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Exploring class identity and inequality in the Department of Human Settlement's comprehensive housing plan:

A case study of Lethuli Park in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, South Africa.

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i

Declaration

I hereby certify that this thesis is the results of my own work, except where otherwise indicated and due acknowledgement is given.

Signed: _____   Date: _____

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DEDICATION

It is by the Grace of God that I have made it this far. This thesis is dedicated to my late father, Mr Sechabane Ike Tjebane, whom I know would have been proud to witness the completion of this project. Not to forget my mother, Tlhapedi Matseleng Tjebane, for her support and prayers.

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Abstract

This study is centrally concerned with class identification problems created by the Breaking New Ground (BNG) model, and the possible conflict that may arise as a result of bringing different classes together to coexist. In addition, the researcher looked at how this kind of settlement model has become a demonstration of class inequality in society, using Lethuli Park, in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, as a case study.

The Breaking New Ground model under its current characteristics classifies people, which work to cause social divisions amongst the three distinct groups (partially subsidised, fully subsidised and Mortgage Units) it is made of. While the Breaking New Ground model was meant to solve problems caused by the apartheid system, it has invariably created a far worse problems because it has developed an environment of distinct social classes within the very communities it was meant to help.

Moreover, the integrated housing development model used by the Department of Human Settlements does not only group people into geographical spaces of different privileges, but also labels those in the low housing category as 'the poor', and therefore, implying that they are intrinsically different from other groups in different places.

Therefore, this dissertation asserts that; in order to adequately address the inadequate housing challenges in South Africa, the idea of housing must be understood not for what it is (a physical product), but for what it does (a process). And also, there must be changes in housing policies to bring about an appropriate multidimensional strategy targeted interventions that are premised on a resolute commitment of resources.

Furthermore, through the HDA (Housing Development Agency), an entity of the Department of Human Settlements, the government needs to engage the private sector, state-owned enterprises, provinces and municipalities to unlock strategic parcels of land suitable for human settlements' development, which caters, especially for low-income groups, to be at subsidised rates. The country needs an efficient, formidable and incorruptible department that is able to perform this huge task of spatial integration.

Lethuli Park is a small settlement of about 1088 households, of which 500 are RDP houses, 300 Mortgage houses and 288 subsidised housing. With the use of a household list from the

municipality, the study selected 45 households to participate in this study. This includes 15 households each from the three communities mentioned above. The study used a random sampling technique to select participating households that would be subjected to detailed interviews. This was done by selecting every 5th house per section. The selected households were visited once during the study, where interviews and observations were conducted.

The study used non-structured interviews divided into four themes to collect data. The collected data was then divided into categories and subcategories for analysis purposes. Ethical issues considered when conducting research are also discussed.

Contents

List of figures

x

<u>List of tables</u>

xi

List of acronyms

BNG	Breaking New Ground
COGHSTA	Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs
EMM	Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality
GEAR	Growth, Employment, and Redistribution
HDA	Housing Development Agency
HDI	Human Development Index
HoD	Head of Department
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NDHS	National Disaster Housing strategy
NHC	National Housing Code
NPC	National Planning Commission
PIR	Poverty and Inequality Report
PLM	Polokwane Local Municipality
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SHP	Social Housing Policy
SHRA	Social Housing Regulatory Authority

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Housing need in South Africa is a constitutional right as enshrined in the Constitution of the Country, translated from the South African Freedom Charter (1955). But the extent of this need appears to be on the steady rise due to migration, social exclusion, unemployment etc. (Obioha, 2019). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, adopted in 1996, Section 26, states that it is the right of every South African citizen to have a shelter, and that it is the responsibility of the government to make sure that measures are put into place to ensure that this basic right is protected (RSA, 1996). The government, through the Department of Human Settlements, has further developed an Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme which seeks to upgrade the living conditions of millions of poor people living in the informal settlements by providing secure tenure and access to basic services and housing (Huchzermeyer, 2000). Access to water, sanitation, electricity, tenancy, and a house serves as a foundation for families to improve their social and economic circumstances.

The Programme, as outlined in the National Housing Code of 2007, aims to bring about social cohesion, stability, and security in integrated developments, and also to create jobs and economic well-being for communities which did not previously have access to land, business opportunities, formal housing, as well as social and economic amenities. As part of this process of developing or providing these basic services to the communities, the Department of Human Settlements (RSA, 2009), states that, the South African government seeks to create an acceptable environment in which the human settlement process starts from the ground going up, an environment that allows for the communities to be empowered. This process promotes successful partnerships amid movement to the premises at which communities are an integral part of each programme. The government has also adopted the Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements to leverage growth in the economy and promote social cohesion. However, the argument adopted by this dissertation is that the government's Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated

1

Sustainable Human Settlements divides people into different categories of settlement by distinguishing different sections of the population that coexist within the same locality, based on their relative income standings. It further argues that the model can be described as promoting stigmatisation and classifications.

The study aims to explore the extent to which the Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements groups people into spaces of different privileges. The study will also examine how the housing strategy categorises those in the low housing category as the poor, and therefore impose class variances with others.

Housing for the poor was initially provided under the auspices of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was adopted by the post-independence government in 1994. This was conceived and rolled out as an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework, which sought to mobilise all people and the country's resources towards final eradication of the apartheid's disastrous housing policies as well as building a democratic, non-racial, and non-sexist future (Huchzermeyer, 2000). It was formulated in response to the alarming differences in living standards in South Africa and aimed to alleviate poverty and reduce inequality among races and between the rich and the poor through providing proper and affordable housing (Whiteford et al, 2004).

The RDP housing programme's aim was clear: to redress the unequal distribution in housing, which rightfully needed redress. Bradlow et al. (2011), pointedly criticized the government for its implementation of low-cost housing; developed in areas already associated with inferiority and low quality services, as reinforcing the inferiority of the black citizens. From this perspective, the implementation of the programme in its previous format was seen as the effective perpetuation of social and economic class distinctions. Subsequently, a comprehensive review was undertaken on the outcomes of the programme and the changes in the socio-economic context in the country, leading to the approval of the Comprehensive Plan for the Creation of Sustainable Human Settlement, commonly referred to as the 'Breaking New Ground' or 'BNG', by Cabinet in September 2004 (Bradlow, 2011).

The BNG housing plan's strategic priorities were not only to accelerate housing delivery, but also to improve the quality of housing products and environments to ensure asset creation, thereby creating a more efficient formal housing market including rental housing and restructuring to integrate human settlements (Spiegel, Watson & Wilkinson, 1996). However, because the government could not have access to adequate land to provide low-cost housing,

they then had to find solutions to accommodate everyone in need without the need for the acquisition of land to be a central constraint. The new plan of housing then envisaged the expansion of the mandate of the department to encompass the entire residential housing market (Huchzermeyer, 2006). According to Huchzermeyer (2006), this expanded scope was required to address increased integration between the primary and secondary housing market. The impact of this expanded mandate was reflected throughout the plan, but has been manifested most strongly through the expansion of the existing state-assisted housing schemes to support lower-middle income groups (Spiegel, Watson & Wilkinson, 1996)

The integrated housing development model, which then had an objective to alleviate poverty by providing poor people with a housing mix, has generally mimicked this original underlying characterization of the initial RDP program, although in a different pattern and emphasis in these later years. The integrated program now has the following objectives: that property can be accessed by all people in order to achieve great wealth and empowerment, to be able to reduce crime; promote social cohesion and improve the life quality of the poor (Ardington & Lund, 1995).

1.1.1 Statement of the problem

What has been missed however, in all this review, is how the BNG has served itself as an identifier of class and also points out certain sections of the population as belonging to a certain group. Under the BNG, the housing program has become a marker of inequality in society, functioning to separate a particular group from the rest within the same locality. Under the disguise of social integration. Inequality is being perceived as the biggest divider in society, and how it groups certain people based on their relative financial situation (Corder, 2019). The BNG implementation under its current characteristics classifies people of different housing categories (partially subsidized, fully subsidized and mortgage units), which work to cause social divisions amongst the three distinct groups it caters for. While the BNG was meant to solve the problems caused by the apartheid system, it has invariably created far worse problems because it has created an environment of distinct social classes within the same communities.

Moreover, the integrated housing development model used by the Department of Human Settlement does not only group people into geographical spaces of different privileges, but also labels those in the low housing category as 'the poor', and therefore, implying that they are intrinsically different from other people. As a result of this labeling, settlement spaces created for this category of 'the poor' invariably tells a struggle story of not only how people gain

3

access to public housing, but also how their circumstances and class labeling constrains them to a social frame of perpetual dependence on the state and consequently, deepened poverty. These dynamics are starkly reflected in the different standards of the housing development program that are implemented by the department and influence negatively how different groups ultimately relate to one another in the communities and societies where they are implemented. The study was motivated by this understanding of the BNG model, and particularly the social complexities of bringing different classes together.

Therefore, this study is centrally concerned with class identification problems created by the BNG model, and the possible conflict that may arise from bringing different classes together to coexist. In addition, the research will look at how the settlement model has become a demonstration of class inequality in society. These objectives are framed into one overarching question and four specific questions.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.2.1 Main question

To what extent does the Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements in South Africa cluster people into spaces of different privileges and identifies those in the lower housing category with the stigmatic label of the poor, and therefore impose class differences within the society? This broad question is further broken down into four specific questions that seek specific answers:

1.2.2 Specific research questions

1. How do residents in fully subsidised housing units view themselves in relation to their neighbours in the mortgage and partially subsidised units?
2. What is the nature of relationship between the three different communities, (partially subsidized units, fully subsidized units, and Mortgage units)?
3. What is the perception of residents in the two-housing programmes towards the community in what is referred to as 'RDP housing'?
4. How does the mortgage and partially subsidised units setting influence inequalities, class identity among residents?

