that the application of certain legal provisions did not go far enough in ensuring gender equality, and that social and cultural practices, especially customary law, further inhibited the attainment of substantive gender equality<sup>5</sup>.

As regards women labour tenants, access to land and employment is dependent directly upon the husband's contract with the farmer. The *Extension of Security of Tenure Act* fails to make reference to the nature of tied housing on farms and the practice of not regarding a woman farm dweller as an occupier in her own right. This practice clearly results in many women farm dwellers being denied the right of access to farm housing.

Despite the substantial changes that have been accomplished, there is need to enhance the role and status of women to ensure greater participation in, and access to, the housing industry. The capacity of woman to contract needs to be re-examined, as the inherent gender bias in the market is yet to be overcome. Lack of awareness of the potential of women as developers and contractors should be addressed, because there is clear evidence of discrimination despite the fact that in most instances women have proven ability to complete building contracts on time and to deliver quality housing products. The National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency (NURCHA), has played a key role by ensuring that emerging contractors, particularly women developers, enter the market and realise their full potential.

**Subsidy allocation by gender**



### The Housing Subsidy Scheme

The national Department of Housing launched a housing subsidy scheme in the mid-1990s to enable the provision of adequate housing for low income groups. The amount of the subsidy issued was based on the household's monthly income. The following categories were used from the time the subsidy was put in place.

<u>Income</u>	<u>Subsidy amount</u>
0 – R800	R15000
R801 - R1500	R12500
R1501- R2500	R9500
R2501- 3500	R5000

Note: these amounts have recently been revised, with the total subsidy increasing to R16000, and the bottom two income brackets being combined.

The normal subsidy amount may be increased by an amount not exceeding 15%, at the sole discretion of the Provincial Housing Board, in order to compensate for abnormal development costs arising from location, geo-technical and topographical conditions. The subsidy scheme is intended to facilitate access by allowing beneficiaries to qualify for a diverse range of residential property, including newly-constructed, bondable single housing units, units in newly-constructed multiple unit complexes (including flats), units in reconditioned or refurbished buildings, existing housing of any type, in-situ upgrading of existing unserviced or minimally-serviced settlements, and incremental housing schemes where a serviced site is provided as the first stage, with the residual of the subsidy being used for home-building purposes. The subsidy is divided into four main categories - the *individual subsidy* available to single households; the *consolidation subsidy* available to households that have previously received state assistance in the form of a serviced site (R7500 then being made available for the house); the *institutional subsidy* directed at the establishment of social housing in South Africa, and the *project-linked subsidy* for housing projects identified and initiated by community-based organisations or developers. Alternative arrangements also exist for the support of community-driven housing, through the "People's Housing Process".

SOURCE: Implementation Manual: Housing Subsidy Scheme and other housing assistance measures by the Department of Housing 1995, and Banking council Web site: (<http://www.banking.org.za/housing/index.html>)

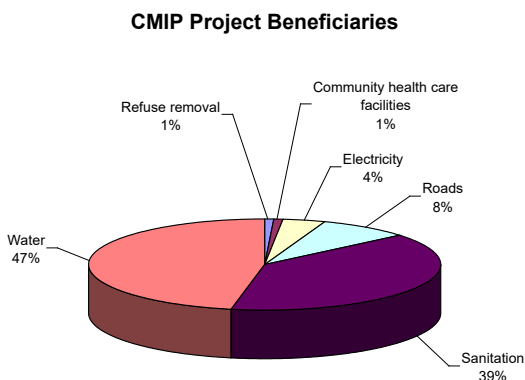
Thirdly, special provision is made in the Housing Subsidy Scheme for the needs of disabled people. Guidelines exist for the design or adaptation of housing, and additional subsidy amounts are available to implement basic changes (amounting to an additional 11% of the subsidy). These measures are relatively recent and it is not yet possible to ascertain impact. A study of the effectiveness of the assistance would be worthwhile.

The allocation patterns of the subsidy should continue to be monitored, particularly as to whether marginalised groups are being effectively targeted. There is little evidence that beneficiaries are 'selling on' government benefits once accessed, although some would argue that the lack of a market in low-income housing is itself a problem. It seems then that measures to ensure that vulnerable groups are assisted are being effective in the housing field.

A number of infrastructure provision programmes were replaced in April 1998 by the *Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme* (CMIP), managed by the **Department of Constitutional Development**. Its aim was to provide a sustainable source of funding to local government to provide equitable access to affordable basic municipal services and ensure an effective linkage to the housing subsidy programme.

The programme supported municipalities in their function of providing bulk infrastructure to projects (such as housing). The programme is based on a capital grant of R3 000 per poor household in municipal areas.

Since 1994 the CMIP programme, and its predecessors, have created 186 955 person months of employment, employed 48 252 people (14% of those women, and 90% local people), and



it has provided accredited training to 105 083 people. Two thousand projects have been approved and 1 650 completed. Some 6.8 million people have benefited directly<sup>6</sup> (see graph). There is no evidence about how many households that have benefited from bulk infrastructure expenditure have also benefited from other forms of support, such as the housing subsidy. However, it is to be expected that bulk services to residential areas would in most cases be coupled with locally-applied housing subsidies.

The third main subsidy type that applies in rural areas, and improves access to benefits, is the land subsidy. The land reform programme of the **Department of Land Affairs** is described in more detail below. A household can attract either the housing subsidy (in an urban or rural area) or the land subsidy (under the *Land Redistribution Programme*), but not both. The levels of subsidy are equivalent in an effort to ensure the equitable distribution of housing rights between urban and rural areas. In addition to removing legal restrictions on women's access to land, the programme identifies other vulnerable groups for particular support, namely farm workers and labour tenants.

By the end of 1998, approximately 200,000 people had benefited from the Land Redistribution Programme and half a million hectares of land had been distributed.

For households who do not qualify for the various types of subsidy because they have slightly higher incomes, but who have been disadvantaged in terms of accessing housing, there are several other support initiatives which were aimed at improving access to finance.

Since the mid-1980s commercial banks have made approximately 300,000 mortgage bonds worth R14 billion to township residents. This form of finance is limited in its appropriateness to the needs of low income earners, given its affordability, relative complexity, and the levels of non-payment that have resulted. Some 30,000 properties have gone into default.

*Servcon Housing Solutions (Pty) Ltd* was another initiative of government, established to normalise properties that had been repossessed or were under threat of repossession owing to borrowers having failed to meet their obligations to mortgage lenders. It has now been given an extended mandate allowing a period of up to eight years to dispose of the portfolio of properties in possession and non-performing loans.

Servcon administers 33,000 houses, and given the additional 30,000 properties in default, this is an indication that mortgage finance is not

performing well, and may not be the most appropriate form of finance.

The *National Housing Finance Corporation* (NHFC) was created in April 1996 to pilot and explore ways of expanding housing finance. Government established the NHFC as a wholesale finance institution because of a lack of housing finance in the R15,000 to R50,000 house price range. This market segment was poorly served mostly by non-traditional retail lenders. The NHFC was mandated to develop, and if necessary rationalise, the capacity of the non-bank micro-lenders in order to make an increasing contribution at the lower end of the market. Unlocking housing credit was therefore seen as a fundamental requirement to facilitate the ongoing improvement of the housing circumstances of households in the government-subsidised market.

To achieve the NHFC objectives, a number of programmes were established, with the purpose of providing higher risk equity and funding to new and emerging lenders, and to fund the building of the capacity of new housing institutions.

Within one of the NHFC programmes to provide funding at scale to lenders, by May 1999 after two years in operation, around R350 million in loans had been approved through 10 lenders, reaching some 69 000 people. The programme is projected to reach 287 000 people. Loans are for housing improvements, broadly defined, and monitoring exercises have shown that almost 70% of loans are used for the specified purpose<sup>7</sup>. The finance so created is more affordable, less complex to administer, and repayment levels are high.

This type of support is crucial for the stimulation of housing extensions where formal finance is vastly under-utilised<sup>8</sup>. The achievement of adequate shelter depends in large part on home improvements by residents themselves.

A further half a million micro-loans have been made to the value of around R3 billion<sup>9</sup>. A new area of micro-loan finance has recently been developed by a subsidiary of the NHFC, in which much larger micro-loans are made available for the purchase of a house that is larger than the typical subsidy house. Loans are secured through a combination of pension fund and insurance backing.

## Limitations of Subsidisation

It is evident that access by the poor, women and people with special needs, such as the disabled, is generally being supported institutionally. Subsidies are being targeted fairly effectively within the set criteria of the assistance

system. However wider concerns about the criteria themselves have been raised by several bodies.

In an early impact study of sites and service and informal settlement upgrading, it was found that beneficiary communities were heterogeneous in terms of income levels and other measures of wealth<sup>10</sup>. Under the current system, not all residents of these settlements would have attracted the same level of subsidy, and some not any subsidy at all. Certainly illegal immigrants would have been excluded.

A more recent study of four community-driven initiatives in which the housing subsidy was used to upgrade informal settlements<sup>11</sup>, it was found that the variety within settlements meant that in many cases residents not conforming to the subsidy criteria (in terms of minimum household income) were asked to 'buy in' or 'move out'. If the latter choice was exercised this is likely to have a detrimental effect on the economic and social functioning of the area. Another wide-ranging study of housing implementation states: "Experience from low-income settlements shows that the process of social segregation is hard to reverse: once an area is classified as low in status, more affluent people move out"<sup>12</sup>.

These observations also raise the issue that in most greenfields projects, the communities of beneficiaries are relatively homogenous in terms of income and other factors such as household composition because of the subsidy criteria.

"In greenfields projects, the screening process separates out a new class of subsidy qualifier. So the uniformity of contractor-built houses is matched by uniformity of low-income earning nuclear families drawn from backyard shack, overcrowded formal houses and undevelopable informal settlements"<sup>13</sup>.

"...household income is calculated irrespective of household size thus jeopardising large families with numerous breadwinners, or multiple households pooling resources. It assumes that those households with larger incomes have larger surpluses to house themselves. The criteria exclude individuals without dependants e.g. elderly widows/ widowers with independent adult children or those choosing to live alone."

Both the housing subsidy criteria and the definition of a household in land policy appear to exclude women, such as widows and single women. In terms of the exclusions that the criteria imply to gender equality, government funds a Gender Commission and has decreed that each national department should fund a Transformation and Gender Unit. Such measures should monitor the impact of policies in this respect.

There are clearly serious social implications for the societies that inhabit existing and new low-cost housing areas, and the evidence coming out of project-level impact assessments need to be noted.

Mechanisms and programmes to improve access to human settlements have clearly reached many, needy people. The approach to favour breadth over depth, or small subsidies to many people rather than larger subsidies to fewer people, has had successful impacts if the numbers of products delivered is taken as the measure. This area of the success of government policy should not be downplayed.

The issue of how long this level of subsidisation can be financially sustained by government is cause for some concern. It may be advisable to do a specific projection that ascertains this sustainability, particularly in light of further information on the relative impact of various government investment programmes.

## Popular participation and civic engagement

Civic engagement has been one of the hallmarks of the early period of policy development and implementation between 1994 and 1998.

Most national policies allow for significant levels of public participation in both the planning and implementation phases. Much policy was itself written in a consultative manner, as illustrated by the role of the National Housing Forum in the writing of the first Housing White Paper.

Because the provision of housing is not seen by policy as the sole responsibility of the State, further programmes are directed at building capacity in civil society. Under the heading of "partnerships for delivery and institution building" several groupings including the Department of Constitutional Development, Department of Housing, and Municipalities, have collaborated to form partnerships with civil society in the delivery and management of urban infrastructure (including housing). Examples include the People's Housing Partnership, the Social Housing Foundation and the Rural Housing Loan Fund.

The legislation dealing with development, especially the *Development Facilitation Act*, as well as IDP and LA 21, place strong emphasis on public participation in the planning process. Land Development Objectives are to be developed in partnership with communities. These set priorities on areas of development which are seen as important by residents. Such participation should fundamentally influence the strategic planning process. Encouraged by the *White Paper on Local Government*, this participation is being expanded

into partnerships with the community and with local service providers at local government level. The '*Framework for the Restructuring of Municipal Service Provision*', suggests Municipal Service Partnerships in which a balance is kept between public and private sector delivery and opportunity created for building capacity in the local authority. At national level the principle is the driving force behind programmes such as *Masakhane* and the *People's Housing Process*.

The *Masakhane* campaign is not just about improving levels of payment, but is in essence about mass involvement in the transformation process. In this spirit of working together, government has adopted an approach that covers issues like building of partnerships and community participation and support. *Masakhane* has manifested itself in various activities ranging from clean-up campaigns and projects for the empowerment of women, to housing schemes and development ventures.

With its emphasis on community participation, the *Masakhane* Programme is also contributing to the creation of viable and sustainable communities. This is exemplified by the Katorus Special Presidential Project where previous adversaries were united in working together to improve living conditions for the entire community.<sup>14</sup> The benefits of *Masakhane* are further demonstrated by the Ivory Park example cited below.<sup>15</sup>

### Ivory Park Masakhane Campaign

The *Masakhane* campaign in Ivory Park has had a significant impact on the quality of life of residents and sets an example of working together towards the transformation of South Africa.

The campaign improved living conditions by upgrading sanitation facilities and storm water drainage, improved health care and the development of sport and recreational facilities. At the same time it created employment and empowered the community by making use of labour-intensive methods and emerging contractors, and developing their skills. By making use of local resources money was also circulated within the community.

The Midrand MLC spent a total of R104 million on the *Masakhane* programme, providing better services, clinics, streetlights, social upliftment projects, open space development, roads and bridges, a police station and emergency centre. The programme resulted in an increased payment level from 3% to almost 70%.

At local level examples of successful partnerships are the Business Improvement Districts, and various crime prevention initiatives.

Many other departments have designed processes that include civic engagement as a key component. There is little question that the intention and political will to facilitate civic engagement is present at most levels of the public sector and, perhaps to a slightly lesser extent, of the private sector. It is in the implementation that various tensions and limitations become evident.

The investigation of four community-driven processes already referred to<sup>16</sup>, states the case in this way: the bundling together of tenure, infrastructure and top structure into a single household subsidy set up tensions between collective and individual assets.

On the one hand municipalities demand certain minimum standards of infrastructure and on the other residents attempt to maximise personal assets (through both house size and level of on-site services). The point is made that infrastructure remains the property of the municipality while the house becomes the property of the individual. Therefore, in a participation process it is difficult for communities to always act in the public interest

In the pursuit of higher quality housing and settlements, community input is crucial. The ongoing conflicts of interests between role players over the apportioning of funding between various individual and collective elements of housing development needs to be resolved at an institutional and structural level. The role of community, the identity of community, and the role of individual households, as well as the host of other potential stakeholders also need to be clarified.

Some point out the lack of resident involvement in construction even in projects where beneficiaries are not located close to the construction site<sup>17</sup>. Clearly some delivery processes lend themselves better to resident involvement in construction. Ever increasing levels of community participation, even if idealistically important, are not sustainable.

"The key problem is that the [housing] policy is underpinned by conflicting and contradictory principles. More specifically, immediate and visible delivery, community participation, developer-driven delivery, economic empowerment of 'communities' and the like, when put into practice, end up clashing with one another"<sup>18</sup>.

Much needs to be done to resolve conflicts in this area, while at the same time supporting the real option of a people-driven process in appropriate situations. The roles of non-government organisations (see Box on the Southern Pinetown Housing Consolidation Project) and other support bodies such as the People's

Housing Partnership Trust are particularly pertinent in the facilitation of participation.

Another aspect of access, is the improvement of access of small contractors to the construction process. Experience of the success of small contractor development programmes is varied. There is often an unequal relationship between small operators and the organisations that are more established. On the other hand, small contractor development is often blamed for slow delivery at a project level.

The sustainability of employment created through housing projects should also be well-understood. Opportunities for employment often end when projects finish, and large projects with limited durations, such as Special Integrated Residential Projects (SIRPs), can have significant impacts on local economies and on the building of unsustainable dependencies on government programmes<sup>19</sup>.

A particular strength of South African policy as it relates to human settlements is the level of civic engagement that is required. The benefits of participation are many, and essential to sustainable human settlement development. Problems arising from the practice of participation should not overshadow its imperative part in any development process.

The building of capacity by the public and private sector to run efficient, but effective participation processes, is taking place as more top-down approaches are progressively replaced. The momentum built up need not be interrupted by refinements in policy that remove some of the inherent conflicts.

#### **Southern Pinetown Housing Consolidation Project**

The housing consolidation project in Luganda and Zilweni in Southern Pinetown was launched in 1996. The project was intended to deliver over 2000 houses, with the potential for replication in other parts of Southern Pinetown where up to 12000 houses could eventually be delivered.

Informal tenants began to settle in the area as early as the 1970's. By 1992-1994 community-based upgrading projects were implemented in Luganda and Zilweni where basic services and formal tenure were provided. In these areas, 1702 and 445 sites were serviced respectively.

Twelve civic associations joined together to form the Southern Pinetown Joint Civic Association (SPCJA). With the assistance of BESSG, they began formulating proposals for a housing consolidation programme. The consolidation scheme was introduced in 1994 to provide top structures for beneficiaries of site and service projects. A

total of 2147 housing consolidation subsidies ranging from R5000 to R7500 were approved in Luganda and Zilweni. An NGO, the Built Environment Support Group (BESG) was appointed as the project manager and the local authority (the Inner West Council) was appointed as the financial administrator of the subsidy money. Implementation of the consolidation project began in 1996, at which time only about 43% of houses in Luganda and 49% of houses in Zilweni were formal housing. Beneficiaries could choose which builders and building materials to use, as well as their own choice of design. They used order forms showing the subsidy amount to order materials from four builders who were accredited by the project. On completion, the local authority-housing advisor certified that the structures had been built, thereby enabling payment to be made to the suppliers and builders. Most subsidies were used to build new houses, (77% in Luganda and 67% in Zilweni) while those who already lived in brick homes, used the money to add on extra rooms. Over 90% of the beneficiaries received subsidies of R7500, which was typically used to build a two-roomed house of about 28m<sup>2</sup>.

Less than 5% of the beneficiaries built their own houses, the majority preferring to use small local contractors. Up to 60 builders worked on the project, providing employment for over 200 community members. About 95% of the beneficiaries were satisfied with the project while 98% felt the project had improved the area. The consolidation project piloted the small contractor housing delivery model. The use of community-based housing advisors and local contractors proved to be an extremely efficient and affordable way of providing housing at scale, and one that has the potential to play a significant role in solving South Africa's housing problem. The co-operation between the CBO's and NGO and the local authority on the project also demonstrated the advantages of organisations working together.

The main reasons for the project's success were considered to be firstly, the capable community organisations in the area which had strong links to an innovative housing NGO. Secondly, the consolidation subsidy was large enough to deliver a house of reasonable size and quality when the small contractor or self-build options were exercised. Thirdly, there was a fairly well developed network of small builders and building material suppliers in the area. Finally, at the time there were no housing norms or standards that needed to be complied with.

SOURCE: Built Environment Support Group (BESG) - *Annual Report June 1997 – May 1998*  
Built Environment Support Group (BESG) – "Evaluation of the Housing Consolidation Project in Luganda and Zilweni, Southern Pinetown," 1998.

## Information and Communication

The level of communication and publicity surrounding the initiatives of various government departments varies considerably. Early attempts

to communicate the terms of the housing subsidy by the **Department of Housing** took the form of a newspaper supplement entitled "Home Truths".

This was circulated nationally and explained in accessible terms and in several languages, the basic information about qualifying for the housing subsidy.

Operational communiqués also exist, including the Department of Housing's "Implementation Manual: Housing Subsidy Scheme and other Housing Assistance Measures" which outlines how to apply for the different forms of subsidies that exist.

Other examples include the manual that supports the implementation of the IDP process, and the "Toolkit" developed by the Social Housing Foundation to assist institutions to support social housing.

The public and private implementers of government policy have become more adept at supporting delivery mainly through experience and as blockages in the process have been cleared. At the same time, manuals on implementation are becoming more 'user-friendly'.

At project level, reports of the level of information available to beneficiaries varies considerably. Some processes are run with high levels of information being passed regularly to participants and stakeholders, while others leave beneficiaries surprised or disappointed when the product that is delivered becomes evident.

For example, in another evaluation of progressive, in-situ upgrading of four settlements, it was found that many people in the community were not aware of the programme: generally only half of residents had heard about the upgrading projects and knew about subsidies. When people were asked whether they had participated, 'very few' responded that they had<sup>20</sup>.

A common finding from several evaluations was that publicity around development programmes was a key part of their success. Projects with a high profile, such as Special Integrated Presidential Projects, added impetus to the efforts of the many stakeholders and focused attention on the need for sound development practice<sup>21</sup>.

There was a balance, however. Also coming out of the evaluation of the Katorus project was the observation that sometimes the need for visibility subsumed the objective of beneficiary impact. While communication and visibility are essential, the objectives of alleviating poverty and effectively targeting the needs of residents should take precedence.

## B. Integrating the city and region

Numerous initiatives to build capacity for delivery and to improve the access of the disadvantaged to decision-making and opportunities were discussed in Section A: Creating Institutions for Delivery. We move now to initiatives focussing on the need to reverse segregation, fragmentation and inequality by integrating the city and the region. Our task here is to assess the impact of policy and programmes aimed at promoting access of the disadvantaged to the economic and social benefits of the city and the region through spatial integration.

As outlined in the *Urban Development Framework* (UDF), spatial integration, through sound urban planning, land, transport and environmental management, is critical to enhance the generative capacity and ease of access to socio-economic opportunities of our urban areas. The UDF outlines a number of strategies for integrating the city, namely: integrated planning; rebuilding and upgrading townships and informal settlements; planning for higher land use and development; reform of the urban land and planning system; and urban transportation. All of these issues are addressed in this section although under the broader headings of "Integrated planning and land-use management" and "Integrating the city". A significant emphasis here on integrating the region could form a new contribution to the Urban Development Framework or any new national development framework that might be adopted in the future.

### Integrated planning and land-use management

Transforming the urban land and planning system is key to achieving integration of cities and regions. Recognising this, the **Department of Land Affairs**, and later the **Department of Constitutional Development**, introduced policy and legislation to stimulate new approaches to planning and land-use management. These new approaches were far-reaching in their goals but one of their primary aims was to integrate cities.

#### *Development Facilitation Act, 1995*

The 1994 White Paper on Housing recognised the critical impact that the land delivery process (land identification, allocation and transformation of undeveloped land into serviced land) would have on:

- the rate and scale of housing supply,

- the potential for housing supply to contribute to socio-economic development, and
- its potential to contribute to racial, economic and spatial integration in South Africa.

This recognition led to the promulgation by the **Department of Land Affairs** of the *Development Facilitation Act, 1995* (Act 67 of 1995) which has been one of the main impetuses driving the transformation of planning in South Africa from a control-orientated planning approach to one which is more normatively based.

It introduces principles (or national norms) that are to guide land development and land development decision-making. These principles are geared at bringing about a fundamental change to the form and structure of South African settlements<sup>22</sup>. The principles explicitly reject the low density, fragmented and mono-functional forms of apartheid development and call for more compact integrated and mixed-use settlements. One of the key principles is that "...policy, administrative practice and laws should promote efficient and integrated land development"<sup>23</sup>.

The DFA ensures a comprehensive approach in the sense that both urban and rural settlement needs are addressed and that all forms of housing are facilitated. It requires local authorities to formulate 'land development objectives' (LDOs) for their areas of jurisdiction in line with DFA principles. These LDOs when approved by provincial MECs then take on statutory power and guide development in local areas. Land development objectives are seen by the Departments of Constitutional Development and Land Affairs as one output of a broader Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process being undertaken by all local authorities (IDPs will be discussed in more detail below).

An investigation into the LDO process in the Provinces of Gauteng and the North West<sup>24</sup> revealed they have had mixed impact on human settlements (see box on following page outlining the effectiveness of these LDOs in addressing DFA principles relating to integration<sup>25</sup>). It was found that some local authorities made full use of the LDO process and implemented it with enthusiasm, success and spin-offs whilst others implemented it under some duress, with limited human capacity and funds, because they were legislatively required to do so, and hence experienced no substantial results. LDO documents varied in quality and in their access to up-to-date reliable information and are thus likely to have varying impacts on human settlements.

In terms of assessing the impact of the DFA and its principles, it is worrying also that no work has yet been done at the fundamental level of projecting the socio-cultural impact of forming a high density, compact city, as called for by the DFA. Impact studies of housing projects where people have the option of moving from informal settlements to new, formal well-located housing show that many people do not wish to move. They tend to want to remain where their established survival networks are (this is expanded upon below in the informal settlement upgrading section of Section C: Improving Housing and Infrastructure). Only further research and impact studies will reveal whether this possible negative socio-cultural impact of compacting the city will be outweighed by the perceived advantages of good location.

**LDOs and DFA Integration Principles**

**Gauteng and North West Assessment**

**Integration of low-income communities into the broader community**

Although many LDOs explicitly targeted the disadvantaged sectors of their communities, the majority of them did not adequately address how they would be integrated into the community. In some, statements were made about rectifying spatial imbalances but often strategies to address inequities were not identified.

Planning concepts such as activity corridors were mentioned but were generally not seen as instruments for reconstruction and integration.