4

1.3 BACKGROUND OF THE BNG

Taking it back between 1996 and 2001, the average population growth was 2.1% per annum, and this has also resulted in the population increasing by 10.4% or over 42 million people (Tomlinson, 2007). If this growth has been sustained since 2001, the envisioned population for 2004 was 47.5 million people. In addition, the country has experienced a 30% increase in the absolute number of households, whereas only 10% increase was expected (Landman, 2010). According to Landman (2010), this has been caused by the decrease in average household size from 4.5 % of people per household in 1996 to 3.8 % in 2001.

The Housing Policy and Strategy (1994), focused on creating a better sustainable environment for people to transform the lives of the poor. Especially focusing on racial, financial and institutional framework inherited from the apartheid government, whilst simultaneously establishing new systems to ensure delivery in order to address the housing backlog (Marais & Venter, 2006). The importance of this programme has been recognized both nationally and internationally. Although there has been some socio-economic, demographic and policy shift in the past 10 years. Low-cost housing lacking well located land occurred in the BNG programme broadly extending existing areas mainly in urban areas and achieving limited ability to integrate (Marais & Venter, 2006).

The BNG predicts the expansion of the mandate of the Department to encircle the entire residential housing market. This expanded scope has been put in place to address increased integration between the primary and secondary housing market. The impact of this expanded mandate is reflected throughout the plan, but it is more useful through the expansion of the BNG.

As argued earlier, municipalities in South Africa have been positioned to be developmental. This is captured by the 1998 White Paper of Local Government. In fact, participation is seen as one essential element of development. It is expected that the public and civil society organizations will complement municipalities and play a fundamental role in the overall development of localities (Tissington, 2010).

However, the public sector experiences a great amount of capacity constraints, therefore it is of greater importance that the private sector utilises its resources to undertake housing

5

programmes at a larger scale. Tissington (2010) states that, a portion of the capital budget is to be made available for operational expenses and outsourcing planning, engineering, project management and social facilitation to the private sector to ensure delivery in the short-term. It will be expected of the private sector teams to provide skills transfer and training to public sector employees who will increasingly have to take on the responsibilities for ensuring delivery. The need for outsourcing will depend on the capacity across government and will not be the same everywhere (Huchzermeyer, 2001).

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organised into six parts which are the introduction, literature review, methodology, results, discussion, and conclusion, together with recommendations. Each of the chapters is looking at different aspects that will be outlined throughout the dissertation. Chapter one introduces the study and further gives a background, highlighting the identified problem and focuses on the questions the research answered. Chapter two explores selected literature on class identity and inequality in social housing. Chapter three is the discussion of the methodological approach adopted by the study. Chapter four focuses on the perceptions of residents in the two housing programs, partially subsidised and mortgage towards the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) units and the nature of relationship between the three housing categories. Chapter five discusses the perception of residents in the two-housing programme towards the community in RDP and how the mortgage and partially subsidised units setting influence inequalities and class identity amongst residents. Lastly, chapter six outlines the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In South Africa, issues of class distinctions, inequality and development are intertwined with the BNG housing policy. As stated by the Housing White Paper (1994), the problem of class distinctions in communities among South African cities is one of the leading contributors to current issues of housing backlogs, as well as lack of infrastructure and amenities and other social ills. The importance to also examine the impact of the above-mentioned factors on housing inequality cannot be overstated. To understand the persistence of these phenomena in South Africa, there is an urgent need to understand the development discourse and its influence on development policy and development failure, and how these are linked to inequality and poverty within the housing space. Therefore, the review will start by providing definitions of class identity and inequality, spatial inequality, poverty and social class concepts.

2.2 CONCEPTS

2.2.1 Inequality

Inequality is the unfair situation in which members of the society find themselves; where some people have more opportunities, money, etc. than others. Inequality is a direct outcome of individuals not possessing the same level of material wealth or attaining equitable levels of overall economic living. (Atkinson, 2015)

For most part of the 19th and the 20th century, development theory has largely been concerned with inequalities in standards of living, such as inequalities in income, wealth, and education (Joyce, Mitchell & Keiller, 2017). Inequality in housing is one of the contributing factors in societal problems. The appropriateness of using class in housing studies is clear. If we consider housing market practices, or in other words those practices that includes forms of capital such as social networking, embodied taste, and knowledge of the relevant legal and institutional contexts, then we must accept that housing is a signifier of social standing and class (Smit, 1999).

According to Landman (2005), housing inequality remains a social issue in most countries. Owning a home has a major impact on the quality of individual's life, from health to social relationships (ibid). According to Adato et al (2006), having access to a home is a determiner of an individual's ability to accumulate wealth and transfer of such wealth to successive generations. Housing inequality is, in turn, an important dimension of social stratification (Taylor, 2002; Samson, 2004). Such a perspective regards social class as a structured system composed of the following factors: participation in political power, education, status, occupation, income, and housing tenure in Europe (*ibid*).

In South Africa, however, inequality has some characteristics that differ significantly from global trends of wealth and income distribution. The levels of inequality are higher, with much higher shares of income going to the best-off 10% of the population than elsewhere (Adato et al. 2006). Also, the persistence of race-based positioning in the distribution wealth is remarkable.

Such a situation has prevailed despite the fact that the post-apartheid government has attempted to break our structural legacy through policy interventions directed at dealing with inequality (Sachs, 2005). This is the situation in the housing sector, where the poor are still without decent housing, despite extensive intervention by government in housing delivery since independence (Landman, 2005). However, progress has been made in overcoming poverty (*ibid*).

One can think of inequality as something that exists within a society in terms of the distribution of attributes of its individual members that are in some sense ranked: individuals differ - i.e., are unequal - in their incomes, wealth, standards of consumption, the desirability of their occupations, their educational attainments, the extent of their social and cultural participation, etc. Treating social inequality in this way is often valuable, at least for descriptive purposes. However, inequality can also be thought of, at a deeper level, in terms of social relations in the context of which individuals are in some sense advantaged or disadvantaged than others. (Goldthorpe, 2010)

The concept of social exclusion has of course been central to New Labour discourse on inequality and has clearly influenced its policy response in the form of area-based programmes. But the research of Whelan, 2017 - and others - raises the question of whether it is in fact helpful to think of those who experience poverty and deprivation as some quite distinctive group cut off from a supposed 'social mainstream', rather than as simply the more unfortunate members of the least advantaged strata within a society in which there is no meaningful

mainstream since class-linked inequalities - like the lettering in a stick of seaside rock - run all the way through.

2.2.2 Spatial inequality

Wishalade and Yuill (2006) state that, Spatial statistics can be used as a tool to measure the levels of spatial disparity between different communities as well as to take stock of the efficacy of public policy in addressing socio-economic disparities (Wishalade and Yuill, 2006). Because there are often practical difficulties associated with the measuring of disparities due to local specific circumstances, it is important to find an appropriate approach in measuring spatial inequality by looking at significant differences between settlements in different regions.

These spatial disparities determine the characteristics that are chosen, and that determines the approach that is used in determining spatial disparities. Some approaches focus on the selection of indicators either by using specific indicators of the sub-area or by using selected indictors aggregated for the entire area. The most important factor to consider is to use the approach that is providing the most relevant and usable results to the planners and politicians (Kutscherauer et al, 2010).

The manner in which spatial disparity is presented could result in it being viewed as a multidimensional problem which may influence choices made in spatial policy. Therefore, the type of spatial disparity that is appropriate for a particular area depends on the spatial disparity classification and its associated relevant attributes (Kutshcherauer et al, 2010). Disparities may be determined from place-related issues and could be classified as either physical disparities (associated with geographical or natural conditions), economic disparities (concerned with differences in the quality or quantity of output of a region), or social disparities (concerned with the standard of living of the population).

Inequalities between regions are often the cause of social problems (Stillwell et al, 2012). Social disparities affect different people in a country differently because they impact their physical, social, economic mobility and their ability to improve their well-being differently and could negatively affect the quality of an individual's social, cultural and religious experiences.

There are other approaches beyond the local average at a specific place where spatial disparities are measured, taking distance-decay functions into account. Here it is argued that proximity (or distance) between higher and lower income areas could have a significant impact on socio-economic disparities. This means that there is a neighbourhood disparity or spatial disparities

9

at places' names level when there is some difference in value or class distinctions for a given variable between neighbouring places or suburbs (Chakravorty, 1996).

Spatial inequality is a dimension of overall inequality, but it has added significance when spatial and regional divisions align with political and ethnic tensions to undermine social and political stability. But despite these important popular policy concerns, there is remarkably little systematic documentation of the facts on what has happened to spatial and regional inequality over the past ten to twenty years. Correspondingly, there is an insufficient understanding of the determinants of internal spatial inequality in a globalizing world. As a result, the policy discussion tends to take place in something of an analytical and empirical vacuum.

Why does spatial inequality matter, and is a policy response appropriate? We have seen that spatial inequality accounts for only around one-third of total inequalities, and part of this may be transient rather than permanent. Does this mean that spatial inequality is unimportant, as some might be tempted to argue? One argument in favour of doing nothing, or very little, is that if our ultimate objective is total interpersonal inequality, and if spatial inequality is at most one third of this total, surely policy should focus on inequality within spatial units (which accounts for two thirds of the total) rather than between. There are several responses to this. First, one third is smaller than two thirds, but is still quite big—eliminating spatial inequality would have an impact on inequality that is far larger than some cross-country variations in inequality

As in the case of Russia, there are periods when even though spatial inequality is relatively small, much of the increase in total inequality is in fact increase in spatial inequality. (venables & Kanbur, 2005). However, the real question here is; what policy instruments are available to address within and between groups inequalities, and what the cost benefit of each instrument is? It may well turn out that 'per unit of inequality reduction' the instrument that addresses between groups inequalities is cost effective. This will depend on the specifics of the case—addressing between groups inequalities cannot be simply dismissed because between groups inequality is smaller than within group inequality.

2.2.3 Poverty

A major purpose of development is to end poverty. This was pretty evident in the United States of America (USA) President Truman's speech; "*More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate; they are victims of diseases. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant.*" (Truman, 1949). More specific, Truman saw 'their poverty as a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas'. Therefore, development was envisaged to play a major role in changing the situation. He explained this role in the following way: "For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people." (Truman, 1949).

Linking it to development, he continued, "What we envisage is a programme of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing." (*ibid*). Drawing from his speech, one can deduce that poverty encompasses broader aspects including misery, suffering, hunger, vulnerability to diseases, etc. Therefore poverty can be said to be a state or condition in which a person or community lacks the financial resources and essential means for a minimum standard of living. Poverty means that the income level from employment is so low that basic human needs can't be met. Poverty traps can emerge when poor households have inadequate access to financial services (loans and insurance), or economic opportunities (Taylor, 2002).

Different methodologies are also employed in poverty analyses. For example, Economists rely far more extensively on statistical techniques, econometric models and so on, while Social Scientists delve into life histories, and use more qualitative types of analysis. Environmental scientists take an historical or interdisciplinary approach, while others focus on a particular dimension such as the economic, anthropological, cultural, or political (Betti & Lemmi, 2013).

My own approach intends to be interdisciplinary within a social environment and development studies context. While in the past there were far fewer poverty studies, this does not necessarily mean that many aspects closely related to poverty were not analysed.

To a certain extent it could even be argued that those apparently non-poverty studies, or less explicitly poverty analyses, were providing deeper insights than some of the current poverty studies. To my surprise, I found that many current studies on poverty fail to draw from this early literature to provide useful insights. Thus, it might be appropriate to return to some of the earlier studies as this could enrich current analyses of poverty. However, the use of new concepts such as social capital, social exclusion, new reality, and rural livelihoods while sometimes reflecting a new fashion do often indicate a change in reality.

In the poverty and inequality report (PIR), 1996, prepared by the former President Thabo Mbeki, it has been reported that South Africa consists of two economic worlds: One populated by black South Africans where the Human Development Index (HDI) was equivalent to the HDI that of Zimbabwe or Swaziland. The other was the world of white South Africa in which the HDI has been in a comfortable state between that of Israel and Italy.

There has been an increase or further deepening of the inequality and the poverty rate in the post-apartheid period. The fact that the South African and other international country's economic and social stance is not in good condition is showing daily through a number of economic and social downfalls occurring. The apartheid era has caused a socio-economic subdivision in which class and colour were almost in correlation; created a world of inequality, where ineffective patterns of social capita; and accumulation played a role. (Van der Berg & Du Plessis, 2013)

Exclusion has both economic and social dimensions. The economic dimension refers to exclusion from the opportunities to earn income, the labour market and access to assets. The social dimension refers to exclusion from decision making, social services and community and family support. (Department for International Development, 2005). At one level then, social exclusion can refer to the exclusion to the rights of citizenship; while at another, the concept refers to relationships within families and communities. The usefulness of the concept is the support that it lends to the importance of social relationships in resources allocation and usage.

Under these circumstances, poor households may become mired in situations of low asset ownership and failed attempts to accumulate and move ahead. Income distribution would in this case, be a divergent process, with the initially poor trapped at low levels of well-being, while the initially better-off move ahead to higher levels of well-being.

People's experiences of poverty, material deprivation and their housing circumstances are intertwined. This is because housing acts both as a charge on income and as a source of income-like flows of benefits, as well as a potential source of money income itself. Housing constitutes an important part of people's material living conditions and contributes to life chances. Homes and the households within them are also where individuals pool and share incomes and costs (Taylor, 2002). Most of the numerous concepts and measures of poverty and material deprivations cannot be entirely separated from housing circumstances.

In general, evidence that poverty affects housing circumstances is stronger than evidence that housing circumstances does not affect poverty (Stevens, 2003). Nonetheless, it appears that

low-cost, decent-quality housing, in an attractive job market could make a substantial contribution to increasing disposable income, preventing material deprivation, and maintaining work incentives (*ibid*).

Increasing urban welfare demands triggered by the needs of unemployed and marginalized informal housing residents are seen by metro cities as an overwhelming risk to their capacity and resources. The pressure to provide services and the undermining of their efforts to invest in the infrastructure due to rolling protests and unrest means that the intention to remain globally competitive is constrained (City of Johannesburg, 2002).

Faced with these social protection needs, the national welfare budget has already been stretched to the very limit and the fiscal is unlikely to be able to sustain the measures already in force (Hirsch, 2005). When looking at cities, housing and inequality therefore needs to be addressed as a policy. This research will attempt to draw insights that can contribute to inform revisions in policy and approach to housing challenges as aforementioned.

2.2.4 Social class

For the purpose of this article, it is important to dwell on the definition of social class, which is defined as one's position in the economic hierarchy in society that arises from a combination of annual income, educational attainment, and occupational prestige (Adler et al,1994).

Though the experience of social class is shaped by this economic positioning, the actual impact of the establishment on social and psychological experience is wide-ranging and multifaceted: Social class shapes behaviour through cultural learning, such as socialization processes occurring within a family whose members share a similar socio-economic background, and through social-cognitive mechanisms, which include habitual response patterns to an experience that is unique to a particular social class (Fiske & Markus, 2012).

Social class can also determine the groups an individual interacts with and belongs to (Lareau & Conley, 2008). Because of its many facets, it is helpful to conceptualize social class (like race) as a 'bundle of sticks' that can be disconnected and studied based on its specific elements.

Theoretical accounts of social class suggest that it shapes people's lives in persistent and enduring ways by constraining or expanding access via levels of economic resources or by shaping behaviour through cultural and psychological means (Bourdieu, 1984; Fiske & Markus, 2012; Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, & Keltner, 2012).

13

Studies generally support this assertion: Class determines the foods people eat. The leisure activities people engage in (Veblen, 1899/1973), the linguistic patterns they employ (Labov, 1964, 1990, 2006), and the clothing they wear (Gillath, Bahns, Ge, & Crandall, 2012). This analysis suggests that when people engage in social interactions, some of their behaviours and cultural practices are infused with social class and, as a result, accurately communicate social class position to observers.

The concept signifies the differential access to activities, positions and goods that are valued in society. Our research shows that the disposal of capital is not so much a result of competition, but a heritage that is reproduced from one generation to the next. The researcher discovered that in capitalist societies, this legacy is passed on within boundaries of social classes.

Social class is considered as a tradition line which reproduces itself from one generation to the next by passing on relevant capital therefore symbolically distinguishing itself from other classes. The concept of social class can be operationalized by establishing the limits of social mobility. The limit of a social class is rarely crossed by social mobility. A tradition line is a common class culture, which is based on habitus and capital (Thompson, 1963).

According to Weber (2001), different lifestyles are associated with differential social statuses. Weber seems to have seen status, like class. From the broader literature on social status, therefore, the researcher can envision two competing hypotheses emerging from the relationship between the poor and the middle class. On the one hand, there are norms in religious teachings about caring for the disadvantaged, and these norms may be articulated often enough in congregations that faithful members would be influenced by them and in fact, have friends that are less privileged than themselves.

However, in most societies, many structures of inequality persist that have to be interpreted within a particular framework of history, culture and society. Socio-cultural is also the predecessor and the foundation of contemporary social classes. Social classes are preconfigured by earlier socio-cultural, which partly persist even after the emergence of a class society. It is important to note that the concept of socio-cultural does not imply any type of modernization theory but merely reflect the fact that almost all societies on the globe have adopted some form of capitalism.

In a capitalist society, resources are needed to access valuable goods, positions and activities. Bourdieu (1984), has conceived of the unequal distribution of resources in a systematic and sociological way by analysing them as capital. The social division of capital determines a

14

society's social structure and distinguishes between economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Any analysis of inequality has to consider not only the total amount of capital but also the relative strength of each type of capital and the history of their acquisition (Bourdieu 1984).

2.3 DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Development emerged in the post-world war era as a project of the United States of America, aimed at changing the fortunes of the poor nations of the world. Driven by institutions like the World Bank that were created to achieve the process, it achieved a hegemonic status, and no resource and effort was spared in pursuit of development (Sachs, 2010). However, as Escobar (1995) noted:

> *"Instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1900s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression. The debt crisis, increasing poverty, malnutrition and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development."*

Considering the above quote, development, as conceived, has led to disappointments and contributed to misery. These may be said to be unintended consequences of development, otherwise all development endeavours were intended to improve human conditions, despite turning tragically awry (Scott, 1998). In the beginning, 'development has connoted at least one thing: to escape from the undignified condition called underdevelopment' (Esteva, 2010:82).