In some LDOs a method which could potentially work against integration was used. This entailed the division of the local authority up into four zones viz: a Zone of Stability, a Zone of Intervention, a Zone for Future Potential and a Zone of Opportunity. This may perpetuate the Apartheid idea as the zones tend to correspond with former "white" and "black" areas. It also negates the idea that solutions to problems in a particular locality may lie in another area.

**Overall density of settlements**

Other than some rhetoric on the need for more compact cities, this aspect was not adequately addressed.

The persisting location of low-income housing developments in peripheral locations received the same indifference.

In the case of existing low-density settlements, detail with regard to the possible impact of densification, as well as the changes necessitated in municipal policy regarding maximum allowable densities, were generally not provided.

*Green Paper on Development and Planning*

The DFA provided for the establishment of a Development and Planning Commission (DPC), which was appointed in September 1997 by the Ministers of Land Affairs and Housing. The Commission was tasked with drafting a Green Paper on a new planning system for South Africa.<sup>26</sup> The *Green Paper on Development and Planning* sets out to define the legal requirements for land development and spatial planning as one component of the broad integrated development planning process.

It recommends that the Development Facilitation Act (Act 67 of 1995) be amended, rather than repealed, to clarify that LDOs are a spatial and land development tool. The recommended amendments include:

- The principles should be re-ordered, rewritten, reworded and expanded to make them clearer and more useful. They should continue to inform development decisions and practices;
- The concept of land development objectives (policy plans) with statutory effect should be retained, but the chapter defining them must be re-written so that they are more tightly defined as spatial and land development plans. The amended version of the DFA should provide for the approval process in respect of such policy plans and for them to have statutory status, as they do at present.
- The DFA should provide that all primary local authorities, metropolitan council, district councils and provinces should prepare spatial policy plans as an aspect of the integrated planning process (see box for the minimum content that the Green Paper suggests for these plans.)

**Spatial Policy Plans - Green Paper**

Plans should identify at least the following:

- an open space system, both green and urban space. Areas where development will not be allowed, or will be more tightly controlled, must be identified;
- areas where public investment is going to take place, including on public space, movement, social services, utilities and emergency services;
- defined areas where greater intensification and mixed use will be encouraged;
- conservation areas, if applicable;
- areas for more noxious activities;
- areas where special problems have to be resolved such as land tenure or restitution;
- areas that require special services;
- special project areas, such as public housing schemes.

According to the Green Paper the provincial laws and regulations currently being prepared for each province, and complete in the case of some provinces, should define the content of the spatial plan more fully.

There are tensions between the Systems Bill (May 1999 Draft, which is discussed later in this section) and the Green Paper on Development and Planning. The Systems Bill recommends that entire sections of the DFA be repealed (specifically Chapter 4 which deals with LDOs) and that the relevant subject matter be dealt with in the Systems Bill itself which would then provide a comprehensive legislative framework for all local government planning processes. The Green Paper implies alignment and integration with the IDP process but does not say how it should be achieved in time, process or approval terms.<sup>27</sup>

The Green Paper is still a draft policy document that will be redrafted in response to comments received. It is therefore not yet at the point at which impact on human settlement can be assessed. It is possible, however, to begin to assess the potential impact that such policy thinking could have in the future. The impact on human settlement of these policies is likely to be determined by the degree of consensus that can be attained between the **Department of Land Affairs** (with their responsibility for spatial and land development planning) and the **Department of Constitutional Development** (with their responsibility for local government planning). This consensus will need to be reflected in policy and legislation that is synchronous and that clarifies how the spatial component of IDPs is part of the broad integrated development plan preparation process. Agreement on how the preparation of the spatial plan coincides with the IDP in terms of timing, types of processes and approval of plans will also need to be established. Only if the current legislative and procedural complexity can be simplified, will municipalities be able to cope with the demands placed upon them and plan effectively for the integration of their local areas.

### *Integrated Development Planning*

A suite of legislation from the **Department of Constitutional Development** aimed to give content to the White Paper on Local Government (discussed in Section 4: National Human Settlement Policies and Habitat Agenda) and its policy of creating developmental local government.<sup>28</sup> One of the key developmental outcomes of local government was seen as the creation of "liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas". *Integrated Development Planning*, seen as the main tool of developmental local government, along with performance management, aims to achieve much more than just spatial integration although spatial integration is one of its

key goals. It is a planning process which is strategic and inclusive (i.e. one process to deal with all the planning requirements). It should involve a multi-disciplinary professional team and integrate development and financial planning. The IDP process should be geared towards delivery and have appropriate and meaningful community and citizen participation (as highlighted in Section A: Creating Institutions for Delivery). The exact form that the IDP process takes should be appropriate to the capacity of each municipality.

A definition of an integrated development plan is provided in the *Systems Bill* where it is seen as a single, inclusive plan for the development of the municipality which:

- a) links, integrates and co-ordinates plans, schemes and proposals for the development of the municipality;
- (b) aligns the resources and capacity of the municipality for the implementation of the plan;
- (c) forms the policy framework and general basis on which annual budgets must be based;
- (d) complies with provisions of Chapter 5 of Systems Bill;
- (e) is compatible with national and provincial development planning requirements binding on the municipality in terms of legislation.

It is difficult to measure the direct impact on human settlements of such a new planning process. The preliminary assessments conducted seem to point to an absence of impact on human settlements<sup>29</sup>. This raises the question of whether the lack of positive impact on human settlements is due to flawed policy, problems with the way integrated development planning is being implemented at local level, or other factors beyond the control of local government.

Assessments of eight Western Cape municipalities conducted by the Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR), the 21 Decentralised Development Project (DDP) pilot project assessments (see box) and the KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga assessments all reveal that there are serious problems with local approaches to integrated planning. Although the FCR suggest that this is due to conceptual flaws in the policy itself, it could be argued that the documented results do not in fact point to conceptual flaws in the IDP policy. The results seem rather to point to numerous other factors that are hampering integrated development planning and its developmental outcomes.

The IDP Pilot Project Assessment raised the following issues:

- Real problems in local development are not addressed in IDP process. Rather sectors which were traditionally local authorities duties are prioritized.
- There is a gap between policies/principles and tools/instruments used in the IDP process.
- Planning tools are applied mechanistically rather than being seen as flexible instruments that can be used as the local situation dictates.
- There is an overlap of different legal frameworks between and across national and provincial spheres.
- The IDP process is often driven by consultants rather than by local authorities. This results in a lack of ownership by local officials and councillors of the development planning process.
- Participation process are not efficiently and effectively designed and not professionally implemented. The poor level of community organization makes structured participation difficult and planners find it difficult to integrate information from the participatory process with technical information.
- Institutional capacity is not determining the methodology adopted by municipalities
- Institutional change is not occurring in tandem with the IDP methodology.

There are problems around the way in which local government is conducting integrated planning. Underlying most of these problems in many municipalities is a lack of capacity and resources (both human and financial). Municipalities have been given many new responsibilities but have not been provided with the support that they require to fulfill these responsibilities. There has not been sufficient training provided to assist local government officials to undergo the mindset changes required to undertake integrated development planning.

There are also other factors beyond the control of municipalities that limit the effectiveness of integrated development planning. Three key factors which create problems for effective integrated development planning and which are beyond the control of local municipalities are:

1. A situation of extreme legislative complexity exists in South Africa. It is difficult for local authorities to make sense of the plethora of legislation that they need to comply with.
2. There are still problems with inter-governmental relations that hamper the system of co-operative governance that is supposed to

be operating. It is not yet clear whether national and provincial departments will be guided by local IDPs as to where and what they invest in local areas. Nor is the extent to which provincial and national spatial development frameworks will guide local IDPs yet evident.

3. An unclear relationship between local-regional/district/metropolitan IDPs still exists although an attempt has been made to clarify this in the Draft Systems Bill.

In response to the assessments of integrated development planning discussed above, DCD are developing a number of policy instruments to assist local municipalities with the IDP process. Four key issues which will be receiving attention and which are relevant here are:

1. The creation of Resource Service and Advice Centres at District Council level
2. Developing a close link in the Local Government Municipal Systems Bill between performance management and integrated development planning as tools for developmental local government
3. Simplifying the legislative complexity through the Systems Bill which may result in the repeal or amendment of other legislation which has an impact on local planning processes
4. Redrafting of the Integrated Development Planning Process Manual and possibly adopting a different structure for it.

### *Provincial and Metropolitan Spatial Development Frameworks*

The role of provinces in facilitating the integrated development planning process is also significant and could be improved on in many cases. There are numerous ways in which provinces can assist local authorities including the provision of training and support to those local authorities that require it. In order to achieve growth patterns that enhance efficiency, equity and sustainability, it is also important that provinces formulate provincial policy frameworks that enable integrated development. *Spatial Development Frameworks* are one vehicle to achieve this. Although not currently required in legislation, it is envisaged in the System Bill that provinces should provide a broad development framework as a guideline to local IDPs. It is also envisaged that the provincial frameworks take cognisance of the existing local IDPs in doing this but in many provinces local authorities are still in the early stages of their IDP process and it has not been possible to incorporate these into the provincial frameworks. It is therefore envisaged that the current provincial frameworks shall inform the next round of local IDPs.

So far, only a few provinces have produced development frameworks namely: Gauteng, Mpumalanga, (both fairly detailed and comprehensive development frameworks, see boxes), the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal. In general these development frameworks have the following features in common:

- They are strategic in nature.
- They form a crucial part of the IDP process.
- They have a strong spatial focus.
- They are in line with the principles of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 and the RDP.
- Their implementation is a long-term activity and hence their impact on human settlements can only be monitored over the long term.

#### Gauteng Spatial Development Framework

The objective of the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework was to analyse the provincial trends of development including settlement patterns and the economic potential of the Gauteng Province. The method included analysis of the existing settlement patterns; analysis of demographic patterns; identification of environmental conditions and a broad economic overview of the conditions affecting spatial development.

Recommendations for the facilitation of integrated development in Gauteng were as follows:

- containing urban sprawl,
- enhancing transportation linkages,
- integrating low income areas,
- conservation of natural resources,
- maximising the rural potential,

- uplifting areas of economic decline, and
- integrating residential and economic development.

All the recommendations are expected to have some form of positive impact on human settlements if they are implemented in some form.

#### Mpumalanga Spatial Development Framework

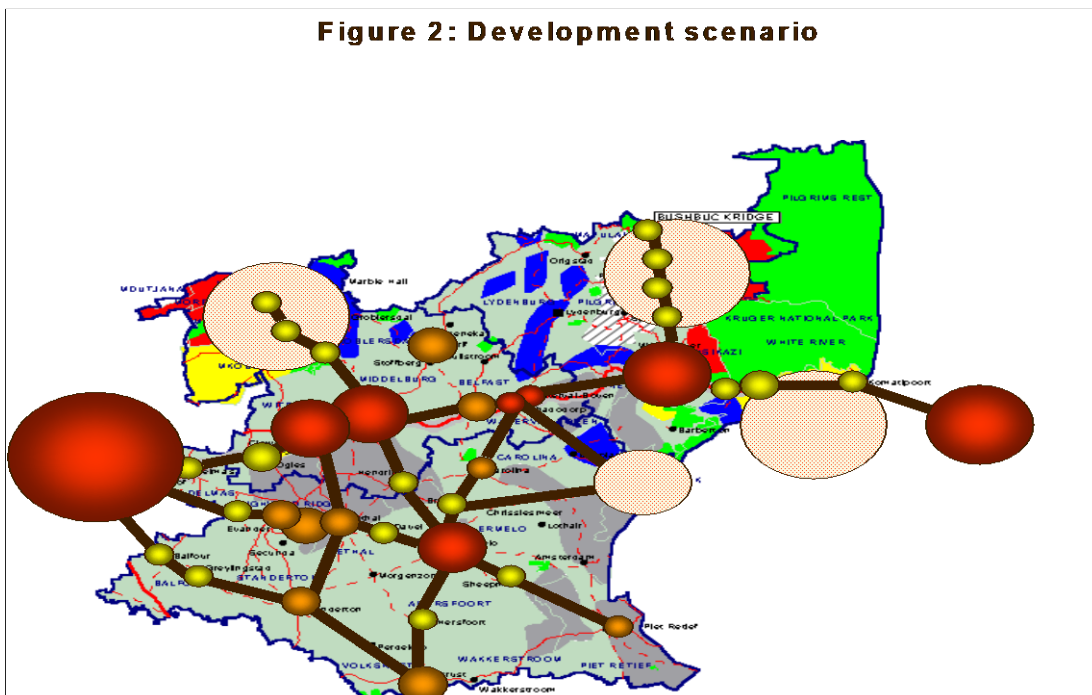
The Mpumalanga spatial development framework was directed towards addressing issues such as:

- the provision of guidelines indicating the required spatial development to facilitate economic and social development based on provincial issues and trends;
- the management of urban growth;
- rural development and accessibility and capacity of transport network as a means of integrating previously displaced settlements notably the former homelands.

This framework resulted in the development of a scenario through which previously displaced urban settlements of Kwa-Ndebele, Bushbuck Rige, Nkomazi and Nsikazi could be integrated with areas of economic activity. The conceptual basis for this integration can be clearly seen in the figure below.

Some metropolitan areas such as Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg (see box) and Midrand have also produced their development frameworks. Like provincial frameworks, metropolitan development frameworks are a means of directing development, co-ordinating initiatives and identifying key interventions and

**Figure 2: Development scenario**



development areas. Metropolitan development frameworks are a crucial part of the metropolitan IDP and provide a framework for the IDPs of the metropolitan sub-structures.

Development frameworks are likely to have varying impacts on human settlements. The following are some of the potential positive impacts:

- improved quality of life to residents through the provision of adequate, well-serviced and well-located dwelling units;
- improved local economy may reduce unemployment and result in more stable households; and
- higher density residential areas (as a means of containing urban sprawl) may result in better access to areas of economic activities and at the same time reduce the amount of household budget allocated to transport, such that households may consume more of other goods and services.

These are some of the benefits that may accrue if these frameworks are implemented and used to guide and inform local integrated development planning processes.

### *Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP)*

The *Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP)* is another example of an integrating activity of the **Department of Constitutional Development** and CMIP funding is disbursed only where IDPs are in place, where long-term fiscal sustainability is shown, and where local authority and community have agreed on a package of services, including levels of service.

The CMIP programme involves a grant for bulk and connector infrastructure for poor communities (income less than R3 500 per month) and complements the housing subsidy for urban residents. The local authority identifies projects in accordance with the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and the Local Development Objectives (LDO) and which meet the CMIP criteria. Projects are prioritised using criteria such as:

- community priorities
- spatial efficiency
- job creation potential
- implementation time
- counter-funding opportunities
- needs-orientated (short-term)
- enhancing growth (longer term)
- developmental impact of construction.

### **Greater Johannesburg Development Framework**

Greater Johannesburg can boast of having the most detailed development framework to date. It covers all aspects of development, including spatial and non-spatial aspects across different sectors of the metropolitan area. It aims at facilitating socio-economic, physical, environmental and institutional development so as to promote investment for the overall benefit of the city of Johannesburg.

The framework has six objectives, namely:

- to correct the historically distorted spatial patterns;
- to create a more compact city and discourage urban sprawl;
- to promote socio-economic, physical and institutional integration;
- to attain resource optimisation,
- to encourage environmentally and financially sustainable development; and
- to create an efficient and socially accountable public organisation.

The framework discusses housing specifically and recognises that housing and infrastructural investment have in the past been skewed towards the northern parts of Johannesburg while formal areas such as Soweto, Eldorado Park and Lenasia which house the majority of Johannesburg's population have had substantially lower infrastructural investments. To try and correct these discrepancies and to maximise the positive impact on human settlements the framework recommends the following strategies:

- facilitation of north/ south linkages
- improvement of linkages to areas of employment
- improvement of investments in infrastructure in previously excluded areas.

These recommendations are expected to result in an improved quality of life for the affected residents, an improved local economy and containment of urban sprawl.

Some aspects of the impact of CMIP are discussed more fully in Section C: Improving Housing and Infrastructure. A potential problem with the impact of this programme is that it is demand-driven and application-based. Hence, although spatial efficiency is one criterion used to assess projects and project applications are based on local IDPs, there is no broad spatial logic guiding the overall allocation of infrastructure investment nationally and provincially. This problem is being addressed by the **Co-ordination and Implementation Unit (CIU)** of the Executive Deputy Presidents office in their examination of the spatial implications of development and infrastructure programmes. This study hopes to come up with a set of spatial guidelines for

determining public-sector infrastructure investment priorities and for use in development planning.

Underlying most of these new initiatives in integrated planning are the *Urban and Rural Development Frameworks*. These are discussed in other sections of this report but it is important to recognise their role as policy guidelines influencing the direction of planning approaches and the drive towards the integration of the city and region.

## Integrating the City

Numerous initiatives exist to integrate the city as well as to adopt more integrated approaches to urban development. There is a two-pronged approach: Firstly, there are initiatives that focus on having long-term impacts on overall integration of the city. Examples of this approach include urban development corridors (which rely heavily on transport routes as integrative elements) as well as approaches that focus on the location of new housing developments in well-located land within the city. Secondly, there are projects which are attempting to create visible and high profile examples of the kind of measures that can be implemented to renew South African cities by rebuilding and upgrading existing townships and informal settlements.

### *SIPPs on Urban Renewal*

It is such a category of project to which we turn now. The *Special Presidential Projects on Urban Renewal* (SIPPs) devolved to the **Department of Housing** from the Reconstruction and Development Programme is one type of presidential lead project aimed to kick-start development in major urban areas, focussing on violence-torn communities and communities in crisis. The projects chosen were required to have a high impact on the communities they were to serve. They were also required to:

- empower the communities,
- promote economic and political viability and sustainability,
- support job creation,
- provide basic needs,
- provide training and capacity building,
- support affirmative action with respect to gender and race,
- have visibility and transparency,
- show the potential to leverage funds (reprioritisation), and
- display some existing capacity to start implementation.

The scope of the programme involved the integrated provision of infrastructure, housing, community facilities, job creation, environment and recreation facilities.

Thirteen projects were identified, through which 31 communities are benefiting:

- Katorus (Gauteng) (see Section C),
- Cato Manor and Kwazulu-Natal Urban Renewal (Kwazulu-Natal) [see box],
- Duncan Village and Ibhayi (Eastern Cape),
- Integrated Serviced Land Project (Western Cape),
- Thabong and Six Free State Projects (Free State),
- Masoyi and Siyabuswa (Mpumalanga),
- Mahwelereng (Northern Province),
- Molopo River Basin (North West) and
- Galeshewe (Northern Cape).

Following the submission and approval of business plans, a total amount of some R 1,88 billion was allocated to these projects on condition that (especially) provincial line function departments and municipalities had to provide matching funds from their budgets and carry all recurrent costs.

Seven of the above-mentioned projects have been completed while the remaining six are scheduled for completion by the end of the 2000/2001 financial year. Generally, the projects were successful if measured against the RDP criteria and provided valuable lessons in relation to the planning, development and management of integrated projects. *Without doubt, the most valuable result that was achieved with the SIPPs was the holistic and integrated provision of services to marginalised communities* (learning from one SIPP evaluation is documented in Section C below on Improving Housing and Infrastructure).

### *Urban Development Corridors*

The stimulation of *urban development/ activity corridors* is an example of a **Department of Transport** long-term initiative to integrate the city. In its *Moving SA* (MSA) strategy the Department of Transport sets out the aim of achieving the densification of transport corridors. It claims that creating corridors and subsequently focusing investment and resources on these corridors is the single most important component of the urban strategy. It stresses that "corridorisation" lowers overall system costs, not only for transport but also for other infrastructure. Other advantages of this corridor approach include the lowering of transport subsidies, increased travel speeds and improved public transport frequencies. According to MSA research, the impact of the cost of serving a

decentralised isolated low-density node could be as high as 50% more than that of serving a low density node located on a corridor.

It is recognised that this densification will take between 10-20 years to reverse the apartheid legacy of the past and the more recent dispersion trends. MSA also highlights the negative effects of increasing car dependency on cities as an impact of this legacy of apartheid and continuing dispersion trends. In line with its densification of corridors strategy, MSA argues strongly for the increasing reliance on public transport which will not only counter the reliance on private cars but also make these corridors viable.

The potential benefits of the corridor approach seem substantial, not only for passengers but also for human settlements more generally. But although corridors will reduce distances and increase trip densities, it will require higher land purchase costs (because land on corridors is likely to be more expensive than isolated land far from corridors and nodes). It is the economics of land acquisition that has tended to drive national programmes such as housing to encourage continued dispersion. It has had to make a trade-off between devoting its budget to meeting ambitious housing delivery targets on the one hand, and spending money on acquiring more expensive land along development corridors on the other hand. The real challenge of implementing the corridor vision is thus, in the face of extremely dispersed South African settlements, to co-ordinate across and within government ways of overcoming these obstacles. The high trade-offs faced by some government departments make it unlikely that the total vision laid out in the Moving South Africa document will be achieved.

There are numerous examples of metropolitan development corridors (e.g. the Cape Town Corridor from Phillipi to Wynberg and the Centurion-Mabopane corridor in Pretoria). The promotion of development corridors is in its infancy and although many of the potential positive impacts of corridors have been outlined in detail in policy, it is too early to assess actual beneficial impact they may be having on human settlements.

### *Well-located New Settlements*

Although it also receives prominence in policy, there are only a few isolated attempts to create well-located high-density settlements as an integrative element in cities. Ideally it is envisaged that such initiatives be adopted in conjunction with activity corridor approach. However, there is no co-ordinated programme to promote the creation of well-located high-density settlements and most evidence points to the fact that new settlements are poorly located and not contributing significantly to the integration of the city. The Friedrich Ebert

Stiftung and National Housing Forum Trust Study<sup>30</sup> is particularly scathing about the location of greenfields settlements. They conclude that "the housing subsidy may not alter beneficiaries economic standing in any way. The research suggests that in certain instances the housing subsidy can unintentionally accentuate economic disadvantage, social exclusions, institutional isolation, and lack of employment opportunities"

One of the greatest challenges that continues to dominate the impact debate is the location of poor settlements (new and existing) within cities and within regions. Most of the housing projects reviewed (with the exception of inner city examples) show clear evidence that beneficiaries are suffering from the detrimental impact of peripheral location. In many cases new settlements are becoming further removed from urban opportunities than ever before. There are many reasons for this, such as the vagaries of the land market and the resistance of existing (normally higher income) residents to low income housing development, amongst others. Critics like Bond and Tait (1997) call for more "creative plans to provide access to state owned land or to intervene to make land more available in other ways, thus permitting more of the subsidy to be spent on the actual house and services".<sup>31</sup>

The establishment of integrated development planning processes holds out some hope that the issue of location of human settlements inhabited by the poor will be addressed. This will only be achieved, however, if these processes are able to address current patterns of land-ownership which continue to hamper access by low-income communities to well-located land within cities.<sup>32</sup> The shift of the onus for location away from private developers towards local authorities is cause for optimism. There is however no substitute for political will. Certainly the theories and methods to identify appropriate land exist, and in many cities and towns the opportunities are also present. Again, Bond and Tait call for a move away from a market centred approach to one based more on original RDP principles.

The debate about compact cities and high density development continues. Some argue for the concentration of cities (e.g. Vanessa Watson, David Dewar<sup>33</sup>) while others point out the realities of dealing with issues arising from existing densities (Alan Mabin<sup>34</sup>, Richard Tomlinson<sup>35</sup>). One thing that is clear from impact studies that focus on the needs of residents, is that a fundamental change to settlement patterns carries with it many social and economic implications. For example, small operators of home based enterprises such as the ubiquitous 'spaza' shop, often suffer when relocated to more central locations. Many business operators opt to stay in

peripheral informal settlements in order to protect their livelihoods. The point is that human settlements are inherited from the past and sensitive intervention is necessary if the needs of residents are to be considered. As Tomlinson states "We should rather explore how best to improve the circumstances of low-income households in conditions of urban sprawl"<sup>36</sup>.

The location of new settlements, and decisions around whether to upgrade existing, informal settlements in their current locations, has one of the greatest impacts on quality of life of any intervention action. Ironically, many of the survival strategies of poor households in South Africa depend on the opportunities granted by poor location. Insensitive interventions to improve locations and access to social and commercial facilities can have a detrimental effect, particularly on some types of home-based enterprise.

This has led to the revival of the debate on the effects of urban sprawl and whether compact cities are the ideal model to answer these questions. The position that has emerged is that the locational qualities of settlements, particularly displaced urban settlements, and peripheral township and informal settlements, are likely to persist for some time. While every effort should be made to create well located, dense settlements, at the same time, the basic needs of residents of existing settlements should be addressed. The issue of what level of priority to set on each of these activities is a decision for local and provincial authorities within their own circumstances. A sense of priority can also be derived from a grasp of the dynamics of regional processes and interventions, such as Spatial Development Initiatives.

#### **High Residential Densities in New Low-Income Developments: Missionvale, Port Elizabeth**

The application of higher residential densities within low-income communities represents an approach that deviates from the current convention of single houses on single plots. In mid-1997, the Delta Foundation commissioned a project to address the problem of the lack of quality housing delivery at the lowest end of the subsidy scale. Using only the capital subsidy funds they ventured to provide housing to 493 destitute families from an adjacent informal area at Missionvale.

Through the collective use of financial resources, and innovative housing types with shared servicing and walling, the project was able to provide significantly more floor area under the roof than would otherwise have been possible. Realising that a larger floor area was the community's priority, the range of plot sizes was reduced to between 100m<sup>2</sup> and 200m<sup>2</sup> to increase residential densities.

The land and engineering costs per plot were therefore decreased leaving a larger proportion of the subsidy for the top structure.

Residents could choose between having a smaller plot with a larger house, or a larger plot with a smaller top structure. The incorporation of double storey units meant not only less ground floor coverage but also lower engineering costs. Double storey structures as large as 56m<sup>2</sup> but occupying a ground space of only 28m<sup>2</sup> were produced while the conventional method of a free standing unit produced only 30m<sup>2</sup> on a plot of 240m<sup>2</sup>. In addition to lower costs, quality streetscapes have been created which are more visually and spatially pleasing. The precincts are pedestrian oriented making the areas safe for children to play under the surveillance of adults.

Emergent contractors were employed under the supervision of the IBRS who provided building and management support. Members of the community were also trained in various skills and employed by the emerging contractors.

Beneficiaries were identified initially through workshops with the community and later through individual qualification in terms of Provincial Housing Board criteria. Additional criteria included the length of time one had stayed in Missionvale; the size of family; and the level of poverty. Further workshops were then held with the community for the selection of house types. Older families with members above 50 years tended to prefer single storey houses (30% of whole project) while younger larger families preferred the double storey houses (70% of whole project). The identified beneficiary community was then given an opportunity to select their neighbours and a location within the new settlement.

The project conveys an essential lesson: that higher densities present many advantages, the most important of which is a diminished impact on scarce resources and the provision of larger houses than would otherwise have been possible. Real success will be consolidated through the transfer of information about the responsibilities of being homeowners in a context where levels of rates and service payment have been low.

SOURCE: Metroplan; "High Residential Densities in New Low Income Developments, Missionvale: Port Elizabeth-Pilot Project" (Port Elizabeth: Metroplan, 1999).

## **Integrating the region**

### *Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs)*

A key tool for achieving regional integration is that of *Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs)*. Spatial Development Initiatives are viewed by the Department of Trade and Industry as a means of achieving their priority of trade integration with the Southern African Development Community. They have tended to co-ordinate their activities with the Department of Transport by stimulating economic growth, as envisaged by the SDI programme,

along transport corridors being advocated by the Department of Transport. The concept of *Spatial Development Initiatives* has thus been developed and implemented by both the departments of Trade and Industry, and Transport<sup>37</sup>, and entail a programme of strategic initiatives by government aimed at unlocking the under-utilised economic development potential of certain strategically important spatial locations in South Africa. There are a number of these initiatives being pursued at different scales by national provincial and local government in South Africa. The key objectives of SDIs<sup>38</sup> and some examples of the more important regional SDIs being undertaken are outlined in the boxes below.

#### Key Objectives of SDIs

SDIs must be designed to:

- generate sustainable economic growth and development in relatively underdeveloped areas, according to the localities' inherent potential;
- generate long term and sustainable employment for the inhabitants of the SDI area and for the nation in general;
- maximise the extent to which private sector investment and lending can be mobilised into the SDI area;
- exploit the spin-off opportunities that arise from this gathering of private and public sector investments for development of SMMEs and the empowerment of local communities;
- exploit the SDI areas under-utilised locational and economic advantages for export orientated growth.

The impact of SDIs (either local or regional) on human settlements has not been measured in any co-ordinated fashion as yet and the cumulative economic and social benefits of SDIs are only likely to be tangible in the long term. Social impact studies of corridors such as the Maputo Corridor are in the process of being conducted and such endeavours should be encouraged so that findings can influence future approaches to SDIs.

Positive impact of SDIs is not likely to be felt until the various government departments co-ordinate their investment programmes in support of SDIs. The approach of the Department of Housing, in its *House Building Programme*<sup>39</sup>, for example, does not currently take its cue from Spatial Development Initiatives but rather disburses funds to provinces for their housing delivery programmes on criteria such as:

- the number of households in various income categories that applied for subsidies
- the ratio between urban and rural housing, and
- the performance of each provincial government in delivery.

This approach, which, as with the CMIP programme, is demand-driven and application

based, runs contrary to the SDI approach which highlights the need for a spatial logic to drive housing and infrastructure investment.

#### Important Regional SDIs

- Regional Industrial SDIs (e.g. southern KwaZulu-Natal from Richards Bay to Durban/Pietermaritzburg).
- Agro-Tourism SDIs (e.g. Wild Coast and Lubombo initiatives).
- Mixed industrial and agro-tourism SDIs (e.g. the Maputo Development Corridor and the Phalaborwa corridor between port of Maputo and mining of Phalaborwa as well as agriculture of Xenon).

The *Job Summit* (See Section E: Promoting Local Economic Development), is a recent development that, attempts, amongst other things, to pull together various departments to invest in line with the SDI framework for the country and to propose housing and infrastructure projects that fit in with broad spatial investment patterns.

Significant in the National Presidential Lead Project on Housing (NPLP) that is intended to pilot affordable mass housing delivery and alternative forms of tenure (discussed more fully in Section E) is that a minimum of 4 projects will be mass housing developments in Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) areas. Locational considerations for other projects will relate to the availability of bulk infrastructure, social needs, possible community participation, underlying planning constraints, areas for urban revitalisation and urban development corridors. At least 10% of units in the NPLP will meet the needs of the physically disabled. Attention will also be given to the needs of the marginalised, rural communities and development will be gender sensitive. It is envisaged that construction will commence no later than the first half of 1999 and that work will be concluded by December 2001.

Given early signs of success coming out of evaluations of the impact of presidential lead projects, such multi-sectoral initiatives that focus resources and attention on an integrated effort to integrate the city are to be encouraged.

There is also a higher level debate about the location of housing investment within regions. The debate revolves around to what degree housing projects should be located where there is a demand, but not always an economic base, or whether social development should follow higher level investment initiatives. The conflicts between housing and other infrastructure policies and economic realities need to be resolved, particularly because of the spatial tensions they set up.

Certainly integrated approaches that co-ordinate higher level industrial development with

housing development (such as the Spatial Development Initiatives) should be supported, as envisaged by the Job Summit proposal. Such projects may be a logical progression for new criteria to identify SIPPs.

## Integration - trends and counter-trends

Policy, in line with Habitat Agenda, is unequivocal on the need for the integration of South African cities (and less so its regions). The numerous potential advantages of this policy approach are very evident. It is, however, clear that there are still many factors militating against the integration of South African cities and regions. Many government programmes and projects (particularly those aimed at the provision of housing and infrastructure) are not having integrative impacts but are rather fairly ad hoc responses, within tight budget constraints, to needs expressed by local communities. There are thus numerous trends and counter-trends in the drive to integrate the city and the region. Although there are many subtleties in the debates about integrating and compacting the city, it is clear that there needs to be a spatial logic driving development in South African cities and regions. It is hoped that the work of the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit will make a significant contribution to developing clear spatial guidelines for future government investment in human settlements.

## C. Improving Housing and Infrastructure

Having understood the efforts to integrate the city through strategic planning initiatives, this section looks at the local design and construction of neighbourhoods and houses. While many of the financial and support mechanisms discussed in Creating Institutions for Delivery do not envisage a specific housing product, the qualities of the settlements being delivered have started to take on particular characteristics. Much of the evidence for these observations is taken from detailed project evaluations that measure the ultimate impact of policy, as well as programme evaluations which identify reasons for this impact.

### Designing habitable communities

The call from Habitat Agenda as well as local policy documents is that the result of policy should be the creation of habitable and safe urban communities. The ideal qualities of such neighbourhoods were described in terms of 'adequate shelter' in Section 4 (National Human Settlement Policies and Habitat Agenda).

More than anything else, the overall qualities of human settlements where there has been State intervention of some kind, are a product of a series of actions by the many line departments reviewed in Section 4.

It should be reiterated that optimal location is a key quality of a viable community. This has been discussed above. Secondly, the design of the settlement in terms of its layout and provision of facilities other than the house, creates the setting in which much of the life of the resident community takes place. The quality of settlement design in new areas is cause for some concern. The various subsidies include portions for professional design input and settlement layout, however good design is not always evident.

A study of projects in Kimberley, East London and Port Elizabeth reviewed some 50 housing projects and documented good practice in seven of them<sup>40</sup>. The study explored the living environment within the context of the South African low-income housing sector. A wider view of the living environment was taken: "Not only should the living environment give adequate level of service for inhabitants, but should also supply stimulation and comfort".

The observations about settlement level design deriving from this study were revealing:

- At present the quality and access to public space in the context of low-income housing is not adequate.

- The base living environment is the home, however all needs cannot be satisfied within the house, and the interaction between the house and its context is crucial.
- Because the house cannot meet all needs, the public space needs to be meeting other needs such as social, commerce, entertainment, transportation, social life etc.
- Social networks should be reflected in the planning layout in order to increase the complexity and enrich the physical plan.
- The location in the urban, suburban or rural context must determine the density, type of planning layout, plot size and house type.
- The status of low-cost housing seems to be low amongst architects, planners, politicians and developers and this attitude negatively affects what is being built<sup>41</sup>.

These kinds of observations tend to apply most directly to peripherally-located, starter housing projects, the most ubiquitous type of settlement form resulting from the housing subsidy.

Because subsidisation of all types is aimed at the individual household, rather than the settlement, the house on the plot becomes the main, urban building block. As an expression of the individual's right to adequate housing and as a mechanism to allow efficient administration, this is understandable (and effective in terms of disbursing benefits). However, it has led to few resources being directed to the urban design of settlements and a worrying lack of investment in the public realm. Certainly if settlements are to be made safer for residents, investment in the public realm is a key factor<sup>42</sup>.

The design quality of the layout generally is being addressed by the re-issue of a guideline document, "*Guidelines for Human Settlement Planning and Design*" by the **Department of Housing**. The guidelines have been used for many years, mainly as a guide to levels of standards for engineering services. However, in addition to more appropriate levels of servicing, the current document pays attention to settlement level design issues in an attempt to add quality to the built environment. The application of these guidelines may go some way to addressing what is presently lacking in settlement design, but will need to be supported by funding mechanisms directed precisely at the public realm.

The **Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism** (DEAT) has a role to play in

investment in settlements to promote *Local Agenda 21* and several pilot projects are under way.

DEAT has embarked on the first steps of a National Local Agenda 21 (LA 21) Campaign which includes the development of a National Co-ordinating Mechanism and an awareness-raising and training campaign sponsored by USAID. There are also several LA 21 initiatives taking place at local level in, amongst others, the cities of Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, as well as provincial LA 21 campaigns in KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Province. During 1997/98, DEAT executed three pilot project studies focusing on the development of a LA 21 approach for three medium-sized local authorities in Kayamandi (Stellenbosch), Marabastad (Pretoria) and Klip and Kruisfontein (Pretoria).

The LA 21 principles are being integrated into various local government planning processes including Integrated Development Plans and Land Development Objectives, and into national policy documents, including the Urban Development Framework.

## Access to social facilities

Needs assessments in neighbourhoods which are to be upgraded, or where residents have recently moved into new housing, reveal that social facilities such as schools, clinics, crèches, and sports or other community facilities soon become essential to the well-being of residents. The particular location determines which facilities are already available in the vicinity and which are most needed. In some cases, communities prioritise the need for social facilities, such as schools, above the need for services, such as electricity<sup>43</sup>. As upgrading takes place, priorities clearly shift and develop. This highlights that regular needs-assessments are crucial to the satisfaction of the needs and expectations of beneficiaries.

## Education facilities

The building of schools is co-ordinated under the **Department of Education's** *National School Building Programme*. The average amount spent per head on public school education increased by 19% from R2 384 in 1995/96 to R2 838 in 1996/97<sup>44</sup>. In 1988/99 the National School Building Programme received a grant of R73 million and R51 million was granted to reduce classroom backlogs<sup>45</sup>.

At this stage, it is impossible to establish the outputs in terms of numbers of classrooms and schools that have resulted from this programme. At national and provincial level there is ineffective monitoring of the extent of funds being allocated by

the National School Building Programme and information coming from the provinces regarding their use is sketchy and incomplete<sup>46</sup>. As a result it is difficult to establish at this stage whether school building is being co-ordinated with the creation and upgrading of human settlements.

With the information available, one conclusion that has been reached is that much of the allocation of funding is going to urban areas where there are high population densities and high total incomes are generated<sup>47</sup>.

There are a series of other educational initiatives aimed at improving adult basic education, introducing new curricula, and training teachers. The Habitat Agenda principles of developing school curricula to develop understanding and co-operation among members of diverse cultures, and increasing the relevance and quality of education, are being directly addressed through these efforts.

What remains as cause for concern is that there are serious problems regarding the quantity and quality of educational infrastructure. It is estimated that eliminating the backlog will cost the government in the order of R3 billion each year for the next ten years<sup>48</sup>.

## Health facilities

According to the **Department of Health** there were 2 604 clinics and 420 hospitals in the public sector in 1997. Of the hospitals, 235 were district hospitals, 68 aided hospitals, 66 regional hospitals, 41 specialist hospitals and 10 central hospitals. Together these hospitals provided more than 111,000 beds. Including the private sector, which provides 20% of the number of hospital beds, South Africa offers about three beds per one thousand of the population<sup>49</sup>.

An audit of public health facilities in 1997 found that less than one-fifth were ideal, while about half were 'acceptable' and about a tenth were in a condition which meant they should be 'condemned'. A survey published by the Health Systems Trust in 1997 found that less than 50% of clinics in rural areas had a telephone in working condition, 22% were without taps and some 20% did not have electricity<sup>50</sup>. The health services are being restructured towards primary health care. Currently the ratio of Primary Health Care Teams to population is 1: 30 000.

The Department of Health dedicated a significant proportion of its 1998/99 budget to the Clinics Building and Upgrading Programme<sup>51</sup>. The distribution of the facilities built under the programmes is not confined to the poorer areas and shows a concentration in high population density areas where there are not many private

and public health care facilities. Although population distribution has influenced the distribution of clinics, other factors such as the distribution of diseases like malaria and AIDS also played a major role.

The shift towards providing primary health care was especially apparent in the poorer communities of the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Province. In KwaZulu-Natal, 139 new clinics have been built and 14 others renovated. These clinics are treating more than 130 000 people, 80% of which had never had access to a clinic before. In the Eastern Cape, clinics are now bringing health care to over 95% of the population<sup>52</sup>.

In general, access to primary health care has improved, but hospital facilities and services have deteriorated sharply, mainly due to a lack of personnel and maintenance. An outcome of the clinic-building programme is that the Department of Health decided that there are now enough clinics to cater for the current needs of the population. It therefore shifted the emphasis and set aside R200 million in the 1999/2000 financial year for the new Hospital Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Programme to build and upgrade hospitals<sup>53</sup>.

The Department of Health shares the responsibility for environmental health with the Departments of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Minerals and Energy, Water Affairs and Forestry and Land Affairs. There appears to be little co-ordination and co-operation between these departments in raising awareness of the interdependencies between environment and health, and developing communities' knowledge on health and hygiene. Where awareness-raising campaigns, research and strategies exist, these tend to concentrate on the provision of clean water, adequate sanitation and food safety. Research about the effects of air pollution and dampness has started only recently, yet these problems are linked to two of the biggest causes of death in South Africa, namely respiratory diseases and tuberculosis.

Broader Department of Health programmes include local application of the World Health Organisation's *Healthy Cities Project*. The cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria are participating in this project which seeks to enhance the physical, mental, social and environmental well-being of people who live and work in cities.

## Welfare facilities

The **Department of Welfare** administers a range of facilities which provide essential services to communities (see table). There have been shifts in the subsidisation of welfare funding, as levels of subsidisation have generally been

reduced, particularly to the aged. Only frail and indigent people were to qualify for admission to State facilities<sup>54</sup>.

Table. Number of welfare facilities (January 1997)

Facility	Total
Treatment centres	31
Children's homes	182
Crèches	4 608
Places of safety	100
Homes for disabled	111
Protective workshops	179
Homes for the aged	721
Housing schemes for the aged	375
Service centres for the aged	373
<b>Total</b>	<b>6 680</b>

Information on the spatial location of these facilities is not available, so to establish whether certain settlement types are better served than others is not possible.

## Recreation Facilities

The **Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology** is responsible for the establishment and maintenance of recreation facilities.

Some 43 community arts centres located in strategic areas around the country were to be completed by the end of 1999. Existing museums were to be restructured so that a more representative view of South Africa's history was supported. Proposed expenditure on new arts and culture facilities, and refurbishing of old ones, was estimated at R50 million in 1997<sup>55</sup>.

Investment in recreation facilities in human settlements is, at this stage, largely symbolic. The benefits of recreation facilities, as is the case with the benefits of wider public realm expenditure, have not been recognised and have taken second place in the drive to address basic needs.

## Co-ordinated development

In terms of access to the variety of social facilities by residents of human settlements, it appears that some sectors are performing well while others are not. The level of co-ordination between providers of social services and amenities determines, to a large extent, whether residents have reasonable access to facilities in particular settlements.

Many new housing areas will inevitably suffer from some lag in the provision of physical and social services. However there is a combined impact of continued delay in the provision of infrastructure. As an illustration, in an assessment of the upgrading of an informal settlement, it was shown that because social infrastructure such as schools and physical infrastructure such as roads and stormwater drains had not yet been provided, a simple incident such as a fall of rain had wide impacts on residents. Bus and taxi transport would be unable to enter the area as a result, and many people would be unable to attend school and reach places of employment. Further to this, the lack of schools in the area meant that children had to walk longer distances to access public transport, thus increasing injuries on the road and vulnerability to acts of crime (particularly rape and theft)<sup>56</sup>.

The provision of land without sufficient attention to the provision of social facilities results in particularly detrimental impacts. The **Department of Land Affairs'** land reform programme (described below) has been criticised for this. Over 40% of resettled communities did not have any primary schools within walking distance that could offer basic education. As much as 71% of the communities in KwaZulu-Natal did not have any primary schools within walking distance of the community. The majority of resettled communities had inadequate water supply and sanitation. Communities which had been settled for longer times had built up social networks to cope with some of these needs, but newly-settled communities were particularly vulnerable.

The urban focus of many infrastructure programmes has clear implications for rural communities, making cross-sectoral co-ordination in the planning of rural interventions essential.

## Physical infrastructure

There are many different government and non-government bodies that have responsibilities for municipal infrastructure provision:

- a part of the housing subsidy (usually about half, or R7 500) may be used for internal services;
- the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP) of the **Department of Constitutional Development** allocates funds and provides technical supervision with provincial authorities allocating funds to local authorities<sup>57</sup>;
- the **Department of Water Affairs and Forestry** uses Reconstruction and Development (RDP) funding for peri-urban and rural infrastructure. Projects are prioritised through Provincial planning

forums and implemented by local authorities, water boards and community structures;

- line department funds exist for other urban infrastructure provision such as transport;
- concessionary finance to municipalities is provided by bodies such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa;
- private sector loans or equity can be used for infrastructure provision;
- further funding is raised from municipality reserves, special levies, and household connection fees; and
- own municipal funding can also be applied.

The main driver of development is the provision of bulk infrastructure as co-ordinated through the CMIP programme.

Generally, infrastructure provision has been well co-ordinated with other settlement improvement measures in urban areas. Traditionally, municipalities have the experience and capacity to deliver in this area and, if anything, might err on the side of providing too high a level of municipal service.

Based on evidence from project evaluations, the main area that could be improved upon is the basis on which appropriate levels of internal service are agreed on by the various stakeholders. Where municipalities insist on high levels of service, little is left of the subsidy for the building of the house. Where service levels are low at the outset, the costs of upgrading services at a later stage need to be planned for by local authorities.

The tensions that arise in the participation process as a result of the negotiation of levels of public service, as against benefits accruing to the individual household, have been addressed in the discussion on civic engagement above.

This evident tension has recently led to the partitioning of the housing subsidy and the development of the following guideline by the **Department of Housing**:

"The internal reticulation services that, in the absence of funding from another source, may be subsidised from the housing subsidy are limited to water, sanitation, roads, stormwater and street lighting, subject to a funding limit of a maximum amount of R7 500 for the provision of the services and the acquisition of land. To the extent that a basic level of services is regarded to be justified by the MEC for Housing of the Province concerned, in order that as large a part of the subsidy as possible may be applied to the construction of permanent residential structures, the level of services may be

reduced but may not be less than the level indicated in the table below<sup>58</sup>.

Because this measure has only recently been introduced, the impact on all concerned will become evident only in the longer term.

## Payment for Services

One of the basic tenets of sustainability for service provision is that the cost of providing, operating and maintaining the services must be covered, either from government grants or from the beneficiary. It is the South African government's policy that the operation and maintenance cost of services must be recovered from the user, but that subsidies and grants will be made available (for the time being) to fund housing and service capital costs for the poor.

With the devolution of some powers from the national level, the responsibility for the collection of service and rates payments resides with local authorities. Levels of payment for municipal services therefore directly affect the viability of local authorities.

Concern about low levels of payment resulted in the initiation of the *Masakhane Campaign* (meaning 'let us build together') in 1995 by the **Departments of Housing and Constitutional Development** and the former office responsible for the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

While the programme has manifested in a variety of ways (ranging from clean-up campaigns, to women-empowerment projects, to housing schemes and development ventures), considerable effort has been put into improving levels of payment for services. These have focused on three main areas:

- education - to improve willingness to pay based on knowledge of the benefits to communities of maintaining payments on a monthly basis;
- incentives - including lucky draws for people up to date with payments, discounts for timely payment, special conditions for 'indigents', and 'soft loan' arrangements for people in arrears; and
- punitive actions - including interest on outstanding payments, disconnection of long term defaulters, and ultimately legal action.

The Masakhane Campaign has had mixed results. In March 1998, 71% of residents were classified as regular payers, which is an improvement on the national average of 68% in October 1996<sup>59</sup>. There have been some success stories (see box on the Development of Ivory Park)

with remarkable increases in service payments at a local level.

Type of Service	Minimum Level
Water	Single standpipe per erf (metred)
Sanitation	Ventilated Improved Pit latrine per erf
Roads	Access to each erf with graded or gravel paved road;
Stormwater:	Lined open channels
Street lighting	Highmast security lighting for residential purposes where this is feasible and practicable, on condition that such street lighting is not funded from the CMIP initiative or funding available from other resources.

Many process benefits have resulted from specific Masakhane projects, including capacity building of local contractors, improved health care, reduction in levels of crime, unifying of disparate elements within neighbourhoods, heightened awareness of government programmes, improvement of housing stock, better maintenance of the public realm, and the empowerment of women through commercial ventures.

However, the amount owed to local authorities in unpaid rates and service charges continues to increase<sup>60</sup>. In March 1998, some R8.9 billion was owed to local authorities countrywide<sup>61</sup>. As long as service payment continues to threaten the viability of certain local authorities, this issue will need to remain a top priority.

There is an inherent tension within the State's policy of benefits to the poorest which is often not recognized. By effectively targeting poor households, a laudable achievement, and insisting on cost recovery for operation and maintenance costs, a State benefit is passed to households who can then often not afford to maintain it. While evidence varies on whether households 'sell on' that benefit as a result, a clear impact is the continuation of low levels of service payment.

Clear indigent policies and assistance measures are needed at local level to distinguish between those unwilling and those unable to pay, but more fundamentally, there needs to be a decision about the State's responsibility to the very poor. This issue goes to the very heart of the

sustainability of the subsidy system and its impact on the sustainability of cities and towns.

## Construction and upgrading of urban housing

The largest impact of any single initiative on human settlements in South Africa in the last five years must be the *government housing programme*. In the section on Forces of Change, many factors were named which influence settlements, but many of the forces identified are themselves directly influenced by the spatial nature of government infrastructure spending. For example, some of the changing patterns of migration can be attributed to people's perceptions of where they might benefit from government infrastructure. Land invasions in cities have occurred in an effort to position the participating households as more worthy recipients of State benefits. Household structure can be influenced by manoeuvring to qualify for the housing subsidy<sup>62</sup>.

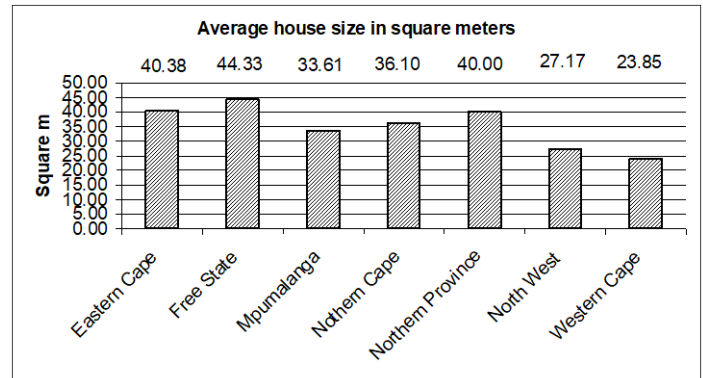
What is clear is that in assessing the impact of programmes to enable the production of housing, the impacts are widespread and often not immediately evident.

The direct outputs of housing policy have been discussed (see section on Creating Institutions for Delivery). By the end of 1998, some 959 415 subsidies had been approved, and 681 203 housing units were under construction or had been completed. By March 1999, these numbers had risen to 1 035 161 subsidies approved, and 745 717 housing units completed or under construction.