After World War II (WW II), development became the primary aspiration for every nation, big or small. And every effort and resources were employed into the development effort, but to no avail (Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 2010). As a guide on how development could be achieved, a variety of theories were posited by theorists and academics, both in the west and global south.

Both the economic theories of the 1950s and 1960s and the basic needs theories of the 1970s, focused on economic growth and how its benefits should be distributed, and gave the mandate for development to the state until the development theory discourse in the 1990s, which created a theory vacuum (Schuurman, 2000). From 1950s, when development emerged as a guiding discourse, we find modernisation perspectives, different versions of radical Marxism and neoliberal perspectives (Pieterse, 1998). Despite the lack of theory consensus and constant shifts in emphasis, these paradigms continued to guide policy interventions, which also shifted

15

with shifts in development theory over the years (Mosse, 2005). Mosse (2005), further pointed to the lack of loyalty in the field of development and how development emphasis kept on changing.

In poorly governed countries, it is argued that corrupt bureaucrats and politicians baldly hinder development efforts by stealing aid contributions or misdirecting them into unproductive activities. Less obvious but equally destructive are the governments that are not accountable to their citizens, with inefficient bureaucracies and weak institutions which are unwilling or unable to formulate and implement pro-growth and pro-poor policies.

In the words of the former United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan; "Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development." (UN, 1998:32). However, defendants argue that good governance should be at the centre of development policy. By ensuring better governance in taking into account the quality of governance in decisions about the distribution of foreign assistance. However, opponents of good governance raise good challenges and critics that it is a poor guide for policy because it is an ad hoc, 'unrealistically long' and factors in different solutions to different problems where it does not specifically attune to issues of sequencing and historical development.

Booth (2011), states that a way of good governance is considered as assuming that there is only one way of doing things and 'telling developing countries that the way to develop is to be developed.' This actually raises questions on whether good governance is actually the only way for good economic growth. The researcher believes that there are ways that good governance could be measured to determine its impact on economic growth and that is to consider the 'outcomes' and not just 'inputs'. To establish government's delivery of public goods/ security and not just the budget put in place. To also consider factors such as the actual accomplishments and its good intentions.

2.3.1 Development failures

Despite the hegemonic status and the faith in the development paradigm, the development record does not inspire any confidence. The challenges of development are documented by its most vocal critics, the post-development theorists, who have advocated for something completely different (Escobar 1995; Esteva 2010; Sachs 2010). Even on a more practical note, there is evidence that development has failed the people it was supposed to benefit. Ferguson (1994) has documented development failures in Lesotho, where donors imposed a development agenda that was anathema to Basotho society.

Social engineering programmes that were imposed on those to be developed defined the development endeavours (Thompson, 2007). Scott (1998), has described the results of development as a disaster. Development left several development fiascos, ranging from forced relocations to ambitious large projects (*ibid*). However, the researcher acknowledges that these were done in good faith, to improve human conditions, and that they turned tragically awry was not the initial intention. A consistent theme in critique of development projects is the adoption of standard models. Since development is guided by dominant discourses of the time, this means that certain models are developed and justified as development solutions at any given time. This is mostly made possible because of the heavy reliance of poor countries on donor aid. In the neo-liberal era, certain policies and behaviours has been emphasised for states in the Global South.

While development emerged with the aim to transform the world, and rid it of inequality and poverty, development however managed to create even more poverty and inequality, not between the west and the south, but within societies in the south. Thus, inequality and poverty are the inevitable results of the development discourse (Escobar, 1995).

Home ownership contributes to social stability, community development and economic welfare, which, according to Costello (2009), is especially important in non-metropolitan locations: Housing in rural areas is considered to be vital, not just as an indicator of economic sustainability but also for maintaining rural liveability and community well-being.

The issue of housing interconnects with additional economic, socio-cultural, and environmental indicators such as health, auction, the natural and built environment and social connectedness, which have important bearings on the quality of life determinations of healthy, lively and sustainable communities. The government has a significant influence on housing markets through its control of land release and development in regional areas. So it plays a critical role in market response. Gallent (2009), is critical of the government's unwillingness to take seriously the housing undersupply and lack of planning to accommodate counter-urbanisation.

The government in South Africa has been set to be developmental. This is captured by the 1998 White Paper of Local Government. In fact, housing is seen as one essential element of development. It is expected that the public and civil society organizations will complement communities and play a fundamental role in the overall development of localities.

It is against this background that the concept of development will be used to inform the study. Development is an important pillar of the objects of local government as outlined in the constitution. In this regard, local government is expected to develop localities in terms of improving social and economic development. It is thus important to deal with the concept of development as it relates to housing.

Defining the concept of development is not a simple task because it requires one to be context specific. For example, to Sachs (2010), the concept of development in the era of 'globalization' (post 1989) has shifted in meaning in comparison to the earlier years whereby development was usually the sole mandate of a state in a politically defined territory. As Sachs, (2010) points out, the rise of international trade has 'denationalised' development, and it is now understood within a realm of a complex transnational system.

Sachs (2010) and McKay (2004) concur with the notion that suggests that the concept of development is not static but has undergone 'a series of transformations'. Following the end of World War II, the philosophy underpinning theories of modernisation gained traction and these were used to draw a distinction between the so called 'developed and under-developed' countries (Sachs, 2010). Here, modernist theorist argued that developed countries represented a development model that the 'under-developed' world should aspire toward in order to archive socio-economic prosperity (McKay, 2004; Sachs, 2010).

Rostow's 'proposed path to development' is exemplary as outlined by McKay (2004). In a nutshell, Rostow argues that there are five stages to development, namely:

- the traditional society; rio Klerksdorp metcort
- the pre-take-off society;
- take off;
- the road to maturity; and, lastly,
- the mass consumption society,

This notion that development is a uniform approach through which all countries had to undergo in order to achieve high level of socio-economic conditions has been a contentious issue. In fact, for the dependency school of thought, development as enshrined in modernisation theory had actually had an adverse effect on the socio-economic conditions of the global south because 'developed and underdeveloped' countries do not exist in isolation (McKay, 2014). Rather they

are intrinsically linked in a global economic system that creates high levels of socio-economic conditions in the North while having the opposite effect for the South.

Nonetheless, developmental challenges in South Africa relate to four factors. Firstly, the income perspective; it clearly stipulates that income is needed in the communities to alleviate poverty which was influenced by other policy instruments such as RDP, GEAR, social assistance, income generation and job creation poverty relief projects. Secondly, the basic needs perspective; this deals with providing basic needs to poor people such as access to sanitation, security, clean water, shelter, education, clothing, and shelter. (Visser, 2004)

This perspective has been operationalized through programs such as the RDP, the subsidies, and the mortgage houses under the Breaking New Ground Policy. Thirdly, the social exclusion perspective which seeks to reduce the vulnerability and inequality amongst citizens. Lastly the sustainable livelihoods perspectives; this stresses that people must be consistent with coming up with strategies that will enable them to cope with poverty and hardships.

Development is essentially about improving the lives of people. The researcher argues that in the context of the South African developmental agenda, development cannot happen without eradicating the issues of classism within communities. Although the goals of housing assistance for the poor have been the topic of debate in recent years, the initial goals of decent housing and suitable neighbourhoods set forth in the landmark 1949 Housing Act are still in effect. It is therefore legitimate to measure the performance of housing programs by how well they achieve each of these goals.

2.3.2 The 1994 policy focus in South Africa

The South African Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing delivery began after the 1994 elections with a narrowly focussed commitment to increasing the quantity of housing stock available to the poor as quickly as administratively possible (Barry, Dewar, Whittal & Muzondo, 2007). Over the past decade, low-income housing has been strongly focussed on the delivery of subsidised housing units; (i.e. the emphasis was on the construction and transfer of units to individual owners, where long-term maintenance was the responsibility of the owners). Further concerns in respect to the current housing crises relate to the poor quality of stock provided and the continuation of creation of undesirable urban forms. Considering these challenges, a new policy, BNG, was introduced in 2004 which was aimed at addressing the rising backlog and improving housing delivery.

The policy was adopted as a form of strategy that could help with eradicating poverty in South Africa. Access to housing is a right of citizens in the country and it is one of the mandates of the government to ensure that people are provided with access to housing in order to reduce poverty and improve people's lives. Knight (2005), states that; a lot of black people in the country are trapped within the cycles of poverty caused by a lack of houses, water, electricity, sanitation, food, education, unemployment and many other issues.

2.3.3 The policy shift in 2004: Breaking New Ground

In 2004, there was a major shift in housing policy with the introduction of the Breaking New Ground (BNG) plan, marking a turnaround in housing delivery. The strategy focussed policy attention on the development of sustainable human settlements, as opposed to the delivery of subsidised housing units. BNG re-evaluated housing delivery and recommended bold changes to the traditional ways in which housing had been delivered. "The new human settlements plan reinforces the vision of the department of human settlements, to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable settlements and quality housing". (Menguele, khan & Vawda, 2008). The sustainable human settlements discourse, as articulated in BNG, is couched within the emerging international language for addressing global housing, as encapsulated in the goals, principles and commitments set out in the Habitat Agenda and Global Plan of Action endorsed by the world governments for urban sustainability (National Department of Human Settlements, 2004).