The annual average delivery rate was 200 000 units with a peak of 300 000 in 1997/8. Due to a cut in budget, this has stabilised at 200 000 units per annum. Eighty percent of the Department of Housing's budget was devoted to housing subsidies<sup>63</sup>. The projected production of 200 000 units per annum means that direct spending by government on housing in urban areas is just keeping pace with the growth in the need for new housing rather than reducing the backlog any further.

With the limited subsidy amount, a clear concern throughout the process has been the size of houses that are being produced under the programme. The graph below depicts the average size of houses built through the subsidy scheme. These averages should be viewed against the recently-defined national minimum standard of 30m<sup>2</sup>. There are variations across provinces in term of the average house sizes. The highest average (45m<sup>2</sup>) is in Free State with the lowest in the Western Cape (24m<sup>2</sup>)<sup>64</sup>. These variations can

be explained by a number of factors, including for example, the application of hidden subsidies in different provinces, varying local authority and provincial requirements for house size and service levels, varying geotechnical conditions, and hence different building and servicing costs to be recovered from the fixed subsidy amount. The national average<sup>65</sup> stands at between 33m<sup>2</sup> and 35m<sup>2</sup>.



The impact of house size on levels of crowding is the indicator that needs to be carefully monitored if the impacts of the government housing programme are to be properly understood. More widespread data is required, but a study of consolidation processes in two core housing projects showed that if residents do not manage to add space to basic core houses over a protracted period, then serious overcrowding<sup>66</sup> does result.

Extensions relieve overcrowding in terms of people per room but increase population density in terms of people per site, thus often achieving higher densities than were originally planned. The stimulation of the building of rooms mainly by small contractors and access to micro-finance to fund such extensions are crucial areas of intervention if current housing is to lead to adequate shelter<sup>67</sup>.

Concerns about very small houses (locally referred to as 'top structures' because of their rudimentary nature) led to the development of *Minimum Norms and Standards in respect of permanent residential structures* by the **Department of Housing** near the end of 1998. Amongst other service standards, a minimum house size of 30m<sup>2</sup> was defined for most situations.

From early on in the house-building process, issues of the construction quality of what was being built arose. The *National Home Builders Registration Council' (NHBRC) Defects Warranty Scheme* was therefore put in place. It aimed to protect the consumer against shoddy workmanship in the home building industry. A total of 49 809 homes have been enrolled under the Defects Warranty Scheme. In the absence of unanimous support from key stakeholders within the industry,

Parliament adopted the Housing Consumers Protection Measures Act, 1998 (Act 95 of 1998) which provided statutory recognition for a restructured National Home Builders Registration Council and extends the scope of protection to the owners of all homes built by registered homebuilders, including homes built exclusively with funds provided under government's Housing Subsidy Programme.

The production of large numbers of fairly small starter houses has thus been a notable success of the current government's first term of office. But what have been the assessments of the experiences of beneficiaries living in the various settlement types impacted by the government housing subsidy?

### New formal townships

The *project-linked subsidy* which is awarded to developers of housing schemes has led in most cases to small starter houses placed on serviced sites. Despite this being the most common approach nationally, surprisingly few independent evaluations have been done on the success of core housing. Because much of the process has been developer-driven, development has tended to take place on the periphery of cities where inexpensive land is available without the complication of reactions from existing residents (see section on Integrating the City).

Many reviewers have pointed out that the R15000 subsidy is insufficient to provide a freestanding house of proper size and quality<sup>68</sup>. As such, the subsidy was only intended to start the housing process, but the social impact of the delivery of small houses is gradually being recognised in places where people struggle to extend the house.

However, what has exacerbated the situation further is the continuation of the practice of providing single houses on separate plots (losing opportunities to save on shared facilities and building elements) and a lack of design input at house level (to maximise the use of space and achieve privacy)<sup>69</sup>. While conceptions of participation are well-developed at a community level (although not without their problems), the idea that individual households can be given choices of product and location at a project level have largely been overlooked.

Another limitation is the uniformity of contractor-built houses in many areas, meaning that there is an attempt to meet a variety of needs in a single product. Densities of housing are still generally low, and there is little experimentation with new house forms. As already shown, the design of the public realm is particularly neglected. As a result, many of the new neighbourhoods that

are being established remain predominantly mono-use residential areas, similar to the dormitory townships of the past. There is little scope for professional design input to the house, and settlement layouts are often not co-ordinated with house design. Although current structures need to be adjusted to give better support, there are more holistic design approaches being piloted in several areas (see box on the Sustainable Homes Initiative).

There is a general call for more involvement of design professionals at the level of the house and the level of the settlement, to make the most of what are very limited resources. Whether, under current conditions, professional involvement will be affordable, or indeed forthcoming, is debatable. In many cases it would involve the fundamental re-education of the professional to respond appropriately to the needs of residents.

Two reviewers also point out that quality is lost through poor workmanship. Typically 70% of top structure cost is building material. The value of material is often lost through poor workmanship, inappropriate materials and construction details. As a result national norms and standards for building are not achieved. Better supervision in construction and more attention to beneficiary needs is essential if the most is to be made of the subsidy<sup>70</sup>.

#### The Sustainable Homes Initiative

The Sustainable Homes Initiative is a three year programme involving a number of NGOs and CBOs with support from the Department of Housing's Interdepartmental Task Team on Environmentally Sound Low Cost Housing. The programme's objectives are to create a forum to share knowledge about 'eco housing'; to support better practice in new housing projects; to support and influence small builder training courses and large commercial builders to apply sustainable practices; and to have an impact on policy and support government initiatives. They hope to introduce an accreditation system that would recognize good practice by builders and projects.

The initiative has documented best practice, and its members actively support and promote the concepts and principles of ecologically sound housing. The partners currently include the Tholego Learning Centre, the Kutlawong Civic Integrated Housing Trust, MidDev, the NOVA Foundation, PEER Africa, and Durban Earth Housing.

Some of the issues that the group is focusing on include design for pedestrian dominated environments, energy efficiency, sustainable transport, sustainable use of water, north facing orientation, and urban greening. The group is supported by the UK Department for International Development and the Residential Demand Side Management Department of Eskom.

SOURCE: IIEC-Africa, *Sustainable Homes Initiative: housing for a sustainable South Africa*. (Johannesburg: IIEC, 1999)

## Sites and services

During the early transition period between 1990 and 1994, there was experimentation with sites and service schemes supported by a predecessor of the current subsidy scheme. As a result, a number of sites and service areas where people had built shack housing still exist. The *consolidation subsidy* was put in place to grant a half share of the full subsidy for the purpose of building a house on some plots. In other cases, some provinces have followed an approach where sites are serviced at a very basic level, settlement takes place and then the consolidation subsidy is used at a later date to support house building<sup>71</sup>.

The practice of servicing land and allowing settlement before houses were built was not favoured early on in the first term of current government, because of the stigma attached to the appearance of such settlements at early phases in development<sup>72</sup>. However, there are signs that sites and services may again be more widely considered in particular situations. It has been pointed out that a rapid land release approach in which services are provided ahead of housing is more appropriate for the needs of the poor<sup>73</sup>.

Several evaluations have shown that because residents can become more involved in decisions around the progressive upgrading of services, and the building of houses, there are higher levels of satisfaction than in core housing examples<sup>74</sup>. Smaller sites and service projects where attention is paid to public realm services such as pavements, roads and street lighting have resulted in high levels of identification with, and ownership of, the project by residents (see box on Mamelodi Extension 7).

One issue is clear: the separation of the servicing of the sites from the costs of top structures takes out much of the conflict from the community participation process. With a certain amount of the subsidy being guaranteed for houses, the community structures are free to lobby for higher levels of service within the confines of the amounts available.

Another advantage of sites and services, is that it can be combined with *in situ* upgrading to consolidate the position of households already occupying land, and to open up new land in the same area. Examples where there has been long-term involvement by NGOs are particularly successful (see box on Southern Pinetown Housing Consolidation Project).

Careful reconsideration should be given to the reintroduction of the sites and service approach on a more widespread basis. While needing a longer-term, phased approach, under certain conditions there are higher returns in the form of levels of

resident satisfaction through more meaningful participation.

### Sites and Services in Mamelodi Extension 7

Mamelodi Extension 7 is located 25km east of the Pretoria city centre and east of the traditional township of Mamelodi. Motivation to develop the area stemmed from the need for the resettlement of squatters living within the danger zone around a stone quarry. The initiative was a site-and-service project started in 1992 after the National Housing Commission gave the Mamelodi Town Council a loan for the development of sites and services. The full contract amount was R3, 3098, 800 with a total of R6350 being allocated to each stand.

Initially, only the basic levels of services were installed. Standpipes were placed every 250m along the roads. No lighting or electricity was provided and sanitation was in the form of an aquaprivy. However, due to involvement of the community, the area underwent progressive upgrading. There is currently waterborne sanitation. The roads have been upgraded and tarred. Individual houses have access to electricity using a prepaid system. Telephones are available using the microwave system.

Community participation was clearly evident when electricity and street lighting was being installed. Over 97% of the community members decided they preferred underground cabling for the electricity, which was in contrast to the rest of Mamelodi. Although the community faced opposition, they stood their ground until the council gave in to their demands. The residents of Mamelodi Extension 7 are now proud to be one of the few areas in Mamelodi with underground cabling and low level street lights.

In research undertaken by the CSIR to evaluate the project, it was found that over 53% of residents were satisfied with the levels of services provided, while 96% felt that they were better off than they had been in their previous homes. Currently, the area is waiting to be declared a township, after which the process of accessing housing consolidation subsidies will be speeded up. The majority of residents who qualify for a consolidation subsidy of R7500 are still living in shacks, waiting for the subsidy in order to build permanent structures. At the time of the research it was found that 44% of the shacks were in a fair condition while 40% were in a poor state, a possible reason for the latter situation being that with the consolidation subsidy being approved and expected at some point in 1999, residents did not maintain their houses as they would normally have done.

SOURCE: M. Napier, and A. Lungu, *Initial Findings Reports of the Monitoring and Evaluation Case Studies*, (Pretoria: CSIR, 1998)

## Upgrading of informal settlements

In the drive to create new housing, the option of *in situ* upgrading has often been neglected.

Attitudes to upgrading by local authorities vary from place to place. Some authorities carefully consider the upgrading option, depending on land suitability and a set of other criteria, while others seem to have a policy that allows only for the resettlement of people to new housing areas. *In situ* upgrading is therefore not as common as might be expected given the levels of informal settlement in the country.

It has been shown that when compared to other forms of housing intervention, the location of informal settlements is often more favourable than new settlements. In certain cases, because residents had selected the location during the informal settlement process, economic and social links had been established and the upgrading process was less disruptive than other interventions that would have involved moving to new areas. In these cases, informal settlements are closer to economic opportunities as a result<sup>75</sup>. Informal settlements can also take place on smaller parcels of land, thus expediting infill development when such land is appropriate for settlement.

High levels of resident participation in the planning and implementation of projects, with the concomitant transfer of skills, are easier to achieve if settlements are upgraded rather than residents resettled. Survivalist activities such as some home-based enterprises are also supported.

Despite the commonly held view that "tenure forms the basis on which housing delivery depends", tenure regularisation was not always at the top of the residents' own priority lists in upgrading examples. Priorities varied between settlements and over time as the upgrading process proceeded. In many cases, residents preferred services first, before housing (although in one case this was reversed). This shows the importance of consultation in upgrading projects<sup>76</sup>.

Similar to sites and services approaches, the observation has been made that "informal settlement upgrading is a very important option for the poor"<sup>77</sup>. This reveals a more demand-led standpoint which attempts to match affordability with housing type. Further to this, it was found that communities in informal settlements upgraded before the subsidy system was implemented were more heterogeneous in terms of income levels and other measures of wealth. As has been discussed, the impact of the current subsidy criteria can be to narrow the income profile of residents in existing settlements: a policy impact that should be avoided.

## People-driven housing

A key programme initiative is the *People's Housing Process*, which is a focused effort to support assisted self-help using the subsidy. The National Housing Policy: Supporting the People's Housing Process was adopted during May 1998. The policy recognises the efforts and the initiatives of those families who are prepared to commit their resources, skills and energies in housing themselves. The policy therefore intends to assist people who wish to build, or to organise the building themselves, to access housing subsidies, and technical, financial, logistical and administrative support for the building of their homes.

The problems of the size, variety, and the 'fit' of the house to the needs of the resident, are largely answered in projects which are driven by communities as supported by the People's Housing Process programme (see box on the Victoria Mxenge project). There is little doubt that assisted self-help processes result in a more appropriate product.

### **Victoria Mxenge and the People's Housing Process**

Members of the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association (VMDA) have managed to realise their dreams of financing, building and owning their houses by pooling their resources and working together towards a common goal. The association is also known as the Victoria Mxenge Housing Savings Scheme - a name which emerged in the process of applying for social compact status for housing subsidies and communal land tenure. The association began as an all-women group from the Cape Flats, motivated by a reaction to past discriminatory laws restricting women from becoming landowners or inheriting their husband's property after death, a situation which led to homelessness for many women.

The group, originally comprising 12 women as a function committee of the NGO, People's Dialogue, has since grown to over 286 people, only five of whom are men. The VMDA was one of 13 applicants for land in Philippi owned by the Catholic Church, communal tenure and rights to which were granted to the VMDA after two years of negotiations with the Department of Land Affairs. These rights provided the members with a right of occupancy on the first settlement site which was to be used exclusively for residential purposes.

The organisation is divided into smaller groups of 10-20 people who apply for loans from the association to build houses, with each individual contributing to the repayment of the loan. As the actual building occurs in groups, loans are given to the group rather than to the individual. Members of the group learn through observation to carry out a wide range of tasks from financial management to housing modelling and building. Very few have had formal education.

Members may transfer their share of the property provided they give at least six months written notice to the management committee.

The fundamental belief of the association is that development is essentially an active grassroots, bottom-up, self-help process. Their philosophy is firmly grounded in the experience of poor exploited women throughout the world. As a result, the women in the group have built their homes for far less than private developers could while remaining within the limits of the subsidy. They have broken traditional boundaries by challenging customary laws on land rights and ownership of homes, and have a strong drive to restore family life to offer their children decent places to grow and thrive.

The strategy of continuous training has helped to prevent the consolidation of resources in the hands of a few dominant leaders. The knowledge of the basic principles has been imbibed by all and has helped the creation of local leaders. The effort, honesty, accountability and transparency, together with the established practice of participatory and democratic decision-making, form the basis for the success of the organisation.

SOURCE: Salma Ismail, Anthea Billy: *Build houses, people and communities – the story of Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association*; in *Creating Action Space- the challenge of poverty and democracy in South Africa*, pp211-227.

The limitation of people-driven processes seems to be the capacity of provincial and local authorities to support them. In cases where local authorities took a decision to build their own capacity to enable the implementation of the People's Housing Process (i.e. the necessary bureaucratic procedures, training, resources, and monitoring procedures), results were better. However, local opposition can still derail the process<sup>78</sup>.

The institutional support (in the form of the People's Housing Partnership Trust) for self-help projects should be strengthened, and attention given to how such initiatives could be replicated.

## Hostels Upgrading

Migrant labour hostels continue to exist in townships and other parts of the city although levels of migrant labour are generally decreasing. The new government committed itself to the upgrading of hostels to family accommodation early on in its first term of office. Inadequate data about hostel upgrading has been accessed, however some observations can be made about the impacts of the *National Hostels Redevelopment Programme*<sup>79</sup>.

The programme was put in place to fund and support the upgrading of public sector hostels. Families living in hostels qualify for the full subsidy,

and individuals attract an amount of R4 000. The use of the hostels subsidy by an individual or household does not disqualify them from accessing the housing subsidy, unless they buy the improved hostel unit. A central aim of the programme is to convert as much singles hostel accommodation to family units as possible, and to integrate hostels with the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Hostels upgrading is providing a particularly disadvantaged group with accommodation. In the study of Cape Town hostels, most hostel occupants (87%) said they would prefer to rent the upgraded accommodation rather than purchase the units. The upgrading of hostels does provide one way to improve high density housing stock in an otherwise low density environment.

The success of hostels upgrading projects have been dependent on the role of an NGO in negotiating and mediating between the local authority and the hostel dwellers.

### The Upgrading of Galeshewe Hostel

The hostel units in Galeshewe were upgraded in 1993 as part of the National Hostels Redevelopment Programme. As part of the redesign of the hostel, new houses were built as infill on a former central open space. Families occupying the hostel were given first option on core houses which could be extended. Row houses of different sizes from 26m<sup>2</sup> to 58m<sup>2</sup> forming five courtyards were also built. Around each yard residents know each other and it is safe especially for children to play. Eighty single unit houses of 33m<sup>2</sup> were also built. The area has a wide range of different ethnic groups and family structures who live side by side. Sixty percent of the residents are men, and single people are given the opportunity to share units through sub-tenure.

People in the hostel houses now own their plot and their unit. The area stands out because of the extensive cultivation on the small row house plots. The area is well catered for in terms of health care as there is a clinic and a day care centre for the elderly integrated into one of the hostel yards.

The integration of public facilities with the street enhances the environment. In poor areas, the few facilities that exist have been placed to enrich street life. Four caretakers from the hostel are employed by the municipality to take care of the area, keeping it clean and neat. A sense of ownership of the public space has thus been established, integrating the hostel with its surroundings.

Image is important, and this is seen in the pride and care shown by the families in maintaining their own yards.

SOURCE: Urban Planning and Environmental Projects Kimberley and Port Elizabeth: *Assessment of the South African Housing Programme: Draft Report April 1998* Hifab International Swedepplan-Swedeseurvey Inregia

Several limitations to the success of hostels upgrading projects have been raised. The integration of hostels with surrounding township areas is not always achieved, and investment in hostels can lead to even greater resentment and alienation from township residents. Upgrading has caused displacement of some residents who had to find land and housing elsewhere (similarly to those displaced by informal settlement upgrading).

Some hostel residents resist the upgrading, particularly those who benefit from the status quo. Many of the upgraded buildings struggle to escape the stigma of the past. The promotion of gender equity and the rights of women has been difficult in a traditionally male-dominated environment.

Despite these drawbacks, the study shows that the potential of hostel accommodation to be transformed into acceptable, often well-located, high density housing should not be ignored.

### Upgrading of inner city higher density housing

The *institutional subsidy* has had the largest impact on the upgrading of inner city housing, although more recently, pilot projects for the production of new social housing have also taken place. In most cases at present, housing associations of some kind, often supported by NGOs or the private sector, buy up degraded housing stock in areas close to CBDs and draw on the housing subsidy to refurbish or improve the units (see box on Everest Court).

It is a fact that a large number of the inner-city poor currently live in inadequate shelter. Many are victimised by their landlords, illegal evictions are common, as there is little security of tenure, and buildings are in a dilapidated condition. In areas such as Hillbrow in Johannesburg, tenants are often victims of crime as well. The quality of life on the whole for many of these tenants is low as they are forced to pay continuously escalating rentals while earning minimal incomes. Support for social housing has the potential to change the status of these tenants and empower them to make important decisions concerning their own housing. Tenant-controlled rental housing is often more affordable than conventional rental housing and allows tenants greater security of tenure. Furthermore, through community empowerment it allows for the creation of sustainable living environments.

It is clear that the use of the institutional subsidy for 'social housing' does not cater to the very poorest sector<sup>80</sup>. However, an important need exists for this form of housing in these locations, and investment of the subsidy in inner city areas potentially carries with it an important societal

benefit for urban regeneration. Local authorities have also shown willingness to contribute further funding to upgrade the outside of buildings in which households have attracted the institutional subsidy.

Investigations have also shown that residents of upgraded blocks of flats feel more secure, and indeed are less victimised, than their neighbours in accommodation controlled by private landlords<sup>81</sup>.

#### Social Housing in Hillbrow: Everest Court

COPE affordable housing has been established as an NGO for a decade and is one of the leading organisations in the provision of social housing in Johannesburg. The organisation originated in 1989 as a result of requests from community-based organisations for assistance in setting up co-operatives and small enterprises. One of the projects in which COPE has been involved, is Everest Court, located in the heart of Hillbrow. Everest Court comprises 35 units housing approximately 155 tenants. Prior to approaching COPE, Everest Court was plagued with problems of failure to pay rentals (which were often increased without prior notice given to the tenants), and a landlord who had no interest in improving or maintaining the quality of the block of flats. These problems prompted the tenants to approach COPE to assist in a tenant buy-out of the block with COPE then being retained as the manager of the block. In order to increase the ability of each household to pay rentals (which have stabilised), and to improve the quality of housing available to the tenants of Everest Court, COPE pooled the resources of the community of Everest Court resulting in a successful formation of a housing co-operative.

A study of Everest Court was carried out to assess the impact that social housing was having on the residents and the area. The study showed that social housing has significant impact on its beneficiaries with over 70% of the tenants of Everest Court satisfied with the quality of the final housing product they had received, while over 50% were satisfied with the reduced rentals that they paid through COPE. Through social housing, the tenants of Everest Court were also offered a more secure form of tenure than they previously had. The benefits of social housing did not end with the upgrading of the block.

The study also found that there was a significant impact on crime levels in the immediate vicinity of Everest Court. Crime has since been reduced both inside and outside the block, making the home and surrounding area safer and more sustainable for communities to live in without risk to their physical self or their property.

SOURCE: A. Lungu, Linking Social Housing with the Reduction of Crime in Residential Inner -City Areas (Pretoria: BOUTEK internal report number BOU/1136, 1999).

There is a major gap in institutional capacity throughout the country to establish and maintain social housing. The Social Housing Foundation has the mandate to address this area and has

developed resources<sup>82</sup>, although not yet the full capacity, to achieve this.

## Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs)

A special type of project that allows co-ordinated interventions over a wide spectrum of line departments has existed in the form of Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs)<sup>83</sup>. Only one evaluation has been completed (for Katorus on the East Rand), so it may be premature to try to discuss the impact of the 13 national projects.

There are many lessons that need to be learnt from the evaluation of these strategic projects.

Taking the Katorus example<sup>84</sup>, despite non-delivery in some areas, the majority of the budget was effectively spent within the project period. The evaluation concluded that SIPPs were worthwhile initiatives for a number of important reasons.

Although more was achieved in setting up the institutions to deliver than actual delivery within the project timeframe, the capacity to deliver of the local authorities involved had been substantially enhanced. The evaluators went further to say that the SIPP acted as a catalyst for transformation within the local authorities. Because of the image of the project as a special presidential project, there was a greater "dedication to maximise value for money": "It seems that an important advantage linked to special programmes like Katorus is the sense of focus and urgency that they bring to development in an area".

Limitations to the project were that, repair of damage to housing and upgrading of hostels did not add to housing stock in the area, and the project to deliver services to hostels was not successful. There was continued refusal to pay, and some vandalism of services. At the planning stage, there was insufficient grasp of the scale of many of the problems, particularly the extent of the damage to housing. Despite building capacity within local authorities, the SIPP did not bring the three local authorities together into an integrated planning unit as was hoped.

A key objective of this project was the stabilisation of the area, and although there were not noticeable reductions in crime, there was evidence that politically-motivated crime had reduced considerably.

As an area-based intervention<sup>85</sup> that transcends some of the inherent limitations of the single subsidy given to individual households, SIPPs have been a very important form of intervention. They are able to more effectively incorporate higher level goals such as urban restructuring, stabilisation of high crime areas, land

restitution (see box on Cato Manor) and urban regeneration. This highlights the fact that at a project level, the housing subsidy alone is unable to achieve all of the aims of the Urban Development Framework. Other complementary funding mechanisms need to be considered if the wider principles of the Habitat Agenda are to be implemented.

### Special Integrated Presidential Project in Cato Manor, Durban

Greater Cato Manor encompasses an area of 1800 hectares, strategically located seven kilometres to the west of the CBD of Durban, the largest metropole in KwaZulu-Natal. The facilitator for the development of Cato Manor, is the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) and independent NGO whose role is to ensure rapid holistic development in a sustainable, quality urban environment in a manner that leads to the generation and redistribution of economic opportunities to improve the living standards of the poor.

The development has four key aims: to significantly restructure the apartheid geography through the orderly settlement of low-income households close to the heart of the metropolitan area; to create a symbol of reconciliation and non-racialism for the whole metropolitan community through integration; to restructure the region's transport system by establishing a new mass transit system; and to establish technologies, systems and procedures which will be applicable to other urban in-fill restructuring projects.

The vision for Cato Manor came about as a result of intense discussion, negotiation and planning, spanning the period between 1990 and 1992. The development is envisaged as a cluster of well-planned, medium and high-density suburbs with the necessary schools, shops, clinics and recreational facilities close to the city centre, serviced by an efficient transport system, where families can set up home and gain access to employment

The vision has nine central features, one of which is housing. A total of 30 000 housing opportunities will be delivered of which over 2000 housing units have already been built. 2500 sites have already been provided with infrastructure and the construction of a further 800 sites is underway. A range of housing types will be provided and a mixture of income levels will be targeted to make the project sustainable. Units will range from six storey flats and duplex units to two-to-five storey walk-ups. Funding is primarily from the KwaZulu-Natal Housing Development Board, with the development expected to occur in 3 phases, the final phase being completed in 2001.

Other features include an efficient and effective transportation system, the provision of a full range of social facilities which include a library, schools and a community hall, the provision of adequate infrastructure, economic development along two activity corridors in Cato Manor, the development of human resources, land reform, protection of open spaces and integration into the Durban Metropolitan area.