The BNG plan introduced a new range of delivery options, with an emphasis on rental housing as a form of tenure, recognising it as a significant contributor to meeting the housing challenges in South Africa. This was in line with the trend in both developed and developing countries, where the potential of the rental sector to contribute towards urban renewal and poverty alleviation is increasingly recognised. International best practice shows that a layering of different delivery mechanisms is required to fast track affordable housing delivery, and that a balanced approach which uses both rental and ownership tenures, where appropriate, to meet the specific needs of low-income households is more appropriate than narrowly focusing on one mode. Rental and ownership housing together create a healthy and vibrant housing sector and meets the range of choices that meets the economic needs and lifestyle choices of consumers (Sigodi et al., 2002).

This policy was made available to ensure housing delivery and to improve people's standard of living and also a need for a comfortable housing units. People should be provided with housing units built in an environment that encourages physical, social, and economic well-being and good quality of life of people in societies (Department of Human Settlements, 2019).

The BNG recognises the limitations of the housing policy and existing housing programmes, notably providing houses only (without focusing on human settlements broadly) and looking at the quality of houses that were delivered and not just the fact that houses were delivered. According to the Department of Local Government and Housing (2005), housing programmes did not make room for choices in meeting all housing needs; for example, there were no plans on how to manage informal settlements. Although there has been progress in the delivery of low-cost housing since 1994, South Africa has failed- as it has shown in statistics, when it comes to overcoming inequality (Rust, 2008).

It was in response to these ongoing issues and concerns that BNG emerged as the main national policy document for housing delivery (Goss et al. 2010). The BNG enforced an important shift in housing policy, with an emphasis now not simply on housing and physical infrastructure but on developing sustainable human settlements; this would necessitate all spheres of government involvement in bringing about in practice the right to human settlements (Victor, 2009).

However, usually the policy constitutes of unsatisfied citizens not being able to get their basic needs met in a way that they had expected and have not been provided with quality infrastructure that meets the basic human needs and rights of people as well as making sure that the RDP program reaches its objective, which is to alleviate poverty.

2.3.4 Social housing in South Africa

Between 1995 and 2000, the concept of social housing was introduced, and a social housing policy (SHP) was introduced. Since then, the sector has undergone changes. A revised social housing policy was introduced in 2008. Pursuant to the SHP, the social housing regulatory authority (SHRA) was established by the NDHS (NDHS). In South Africa, social housing is defined as "a rental or co-operative housing option for low-income persons at a level of scale and a built form which requires institutionalized management, and which is provided by accredited social housing institutions or accredited social housing projects in designated

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restructuring zones." (NDHS, 2005:20). Social housing primarily covers the rental tenure option and excludes immediate individual ownership by the residents.

2.4 THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL HOUSING TO THE BROADER HOUSING MARKET

The BNG housing strategy (2004), explicitly carved an important role for social housing in the broader housing framework. "Social housing has shown that it is able to significantly contribute to urban regeneration and to urban efficiency. It can meet objectives of good location, integration, and viability. Social housing has been shown to promote the effective and efficient management of rental and/or collective forms of accommodation (with emphasis on long term management and maintenance). This contributes to social integration, social stabilisation, and crime reduction." The main justification of social housing policy is to promote restructuring and social integration, balanced with the intention of achieving deep, down-market reach on the one hand, and balanced communities in socioeconomic terms. Social housing excludes the destitute and is targeted at earners with the ability to pay rental. The poor and destitute housing needs are accommodated by other options that have been created within the housing subsidy scheme (HSS). The sector offers choice, mobility and an opportunity for those households that do not qualify for a fully subsidised ownership subsidy but are also not in a position to qualify for a mortgage (NDHS, 2005). Social housing is; therefore, one means of catering for the variety of housing needs of the different income groups. While the proportion of rental accommodation to ownership varies in different areas, there is a consensus that those housing sectors that are functioning well have a good balance between ownership and rental (NDHS, 2005).

2.4.1 Social housing challenges in South Africa

- **Administrative issues**

Municipal maladministration, lack of control and corruption, are the main administration-related factors that cause housing challenges and ultimately informal settlements. However, according to Harrison (2013), despite these factors, the African National Congress continues to mislead desperate Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM) residents with promises of houses in order to win their votes.

Some government employees are involved in corrupt activities which lead to, amongst other variables, people not on housing waiting lists or people who do not qualify for government houses, like foreigners, being granted preference in the allocation of houses. Such conducts contradicts Cloete's (1997) assertion that every public official should display a sense of responsibility whilst performing official duties. In other words, the conduct should be beyond reproach. Corruption has become widespread, particularly in granting of housing subsidies, selection of building contractors and allocation of completed RDP houses (Jeffery, 2010). The other problem is short staffing and lack of skilled workers, which in turn delays the process.

The issue of corruption is a big problem because usually most governments do not have a system in place to monitor how funds are being used in order to ensure that people are provided with RDPs, especially those in need. This usually leads to employees using the funds to their advantage instead of completing their projects fully, as there are no consequences for corruption and maladministration of funds. Without a proper system in place, these issues cannot be solved, and this will lead to even greater problems in the future.

- **Housing shortage**

Research suggests that constraints in housing supply may be another cause of inadequate shelter, particularly for the poor (Duncan, 2008). In the same light, at the centre of housing inadequacy problem is a drastic shortage of housing. Housing shortage means that the total number of households exceeds the number of dwellings available. The shortage of housing in South Africa is also attributed to the unavailability of land. Efficient assembly and release of appropriately located land for housing is critical in achieving the desired rate of delivery of housing, (White Paper on Housing, 1994), to arrest the problem of housing inadequacy. Inadequate housing can be manifested in many forms that may appear individually or in combination and may be regarded locally as a problem or may not be. Crowding or inadequacy of space either in terms of area or in the number of separate rooms is a common sign of inadequate housing.

The promise of rapid and sustainable housing delivery has sadly not been fully realised by the new democratic government. Despite the considerable progress made in the low-income housing delivery, there are still lots of concerns relating to the backlog. There is a large housing backlog in the country. Housing demand is, at present, outstripping the supply of houses. Inadequate housing has to be seen as part of the poverty problem which is linked to low incomes and unemployment. It is thus clear that the housing shortage is a general crisis in the

housing department throughout the entire country, especially in urban areas where most people gather in search of job opportunities and better social amenities.

- **Unavailability of land**

Angel (2000), articulated the importance of access to land in providing for adequate housing as follows: "The first essential condition for a vibrant and well-functioning housing sector is the availability of residential land, in ample supply and at affordable prices." Land continues to be one of the major problems hindering the delivery of sustainable human settlements in our country (Gerber, 2018). Slow and complex land identification, allocation and development processes resulted in insufficient land for housing development purposes being acquired.

Spatial inequality is one of the defining features of overall inequality in South Africa and cannot be separated from race. (Burger et al, 2017). A number of discriminatory legislations that emerged under the British rule in 1910 laid the foundations for these strong and persistent regional differences. Most famously, the Land Act of 1913, only 7% of South Africa's surface; this was later expanded to 13.5% by the 1936 Land Act, was attainable (Fintel, 2018).

Literatures on spatial inequality are most developed at the scale of the city and nation-state or global system. In emphasizing their respective territories of focus, these literatures tend to reinforce differences among others. They sometimes leave the impression that different territories are distinct species of social settings, whose principles of understanding are unconnected. Furthermore, certain geographic scales, such as those involving regional, rural, or other sub-national territory, remain neglected or relegated to the backwaters of the discipline, while others are privileged through extensive exploration.

2.4.2 Policy evaluation on housing

The housing policy evaluation in South Africa has shown that many policies pursued over the past 25 years have been successful in their own terms, yet many of the problems identified at the beginning of the period have not been addressed effectively because:

● Emerging challenges remain unanticipated because policies are formulated as reactions to particular problems.

● Policies are often narrowly conceived because they deal with the symptoms of particular problems and ignore wider contextual influences.

● Consequent unanticipated behavioural responses to policy instruments sometimes spawn an array of follow-up policies leading to excessive micro-management,

24

● there is no clarity on what a coherent and robust system would look like, and therefore little attempt to test policies against achievement of this system has been made.

It was especially against the background of the World Bank accepting targeted subsidies in the early 1990s that the South African post-apartheid housing policy started to develop. However, it should be mentioned that a number of factors inside South Africa contributed extensively to the policy, despite some differences with regard to the origin of South African housing policy.

These policy developments provide some hope for positive change, although still not fully responding or addressing the dualistic challenge of providing services, in this case housing and amenities, whilst ensuring a safe and sustainable environment. However, analysis of South Africa's urban settlements reveals a past, present, and projected future of un-sustainability (Plessis & Landman, 2002).

Policies are most successful when they follow the grain of economic and social change, and least successful when they do not. On the positive side, the staged removal of mortgage interest relief occurred during a period of falling interest rates that tended to outweigh the loss of subsidy. On the negative side, policies aimed at neighbourhood regeneration have often produced disappointing results because they have been overwhelmed by unfavourable economic and social circumstances (Whitehead, 2005).