In 1997 a financial agreement was reached with the Commission of the European Union (EU) whereby funding of approximately R135-R150 million (depending on the current exchange rate), was received for the project. The EU is also providing capacity building to the staff of the CMDA to enhance their ability to carry out the development of Cato Manor. With two principles being kept in mind, those of sustainability and replicability, the EU hopes that their contribution will go beyond the Cato Manor Development.

SOURCES: The Cato Manor Development Project (<http://www.cmda.org.za>) and Greater Cato Manor Development Forum: "A policy framework For Greater Cato Manor" (Final Draft)

## Resident satisfaction

Studies which measure beneficiary satisfaction with housing outcomes are particularly useful, but fairly rare. Although reasons for satisfaction or lack of satisfaction vary from place to place, a limited set of factors are key.

In a study of beneficiary views of the housing process, it was shown that residents' perceptions on whether they had been consulted was critical in determining whether households were satisfied<sup>86</sup>.

Where people had moved, personal comparisons between conditions in previous settlements with those in new settlements were inevitable, and in many cases even small improvements in circumstances led to high levels of satisfaction. This led to situations where new settlements were still extremely peripheral but levels of satisfaction with location were nevertheless high<sup>87</sup>.

Where service levels were high but houses small, then expressions of dissatisfaction about the house were common. Where houses were larger but services rudimentary, the situation was reversed<sup>88</sup>.

The most commonly expressed reason for beneficiary satisfaction in government sponsored projects was that a new house with freehold tenure granted independence and freedom. This was particularly the case for households moving from freestanding and backyard shacks.

A significant factor that determined levels of satisfaction with services installed was the dependability of those services. Frequent electricity interruptions, or water cuts, led to expressions of dissatisfaction<sup>89</sup>.

There is also much evidence to suggest that the highest levels of satisfaction with living conditions is attained in projects where beneficiaries are involved from an early stage in

the development process, and even more so if the process is controlled by them.

## The formal construction industry

There is little doubt that the housing subsidy scheme has had a direct impact on the formal building industry. A number of large construction companies that were involved in low cost housing have either closed or moved into other spheres of activity. Other companies have altered their approach so as to remain involved through the use of the housing subsidy. There are perceptions in the formal industry that low cost housing is high risk with low returns.

It is difficult to surmise whether a significant market for the production of low cost housing would have emerged in the absence of the household subsidy, but with the support of alternative enabling factors. What is clearly necessary is assessment and monitoring of the impact of government policies on the house building and infrastructure provision sectors so as to maximise the benefits that private enterprise can lend to the process. The increasing involvement of smaller building concerns is, however, a cause for optimism.

## Improvement of rural settlements

The improvement of rural settlements is a specialist subject, and has been comprehensively treated in the policy guideline document, the *Rural Development Framework*. Comments are offered here within the parameters of this study which covers larger rural agglomerations.

The **Department of Land Affairs** has instituted three programmes aimed at removing the injustices of the past and the creation of sustainable settlements and sustainable land use. These are the *Land Redistribution Programme*, the *Land Restitution Programme* and the *Land Tenure Reform Programme*.

By the end of 1998 approximately 200 000 people had benefited from the *Land Redistribution Programme* and half a million hectares of land had been redistributed.<sup>90</sup> The majority of this land delivery was in the rural areas and there has been very little actual delivery of land in the urban areas.

The *Land Restitution Programme*, established to restore land or compensate people dispossessed by racially discriminatory legislation and practice after 19<sup>th</sup> July 1913, was not as successful as was initially hoped. This was mostly because of the lengthy and complex process in which each claim has to be individually analysed and dealt with on its own merits. Since 1993 a total of 54 000 claims have been lodged, 80% in respect of urban land. Of these, 4 000 claims have

been verified and gazetted and 27 claims, involving 167 534 ha and approximately 70 000 people, have been finalised.<sup>91</sup>

**National Performance of the Land Redistribution Programme**

The *Land Tenure Reform Programme* has made it possible for those previously denied the opportunity to own land to actually become land owners. The greatest impact of this programme has been on privately-owned land where approximately 6 million people are affected, including farm workers, their families and other people living on land with the consent of the owner. Since inception of the programme, unfair evictions, which have a destabilising effect on rural areas, appear to have reduced substantially.

However, the period leading up to the implementation of the programme has seen unprecedented eviction of farm workers and labour tenants in a misguided attempt by land owners to protect their property. This has resulted in migration to and informal settlement around nearby small towns where there are inadequate economic bases and social infrastructure to cope with such movement.

Although many teething problems initially experienced by the Department of Land Affairs have been sorted out, the objective of creating sustainable communities through the delivery of land has not been as successful as was initially hoped. In many cases, the impact on the beneficiary communities has been negative rather than positive.

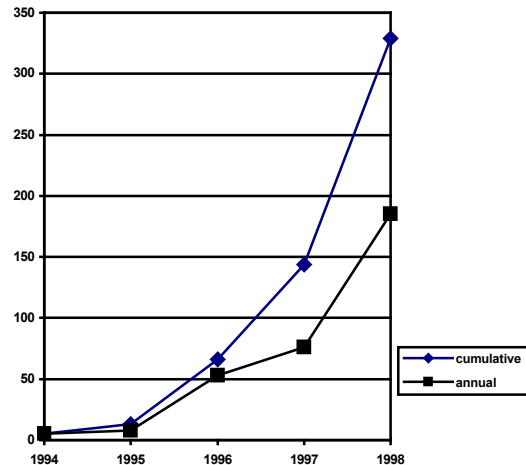
For example, the land reform programme has been criticised for resettling communities to live in conditions where, in many cases, they are worse-off than they were before. For instance, they are removed from existing economic and social networks to live in isolation, without basic social services and lacking close economic centres. A 'Quality of Life Report' done by the DLA on land reform settlements showed a serious lack of access to basic community services, as illustrated in the following table.

Service not within walking distance	% of communities
Primary schools	40%
Secondary schools	55%
Mobile clinic	58%
Permanent Clinic	61%

Another limitation is that land appropriate for agriculture is rarely available at prices affordable under the subsidy scheme. This means that households moving to shared land often find that it is marginal and unable to support sufficient levels of production. Added to this is the problem of the formation of artificial communities of households

banding together in order to pool sufficient subsidy amounts to afford larger rural land parcels<sup>92</sup>.

Projects designated from 1994 to 1998



The main reason for the failure in addressing the creation of sustainable communities is the emphasis that has been placed on delivering specific, quantifiable targets, such as numbers of households, water connections, and the like, rather than in thinking of creating complete, sustainable communities. As one critic puts it:

*“there is no point in seeing how many people can be settled on land without first ensuring that they can survive on the land and improve their lives as well.”<sup>93</sup>*

Access to adequate water and sanitation in rural areas is often a higher priority than the need for housing. The programmes of the **Department of Water Affairs and Forestry** have most impact in peri-urban and rural settlements. The Department has a mandate to enable the provision of adequate water supply and sanitation services. This is being achieved through the building of competent local and provincial agencies.

Although over 3 million people have benefited from improved water supply since 1994, another 12 million South Africans are still without access to clean drinking water. Some 20 million people do not have access to adequate sanitation<sup>94</sup>.

Many of the early programmes of the Department were planned and funded by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) Office, but implemented by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. The Department then built up the institutional capacity to undertake planning, and when the RDP Office closed, became more involved in the full process through its regional offices.

From experience gained in the first two RDP programmes and because of the development of the Department's own structures, a more systematic process was followed, with the establishment of provincial, regional and area forums. These identified villages and their needs, and evaluated them according to the reference systems developed to provide a sustainable planning process involving the Department, provincial and local authorities.

The emphasis of the later programmes, such as the *Local Government Water Supply and Sanitation Support Programme*, showed the Department taking on more of an enabling role, and withdrawing from its initial role as service provider.

The *Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programme* was introduced to raise awareness and to promote sanitation, health and hygiene education in support of the institutional and social development that was being carried out in each water project. In 1996, a series of public-private partnerships were initiated to as *build, operate, train and transfer (BOTT)* water supply and sanitation services in four provinces. After being established by private companies, the services will be transferred to water services authorities at local government level.

The reach of these programmes has been considerable. Since 1994, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry has been involved in over 1 000 water supply and sanitation projects. Out of a national total of 14 000 rural communities, the Department focused on 500 communities, to provide water supply and sanitation. The aim of the projects was that the water supply systems established had to be economically viable, feasible and environmentally acceptable, with good service levels, customer service, and had to be ongoing and successful<sup>95</sup>.

Many lessons were learnt from the projects that have been completed under these programmes. Many of the findings echo problems experienced in urban projects. Inadequate initial needs-assessments meant that budgets were insufficient. The time allowed for community consultation processes was too little. Implementers concentrated on construction and did not allow for the post-construction phase, particularly the setting up and training of water committees. Institution and social development was also insufficient.

As a general summary, it can be said that the pressure to deliver had a negative impact on the sustainability of the water and sanitation services and facilities, as most of the funds available were spent on infrastructure to ensure the biggest coverage, but little attention and funds were

allocated to the training and capacity-building of the people who were going to use, operate and maintain these infrastructures.

Other rural initiatives include the **Department of Public Works Community-Based Public Works Programme**. It was initially a programme to empower NGO's, communities and partners, but has more recently been re-oriented to align with the Rural Anti-Poverty Programme (RAPP). The programme has been focused on providing agricultural and social infrastructure rather than basic residential infrastructure (see section on Local Economic Development).

## Conclusion

The development of rural settlements tends to be handled by departments that are separate to those that operate predominantly in urban areas. Given the different nature of needs in urban and rural areas, this is perhaps logical. It is thus not necessary to maintain literally equal levels of subsidy for households in such varying locales.

However, if the country is viewed as a whole human settlement system (a view strengthened by the personal experiences of people migrating between settlements), then the combined and individual impacts of investments by different departments should be more carefully monitored across all departments.

In reviewing the many programmes that support and enhance human settlements in South Africa it is important to note that out of a limited number of national policies, a great variety of housing opportunities are being produced through an array of delivery routes. Some of the delivery routes hold out great hope but have not yet delivered. These should be further developed and adapted to become more sustainable and replicable. However, from inner city housing to small agricultural villages, a very wide range of needs are potentially being met. Given the vastness of the needs and backlogs, this does not often translate into a high level of personal choice. However, seen as a national attempt to address the variety of real and expressed needs, the impacts of government programmes are impressive.

## D. Managing settlements and cities

### Decentralisation and strengthening of local government

The general emphasis in human settlement management in South Africa has shifted towards developmental local government. This entails devolution of power and responsibility for development and implementation from national and provincial government to local government.

To facilitate this, the **Department of Constitutional Development** (DCD) published the *Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act* (Act 27 of 1998), the *Local Government Municipal Structures Act* (Act 117 of 1998) and the *Local Government Municipal Systems Bill* (May 1999 Draft). It is hoped that this legislation will resolve most of the problems experienced by local governments in terms of due process, areas of jurisdiction and institutional arrangements.

The main obstacles to developmental local government are very similar to those experienced in the implementation of integrated development planning. The first is a lack of financial capacity that is a legacy of past inequalities and a response to them. The second is a lack of skilled implementers who know and understand the new policies and their implementation in the management of human settlements.

The *Masakhane* programme attempted to address the first problem by encouraging a culture of payment of rates and services that was lost during the 1980's rent boycotts. So far, the campaign has been fairly successful in areas where people could see and experience improved service delivery. However, visible government activity seems to be a prerequisite for improved payment, and there is still a long way to go before service payment levels reach the 90% target.

The second problem is addressed by a number of capacity-building programmes for local development officials. These include training workshops on Integrated Development Planning run by DCD and SALGA, and an extensive training programme on Local Agenda 21 and sustainable development by DEAT.

To further strengthen the capacity of local government, various networks have also been formed to exchange knowledge, information and best practice. The foremost of these is the *South African Local Government Association* (SALGA). DEAT is also assisting the formation of a network on Local Agenda 21 as part of the *National Local Agenda 21 Campaign*.

### Integrated Management

As discussed earlier in section B, *Integrated Development Planning* (IDP) has become one of the cornerstones of human settlement management in South Africa. Together with DEAT's *Local Agenda 21 Campaign*, IDP promotes close sectoral co-operation in planning and management.

There are several *Local Agenda 21* initiatives at local level in, amongst others, the cities of Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, as well as provincial LA 21 programmes in KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Province. A marked feature of these programmes is their dependence on donor funding.

Issues such as environmental management, crime prevention, poverty alleviation and disaster management require a high degree of integrated management and co-operation between different line functions. Integrated management therefore requires some institutional restructuring which assessments of various IDP and LA 21 initiatives show has yet to happen.

### Safety and Security

The *National Crime Prevention Strategy* (NCPS), launched in 1996, is based on the premise that trying to stop crime before it occurs – instead of relying on the criminal justice system to arrest and convict offenders – is critical to making our communities safer. It relies heavily on the involvement of the community and government departments other than Safety and Security. Local government has been identified as the partner best able to carry out crime prevention programmes, as it is recognised that crime occurs in local situations. The NCPS is built on four pillars:

- Improving the criminal justice system.
- Activation of community pressure against crime.
- Environmental design to limit opportunities for crime in the built environment.
- Attention to cross-border crime.

The *White Paper on Safety and Security* released in 1999 identifies two strategies to reduce crime: law enforcement and social crime prevention. While law enforcement largely involves the police, crime prevention needs much broader participation of government and community members. The White Paper further implies that crime prevention should be an integral part of good urban management and not something to be added to existing functions.

The *South African Police Service Amendment Bill No 39 of 1998: Municipal Policing* allows local

governments to establish municipal police services in their areas in order to increase visible policing and reduce fear of crime and street crime, as well as to supplement the resources of the SAPS.

There are several Councils already working on crime prevention strategies. Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council established a Safer Cities programme in 1997, the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council approved their crime prevention strategy in November 1998 and councils in Cape Town and Durban, as well as the Highveld Ridge Local Council in Mpumalanga, are developing local crime prevention programmes. The Khayalami Metropolitan Council is currently implementing its Public Safety Programme through identified projects.

From the experience gained by these councils, it is apparent that crime prevention strategies have an improved chance of success if they form part of an overall management plan with commitment at a high level. In cities where the responsibility for crime prevention was placed in a line department concerned with public safety, it was found that the law enforcement element is becoming institutionalised to the exclusion of crime prevention.

A further obstacle to successful implementation of crime prevention strategies is the fact that in many local authorities crime prevention continues to be seen as an unfunded mandate, with subsequent resistance to allocating a budget for a co-ordinating crime prevention function. Such a co-ordinating mechanism is essential, as crime prevention requires inputs from criminal justice, social and economic interest groups and other community based groups.

## Environmental management

The *National Environmental Management Act* (Act 107 of 1998) was promulgated to provide for co-operative environmental governance by establishing principles for decision-making on matters affecting the environment; institutions that will promote co-operative governance; procedures for co-ordinating environmental functions exercised by organs of state; and to provide for matters connected therewith.

The Act requires of every national department exercising functions which may affect the environment, and every province, to prepare an environmental implementation plan (as described by the Act) every four years, and every national department exercising functions involving the management of the environment must prepare an environmental management plan every four years.

However, environmental management plans are not yet required of local authorities and have

not been included in the requirements for the IDP process. Of the big cities only Pretoria has included an environmental management plan in its Spatial Development Framework, while Cape Town, Durban and Midrand have separate environmental management policies. As most of these are fairly new, it is not possible yet to measure the impact of environmental management initiatives.

## Managing disasters

The policy process regarding disaster management is still in its infancy with the White Paper on Disaster Management (1999) in place, but no legislation to develop the implications of this policy. The policy promotes proactive, integrated disaster management through risk reduction programmes in partnership with all stakeholders and spheres of government. However, post disaster support (relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement) is not addressed in any detail.

The disaster management policy seems to have a fairly centralised approach, with a National Disaster Management Centre at the hub of an integrated national disaster management strategy. It is envisaged that the National Disaster Management Act, when it is promulgated, will require Local Government to produce disaster management plans and provide for disaster management in the budget. However, the draft of the Municipal Systems Bill (May 1999) does not require disaster management plans or a budget for disaster management. Therefore, until the National Disaster Management Act exists, municipalities are unlikely to focus on disaster management or risk reduction in their development planning and management.

## Performance management

One of the areas where the management of human settlements at local and national level is weak, is in performance management and the setting of key performance indicators that indicate qualitative improvements.

The **Department of Housing's** *Housing and Urbanisation Information System* (HUIS) is responsible for populating and monitoring key Human Settlement Indicators for South Africa, as well as indicators for measuring the performance of the housing subsidy scheme. So far, these indicators tend to be quantitative focusing on inputs and outputs.

At local level, the IDP process requires the setting of Key Performance Indicators, but evaluations of current IDP's show that performance indicators are not established for every phase of implementation and often no budget has been set

aside for monitoring and evaluation. This problem should be addressed by the new Municipal Systems Bill, which establishes a framework for performance management.

## Metropolitan management

The *Local Government Municipal Structures Act* (117 of 1998) allows for the formation of large single structures of metropolitan government. These metropolitan structures will have full municipal powers for the entire metropolitan area. The Minister has declared which cities are to adopt this form of government after consultation with the MEC for Local Government, the Demarcation Board, SALGA and organised local government in the province. While the Minister will designate the nodal points of such metropolitan areas, the Demarcation Board will determine its outer boundaries. (see section on Forces of Change – The Mega-city/ Uni-city governance model)

The city of Johannesburg has adopted this model in its Igoli 2002 Plan as the most cost-efficient way to manage the metro area. An analysis, for example, of the structure of the Greater Johannesburg Metro Council and the Northern Metro Local Council suggest duplication of at least 10 major functions. Managing the entire metro in one structure will cut out such duplication and also allow the Metro to transform many of its service delivery activities into free-standing businesses that can negotiate their own financing based on the strength of their own balance sheets.<sup>96</sup>

## E. Promoting local economic development

The notion that a community's economic and employment creating future is increasingly dependent on the initiatives that its own citizens take is gaining increasing acceptance in South Africa. In line with this argument, Local Economic Development (LED) is being promoted as a local approach that addresses the problems of inequality, poverty, unemployment and other shortcomings regarding basic human needs, filling the gaps that national policy directives have left, and putting the responsibility for economic development of the locality in the hands of the new local role players.

The challenge for localities is to restructure their economies in reaction to the changing national and international economies, within the context of their own endowments. LED is in essence a local response to changes in the internal and external environment by effectively allocating available resources to reach economic development objectives.

For most of South Africa's documented history, local governments have been mainly involved in the passive delivering and maintenance of infrastructure and services and the collection of services and rates charges. Local governments' role was largely to react in a passive and non-involved manner to the development needs of communities. Factors like rapidly rising rates of unemployment and poverty, the political transition and global economic restructuring have, however, induced South African local authorities to adopt LED strategies. However, the majority of initiatives launched until recently, follow a largely traditional approach, where economic strategies of most local authorities still concentrate primarily on marketing exercises, providing incentives and attempts to attract investment from outside. Most of these LED projects corresponded to *ad hoc* projects that lack a holistic approach to the economic development of a local area.

LED as a *discipline* could be described as a process where responsible parties formulate and implement LED strategies, plans and projects within a given framework, with the broad objective to create employment opportunities and stimulate economic activity. The responsible parties involved in LED are usually represented in partnerships between local governments, community-based groups and the private sector. The LED strategy is usually based on the understanding that these parties take on the responsibility to promote economic development in that area.

The new role of local authorities to promote social and economic development is attributed to

them by the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). The Constitution also provides local authorities with legal instruments like by-laws, procurement and other municipal fiscal powers and functions fundamental to their economic role. The Local Government Transition Second Amendment Act (No 97 of 1996) realises the broad objectives of the constitution and includes under the powers and functions of the metropolitan councils the promotion of economic development and job creation. Although the promotion of economic development is not a separately defined function of metropolitan councils, it must be taken into consideration when formulating and implementing an Integrated Development Plan.

Given the fact that the Constitution gives municipalities a mandate to provide special economic services - the White Paper on Local Government provides an indication of options open to Local Authorities on areas of intervention in the promotion of LED - these include:

- review and simplification of municipal procedures and regulations;
- marketing and investment support;
- small business support services;
- targeted assistance (research and technology field);
- training and placement services; and
- co-ordination with other agencies.

### Forthcoming legislation

In terms of economic development no clear link exists between the national legislation governing this sector and the enactment at local level. Several government policies applicable to different levels of government have direct and some indirect implications for LED initiatives of which the most important are the *Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)*<sup>97</sup>, the *Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)*<sup>98</sup>, and South Africa's *Trade and Industrial Policy*<sup>99</sup>. However, these national economic policy initiatives are designed to facilitate overall economic recovery rather than to address the economic development of localities. This has led to calls for a national enabling framework for local government to fully exercise its economic and social developmental role.

The **Department of Constitutional Development (DCD)** is in the process of attempting to compile such an enabling framework and has commissioned several studies in support thereof. Identified areas of research that will form the basis for national LED policy include the identification of LED instruments used in both thriving and declining localities; the compilation of a set of key indicators to measure the success of

LED instruments; promotion of 'best-practice' case studies for municipalities; proposals for networking and linkages; a guideline document for municipalities on appropriate LED institutions; and a technical manual for municipalities on all relevant government programmes.

It is expected that a Policy Document will be published by September 1999 based on numerous case studies and participatory research.

## LED Programme

Before the recent establishment of the Local Economic Development Programme within the Department of Constitutional Development, there did not exist specific LED programmes. However, other key government (infrastructure, social and economic) programmes in various departments, also impact on the economic and social development within settlements. A range of these programmes shares the objectives of the LED programme of job creation, alleviation of poverty and human resource development. Something which is lacking at present is coordination between these programmes, which is crucial as the manner in which local implementation takes place will influence the success in obtaining the benefits of localised development. It will also give support to locally developed objectives and strategies<sup>100</sup>.

The LED programme has three key components, of which the first is the development of policy that is supportive and responsive to the role of municipalities in stimulating LED. The other two components are instruments that can be used by municipalities in the implementation of LED projects; namely the Social Plan fund and the LED fund.

The Government had committed itself at the 1998 National Job Summit to the Social Plan fund that aims to assist those communities that have been affected by large-scale retrenchments. The Social Plan fund provides both institutional support and some funding for local authorities with declining economies and vulnerable sectors. The fund focuses on the regeneration of local economies and provides funding for '*local economic regeneration studies*'.<sup>101</sup>

These studies are to identify employment-generating projects within identified sectors within the local economy, and the LED fund is one of the financing mechanisms for such projects. The LED fund will provide financial support (up to a maximum of R1.5 million) to particular municipalities engaging in initiatives that will impact on job creation and poverty alleviation. While the Social Plan fund has an allocated R3 million to grant to qualifying municipalities, approximately R45 million is available in the LED fund. The first project applications for the LED fund must be

submitted to DCD by the 31 October 1999 for the current financial year.

The impact of the Social Plan fund will be on those settlements that have suffered from the impact of new exposure to competition on both the domestic and international markets without the benefit of previously received state protection; the extensive job losses as the gold mining industry is facing huge pressures owing to the falling market price; and the peripheralisation of settlements that 'benefited' in the past from the State's decentralisation. The settlements that will qualify for grants from this fund are those that have been directly affected by a large-scale retrenchment (500 jobs or more) within a company or sub-sector; a settlement that is indirectly affected by a 'large-scale retrenchment through backward migration; and 'thriving' settlements that falls within a region that is experiencing large-scale job losses<sup>102</sup>.

The impact of the LED fund will be more widespread as the focus of the fund is broader than that of the Social Plan fund. The prime objectives of the fund are:

- To assist localities qualifying for assistance for the Social Plan fund to leverage additional state funding for employment generating projects.
- To support LED initiatives that generate employment in identified growth areas e.g. municipalities that have been identified within SDIs, provincial growth and development plans, or localities targeted by private sector investment.
- To assist municipalities of national priority e.g. high crime areas.
- To support projects that have emerged from IDPs and LDOs and demonstrate practical linkages between economic growth, job creation and poverty relief strategies.
- To provide counter funding for qualifying municipalities that are able to leverage additional private or public sector funding.
- The LED fund is to be run efficiently through simplified and accessible systems that offer a quick response to applications.

A very positive characteristic of the LED fund is the considerable focus on the linkage between the projects identified for funding and provincial plans, SDIs, IDPs, the Department of Public Works' Ten point plan and initiatives like co-funding and packaging will also be considered in the project evaluation. This will lay the basis for the coordination between this fund and other 'like-minded' government programmes.

## Related Programmes

As mentioned earlier, there is a range of government projects that impact on the economic development of localities. These programmes and the impact (where information is available) they have on human settlements are discussed below:

### Job Summit

The intention with the Job Summit was to bring the government, the business community and the organized labour movement together to seek ways of improving the employment-creating capacity of the economy. The outcome of the summit was detailed agreements in five categories, from which important programmes emanated. They are likely to have a significant effect on the economic development of human settlements.

#### *Category 1: Job creation in sectors of the economy*

Under this category it was agreed that growth should be encouraged in niche sectors and clusters of industry, particularly those with a high propensity for creating jobs. Activities identified include sector summits; a buy South African goods campaign; strengthening customs and excise to stem illegal imports; small business promotion; tourism promotion; and social housing programmes.

The national presidential lead project on Housing (NPLP) is intended to pilot affordable mass housing delivery and alternative forms of tenure, specifically rental (target 75%) and falls under the responsibility of the **Department of Housing** and various role players both in government and civil society. It will explore different delivery and funding approaches that rely more strongly on public/private partnerships. The NPLP will be nationally managed and co-ordinated with a view to fully utilise its potential for job creation. A minimum of 50 000 and a maximum of 150 000 housing units will be constructed for low-income families in an appropriate mix of income groups resulting in the establishment of a number of 'holistic' communities.

It is clear that production in the housing sector should be seen as an integral part of wider LED initiatives.

#### *Category 2: Labour market and human resource development for job creation*

The introduction of the Social Plan fund was made under this category, with the aim to manage unavoidable losses in the most humane manner, and provide training so as to re-absorb workers into other sectors (as discussed earlier).

#### *Category 3: Special employment programmes*

It was agreed that existing special employment programmes will be expanded and several new initiatives launched. These include the clean and green cities campaign; working for water; land-care campaign; labour-intensive housing projects; the consolidated municipal infrastructure programme; rural water supply and sanitation; community-based public works programme; and income generating public works programmes.

As an example, sustainable job creation is promoted through the New Public Works Programme. It utilizes a strategic approach which changes the rules governing the provision of infrastructure by increasing labour intensity and promoting the Community Based Public Works Programme (CPBWP). Although the **Department of Public Works** drives the programme, various other departments are also engaged. The first allocation of CPBWP funds was available in 1994 and was completed in 1998 after which an evaluation took place resulting in the realignment of the CPBWP. The projects that were implemented included the provision of access roads, water provision, sanitation, community facilities (clinics, crèches, community halls, schools and other) and environmental projects. The focus of the programme is still predominantly rural with added priority given to the poverty pockets, women, youth and the disabled together with some targeted urban projects. In 1998 the RAPP 85 CPBWP started off in the Northern Province, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal. In July 1999 with the completion of the projects an investment of R20.8 million in the Northern Province resulted in a total number of labourers on all the projects of 4441. In KwaZulu Natal the investment in the projects was R23.6 million and the number of jobs created 3165. In the Eastern Cape the total budget was R27.6 million and a total of 4955 jobs have been created.<sup>103</sup>

#### *Category 4: Job creation in integrated provincial projects*

This category made provision for integrated projects to take advantage of synergies between labour-intensive community works, small business and large spatial development initiatives. The essence of this initiative is the betterment of projects that have the same aim: job-creation in an integrated fashion.

#### *Category 5: Financing*

The agreed financing mechanisms in this category, include a pledge from organized labour to contribute an equivalent of one day's output

towards job creation as well as a R1 billion contribution from the business sector. Various initiatives arising out of the Jobs Summit process have been accommodated in the budgeting process for the MTEF period 1999/00 to 2001/02

## SMME support

It is estimated that small businesses in South Africa absorb almost half the people formally employed in the private sector and contribute approximately 37% to the country GDP<sup>104</sup>. The promotion of the small-enterprise sector holds the potential for job creation and income generation, but has been greatly neglected in the past.

Government has made a concerted effort to rectify this situation and the White Paper on the National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa was published in March 1995. Since then the National Small Business Act, 1996 (Act 102 of 1996) has been enacted which made the establishment of various councils and agencies to support small businesses possible. These include the Centre for Small Business Promotion (CSBP), National Small Business Council (NSBC), Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency (Ntsika), and Khula Enterprise Finance (Khula).

Since then Business Information Centres (BICs) have been established in Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria. Ntsika have provided support through its various programmes to some 13 000 SMMEs (1998). Khula has managed in terms of support to financial intermediaries to provide some 2 800 bank branches with access to the Standard and Emerging Credit Guarantee schemes worth R50 million. In terms of retail distribution networks Khula has assisted 24 retail financial intermediaries under the capacity-building scheme (the different funds and loans that comprises the scheme has a total value of R116.5 million in 1998)<sup>105</sup>.

## Local Initiatives

Given the previous lack of national policies and programmes in terms of LED, the impact of LED could only be assessed on a local level, where localities took the initiative to address their economic future despite the absence of a national enabling framework.

Four trends have been identified in terms of LED practice in South Africa:<sup>106</sup>

1. *Community-based / small town LED initiatives* which started in the early 1990s. Examples include Stutterheim, Seymour, Balfour and Hertzog. In these instances community based and non-governmental organisations played a key role. The focus of these initiatives were on

job creation, small business promotion and providing agricultural support.

2. *Formal local government LED initiatives* which are still in their planning stages, for example the big metropolitan governments. The most advanced are Durban, Cape Town and Pretoria which have established Economic Development Units. The focus is on investment, tourism, and business support.
3. *Section 21 or Development Corporations* are identified as the third trend and examples include companies like Wesgro in the Western Cape and Middev in Midrand. The primary focus of these companies is to oversee LED initiatives.
4. *'Top down' LED initiatives*, are considered government led LED initiatives and are evident in, amongst others, the Northern Province, Mpumalanga, Western and Eastern provinces, which have a strong training component, but limited applied results to date.

Although there is generally confusion and a lack of clarity around the meaning of LED, it enjoys a widespread acceptance amongst most local stakeholders. The focus of LED structures also tends to be on poverty alleviation and the local population with little attention given to issues such as investment attraction<sup>107</sup>. It must, however, be kept in mind that the LED structures are still relatively new and although the metropolitan areas boast well established economic development units, it is much harder for the smaller settlements to address their economic future within a framework of limited financial and institutional capacity.

Of grave concern is also the limited awareness of municipalities of the different resources, subsidies and facilities that exist in various national departments to support local communities and better processes<sup>108</sup>. Access to relevant information is imperative in this regard. There is also a general lack of linkages with strategies at a provincial and national scale.

Settlements that demonstrated sustained growth in their economic development initiatives are often characterised by a small group of individuals with high levels of commitment and energy.

Although there are important reasons to assess LED projects and provide a solid basis for a learning experience (for internal and external use), international experience has shown that some problems are experienced in assessing LED programmes. The reason is that the nature of these projects implies that the most valuable outcomes are not easily discernible and usually not quantifiable. For example, the real value of giving

people the opportunity to actively participate in the economy of a local area is hard to determine. These elements are hard to measure but are central to the success of LED projects. This is one of the reasons<sup>109</sup> why the viability of LED projects are sometimes found in the wider sense of economic cost benefit analysis, rather than in strict financial terms.

In determining the success of development strategies, it is important to assess critical factors that are central to LED. These would include factors like the nature of the work force and its ability to jointly adapt to changes in the regional economy (based on the importance of labour market); the access to finance of small and medium enterprises (based on the importance of stimulating the local economy); the adaptation of people, institutions, and the built environment to the rapidly changing technology (based on the importance of the survival of a locality in the era of rapid technological change). Other factors include local government capacity and the international economic situation.

## F. Reducing environmental impact

### Assessment and management of environmental impact

Environmental impact refers to both the impact of human settlements on the environment and the impact of adverse environmental conditions on human health.

The **Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism** has several programmes that assist with assessing environmental impact. These are mainly in the form of manuals and guidelines for the implementation of *Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA)* and *Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)* and associated regulations, and information tools to assist decision-making for environmental assessment and management.

The *Environmental Potential Atlas*, providing information on terrain morphology, vegetation, resources and demographics is being developed and updated as such a tool. Other information tools are the *National State of Environment Report* and the *Cities State of the Environment Report*.

An education programme on the planning and implementation of environmental management systems, based on ISO 14 000, also forms part of DEAT's campaign for reducing environmental impact.

By increasing emphasis on environmental responsibility and management, the new government is following the global move towards environmental responsibility that has already influenced several of South Africa's largest companies to implement environmental management systems. The market place also shows a growth and improvement in quality of environmental reporting by companies. An analysis of the 1997 annual reports of the country's Top 50 companies showed that 52% reported on their impact on the natural environment, rising to 92% for those companies in perceived high environmental impact sectors. Notable exceptions to the trend of increasing disclosure were reporting on measurable environmental targets and negative performance.<sup>110</sup>

Business is increasingly making use of environmental assessment and management strategies, with certain mining and industrial activities having been required to assess and manage their environmental impact since 1989. However, the activities of human settlements have so far largely ignored their impact on the environment and very few EIAs have been done for township development. Although the new legislation does allow for the possible need for

EIAs for settlements, it is not strictly required and is at the discretion of the Minister or MEC for the Environment. In practice, EIAs have only been asked for in very sensitive areas such as Blouville in the Western Cape. The regulations that were developed also do not address environmental impact management as a life-cycle issue.

Apart from a few high-profile cases like the St. Lucia Wetlands, the effect of measures to reduce environmental impact through environmental assessment and management have been negligible and mainly concentrated on industrial development. This has resulted in housing developments that are not only bad for the environment, but are also putting their inhabitants at risk. However, the policy and legislation surrounding environmental management is still new and there is mounting pressure from environmental groups and foreign donor agencies to include environmental impact assessment and management in all aspects of human settlement development.

**Outside Durban, in the hills of KwaZulu-Natal, large-scale clearing of development sites and roads that run perpendicular to the contours has resulted in extensive loss of topsoil and soil erosion. This puts these communities at risk from mudslides in the rainy season. On the Cape Flats houses have been built on areas with a very high water table and then provided with inappropriate sanitation. During the winter rains people often end up walking ankle-deep in water contaminated with raw sewage. An environmental impact assessment and management plan would have prevented this.**

### Sustainable resource use

The **Interdepartmental Task Team on Environmentally-Efficient Housing** was established in January 1998 with the key objective of promoting energy- and water-efficient housing and productive and sustainable urban greening in the housing sector. The Task Team has produced a set of guidelines dealing with the issues of the on-site use of water, greening and energy-efficiency in low-cost housing projects. After reviewing, these guidelines will be incorporated in the Minimum Norms and Standards of the Department of Housing and will be reflected in the Housing Code due to be released in the second quarter of 1999. This programme ensures that environmental concerns are integrated into the urban housing environment, resulting in more sustainable settlements with improved quality of life. The work of the Task Team is supported by several other sectoral programmes, including the following.

## Sustainable energy use

The **Department of Minerals and Energy** is using a two-pronged approach towards sustainable energy use. The one approach is to manage demand and improve efficiency through the *Restructuring of the Electricity Distribution Sector*, establishing *South African Energy and Demand Efficiency Standards* (SAEDS) and educating the public in energy saving with the *Elektrowise* programme.

The second prong promotes the effective utilisation of renewable energy. Apart from concerning itself with the delivery of essential infrastructure such as the provision of solar power for schools and clinics, the *Non-grid Electrification Programme* also offers support consisting of setting standards, training and education, and running demonstration centres. So far 1 252 schools have been electrified off-grid and the *Rural Schools and Clinics Electrification Programme* have reached more than 2 000 communities in just over 18 months of implementation.<sup>111</sup>

There are also several independent programmes funded by foreign donors to establish best practices for energy efficiency. One of these, the Kutlwanong "Solar House" project is described below.<sup>112</sup>

### Kutlwanong Energy-Efficient Housing

The 200 'solar houses' in the planned informal settlement of Kutlwanong, Kimberley, present a true example of how energy-efficiency and housing can be integrated to provide affordable, healthy living conditions.

The houses, consisting of two bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom and toilet are fully insulated and positioned to enable the sun's energy to be converted into domestic uses for cooking, heating and lighting. Energy-efficient stoves and proper ventilation to remove the low-smoke fumes in the stoves allows the reduction of air pollution.

It is estimated that the project resulted in an energy saving of between 60% and 80% per household, and when the entire 2 300 house project has been completed, a carbon dioxide reduction of between 582 600 and 776 800 kilograms per annum can be achieved.

The project, using the R15 000 subsidy, was developed with the help of PEER Africa and is managed by community leaders.

## Water resources management

In 1994, the average water consumption in South Africa was about 210 litres per person per day. This represented an annual consumption of 77 cubic metres per person per year. The biggest

individual consumers are town dwellers connected to the mains supply. Their annual per capita consumption of around 140 cubic metres per person is seven times the amount used by a rural or informal settlement dweller with no ready access to water. Of this water, 29% is used for flushing the toilet, 19% for bathing and 14% for laundry and dishes.<sup>113</sup>

The **Department of Constitutional Development's Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP)** has provided over 3.2 million people with improved access to water and 2.7 million with access to adequate sanitation. While this improved health conditions and overall quality of life, it also increased the average annual consumption of water with almost 380 million cubic metres of water. Considering that South Africa is an arid country, if everyone has to be provided with safe, readily-accessible drinking water, consumption patterns will have to change and a communal effort made to use water efficiently.

Although water scarcity has always been an issue in South Africa, until recently government policy was supply-driven. Water management was geared towards provision of water to the approximately 12 million South Africans who still do not have access to safe water, as well as to satisfying the increasing demands of industry and growing human settlements. This supply-centred approach focused on the building of dams and projects - such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Project - that brings water from neighbouring countries. Except in times of drought, little effort was made to address consumption. Recent policy, led by the National Water Act of 1997 (which vests ownership of water in the government, to be held in trust as a national asset), has prompted a shift towards demand management and changing consumption patterns.

To educate the public and raise awareness of sustainable water use, the **Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF)** and the various Water Boards have established several *Water-wise programmes*. These include guidelines on gardening to reduce water use and an *A-Z guide on water-saving devices*. The successful *Work for Water* programme driven by DWAF provides job opportunities through the removal of alien invader species that clog up waterways and reduce the water table. The **Department of Housing's Minimum National Norms and Standards** also recommends the use of water-saving devices and designs for water supply that are in accordance with the aims of the *National Water Conservation Campaign*.

Another aspect of water resource management is quality management. DWAF is

addressing this through the *National Strategy for Managing the Effect of Settlements on Water Quality*. This strategy aims to balance the need to protect the water resource with the need to develop and service settlements in a financially sustainable way. A precautionary approach is advocated to avert or minimise the risk of impacts on the water environment, even when these impacts cannot be proven. The focus of the strategy is on large densely-populated settlements, as it is in such settlements that the biggest impact is likely to occur.

It is yet to be seen what impact this policy shift will have on the use of water in human settlement.

## Managing the waste stream

South Africa produces between 340 and 480 million tonnes of solid waste annually of which 15 million is municipal waste. This translates into an average of 0,2 – 0,8kg per person per day. Of this waste, 25% is recycled and 95% of the remainder is disposed of on land, mainly in unregulated landfill facilities.<sup>114</sup>

Past neglect in South Africa has resulted in a lack of long-term planning, information, appropriate legislation and capacity to manage the waste stream. Environmentally and socially unacceptable standards currently characterise many aspects of waste management such as illegal dumping and littering, poorly sited, designed and operated waste disposal sites and substandard or non-existent waste collection and street cleaning systems.<sup>115</sup>

Recent policy development has seen a paradigm shift towards integrated waste management based on pollution prevention, waste minimisation, integration of departments and spheres of government, and involvement of all sectors of society. This includes a shift from the Best Practical Means Principle to the Best Practical Environmental Option for waste disposal.

While the policy is too recent to have had measurable impact, it has led to several community-based projects to raise awareness of the need for waste management and its job creation potential. A number of pilot projects have also been established to test out the practicality of waste minimisation and recycling at source (see box on Benoni Local Council).

## Alleviating environmental health hazards

The main environmental health hazards in South African human settlements are respiratory diseases caused by indoor air pollution, damp and overcrowding, and diarrhoeal disease due to unsafe drinking water and lack of adequate sanitation and hygiene.<sup>116</sup>

### Recycle at source project – Benoni Local Council

The project has been designed to encourage waste separation at the source, gain participative support from generators of waste i.e. households and to effect recycling at source as opposed to recycling by sorting at the disposal site. The project has been split into two phases according to income level.

Phase 1 involves the high income areas. It covers a total of 5 000 households who are supplied with colour-coded refuse bags for collection of recyclable material. In the year since the programme was implemented, the council has had direct benefits in the form of reduced volumes of waste at landfill sites and revenue generated from selling recyclable material to recycling companies.

Phase 2, involving the low-income areas was scheduled to begin at the end of May 1999 and aims at creating job opportunities through a community-based recycling initiative.

## Air pollution

As outlined in an earlier section, respiratory tract diseases are the biggest cause of death in South Africa. Studies have shown that the use of coal and biomass fuels as a household energy source is the single most significant risk factor for respiratory tract illnesses in children living in coal-burning townships.<sup>117</sup>

The **Department of Minerals and Energy** is attempting to address the problem of indoor air pollution from two angles. Its *electrification programme* in conjunction with Eskom tries to remove the main cause of indoor air pollution, replacing coal and biomass fuels for cooking and generating heat with cleaner electricity. So far a total of over 1.5 million homes have been electrified, bringing the national electrification figure to 67%<sup>118</sup>. At the same time the *Low Smoke Coal* programme addresses the fact that many people continue to use coal instead of electricity, even if this is available, and aims to promote the provision of cleaner and affordable energy to disadvantaged communities.

Although the Medical Research Council is doing research on overcrowding and damp and the relationship with tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases, there are no government programmes dealing specifically with the health impacts of building materials and structures.

## Water and sanitation

The health implications of poor sanitation practice and facilities are enormous. Diarrhoeal diseases, intestinal infections, polio, typhoid and cholera all result from poor sanitation. It is estimated that 12% of South African children who die under the age of five do so from diseases

caused by poor sanitation and impure drinking water.<sup>119</sup>

To improve water and sanitation related health conditions in homes, the **Department of Water Affairs** has several *RDP programmes* to supply safe drinking water and sanitation and infrastructure. Many of these are done in public-private partnerships through BoTT (built, operate, train and transfer) consortia. Since 1994 over three million South Africans have benefited from improved water supply. The ambitious *Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programme* provides not only services, but also education on sanitation, health and hygiene and promote healthy practices.

However, there are concerns about the viability and sustainability of these projects. Problems with implementation, lack of capacity, lack of community participation and confusion about institutional arrangements and responsibilities have affected the majority of the water and sanitation supply programmes. In an evaluation of the CWSS by DWAF it was found that despite the vision of these programmes, environmental health and sanitation issues have been largely ignored in the housing projects evaluated.

### Sustainable land use

At first glance, it appears that South Africa is continuing its unsustainable land use patterns of the past. Peripheral development continues eating into arable land and there is an absence of guidelines for appropriate density and mixed land-use. After four years of State encouragement of compaction and integration of the city, the realities of the market place are more than ever confounding the vision of sustainable land use (as explained in the sections on Forces of Change and further discussed in Integrating the City and Region).

However, when looking at the action plan for sustainable land use suggested by the Habitat Agenda, South Africa has implemented several programmes that attempt to establish sustainable and equitable land use.

The *Development Facilitation Act* created a legal framework to facilitate the development and implementation of public plans and policies for sustainable urban development. Together with the *Integrated Development Planning* process and the *National Environmental Management Act*, a basis for sustainable land use has been created. This is supported by DEAT programmes such as the *Cleaner Production Programme*, the *Environmental Potential Atlas* and *Local Agenda 21*.

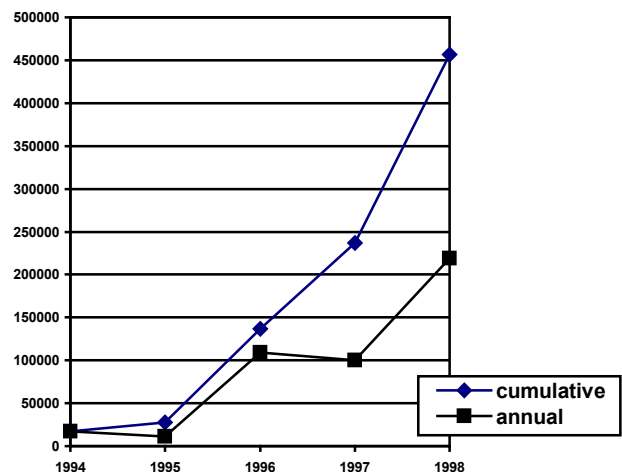
The three land programmes of the **Department of Land Affairs** (described above in

the section on the Improvement of Rural Settlements) have probably had the most significant impact on sustainable land use in rural areas.

The *Land Redistribution Programme* included the removal of legal restrictions on women's access to land, the use of procedures which promote women's active participation in decision-making and the registration of land assets in the names of beneficiary household members, not solely in the name of the household head. These measures will go a long way towards removing the gender discrimination characteristic of Customary Law<sup>120</sup>.

The impact of the Land Redistribution programme on land use is evident from the following graph, which shows the increasing areas of land being designated through the programme.

Area in hectare Designated from 1994 to 1998



### National Performance of the Land Redistribution Programme

Clearly, the criticisms around inadequate planning for the provision of social and physical infrastructure for resettled communities are relevant in determining whether land use becomes sustainable.

Longer term monitoring of impacts in rural areas, a particular strength of the Department of Land Affairs, will demonstrate whether land redistribution is leading to viable communities and sustainable land use practices.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> For example, Department of Housing, *Measures to Enhance Scale Delivery of Affordable Housing: second report of the Ministerial Task Team on short-term housing delivery* (Pretoria: Department of Housing, 1996), and Mary Tomlinson's programme assessment work: see M. R. Tomlinson, *South Africa's New Housing Policy: An Assessment of the First Two Years, 1994-96* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998).
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>3</sup> G. Clacherty and R. Adata, *Community-Based Housing: a facilitator's guide* (Johannesburg: CUSSP/ USAID, 1997).
- <sup>4</sup> Allocation figures from the Department of Housing's Housing and Urbanisation Information System, as at June 1999. These figures exclude Gauteng and the Western Cape because these provinces currently use a separate monitoring system.
- <sup>5</sup> Audit of Legislation done by the Commission on Gender Equality. 1998.  
<http://cge.org.za/docs/contents11.htm>
- <sup>6</sup> Department of Finance, *1998 Budget Review*.
- <sup>7</sup> Figures from Lawrence Musi of NHFC.
- <sup>8</sup> M. Napier and C. Meiklejohn, *Core Housing and Incremental Growth: is the vision being realised?* (Pretoria: CSIR, 1997).
- <sup>9</sup> Figures from Department of Housing and Mary Tomlinson of the Banking Council.
- <sup>10</sup> J. McCarthy, D. Hindson, and M. Oelofse, *Evaluation of Informal Settlement Upgrading and Consolidation Projects* (Johannesburg: The National Business Initiative, 1995).
- <sup>11</sup> M. Huchzermeyer, *Current Informal Settlement Intervention in South Africa: Four Case Studies of People-Driven Initiatives* (Cape Town: Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town, and CSIR, 1999).
- <sup>12</sup> Hifab International Ab., *Assessment of the South African Housing Programme. Draft report. Urban Planning and Environmental Projects, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth*. (Sweden: Hifab International Ab., 1998)
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> T. Zack, M. Oelofse, U. Beibaum, C. Heymans and B. Lipietz. *Katorus Special Presidential Project Evaluation Report*. Prepared for Department of Housing and Land Affairs, Gauteng Provincial Government. 1999.
- <sup>15</sup> Midrand MLC Public Relations Section. *Masakhane in Action: Development of Ivory Park since 1995*.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> See Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and National Housing Forum Trust, *The Relationship between the provision of housing services and the economic*

*empowerment of housing beneficiaries* (Johannesburg: draft report, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> M. R. Tomlinson, *South Africa's New Housing Policy: An Assessment of the First Two Years, 1994-96*.

<sup>19</sup> These observations based on evaluation of SIPP by T. Zack, M. Oelofse, U. Beibaum, C. Heymans, and B. Lipietz, *Katorus Special Presidential Project Evaluation Report* (Report prepared for Department of Housing and Land Affairs, Gauteng Provincial Government, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> L. Stevens, S. Marshall. M. Morrison, and S. Rule, *Upgrading Gauteng's Informal Settlements. Vol 3: First follow-up surveys at Eatonside, Albertina, Soshanguve South Ext 4 and Johandeo* (Johannesburg: Gauteng Provincial Government, Housing and Land Affairs and The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), 1998).

<sup>21</sup> Zack et al, *Katorus Special Presidential Project Evaluation Report*.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from Tom Lebert's paper "The Issue of Land in Urban Restructuring" which was an input to the Urban Sector Network's Housing Policy Workshop held on 13&14 August 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Section 3(1) (c) of the Development Facilitation Act spells out in more detail how the principle of efficient and integrated land development should be achieved.

<sup>24</sup> Report prepared for the Department of Land Affairs in January 1999 by Dr Mark Ornaje, Riette Oosthuizen and Elsona Van Huyssteen.

<sup>25</sup> Based on the assessment for the Department of Land Affairs by Dr Mark Oranje, Riette Oosthuizen and Elsona Van Huyssteen.

<sup>26</sup> This section on the Green Paper is based on a draft report by Erica Emdon produced for the CSIR in June 1999.

<sup>27</sup> There is currently no alignment between the recommendations in the Green Paper and the Systems Bill on the legal status of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The Green Paper wishes to give the spatial plans it refers to throughout the same statutory status that land development objectives used to have. This is particularly to enable decision-making bodies to be able to assess land development applications in terms of them. The Systems Bill sees the IDP as having this role. But it seems that not all of the IDP can be statutory in this sense, only the spatial component can.

<sup>28</sup> This suite of legislation includes:

**Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998** (Act 27 of 1998) which deals with the determination of boundaries and jurisdiction of local government to be finalised by the Demarcations Board and established in Provincial

Gazettes before the next local government elections.

**Local Government Municipal Structures Act, 1998** (Act 117 of 1998) which deals with the institutional arrangements, criteria, categories and types of local government as well as their powers and functions and the election system. The Structures Act clarifies the division of powers and functions regarding IDPs.