According to Whitehead (2005), Policies to encourage inclusive communities are battling against the tide, especially in low demand areas, in part reflecting polarisation in the housing system, but more fundamentally uneven regional patterns of economic growth. In Zimbabwe, the economy has been gradually declining to the extent that the government resorted to temporal and stopgap measures to avoid total collapse. (Chipungu & Adebayo, 2012)

In the light of this integrated human settlement programme, this paper evaluates how the policy environment responded to the pressing social needs in terms of project design and implementation during this particular period.

When Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, the government's concern was to deal with the dual economy that had left most of the indigenous black people without adequate services and infrastructure. (Musemwa, 2010), In the urban environment, this was characterized by inadequate housing for the majority of the black people. This situation was aggravated by the increase in the population of the black people who after independence saw urban areas as the only source of better opportunities (Adebayo, 2012).

25

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

With the approach used in this chapter, it is evident that South Africa is not the only country in the world experiencing housing challenges. The researcher has discovered that other countries still experience the issues of housing backlog, lack of municipal capacity, limited budget and insufficient housing subsidy, lack of available land for housing development, and lack of economic empowerment of beneficiaries (Landman, 2005). South Africa should learn from other countries, on how they have utilised their strategies for improvement which include enhanced community involvement, integrated housing approach, etc.

What the chapter was based on is that the new democratic government of South Africa has put in place a comprehensive housing policy to accelerate the housing programme. However, there are still challenges that persist due to the implementation of the BNG programme. Local government is responsible for implementing such programmes but do not have the capacity to execute them with competence. This is based on the fact that there are still persistent issues of social inequality, poverty, class distinctions, housing inequality, etc

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the research methodology that the researcher has employed to conduct this study. The chapter will explain more on the research design, area of study, population, sampling methods, procedures, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of the study. This is a qualitative study in which the researcher used a case study design, and Lethuli Park was the case under investigation. The profile of the area will be outlined as well as the people living there. A total of 45 participants were engaged, which comprised different household members. Random sampling was used to draw the sample of the study. The study used non-structured interviews divided into four themes to collect data. The collected data was then divided into categories and subcategories for analysis purposes. Ethical issues considered when conducting research are also discussed.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN

This study has used a qualitative approach. Qualitative research enables the researcher to study things in their natural surroundings the same way this research was undertaken (Grove et al. 2012). This assisted in explaining the relationships and perceptions between certain category groups in the settlement. Qualitative research looks at the identified scope in detail by focusing on immaterial factors like experiences, feelings, beliefs, views, and perceptions about different entities (Scott & Darlington, 2002).

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research is able to describe a context with the views and opinions of people and through making observations (Patton, 2005). This method proved to be relevant and was applicable to this research study because the proposed research questions required people to offer their views and opinions about their relationships and perceptions. This entailed gathering of information in depth as it was fully detailed. This could not be achieved

through a quantitative approach, which although reliable and generally seem to be scientific, only provides a superficial outlook, and tend to miss the pertinent details.

Using interviews helped the researcher to ask participants open ended questions. The findings were precise and accurately reflected the data. The researcher took note of the analytical procedures and accounts for personal and research method biases that may have influenced the findings.

3.2.1 The case study approach

Within the qualitative tradition, the study adopted a place specifically for research methodology or case study approach. A qualitative case study is exploratory research used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insight into the problem and helps develop ideas (Kumar, 2011). Therefore, a case study examines a person, place, event, phenomenon, or other types of subjects of analysis in order to extrapolate key themes and results that will help predict future trends, illuminate previously hidden issues that can be applied to practice, and or provide a means for understanding an important research problem with greater clarity. Moreover, in the social sciences, the term case study refers to both a method of analysis and a specific research design for examining a problem. Both of which can be used to generalize findings across populations (Harrison, 2017).

3.2.2 Case study site

The research was conducted in the Lethuli Park, which is about 15 Kilometers (KM) from Polokwane Central Business District, in Limpopo Province. Lethuli area was formally a homeland-border township and a growth point neighboring the old Pietersburg (now Polokwane). However, the area was not officially declared an industrial growth point in any way (as it had happened in formal Pietersburg in the 1970s). The Lethuli area is a small settlement of about 1088 households, of which 500 are RDP houses, 300 Mortgage houses and 288 subsidised housing (Polokwane Municipality Framework Plan, 2021). Various housing programs have been implemented in the area, such as the BNG policy, but they have faced their own challenges; mostly class distinctions amongst three groups of households namely: partially subsidized, fully subsidized and mortgage.

Due to the setting and the model, this is a community of un-equals. The communities are affected by social inequality including access to voting rights, freedom of speech and assembly; the extent of property rights and access to education, health care, quality housing, travelling,

transportation, vacationing and other social goods and services. (Polokwane Municipality Framework Plan, 2021).

Apart from that is the quality of family and neighbourhood life, occupation, job satisfaction, and access to credit. When people are faced with these economic divisions, they lead to social inequalities. There are so many reasons for social inequalities in the area and those include the issues of gender roles and social stereotyping. The way people behave socially, through racist or sexist practices and other forms of discrimination, tends to trickle down and affect the opportunities.

3.3 RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

The study is about different household units that are placed within the same locality, and how the setting causes class labelling, constraints people to a social frame of perpetual dependence on the state and consequently, deepens poverty. These dynamics are starkly reflected in the different standards of the housing development and influence negatively how different groups ultimately relate to one another in the communities and societies where they are implemented. Therefore, the study was mainly concerned with class problems identification and the conflict brought by bringing different classes together.

The study employed both primary and secondary research techniques, which complemented each other and assisted the researcher to develop an integrated and balanced picture of the Lethuli area. In order to develop this holistic picture, the study divided households into three, namely: partially subsidised units, fully subsidised units and mortgage units. The study began with a precise review of literature that was used to generate the history and profiles of housing and human settlements policies. This history became necessary in order to determine the fault lines that caused the failure of BNG policy and projects.

Crotty and Dymski (1998), states that qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the participants through visiting the participants and gathering information personally. Thus, primary data was largely gathered through ethnographic research in the community and interviews with different household members in different housing units. Personal observations and transact walking were used to supplement interviews and discussions, which generated data that was difficult to access through mere interviews.

3.3.1 Literature review

Literature review was done on both primary and secondary techniques. According to Crotty & Dymski (1998), secondary analysis refers to the use of existing research data to find answer to a question that was different from the original work. Secondary data can be large scale surveys or data collected as part of personal research. Although there is a general agreement about sharing the results of large-scale surveys, but little agreement exists about the second.

Literature was conducted on the issues of class distinctions, inequality and development which are intertwined with the BNG housing policy. The problem of class distinctions in Lethuli Park community is one of the leading contributors to current issues of housing backlogs, as well as lack of infrastructure and amenities and other social ills. The important part was to also examine the impact of the above-mentioned factors on housing inequality. To understand the persistence of these phenomena in Lethuli Park, there is an urgent need to understand the development discourse and its influence on development policy and development failure, and how these are linked to inequality and poverty within the housing space. The data from literature, which guided the direction of this dissertation, was sourced from websites, hard books, journal articles, commissioned reports, non-commissioned reports, media reports and other unpublished documents as well as newspaper articles.

3.3.2. Ethnographic research

Ethnographic research is a qualitative method where researchers observe and/or interact with a study's participants in their real-life environment. Ethnography was popularised by anthropology but is used across a wide range of social sciences. Ethnography is the detailed direct study of small groups of people or communities. It is also used as a technique (often alongside other methods) in community studies. Ethnography is seen as a basically descriptive approach by some practitioners and as a process for testing and developing theory by others.

Thus, ethnography is often, although not always, used as a procedure for getting an understanding from the subjects' point of view. This approach sees ethnography as means of gaining an understanding through an immersion of the researcher in the field of study. This presupposes that such immersion permits the researcher to come to appreciate the processes operating in the subject group, institution or community.

Ethnographic research was conducted in Lethuli Park for a period of 3 months between August and September 2021. Ethnographic research involved participant and non-participant observations as well as transect walks.

30

3.3.3 Transect walks and familiarization

Transect walks were particularly important in understanding the geographical part of the area. The group explored environmental and social resources, conditions and systems by observing, asking, listening, looking and producing a transect diagram of the community. During these tours, the researcher also managed to take photographs. Transect walks also involved non-participant observations as the researcher familiarized herself with the environment, the setting and the infrastructure.

These transect walks were carried out over a two-week period within the area, with the company of a research assistant who was familiar with the place. The researcher contacted key community members, including the community councilor. The researcher also used this time to familiarize herself with the area, by conducting thorough tours of the three communities. During these tours the researcher focused on assessing the general setting, dynamics of interaction and observation of reports and listening to stories of what has transpired between certain communities over time due to the economic classifications of housing typologies within the community.

She also attended community gatherings, and meetings which were held by community leaders and councillors. These meetings would be held inside and outside the community hall, depending on the weather. During these meetings, the researcher would take notes of what was discussed, areas of disagreement and issues of inequality. These interactions enabled an understanding of the underlying issues of the problems. It was during these meetings that the researcher also noted the manner in which those discussions were taking place.

It was also during the familiarization period that the researcher was able to select households that participated in the study. According to Maree (2012), the exercise of selecting participants in a study is an important feature of research, as it may affect the outcome of the research. The participating households were selected from a population of household units in Lethuli Park. The Lethuli area is a small settlement of about 1088 households, of which 500 are RDP houses, 300 Mortgage houses and 288 subsidised housing. With the use of a household list from the municipality, the study selected 45 households to participate in this study. These households included 15 households each from the three communities as already stated. The study used a random sampling technique to select participating households that would be subjected to detailed interviews. This was done by selecting every 5th house per section. The selected

31

households were visited once during the study, where interviews and observations were conducted.

3.3.4 Interviews

The study utilised open-ended interviews with household members. Creswell et al (2010), define an interview as a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data and to learn about ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours of the participant in order to see the world through the eyes of the latter. According to Bryman, (2004), an unstructured interview is an in-depth conversation designed to obtain rich and detailed data from a participant using follow up questions, unlike semi-structured interviews, which includes predetermined set of questions. The researcher therefore used unstructured interviews with open-ended questions, which were guided by the research questions. Such an approach is designed to provide an environment where it is fairly comfortable for two people to have an interaction without undue hindrance or tension. Since interviews were focused on household members, household visits were anticipated to be long; most lasted for over an hour at a time, depending on the number of people interviewed. The study sought information from homeowners and young adults older than the age of 18, who interacted with others from other sections. The interviews encouraged respondents to deal broadly with all issues relating to the main topic under investigation.

The purpose of the researcher as an interviewer was to obtain information from the participants in such a manner that they would be free to share their concerns and challenges verbally with the interviewer, and to deal in great depth with issues, and even share with the researcher issues that the researcher never thought of. The focus was on finding the challenges and possibilities on achieving the policy goal of eradicating poverty and inequality through the housing programme. This allowed participating household members to be more forthcoming with information when answering the questions that followed an open-ended free flowing pattern; unlike questions that are close-ended. This also afforded the researcher the opportunity to explain to people the essence of what they were being asked. And the researcher was in turn able to give feedback on what information they were trying to gather without making the process seem formal, complicated, or contrived. The interviews focused on perceptions, attitudes, and dynamics of interactions and incidents of conflict in the communities.

The study also utilized semi-structured interviews with the councillor and 5 community members including a school principal. Semi-structured interview process is not a platform or a

two-way dialogue; rather it is an in-depth special kind of knowledge meaning-making conservation between the respondent and the interviewer. The adoption of a semi-structured interview design was therefore guided by this consideration. By adopting such an approach of interviewing, the interviewer only acts as a facilitator while the participant is allowed space to share information and dominate the process. In this study, the focus of the interviews was to draw particular information from people that were considered to be key informants. Thus, the choice of a semi-structured model was guided by the need for control, but also to be non-restrictive, but allow participants to share specific information that the researcher has asked for. The interviews took over an hour where participants shared both official information and opinions. For control, the researcher used an interview schedule, which was not restrictive, but acted as a guide.

Although participant observation technique was used, non-participant observation technique was also used so that the researcher can have the opportunity to observe participants without them actively participating. Non-participant observation technique mostly took place during transect walks. Besides participants from different household units, Interviews were also focused on Community leaders and other community members, to have an understanding of the area and the lifestyle from both sides.

However, there were also a number of unplanned and informal discussions with community individuals which took place during the course of the research. While these had no structure and discussed random issues, they unearthed a number of critical issues, which assisted the researcher in developing questions for formal interviews.

Interviews, when conducted well, makes the interviewee feel important because they know they are contributing towards a great cause of their communities. People are always happy to share their experiences whenever they know that what they are saying will help to bring about a much needed change in their communities. And another thing is that interviews present the opportunity to create that friendly environment where both parties can feel free to share even the most sensitive information.

3.3.5 Observations

Besides interviews, the participant observation and the non-participant observation techniques were also used in order to supplement interviews. Observations are a way of gathering data by paying attention to people's behaviours, events, or reflecting physical characteristics in their natural settings (Johnston, 2015). Participant observations were done through using local taxis,

33

attending community meetings, sporting events, and going to local shopping centres. Non-participant observation mostly took place during transects walks, but the researcher also observed dynamics of interaction throughout the duration of the study.

These were mostly done through planned interviews, which were guided by an interview schedule. More interviews were conducted with members of the community who represented views of different households and the lifestyles.

The benefits of doing observations are that you get to see things that the community members cannot tell you, either because they don't think they are important, or you didn't manage to ask about them. These are the things which are very vital to the setting of the community and the overall behaviour of the community members towards each other, especially between different groups representing different social standards. One of the things you can only see-through observations is the kind of treatment these different groups give to the outsiders.

This is because those you will be interacting with knows who you are and what you are doing there. Therefore, they will treat you, accordingly, knowing that you are watching their behaviours towards you. But those who will just see you as someone they do not know in their neighbourhood will treat you the way they treat every stranger. And through this, you will read a lot of unsaid statements given away by their behaviours towards you. Another thing is that, when you are in different units, you will have the opportunity to watch how those from other units are treated when they happen to go to other units. Like for an example: It is only through observations that you will be able to see what the RDP community think of their rich neighbours. This can happen through you listening to their comments when they see an expensive car from the mortgage units passing by. Their comments will clearly outline to you what they think of their rich neighbours. Some will be praising them for being rich, while others will be looking at them as people who are just going around showing off their riches to the poor so that their weight can be felt.

When you are walking around the mortgage or partially subsidised units, you will see some of the notices on the gates and realise that they are only there for the RDP community. Notices like: 'Sorry, we are not hiring.' Normally this is done as a way of telling the RDP community that they must stop annoying the mortgage and the partially subsidised units' residents by ringing at their gates asking for odd jobs, thus through observations you can unearth a lot of internal differences.

34

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS, FIELDWORK CHALLENGES AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.4.1 Data analysis approach

The data analysis approach adopted in this study was guided by the research design. The study adopted a qualitative approach which necessitated that data should be analysed using qualitative methods. The major purpose for conducting a qualitative study is to transform data into findings, and the purpose of data analysis in qualitative research involves reducing the volume of raw information, sifting significance from trivia, identifying significant patterns and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveals (De Vos et al., 2005). The qualitative data analysis method which was adopted by the study was the thematic analysis approach. This entailed a step-by-step approach, designed to generate themes, which were used to develop the thesis. Thematic analysis determines precisely the relationships and linkage between concepts and identification of variables from the interviews that will help the researcher to code and categorises data into themes (Ibrahim, 2012).

Data was collected and therefore, the coding method was used. Coding can be explained as categorization of data. A 'code' can be a word or a short phrase that represents a theme or an idea. All codes need to be assigned meaningful titles. A wide range of non-quantifiable elements such as events, behaviours, activities, meanings etc. can be coded. (Gibbs, 2007)

The second step involved comparing category groups and grouping similar categories to develop sub-themes which were also allocated codes. This process of comparison and grouping data and coding continued until data categories were narrowed down to three broad groups which represented broad thematic areas.

At the end of the data analysis process, four emerging themes had emerged: first one looking at how residents in fully subsidised housing units view themselves in relation to their neighbours in the mortgage and partially subsidised units. The second one is the nature of relationship between the three different communities (Partially subsidized units, fully subsidized units, and Mortgage units.) Third one is the perception of residents in the two-housing programme towards the community in what is referred to as RDP housing. Fourth one is how the mortgage and partially subsidised unit(s setting influence inequalities and class identity among residents. These themes were used to develop the argument of this dissertation, although some of the data was still in its raw state, either as quotations or case illustrations.

35

3.4.2 Fieldwork challenges

The first few days of field work were very hard, having to knock at different household units' doors and interact with people. Having to explain why you are approaching them and making them understand what the study is about, without them having the fear of answering questions. Making people comfortable around me and creating a comfortable space for them to participate. Interviewing people from Low-cost houses was easier than interviewing people in mortgage and partially subsidised houses, as they usually have security in their gates; especially those in the mortgage units.

I had challenges of people not wanting to open up their homes for me and having to skip households and walking even further than I had planned to. The familiarisation within the area involved excessive walks to different households, and not having a car was another stressful issue. We had to find out where local taxis were so that we could go to other parts of Lethuli Park. Another major challenge was being cautious all the time about the environment because people would tell me about the incidences of crime that happened in the area. My research assistant and I being females had to make sure we went in the morning and left while it was still early so that we do not get robbed. Having people speak for a longer period even more than required and not being able to stop them in the middle of the conversation also took up our time. We had to listen to other stories along the interviews, stories that had nothing to do with the research topic.

3.4.3 Ethical considerations

In this study, the following ethical issues involving participants were considered as are espoused by Nueman & Anderson (1997).

- **Voluntary participation:**

It is often difficult for participants to reveal their personal information to strangers, especially if they know the exercise is not going to benefit them personally. During the first meeting with participants, the researcher clearly stipulated to them that participation in the study would be voluntary and that was also clearly written on the interview schedules. The researcher has also clearly explained what the purpose of the study was and that way she was able to convince them to cooperate. She explained that the interviews will not implicate them in any way and that their responses will not be used against them, that the responses are purely for research purposes.

- **No harm to the participants:**

The researcher guaranteed the participants that they will not be harmed if they decide to participate in the study. That any information that is provided by them, whether sensitive or not, that could put their homes and lives in danger, will remain confidential. The researcher looked for the dangers and avoided them. Questions that had the potential of compromising their self-esteem or had severe psychological impact were avoided at all costs.