**Local Government Municipal Systems Bill** (May 1999 Draft) which deals with public participation, integrated development planning (Chapter 5), performance management, local public administration and human resources, municipal services etc. It is envisaged that this Act will set out the principles and mechanisms to achieve developmental local government as outlined in the White Paper on Local Government. "The Bill establishes a simple enabling framework for the core processes of planning, performance management, resource mobilisation and organisational change which underpin the notion of developmental local government" (Introduction to Local Government Municipal Systems Bill, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> Assessments have been conducted by the Decentralised Development Project (DDP) which is co-ordinated by the Department of Constitutional Development in conjunction with GTZ of the 21 pilot projects in seven of the nine provinces. A comprehensive and useful assessment was also conducted by the Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR) of 8 municipalities in the Western Cape. The IDPs of two KwaZulu-Natal TLCs (Vryheid and Mooiriver) and one regional council (Uthekela Regional Council) were assessed by The Planning Initiative. The IDPs of Nelsrui and Malelane in Mpumalanga province were assessed by post-graduate students supported by the German Development Institute on a study tour in South Africa.

<sup>30</sup> A qualitative study based on personal interviews in four settlements in Gauteng (settlement names not disclosed) including an upgraded informal settlement and two core housing settlements.

<sup>31</sup> P. Bond and A. Tait, 1997, "The failure of Housing Policy in Post Apartheid South Africa", *Urban Forum*, 8 (1), Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

<sup>32</sup> As Lebert (1999) argues the commitment to land reform is tempered by the concomitant constitutional protection of current rights in property (property rights clause in section 25 of the Constitution). As a result, while there is a commitment to attaining "equitable land access", this has to be achieved by means of the market (i.e. a willing seller/willing buyer approach) meaning well-located land (both rural and urban) is generally not being released either through the market or through state means.

<sup>33</sup> D. Dewar and V. Watson, 1986, *An urbanisation strategy for South Africa: An Analysis of the President's Council 1985 Report on Urbanisation*, Working Paper 35, Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

D. Dewar, 1992, "Urbanisation and the South African City: a manifesto for change", in D. Smith (ed.) *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa*, Routledge, London, 243-254.

<sup>34</sup> A. Mabin, "Dynamics of urban spatial growth (particularly 'suburbanisation') and their implications for spatial guidelines". Draft report prepared for the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit of the Office of the Executive Deputy President, Spatial Guidelines for Infrastructure Investment and Development Workshop, May 1999.

<sup>35</sup> R. Tomlinson. 1997, "Urban sprawl problem: hard nut to crack" in *Business Day*, 26 September 1997.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> The Department of Transport tends to look at all scales of densified corridors while DTI focusses on large regional development corridors often offering potential for trade with other southern African countries.

<sup>38</sup> From the Rural Development Framework, page 52. The Rural Development Framework was prepared by the Rural Development Task Team in the RDP Office and with the closure of that Office the updating of this framework is now the responsibility of the Department of Land Affairs.

<sup>39</sup> A full analysis of the House Building Programme (HBP) was conducted by Mokate et al, 1999 of the HSRC in which they undertake a statistical analysis of the HBP and highlight that there is a negative correlation between the HBP allocations and the Poverty Gap index. This means that housing spending is going to areas where the poverty gap is low.

<sup>40</sup> Hifab International Ab., *Assessment of the South African Housing Programme. Draft report. Urban Planning and Environmental Projects, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.* (Sweden: Hifab International Ab., 1998)

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> CSIR and Institute for Security Studies, *Environmental Design for Safer Communities in South Africa* (Pretoria: CSIR, 1998)

<sup>43</sup> This was the case in Soshanguve, where progressive upgrading of the settlement over a number of years led to shifting priorities in what was needed next, Stevens et al, *Upgrading Gauteng's Informal Settlements.*

<sup>44</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), *South Africa Survey 1997-1998* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1998).

<sup>45</sup> Department of Finance, *National Expenditure Survey 1998/99* (Pretoria: Department of Finance, 1999).

<sup>46</sup> R. Mokate, C. Schwabe, V. Makinta, M. O'Donovan, *Government Spending Theme Paper: The Spatial Allocation of Infrastructure and Development Spending in South Africa* (unpublished paper for Office of the Presidency, 1999).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> SAIRR, *South Africa Survey 1997-1998*.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>51</sup> Mokate et al, *Government Spending Theme Paper*.

<sup>52</sup> A. Nicodemus, 'An almost clean bill of health for new system.' Mail & Guardian, July 16 to 22, 1999. p.6-7.

<sup>53</sup> Mokate et al, *Government Spending Theme Paper*.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and National Housing Forum Trust, *The relationship between the provision of housing services and the economic empowerment of housing beneficiaries*.

<sup>57</sup> See more detail in section on Improving Access to Housing Benefits and Finance.

<sup>58</sup> Department of Housing, *Implementing the Habitat Agenda in South Africa. Report to the 17th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, Nairobi, Kenya. 5-15 May 1999*.

<sup>59</sup> SAIRR, *South Africa Survey 1997-1998*.

<sup>60</sup> Though in real terms the amount has remained the same.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> As pointed out by M. Huchzermeyer, *Current Informal Settlement Intervention in South Africa: Four Case Studies of People-Driven Initiatives*.

<sup>63</sup> Figures supplied by the Department of Housing.

<sup>64</sup> Figures are from the Housing and Urbanisation Information System (HUIS). KwaZulu-Natal was thus excluded, which also has reportedly low house sizes because of increased costs from servicing steep sites.

<sup>65</sup> Based on HUIS and studies by Don MacLeod.

<sup>66</sup> Defined in this study as more than two people per habitable room.

<sup>67</sup> M. Napier and C. Meiklejohn, *Core Housing and Incremental Growth: is the vision being realised?* (Pretoria: CSIR, 1997).

<sup>68</sup> Hifab International Ab., *Assessment of the South African Housing Programme. Draft report. Urban Planning and Environmental Projects, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth*. (Sweden: Hifab International Ab., 1998)

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Hifab International Ab., *Assessment of the South African Housing Programme* and D. MacLeod,

*Survey of subsidised housing in all nine provinces of South Africa* (report towards the proposed document on Norms and Standards in Respect of Permanent Residential Structures, 1999).

<sup>71</sup> As has happened with the Rapid Land Release Programme of the Gauteng Province.

<sup>72</sup> Not only were they labelled as "toilets in the veld", but the shack housing built by residents was seen as little better than unregulated informal settlement.

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<sup>75</sup> Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and National Housing Forum Trust, *The relationship between the provision of housing services and the economic empowerment of housing beneficiaries*.

<sup>76</sup> L. Stevens, S. Marshall, M. Morrison, and S. Rule, *Upgrading Gauteng's Informal Settlements. Vol 3: First follow-up surveys at Eatonside, Albertina, Soshanguve South Ext 4 and Johandeo* (Johannesburg: Gauteng Provincial Government, Housing and Land Affairs and Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), 1998).

<sup>77</sup> J. McCarthy et al, *Evaluation of Informal Settlement Upgrading and Consolidation Projects*.

<sup>78</sup> As seen in the Uitenhage case from M. Huchzermeyer, *Current Informal Settlement Intervention in South Africa: Four Case Studies of People-Driven Initiatives*.

<sup>79</sup> This section based on S. Thurman, 'Umzamo: improving hostel dwellers' accommodation in South Africa' (Environment and Urbanisation, Vol 9, No 2, 1997)

<sup>80</sup> G. Jaffe, *Survey of Six Social Housing Institutions for Social Housing Foundation*. (Johannesburg: report by GJM Consulting Services, 1999). This investigation showed that income earners of R2 900 and above could afford to rent this accommodation.

<sup>81</sup> A. Lungu-Mulenga, *Linking Social Housing with the Reduction of Crime in Inner-City Areas* (Pretoria: CSIR, 1999)

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<sup>84</sup> Based on evaluation by T. Zack, M. Oleofse, U. Beibaum, C. Heymans, B. and Lipietz, B., *Katorus Special Presidential Project Evaluation Report* (Report prepared for Department of Housing and Land Affairs, Gauteng Provincial Government, 1999)

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- <sup>117</sup> P. Terblanche. *Vaal Triangle Air Pollution Health Study*. Medical Research Council and CSIR. 1998.
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- <sup>120</sup> Under South African Customary Law women are regarded as perpetual minors and have no proprietary capacity. Women can only access land through their relationships with men - fathers, brothers, husbands or the deceased husband's male family. Widows who had married under customary law cannot inherit and automatically fall under the guardianship of their husband's heir along with the movable and immovable matrimonial property, regardless of any financial contribution they may have made to the accrual of such property. A widow has no right to remain on the land she enjoyed during her marriage. Divorced and unmarried women have no tenure or inheritance rights to land.

## 6 Conclusion

### The state of human settlements

South African human settlements face a particular set of challenges after the first five years of democratic government intervention. From this review it is clear that the characteristic qualities of the built environment resulting from the many years of segregationist and apartheid planning are, in many cases, unmitigated. However, increasing numbers of households and communities are benefiting from the many State programmes that are delivering a variety of housing opportunities. The cumulative spatial impact of the many interventions will become more evident within the next decade, particularly if the potentials of programmes to achieve higher order aims, such as poverty alleviation, settlement integration and environmental sustainability, are strengthened.

While it is difficult to make general observations across the variety of regions and settlements in the country, there are typical settlement types, as identified in the typology, where inhabitants are experiencing certain sets of challenges. Although national policy should not determine the exact local outcomes of programmes, the need to review policy makes it necessary to try to identify these broad trends.

### Inner city high density housing

*Inner city high rise* areas face the particular challenges of national and international immigration, high levels of crime and violence, resultant displacement of people, and deterioration and overcrowding of housing stock. At the same time they offer the opportunities of strong (if ageing) physical infrastructure, access to social and commercial amenities, a thriving informal market, and high density forms of housing. Efforts to stimulate the formation of social housing are beginning to take effect. While not usually able to address the needs of the poorest sector, social housing is providing improved housing for inner city residents and has the potential to achieve urban regeneration and contribute to reductions in many types of crime.

Obstacles that are still limiting delivery are the legislative and institutional support necessary to form sufficient numbers of tenant and support groups to administer the housing. Many other local urban initiatives, which have not been documented in this report, are supporting the revitalisation of inner city areas.

The impact of interventions on the range of inhabitants of inner city areas should be better monitored, particularly the effects of interventions on more vulnerable groups such as sub-tenants and homeless adults and children.

### Suburbs

Although government intervention at a national level is not aimed at the sprawling, low-density *suburbs*, they form an important part of the urban fabric. While residents are more susceptible to the fear of crime than to actual victimisation, levels of crime and violence are leading to higher levels of fortification and economic segregation. This also has the impact of deterring the development of low-cost housing in the vicinity of suburbs because of existing patterns of land ownership and reactions of powerful lobby groups resident in suburbs. This situation needs to be addressed strategically. The growth of opportunities for the creation of home-based enterprises is enhanced by the spread of new information technologies. A number of pressures are also leading to the 'suburbanisation' of many traditionally inner city commercial amenities.

Despite the negative impacts and qualities of many suburbs, the positive role that this settlement form can play in terms of supplying a strong tax base for cities and towns has been recognized. Although more sustainable forms of suburban development should be promoted, the productive capacity of these areas needs to be supported, and the utilisation of the strong infrastructure developed needs to be optimised.

### New and existing townships

The most common types of settlements to be formed under current policy are *new formal townships* in urban areas. The challenges facing occupants mainly derive from problems and opportunities that accompany movement to a new settlement. For the new, smaller, mainly nuclear families who have moved in many cases from backyard shacks and freestanding informal settlements, issues such as initial lack of space, privacy, and basic levels of service are a problem. New service and rates payments can be onerous, or not yet be part of budgeting practices. This can lead to selling on of government benefit in a few cases. Levels of access to social facilities such as schools, clinics, crèches and recreation amenities may be low. Transport routes to employment areas may not have been properly established because of peripheral location or unsurfaced roads. Social networks to deal with many of the problems arising

would not yet have been built up. The limited range of incomes of people living in the new neighbourhood may mean that local services such as spaza shops are slow to be established. Access to micro-loans to consolidate housing can be difficult and an efficient building material supply market may not yet have been developed.

On the other hand, for the first time many households in new formal housing have security of tenure in an urban area. There is the freedom to extend houses and many people consolidate quickly by building extra space or upgrading services. There is the opportunity to establish home-based enterprises, supported by basic levels of service (particularly electricity) and ironically enhanced by the general lack of formal commercial outlets in peripheral locations. Participation in decision-making through community representatives and local politicians is often an ongoing feature as a result of consultation forums developed during the construction phase. Above all, a secure place in the urban economy (even if only peripheral to that economy) has been established.

There may be cause for concern in cases where the local economy is not robust enough to support livelihoods, a situation that appears to be developing as settlements grow on the fringes of some small towns.

As the land restitution process begins to deliver, there will be a growing number of people returning to land from which they were dispossessed, along with advantages of location and historical identification that this should bring with it.

As restrictive legislation has been removed and investment by various government departments improves access to amenities, the *traditional townships* built in the 1950s and 1960s are beginning to emerge from their status as merely dormitory suburbs of the city. Certainly conditions in traditional townships vary considerably from place to place, but where authorities respond well to land development objectives developed by communities, and as new settlements are created in the artificial spaces left by apartheid planning, townships are beginning to be integrated back into the city. As such some townships qualify for the sought after, if dubious, distinction of being labelled 'suburbs'. The role of local transport and development corridors hold out particular hope in this regard.

Residents of much hostel accommodation still suffer the effects of alienation from surrounding township areas, overcrowded living conditions and the stigma that can go with living in hostels. There are, however, good examples of where these limitations have been overcome.

The accommodation provided by backyard shacks in township areas both to renters and to members of households continues to play an important role even as some households move to new areas. Support by local authorities and financial institutions for the consolidation of such accommodation is still weak. The potential to improve and increase housing stock by this means has generally not been recognised as an opportunity either in older townships or in new townships where extra space is key to improvement in quality of life. Some micro-finance products are being tailored for this market and need to be offered as widely as possible, along with the improvement of the skills and capacities of informal builders.

## Urban informal settlements

*Informal settlements*, mostly located on the distant fringes of cities and towns, remain a characteristic of the South African built landscape. Although there are some signs that the high levels of government investment in the first five years are having an impact on reducing levels of informal settlement, it is likely to remain, and possibly to grow in the future, as need outstrips production.

The forces of change evident in informal settlements are the continuation of urbanisation to large cities in some provinces, with a new dynamic in the movement of rural households to small towns, the growth of unemployment, the growth of small enterprises, many of them based in the home, and the continued pressure from movement out of overcrowded traditional townships. Land invasions are still a fairly common form of settlement formation process, motivated by various reasons, including attempts to access State housing benefits more quickly.

In this context, particularly in the last five years, national policy commentary and local authority attitudes and capacity have meant that the opportunities for informal settlement upgrading have often been overlooked, and resettlement to new housing has become the norm. In the initial drive towards the production of houses to address large backlogs, this was understandable. However, as land becomes scarcer and the infill potentials of regularising smaller informal settlements are recognised, it would be preferable for the State to more sensitively support informal settlement residents, many of whom have built strong social networks. If this becomes the case, then appropriate subsidy mechanisms and local authority capacity will need to be built to better support upgrading. The learning coming out of the approaches to settlement improvement being developed under the People's Housing Process projects, as well as alternative tenure arrangements made possible under the social

housing mechanisms, are particularly pertinent for the formulation of sensitive interventions in this area.

## Displaced urban areas

Displaced urban areas continue to suffer the effects of tenuous links to the core. In the absence of opportunities in the vicinity, many people survive off remittances sent from urban areas and State welfare (in the form of pensions etc.), along with dependence on subsistence agriculture. In the South African context, the strategy of splitting households between several locations remains important, and many urban dwellers choose to maintain rural links. Although this varies from place to place, it impacts on the continuation of this inherited set of settlement forms.

As a result, displaced urban areas remain a reality, as the inertia of location and social networks militate against movement towards what planners and politicians consider to be preferable opportunities elsewhere. Problems with insecure tenure continue to block the flow of some types of government benefit (e.g. the housing subsidy) to such areas, combined with uneasiness on the part of officials and planners about their economic and environmental sustainability.

However, displaced urban areas represent a social need for people who have been particularly disadvantaged by the previous political system. Indications are that many residents are opting to remain where they are. As such a welfare approach suggests that there should be more investment in such areas, but a strategic view of regional development may favour some settlements over others.

## Rural settlements

This investigation has not reviewed the full range of rural settlements types. This is because different development frameworks formulated by different government departments continue to control certain aspects of urban and rural development separately. Given the very different challenges faced by urban and rural settlements, and therefore the different developmental approaches that are required for intervention by government departments, there is a strong argument for maintaining this separation, at least in terms of the design and implementation of programmes.

However, if, as suggested below, rural and urban investment become more co-ordinated, then the whole system of human settlements in the country should at least be *reviewed* together so that the combined impact of State actions in different regions can be measured, and an urbanisation strategy developed.

Residents of rural settlements, supported by land tenure reform programmes, in many cases enjoy new access to agricultural land and a means of rural livelihood. It normally represents a significant improvement in circumstances, particularly of tenure rights, in a context where unjust land ownership patterns have dominated. In some cases, resettlement to new land, has also meant difficulty in accessing schools and clinics, and very basic levels of service. Added effort is being made to integrate the planning and predict the environmental impacts of such settlements .

## Key tensions

The impact of national policies and programmes on the state of human settlements, along with the crucial roles that all other levels of government as well as civil society have played, has been considerable. Although many forces for change place added pressure on inhabitants of human settlements, and can frustrate the visions of policy, there is real hope for the achievement of sustainable human settlement development.

For this to happen, a number of key tensions that arise out of existing policy and its implementation will need to be resolved. Working from the broad issues to the local issues, some of the limitations of policies can best be expressed as conflicts or opposites. Some tensions are inevitable, and are indicative of a balance that needs to be struck, but others may be resolved through clearer national policy or more focused mechanisms. The key tensions are:

- the drive towards compaction of cities through high-density forms of housing versus support for people living in the existing low-density, sprawling settlements (which represent a sensitive system of people whose survival strategies have been built over many years);
- reduction of environmental impact versus delivery of an affordable product or service (measures to control environmental impact are noticeably absent from many development processes, but are perceived as adding extra cost that cannot be sustained);
- the basic needs approach versus a market-oriented approach (should the original spirit of the Reconstruction and Development Programme be more significant in the conceptualisation of human settlements development than the drive for economic growth in a globalising market?);
- the existing location of need versus strategic views of ideal location deriving from regional planning initiatives (to which areas, nationally

and locally, should infrastructural investment be spatially directed<sup>1?</sup>);

- property rights versus land for urban restructuring (land ownership patterns and reactions from existing residents often impede the good location of new settlements: whose needs should be catered to?);
- quality versus quantity (the number of people benefiting needs to be balanced against the quality of housing and settlements that are being produced);
- targeting of the poorest versus cost recovery for services (effective targeting implies that the poorest, who are the least able to afford service payments, are those who should benefit most);
- community participation versus quick delivery (what degree of consultation is acceptable given the aim of efficient delivery to as many beneficiaries as possible?);
- broad initiatives versus individual projects (large scale integrative programmes such as SIPPs can help to attain higher level goals but smaller projects can cater for special needs and improve urban areas at a finer grain);
- additional investment to achieve goals such as integration versus the principle of equity (should all have access to an equal subsidy or should additional resources be made available in certain circumstances?).

There are many conflicts that arise at all levels and not all can be listed. However, these have emerged as significant in the policies and programmes reviewed in this study. Each issue needs to be debated and some level of resolution attained (see Recommendations below).

## Strengths and successes

**A** *dequate shelter* for all has been an aim of the current government from the outset. **Levels of delivery**, which are in themselves an expression of a level of co-ordination between the range of line departments responsible for human settlement development, are an important area of success. Although backlogs remain high, with at least 1.45 million units being required, if production levels of 200,000 houses per year can be sustained, and be made more responsive to the needs of specific communities, then there is a real prospect that the scale of the need can be reduced.

The levels of production attained should be seen in the context of low levels of economic growth during the period under review. A strength seems to have been that the individual household

subsidy is a known quantity (both for developers and recipients) and is thus seen to be equitable and relatively easy to manage. Certainly attention to quality issues and further co-ordination of location of settlements are required, but many people have been reached through government programmes.

Another strength is that **many different housing outcomes** can potentially be supported under the present system, from support for individual households, to support for institutions establishing social housing. The building of **institutions to deliver** has also been successful, both at a national and a local level. However, some forms of housing delivery are better supported than others and further institution building is needed in some areas.

National policies and programmes have made **significant impact** on human settlements within the last five years. Close to a million urban households have been housed or have a real prospect of being housed. Many more households in rural areas have gained access to land for the first time. Security of tenure and access to basic levels of service open up extensive opportunities for the households and communities that have benefited.

The **development of new policies**, programmes, legislation and institutions has been the main area of attention by government during this period. Given the state of legislation at the close of the apartheid era, an impressive array of policies and mechanisms now exists. As has been demonstrated, the policies show fundamental commitment to many of the tenets of the Habitat Agenda, as well as to other international statements of principle. It is in the implementation and realisation of these ideals that much work still needs to be done.

A strength of policy, but more of programmes, is that they have remained **flexible and responsive** to developments in the housing and other sectors. By creating mechanisms to address particular problems, the policy has become workable. This has paid off as levels of housing, land and infrastructure delivery increased phenomenally during the second half of the 1994-1998 period.

The co-ordination of bulk infrastructure provision has been successful during this period. With the incorporation of **integrated development planning** into legislation and the emergence of **spatial development initiatives**, the energies of the departments responsible for social and physical infrastructure can now be channelled more effectively to meet real needs and to achieve higher-order spatial and economic goals.

The development of **financial mechanisms** outside of government has seen progress, with a number of new micro-financing products being established. These are particularly important for the stimulation of the housing sector, and the ongoing participation of households in the consolidation process.

Generally speaking, the **level of consultation and participation** in planning and development processes has been high. Most processes have civil engagement built into them, and although improvements can be made in the efficiency of consultation processes, the integration of this aspect is a positive quality of most policies, programmes and projects.

## Weaknesses and gaps

Inevitably there are limitations to the effectiveness of policy when it is implemented 'on the ground'. Some of these limitations arise out of the tensions listed above, and some of them arise out of weaknesses or gaps in policy itself, or lack of capacity to implement it. Without trying to identify the specific causes of each problem (because many of them are complex, are the result of the actions of many role players, and require individual analysis and treatment), the following issues represent limitations in the success of current policy.

Both rural and urban settlements developed under the human settlement programmes of government continue to be marginal, either being spatially peripheral or lacking bearing capacity for the communities occupying the land. As a result, sustainable human settlements are not always being created. More attention to **the spatial logic of the location of settlements** (both in planning new settlements and in deciding when to support existing settlements) is needed.

Generally low levels of **access to the range of social and commercial amenities** implies that much greater co-ordination between departments is required. A more holistic approach to the development of complete settlements would solve many of the problems of access to facilities.

**Institutional capacity** has been developed at many levels, but delivery in some areas needs to be strengthened, particularly the opportunities for alternative tenure through social housing, rural housing where appropriate, support for self-help through the People's Housing Process, and the upgrading of informal settlements. Many new programmes, such as the integrated development planning process, and environmental legislation, assume a high level of local government capacity in areas in which they have not traditionally operated. Unless new initiatives are coupled with

institutional capacity building, their high ideals are not likely to be realised. Certainly creative partnership arrangements are going to be increasingly important as local authorities are expected to implement growing volumes of policy directives.

The **sustainability of programmes** and of local authorities generally are a problem. If levels of service payment remain low, and this is combined with low maintenance levels of public assets (including roads, schools, health facilities) and staffing problems in social facilities, then the improvement of physical and social infrastructure seen in the last five years will not be sustained.

**Support for post-occupancy housing development** has received little attention. Formal support for development usually ceases when the construction process is completed. Exceptions to this are where NGOs and CBOs are involved, or where skills are transferred to beneficiaries. If consolidation is supported, whether by government or other agencies, then the approach of reaching adequate shelter through an incremental development process will be more sustainable.

The **quality of on-site design and settlement level design** has been weak. In maximising a limited subsidy, the inclusion of a higher quality of design at an early stage would improve benefits to residents. Investment in the public realm of settlements is particularly in need of attention. New ideas for the enhancement of the public realm are originating from the Local Agenda 21 process.

There are varying levels of awareness and understanding of the need for **local economic development** in the programmes of government. Most processes have attempted to maximise job creation and poverty alleviation impacts, but a more systematic application of LED principles is needed. By addressing economic issues, it is possible that the limitations posed by the current low levels of service payment will also be addressed.

The same is true of **environmental measures** to limit detrimental impact. Awareness is only beginning to be developed in this area and the institutional mechanisms to ensure its application are still being formed. Many issues need to be resolved including the roles and sources of funding for the implementation of environmental measures.

There is still inadequate understanding of the **social and economic impact of government policies**. Evidence on the impact of both the land and housing programmes suggests that artificial communities are being formed with certain economic and social characteristics (e.g. nuclear

families with similar incomes). More needs to be understood about the long term viability of such communities (see Monitoring Impact Indicators below).

Another limitation is that while the **individual household subsidy** is manageable and effective at targeting need, it places the focus on the individual house. In many cases, a less individualised intervention is required that focuses rather on collective infrastructure, facilities and upliftment programmes.

While **levels of participation** are a strength, the roles of various participants need to be more carefully defined to make the process both more efficient and more fulfilling for those involved. While the **empowerment of women** is on some agendas, and shows signs of success in some areas, it can still be further supported, particularly in the more structural arenas such as legislation and traditional practice. Attention to **the needs of vulnerable groups**, while provided for in policy, is inadequately monitored.

## Broad policy recommendations

Many new policy initiatives are already in progress. Detailed issues have been dealt with in the body of the report. In making broad suggestions for future directions in policy, we are aware that many issues are already being addressed (see Responses below). Many of the recommendations are linked to resolving the key tensions outlined above. The final two, more detailed recommendations, are a direct output of this investigation, namely, revisiting the Urban Development Framework, and monitoring impact indicators. There is a housing focus or bias to the recommendations in that this is where more evidence has been reviewed for this investigation. Each department has processes of internal review which are more specific to their programmes. However, many of these issues will require concerted action across government departments.

These recommendations are offered for discussion and debate, rather than as final proposals.

### 1. *Keep to the fundamentals of current policy and continue to address efficiency in implementation*

The most important issue seems to be the need to build on current strengths and successes, not losing the momentum that has been built in the last five years, but at the same time optimising beneficial impacts.

Early on in the period under review, it appeared that the household subsidy approach was not going to deliver the numbers of housing opportunities that were needed to address backlogs. But by continuing to address blockages in the system (based on focused assessments of the problems at the time), the delivery process has shown results.

Many of the policies reviewed have only been introduced late in the current period and so have not yet shown impact. Some of the limitations outlined above, such as marginal location of settlements, are essentially a result of it being too early to see the effects of new co-ordinated planning mechanisms.

### 2. *Build the capacity of local authorities to deliver*

The locus of most activity is the local authority, along with a range of supporting civil organisations. National policy can accurately reflect the most advanced global thinking but without the capacity to deliver at a local level, it is almost meaningless. Support by provincial and national government of local initiatives is key to the achievement of the principles of policy. The framing of policy in a realistic way, with due consideration to limitations in capacity, is also essential if the visions and targets of policy are to be realised.

### 3. *Pay attention to quality but maintain the spread of benefits*

The principle of supporting fiscal sustainability through the wide spread of government benefits is a sound one. While some forms of housing delivery may require supplementary support to achieve the stated objectives, much more can be achieved within the current framework.

As already mentioned, the quality of the built and natural environments in new, subsidised settlements and existing unassisted settlements needs to be improved at many levels. The issue of who bears the cost of greater professional involvement needs to be balanced against the costs of the ongoing impacts of the lack of design input. Certainly guidelines for better settlements design have been developed, incentives can be put in place and best practices can be established.

The continuation of the monitoring of the allocation of subsidies is important. Gender equity in allocation is crucial, along with a wider enhancement of the role and status of women to ensure greater participation in, and access to, the housing industry. The capacity of woman to contract needs to be re-examined, as the inherent gender bias in the market is yet to be overcome.

#### 4. *Limiting 'leakage'*

Indications are that government benefits have in most cases reached their targeted beneficiaries. As the programmes of government designed to aid the poor become more entrenched, they also inevitably become more open to abuse. This can be at programme or at project level. If a wider programme of impact monitoring is put in place, as discussed below, then part of its role can be to monitor leakage of subsidy funds. This is common practice in many sectors, and forms part of accountability to the wider civil society.

#### 5. *Prioritise the achievement of broad development objectives*

The Urban Development Framework, the Rural Development Framework and Habitat Agenda, as well as many State policies, all contain goals and visions that need to be attained if broader development objectives are to be met. However, it has been said that the housing subsidy and the matching rural subsidies, on their own, are "too blunt an instrument" to achieve all of the higher level goals of policy<sup>2</sup>.

In some cases, large projects like SIPPs are more effective at achieving higher order goals and integration, particularly in cases where urban areas are extraordinarily dysfunctional.

But in many cases, higher order goals will need to be prioritised. Where physical impact is a particular issue because of a sensitive environment, then reducing environmental impact will need to be prioritised above other goals. Having said this, a base level of environmental measures needs to be implemented in all projects.

Where development on well-located land is practically and historically important, such as Cato Manor in Durban and District Six in Cape Town, then additional resources have been brought in to support such developments. But better location needs to be addressed on a broader level that confronts issues of patterns of land ownership and the often-cited vagaries of the land market. Land release strategies are key in this area, if cities and regions are to be integrated.

Practically, many projects and programmes allow for this prioritisation of objectives. However, guidelines on prioritisation need to be clearer and based on sound information (e.g. databases and registers of land ownership, environmentally-sensitive areas, high crime areas and the like) so that interventions can be properly focused. The local and provincial integrated development planning processes, and national exercises that determine regional priorities, will need to supply much of the guidance needed to make local level decisions.

#### 6. *Make the subsidy more responsive and support area-based interventions*

The impact of the individually-focused subsidy needs to be carefully monitored. This is a fundamental part of current policy that might be reviewed. Bringing together many departmental forms of assistance into sustainable human settlements that house viable communities has proven difficult (other than in developer-driven processes which have their own limitations). This is witnessed by the lack of intervention through informal settlement upgrading and the artificial communities formed in 'agrivillages' as households group together to access benefit. Even the practice of forming 'false' households with dependents in order to access the subsidy is evidence that the current structure imposes certain restrictions, and contains 'subtle exclusions'.

If more effective and responsive settlement level interventions are to be supported by policy, then a case could be made for a more area-based approach in some situations. This could be supported through a different form of subsidy such as an area-based grant for informal settlement upgrading<sup>3</sup>.

Ways to focus supplementary forms of funding into the improvement of human settlements, such as the Local Agenda 21 pilot projects, should also be supported and co-ordinated.

Despite the call for large, integrated projects, space should also be made for a multiplicity of local projects which can benefit from the participation of appropriate support organisations. The roles of non-government organisations and community-based organisations need to be recognised and enhanced.

There has been much discussion of whether the household subsidy should be split into different parts, some going directly to the household, for the house, and other parts being used for servicing or other communal facilities. The part of the subsidy used for servicing sites has already been limited to a specified maximum amount thus ensuring that a level of investment in the top structure is preserved. The partition or splitting of the subsidy would resolve conflicts that are common when stakeholders negotiate levels of public amenity as against levels of personal benefit.

The danger to guard against is that in achieving this, the planning and design process does not become even more fragmented. The limitations in the quality of house design and settlement layout can be traced to lack of adequate design input as well as to a lack of co-ordination between levels of design (not to mention lack of funding for the public realm). A further partitioning

may have the effect of exacerbating this problem unless settlement design is somehow enhanced and supported.

### *7. Strengthen post-occupancy support*

Post-occupancy support should also be strengthened through the building of the capacity of local authorities to enable extensions and home-based enterprises, the stimulation of building material supply markets and small builder activities, and improving the availability of small loans. The attainment of adequate shelter in terms of space and privacy is dependent on this in the long term.

### *8. Strengthen environmental measures*

Environmental measures within human settlement development remain weak in the South African context. The impacts of changes to the built environment for residential developments are rarely predicted. Environmental measures that have been legislated at higher levels have not yet been institutionalised at a local level. Many challenges need to be confronted if environmental criteria are to have effect at project level, but there is a growing awareness that it is an imperative part of project planning, implementation and indeed of settlement management.

### *9. Make provision for a gradual shift to a demand-led housing policy*

Finally, taking a longer term perspective, it is possible that current levels of State support for human settlement improvement will not be sustained indefinitely. This is not to downplay the crucial importance of current levels of investment, particularly as they are effectively addressing the imbalances and shortfalls inherited from the previous regime.

Once the major backlogs have been reduced, it may be strategic to start to make provision for a gradual movement towards a more demand-oriented housing policy where effective demand for housing assumes a greater importance. This is a departure from the predominantly needs-based approach that has been applied across many government departments to date. However, with general world trends away from high levels of subsidy, it may be wise to begin to make a transition of this type, or at least to open the issues to debate. Ongoing problems around the payment for services may also be alleviated.

In the meantime, if the subsidy can be linked to other sources of funding, with some contribution from recipient households, then this transition would be smoother in the longer term.

## Responses

**B**ecause this has been a review of the last five years, many of the issues raised have already been noted by government, and responses framed. New mechanisms have been formed and their impact is yet to be felt<sup>4</sup>.

A second Housing White Paper will put in place a range of measures that seek to enhance current policy. The Department of Housing has also outlined its visions and priorities for the next five year period<sup>5</sup>. A more 'differentiated' approach to housing will be introduced which measures needs more carefully and allows the funding of initiatives to meet those needs, thus enabling the achievement of higher level goals such as urban regeneration, as well as creating a greater variety of housing options. Attention will be given to achieving a better quality of housing and of the built environment through integrated and co-ordinated development.

Housing subsidies will be extended to rural areas. Support for social housing will be strengthened. The upgrading of informal settlements will be sanctioned. Rental policies and programmes will be put in place.

The efficiency of housing delivery systems will be improved and processing of applications streamlined. The subsidy is likely to be used to mobilise household savings, and gear other resources from within communities and the private sector. More transparent procurement processes will be established. The location of new settlements will be determined more by local authority planning processes than by land available to developers.

New institutional arrangements such as public-private partnerships will be fostered for infrastructure development. Large, integrated projects will continue to be supported including presidential projects on urban renewal, a national pilot project on housing tabled at the Job Summit, and the support of urban corridors for the creation of high-density housing.

Other joint initiatives between the Department of Housing and the Department of Land Affairs are being designed to investigate the gaps in current land policy and the constraints on the delivery of land for housing, with a view to developing housing land policy interventions.

There are many initiatives which cannot be documented because they are nascent and have not yet been expressed in the form of policies or programmes. It is clear that the next cycle of government intervention has already been set in motion and that it is responsive to evidence of the impact of the first policies.

## Revisiting the Urban Development Framework

The four key programmes of the Urban Development Framework have been used as a basis to assess the programmes of government. As a policy guideline that frames an urban development policy it is an important document for adding substance to the basic aims of other human settlement investment programmes. The goals and visions contained in the Framework and in the Rural Development Framework are the 'higher order' goals referred to already. As an expression of these higher order goals, such frameworks are essential to bring focus to the basic goals of policy. For example, in achieving housing for all, many other objectives can be attained. But as already pointed out, not all goals can be achieved simultaneously, and prioritisation is necessary.

The four key programmes of the Urban Development Framework were:

- *creating institutions for delivery,*
- *integrating the city,*
- *improving housing and infrastructure, and*
- *promoting urban economic development.*

This investigation has already suggested that one programme be extended to become '*integrating the city and region*' so that a regional perspective on the location of investment relative to strategic development initiatives can be encompassed.

Secondly, it has been suggested that two new programmes be considered:

1. '*managing settlements and cities*' would consider broad urban management issues, good governance and building democracy, improving the safety and security of settlements, environmental management, prevention and responses to disasters, and performance management. Issues such as water demand management and operation and maintenance of services would also be included;
2. '*reducing environmental impact*' would be introduced as a cross-cutting initiative to focus attention on the need to develop this area. It would include at least the introduction of the assessment of environmental impact of settlement interventions, and measures to ensure sustainable resource use.

Eventually the environmental issues would become integral parts of the other key programmes. But as long as there needs to be

better understanding and awareness of the subjects, a special programme should be developed to stimulate new initiatives.

Given that the intention is to revisit the Urban Development Framework regularly, what should a new framework formulation process involve?

Serious consideration should be given as to whether a *national development framework* should be devised. It is becoming increasingly evident that if such dynamics as urbanisation, competitiveness in a global market, and regional investment initiatives are to be strategically managed, then a national view is required. For prioritisation of investment and a proper understanding of the impact of policies on the whole human settlement system, a higher order of analysis is required. In this respect, the total separation of urban and rural issues is a false one.

However, a national development framework would not necessarily replace the urban and the rural development frameworks. The special demands of each area should still be addressed in detail so that interventions can be designed to improve situations. In fact, the resolution and possible separation of responsibilities of line departments for urban and rural areas would go a long way to helping create and maintain clearer policies and strategies applicable to the different situations. Nevertheless urban and rural frameworks would still need to take certain broad imperatives from a national document.

A revision of the Urban Development Framework would be productive if it reviewed the relevance of its visions, goals and programmes in the light of evidence emerging from a series of strategic studies currently underway<sup>6</sup>. A broad forum to discuss the outcomes of these studies would be a productive exercise in reviewing the myriad of interventions that have taken place in all sectors.

It would be particularly useful if the programmes of the Urban Development Framework could be set up as a framework for ongoing monitoring. In other words, the objectives inherent in the newly-formulated key programmes should be stated in such a way that they could be matched and measured using performance indicators. This would link to the suggested monitoring and evaluation framework.

## Monitoring Impact Indicators

Many government policy documents acknowledge the need for the monitoring and evaluation of their policies. It is important to be able to gauge whether well-

intentioned policies are achieving what they set out to achieve. Many departments have strong monitoring mechanisms that effectively inform the review of policy and programmes.

The Department of Housing has put in place the Housing and Urbanisation Information System (HUIS) which draws data from the subsidy registration process and other sources such as census data and an annual household survey, namely the October Household Survey. The initiative is in line with the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements Indicators Programme.

Much useful information can be drawn from this system, some of which has been used in this investigation, and coverage will improve once all provinces are incorporated. The existing indicators are listed in Appendix B. These indicators effectively measure the targeting of subsidy allocations (in terms of gender, income and ethnicity), levels of connection to infrastructure, and some qualities of the housing product.

The HUIS system as it stands needs to be enhanced in the areas of process indicators and impact indicators. Firstly, a strategic decision will need to be made on whether projects are to be monitored in terms of their efficiencies and benefits (which could mean capturing information at a project level onto the HUIS system or conducting samples in the form of project evaluations). If this were done, much important data could be gathered, including the numbers of jobs created in each project.

Two simple, but crucial, indicators which serve as useful measures of impact and ongoing performance of housing are *floor area per person* (measured in square metres) and *number of adults and children per habitable room*. Given that the number of household members is recorded for each subsidy, if sizes of houses and numbers of rooms were more accurately captured, then this information would be easily captured.

Also more accurate recording of project names, housing types being built and distances from the nearest town or city centre for each project would add valuable information about location and the settlement types being supported<sup>7</sup>. Appendix C contains some suggestions of ways to enhance the use of the HUIS system by incorporating new levels of information.

In addition to developing some new information for the HUIS system, tables of results should be more regularly extracted and disseminated. More creative interpretation of the data would result in more value being extracted from the system, given the addition of a few more key indicators (such as space and location).

Secondly, a decision should be made on whether to measure longer term impacts on residents through *post-occupancy evaluations*. Methods to evaluate projects are well-established and settlement level information gathered soon after occupation, and then at subsequent times, can supply invaluable information about the long term impact of policy. More general social and economic information is gathered through the census and other surveys, and so general improvement or deterioration in quality of life in different regions can be monitored. However, this often cannot be linked to policy interventions. The value of initiating a more directed monitoring programme is that the realisation of the specific objectives of policies and programmes can be measured. Another possibility that has been mooted is a *housing census* that would measure conditions over a broad range of settlement types.

The collection of all of these types of information could either be done by commissioning studies of a sample of settlements at regular intervals, or it could be done less formally by establishing and disseminating good practices for project evaluations and then creating a central repository for that information. Joint ventures involving tertiary organisations, NGOs and CBOs in the gathering of data would increase knowledge about policy impacts substantially. A *forum for human settlement research* would be able to identify gaps in knowledge and then focus foreign and local research funding to commission new studies.

The co-ordinated application of impact assessments and the strengthening of the HUIS system would mean that the state of human settlements could be more accurately ascertained in future.

The achievement of policy visions such as those outlined in the Urban Development Framework will ultimately be contingent upon policies and programmes remaining flexible and responsive, particularly to information coming out of monitoring and evaluation exercises.

## The Habitat Agenda

The starting point for this investigation was the Habitat Agenda. There is little doubt that the Habitat Agenda has influenced the South African policy debate. As an interpretation of the Habitat Agenda, the Urban Development Framework contains the same key elements as they apply to the particular challenges of the local context.

The ultimate objectives expressed in the themes, 'adequate shelter for all' and 'sustainable human settlement development in an urbanising world' find resonance in the South African

environment. Policy statements from many departments show dedication to the range of principles expressed in the Habitat Agenda.

However, with the level of need that existed in the country at the close of the apartheid era, the focus of programmes has probably been more towards attaining adequate shelter for all, with less emphasis on the issues of sustainability. As the impacts of policies have been discussed, there are clearly areas that need to be enhanced. But as government goes into its second term of office, many lessons have been learnt and are evident in the adjustments being made to policy and programmes.

The continued monitoring of progress against these measures will show whether the State is indeed effectively enabling housing for all in a sustainable manner.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> This issue is being dealt with comprehensively by the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit (CIU) of the Office of the Presidency in their study of "The Spatial Implications of Development and Infrastructure Programmes".

<sup>2</sup> Mary Tomlinson, Urban Sector Network Conference, 13-14 August 1999.

<sup>3</sup> As suggested by M. Huchzermeyer, *Current Informal Settlement Intervention in South Africa: Four Case Studies of People-Driven Initiatives* (Cape Town: Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town, and CSIR, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> For example, the National Home Builder's Registration Council has already begun to address issues around the quality of construction of new houses.

<sup>5</sup> Media briefing by the Minister of Housing, Cape Town, 29 June 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Including this study, the 'Spatial Implications of Development and Infrastructure Programmes' by the CIU, the Department of Finance study on infrastructure investment, the National State of the Environment Report, the State of Population Development Report, the study on the spatial implications of Department of Trade and Industry policy, the evaluation of the Co-ordinated Municipal Infrastructure Programme, the results of evaluations of Integrated Development Plans in local authorities and the setting of Land Development Objectives, further work by the Development Planning Commission, the Tourism Infrastructure Review, and the like (list courtesy of the CIU).

<sup>7</sup> A reference to project location that could be recorded on a GIS database would be ideal.

## *Glossary and Acronyms*

*Note: many of the names of government departments and working groups have changed since the second election. Because this is a review of the 1994-1998 period, names have been left as they were during this period.*

### *Biodiversity*

In the context of this document refers to the wide variety of species both plant and animal in current existence.

### *Biomass*

Total quantity/number or weight of organisms in a given area.

### *Biophysical*

In the context of this document refers to climate and other natural occurrences such as land, water etc.

### *BOTT*

Build, Operate, Train, Transfer

### *Brownfields Development*

This is a development on a previously-used piece of land, it may have existing buildings on it or the buildings on it may have been demolished.

### *CBO*

Community-based organisation

### *CBD*

Central Business District

### *CMIP*

Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme

### *CMR*

Cape Metropolitan Region

### *Core housing*

Basic housing which is limited in size, levels of service and/or levels of finish, designed so that the occupants can improve the house over time.

### *CWSS*

Community Water Supply and Sanitation

### *DCD*

Department of Constitutional Development

### *DEAT*

Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

*Densification*

In the context of this document has been used to define the process of concentrating the growth of development in certain identified regions, rather than increasing the current trend of urban sprawl.

*DFA*

The Development Facilitation Act no.67 of 1995

*DFID*

Department For International Development

*DLA*

Department of Land Affairs

*DME*

Department of Minerals and Energy

*DoH*

Department of Housing

*DTI*

Department of Trade and Industry

*DWAF*

Department of Water Affairs and Forestry

*Displaced urban areas*

Concentrated settlements 25km or more from the nearest town or city. These areas are often urban areas without the corresponding urban facilities and are often satellites to the larger cities and towns.

*EIA*

Environmental Impact Assessment

*Eviction*

Ejecting people from land or buildings by a process of law.

*FCR*

Foundation for Contemporary Research

*Fertility rate*

The number of children born in a year, usually expressed per 1 000 women in the reproductive age group

*GEAR*

Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy

*Greenfields Development*

A new development on a piece of open land.

### *Homelands*

The areas known as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei which were previously part of South Africa, then granted nominal independence and later reincorporated into South Africa.

### *Hostels*

Temporary accommodation used for workers often with shared facilities. Predominant during the apartheid era when workers came to urban areas for work and returned to their homes at regular intervals.

### *Human settlement*

Areas where people live, work and play

### *IDPs*

Integrated Development Plans in terms of the Local Government Transition Act

### *Infant mortality rate*

The number of deaths of children under the age of one year expressed as a proportion of the number of live births (per 1 000) during the same calendar year.

### *Infill*

Encouraging growth within the existing urban fabric rather than going beyond the existing edge. Infilling utilises land, gives definition to currently excessive ill-defined areas of public open space, promotes more compact urban environments and generates economies of scale.

### *Informal housing*

Housing of a temporary nature, often built from a range of materials such as plastic, iron sheets and plywood. This includes backyard shacks and housing in freestanding informal settlements (also see informal settlement).

### *Informal settlement*

An initially illegal settlement without professionally planned layout. Often develops as a result of land invasions and consists of temporary housing structures (see also informal housing). 'Infill' informal settlement generally takes place on small pieces of land between other developments (e.g. formal housing, roads etc.), and 'freestanding' informal settlement takes place on open land often on the fringes of formal settlements or other informal settlements.

### *Inner city*

An ill-defined area close to the city centre, usually associated with dilapidated housing in multiple occupation with few basic amenities.

### *Institutional*

Administrative and decision-making bodies.

### *Integrated development*

A form of development where different actions support each other and set up positive relationships with each other.

### *Integration of settlements*

A move away from the fragmentation and separation of the past towards integrated settlements that reinforce and complement each other.

*ISD*

Institutional Social Development

*ISDF*

Integrated Spatial Development Framework

*ISF*

Integrated Spatial Framework

*IT*

Information Technology

*Land invasion*

The (often planned) illegal occupation of land by a group of people for residential purposes.

*LDOs*

Land or Local Development Objectives in terms of the DFA of 1995

*LED*

Local Economic Development

*LGTA*

Local Government Transition Act

*LGTA A*

Local Government Transition Amendment Act

*Life expectancy*

The average number of years that a person can expect to live, often stated as from birth.

*MFD*

Midrand Development Framework

*Migration*

The number of people entering and leaving the country. Internal migration refers to the relocation of people within the country.

*Mortality rate*

The number of deaths per year, usually expressed per 1 000 of the population.

*MSA*

Moving South Africa

*MSDF*

Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework

*NCPS*

National Crime Prevention Strategy

*NEMA*

National Environmental Management Act

*NGOs*

Non Governmental Organisations

*NHFC*

National Housing Finance Corporation

*NSBP*

National Schools Building Programme

*Nuclear family*

Primary social unit consisting of parents and children (sometimes grandparents) in the same home.

*PGDS*

Provincial Growth and Development Strategy

*Planning*

The practice of making human settlements on the landscape and managing growth and change within those settlements. Planning is concerned with promoting equity, promoting efficiency, protecting the public good and ensuring the good use of resources and protecting the environment.

*Population growth rate*

The annual percentage increase in the size of the population.

*Poverty*

A certain level of material deprivation below which an individual suffers physically, emotionally and socially. There are a number of methods of determining this level of deprivation.

*RDP*

Reconstruction and Development Programme

*RDSN*

Rural Development Services Network

*SAIRR*

South African Institute for Race Relations

*SAP*

South African Police

*SEA*

Strategic Environmental Assessment

*Self-Help Housing*

Projects where people are helped to build their own houses on serviced land.

*SEMP*

Strategic Environmental Management Plan

*Settlement*

Relatively permanent human actions on the natural landscape. Processes of settlement formation start when two or more homesteads are brought into relationship with each other.

*Services*

Refers to provision of water, sanitation, refuse collection, proper road network, and effective storm drainage.

*Sites and Services*

Projects where infrastructure such water, sanitation and roads have been established but housing is not initially built.

*SMME*

Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises

*Social Housing*

An approach to affordable housing often based on the strength of group or collective ownership.

*Social Services*

Education, health and recreational facilities to be provided within walking distance.

*Spatial Development Frameworks*

These are frameworks that are required to achieve growth patterns that enhance efficiency, equity and sustainability. They must generate a range of diverse opportunities to which individuals and groups can respond.

*Sustainable Development*

When applied to settlements "sustainable development" has to do with the relationship between the settlement and the natural landscape on which it exists, as well as the sustainability of the internal dynamic of the settlement itself.

*Sustainability*

Something enduring; a system that continues successfully and indefinitely. A sustainable settlement is one that is able to accommodate growth and change well and is enriched by these processes. Sustainability of settlements depends on the fiscal, institutional and administrative capacity of the state, the establishment of viable communities and how affordable the land development is.

*Tenure*

Tenure is a bundle of rights, which regulate access, use and ownership over land and other resources (for example water, trees and crops). Land tenure refers to arrangements or rights of which the holder uses or owns land.

*Transport*

Access to safe and convenient transport system including both private and public; cars, buses, rail and taxis.

*UDF*

Urban Development Framework

*Upgrading*

Usually refers to improved services in informal settlements but also includes improvements and renovations of existing buildings.

*Urbanisation*

The process of becoming urban; a process by which an increasing proportion of an area's population becomes concentrated in urban areas.

*Viable Communities*

Those communities which have reasonable access to employment and to the basic utility and social services necessary to support community and individual life.