- **Anonymity:**

These issues were explained to the participants, and the study opted to use pseudonyms which were acceptable to all participants although others did not mind being identified. In this study therefore, no participant or their households were identified with their real names. The participants were further informed about the confidentiality of the information they provided. And that the researcher will comply with the Protection of Personal Information Act 4 of 2013 (POPIA). This involved issues of access to information and storage during and after the study. The participants were informed that the information they provided will be accessible to the researcher's dissertation supervisor at the University of Pretoria. In terms of storage, the data was stored in a password protected computer during the time of research, and in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria where it will be kept for fifteen years. The participants were also informed that the information will be used to write a master's dissertation and scientific papers, and it could be presented at local and international journals.

The researcher ensured anonymity to increase the cooperation and make sure that the responses provided were accurate. This encouraged the participants to not hold back their responses and to provide accurate information without fear of facing any danger thereafter. The researcher guaranteed each participant that the right of privacy of the respondents would not be violated. She insured them that their identities would not be revealed or published without their consent.

- **Deception:**

From the beginning, the participants were informed that the study would not be beneficial to them but that it was for school purposes only. No form of rewards or incentives were promised in order to pursue them to participate in the study. The researcher did not lie or make false promises in order to encourage them to provide accurate information. Being honest from the beginning for what the study was about, stopped participants from being tempted to provide answers that would make them seem devoid than they actually were.

- **Analysis and reporting:**

The researcher promised that the participants would be provided with the results of the study and that the findings of the study will be based on honesty and fairness. That the results would not be twisted to better suit the wishes of the researcher. This helped to gain trust from them and for them to willingly participate.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter on the methodology began with a discussion of the philosophical approach that supported the study. This was followed by a brief narrative and rationale of the study location. After this the chapter provided a detailed discussion of the methodological approach adopted by the study. It discussed the significance of the literature review technique and the semi-structured interview process with different housing categories that allowed extensive engagement with the themes by participants. As part of the research techniques, the ethnographic research was discussed together with the various activities which were put in place. The researcher used Lethuli Park as a case study to make an in-depth investigation of the study. Cherry (2010), states that a case study is an in-depth study of one person, group, or event. In a case study, nearly every aspect of the subject's line and history is analyzed to seek patterns and causes of behavior. This proves that it is difficult to generalize the findings of the study. Furthermore, the researcher used random sampling technique to select participating households and the information obtained through this method could not be generalized. Then Taherdoost (2016), describes random sampling as a technique where the researcher randomly chooses participants from a population. All population members have an equal probability of being chosen. The researcher outlined the fieldwork challenges encountered when conducting the study. The ethical considerations of conducting the study and lastly, the chapter discussed the data analysis approach, the ethical considerations and the challenges faced during field research. The chapter shows that despite the challenges encountered, the research study was done successfully.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

After gathering all the information through conducting research at Lethuli Park, in Limpopo Province, I had to go back and look at all the collected data to see how best I could present it in an attempt to answer all questions that the research set out to answer in the first place. Firstly, I had to make it clear that the research dealt with all the questions it was meant to address. Then look at whether the research managed to answer those questions by first highlighting that the research identified the problems faced by the community at the study area; Lethuli Park, and that those problems are in line with the questions the research is meant to answer.

Using the data collected through interviewing different community members who represents different social standards in the community, and through using other research techniques, guided by the research questions, this chapter will attempt to answer all the research questions. But first, it will outline the overview of the study area, Lethuli Park. Then it will move forward to establishing the relationship between Lethuli Park and the different housing development policy frameworks by the Department of Human Settlements such as Breaking New Ground (2004) and RDP (1994); putting my emphasis on how these policy frameworks affects the community as well as their roles in influencing inequality and class identity among the different groups of the community.

Housing development policy frameworks/guidelines were introduced mainly to deal with the shortage of houses, but as it was found during the research, these policies brought about other serious social problems because they ignored other aspects of poverty alleviation and only focused on the quantity aspect of the policies. Things like community integration were overlooked during the rollout of these housing policies. This in turn left the poor feeling isolated from those who can afford decent housing. Thus, inequality was unfortunately introduced through these policies. And with inequality came class identity. Because of these, different societies ended up having their own views when it comes to the effectiveness of these housing development policies when it comes to improving their lives as they were intended to, and one cannot help but ask themselves if these policies served their purposes or not.

Throughout this chapter, I will be providing answers to these questions by first identifying problems and then use the data I collected to help us see things in the community member's point of view as well as answering research questions.

- **The Lethuli Area-An Overview**

In an attempt to achieve the objective of the study, attention is paid to dynamics at one of the settlements developed under the Breaking New Grounds concept in Limpopo Province, northern South Africa. This settlement is known locally as Lethuli Park, in Seshego Township, near Polokwane City, which is also the administrative capital of the Province. Lethuli Park is situated at the north-east part of Seshego Township, about 15km from the city centre and along the N1 Highway. The settlement initially started as a low-cost housing development, which was a parallel development to Madiba Park, which was a middle-income housing development. These developments were part of the expansion of Seshego Township. However, with the passage of time, Lethuli Park started to expand towards the west, with an increase in middle-income housing units and more low-income housing developments.

As the settlement was developed under the BNG model, Lethuli Park is truly cosmopolitan and represents contemporary dynamics in post-apartheid South Africa, where inequality is clearly visible. By the very nature of the model, the settlement has brought together various categories of the populations to co-exist under different circumstances. In Lethuli Park, you can find the poor, the middle class, the rich, and even the ultra-poor living under different housing models yet in the same settlement.

Despite being a new development, the Lethuli Park area has a history. Lethuli Park started as a homeland border settlement and growth point next to the former Pietersburg (currently Polokwane), but was not formally declared an industrial growth point in any way (as had happened in formal Pietersburg in the 1970s). Because of its proximity to the white area of old Pietersburg Town, it was developed into a growth point and labour sending area under the Regulation 293 of 1962, regulated and controlled by the Limpopo government. In the process, it has benefited from the status of the city. Being the relatively chosen area, the Polokwane Local Municipality decided to make it a point of development because of the realization of its contribution to integration to the city. The Lethuli Park plays a significant role in serving as the economic hub of Limpopo and its population has increased overtime, otherwise it relatively has a small population. The focus of the area at the moment is guided by the historic apartheid city model, which is characterised by segregated settlements.

Settlements were established in 2001, as an expansion of Seshego area. Lethuli Park, however, was an open land and in the early 2000s, the land was invaded, and people constructed informal structures. After the democratic elections in 1994, Lethuli Park was earmarked for the RDP housing development. New housing policies and programmes sought to redress spatial segregation and inequalities. The BNG's aim was to provide new RDP settlements in order to eradicate poverty and to address the imbalances of the past.

When the Breaking New Ground Policy was implemented, Lethuli Park became a target area for industrial development (and some housing components). The area was chosen because of its close proximity to the urban core –Polokwane City. Due to its proximity to the city, it became attractive to people with permanent jobs and migrants seeking livelihood opportunities in the city. As such, it is home to mostly a working-class population from around the Polokwane area and surrounding areas in the province.

The Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs (CoGHSTA), registers RDP beneficiaries in the Human Settlement Subsidy (HSS) system where the Polokwane Municipality has to identify beneficiaries and land for development after which the department has to appoint a contractor to build the RDP houses.

Approximately 500 RDP houses in Extensions 71 & 73 were built. These were occupied by mainly the poor and the ultra-poor. Although there are also individuals who do not qualify for these government housing benefits who managed to somehow occupy them. These are the people who exploited the gaps in the system and took-up housing opportunities. Some are absentee landlords, using these houses for rental, while they reside elsewhere. For many, Lethuli Park is home. Although access to housing has led to some sort of fixed property ownership on the majority, poverty remains critical in the township because of unemployment/ low wages. (Polokwane Municipality Framework Plan, 2021). As such, although the government has provided people with RDP houses, backyard shacks are still a visible feature.

In fact, many residents occupying RDP houses in Lethuli Park have moved there from informal settlements. So, the informal settlement has acted as a feeder to the formal subsidised houses. Besides the RDP housing and its complex occupying population, there is approximately 288 subsidised houses in Phase 1 and about 300 fully mortgage houses in Phase 2, which makes the area a truly cosmopolitan place. Thus, the settlement consists of three housing models: the fully subsidised houses, popularly known as the RDP houses; the partially subsidised, and the fully mortgage houses. These are homes to different categories of people, from your teachers

and other civil servants including army personnel and police officers, to ordinary workers, the unemployed and self-employed. You can also find other people that are tenants, either renting whole houses or as sub-tenants renting back houses or cottages. Besides these formal housing categories, a fourth category of housing exists; informal shacks. This also is the cause for complex relationships, which are the subject of this study.

Fig. 4.1: The Lethuli Area map

Fig. 4.2: Lethuli area

Source: Author, 2021

As a new development and because of the cosmopolitan character of the area, Lethuli Park is still developing and provides opportunities for expansion. There are a number of new housing

structures being built and many people are extending and improving their dwellings. This is also shown in the number of formal and informal building supply businesses. These businesses supply stone, sand, gates, bricks, construction/building equipment hire, etc. Some businesses provide services such as drawing up building plans and constructions.

The location of the area is in the middle of an open land that has dry grass around it and a couple of trees, and there are a couple of dams as well. This has led to the growth of informal settlements. According to the people, the informal settlements are built and occupied mostly by young people who have moved to the area for work or by foreigners who are just beginning their urban journey in South Africa. There is no safety guaranteed from shacks that are built from boards. These types of shacks are not safe as the boards absorb water when it is raining. The water absorption by the boards makes it cold in the shacks. Also, these shacks smells when it is hot due to the decay caused by the water they absorbed. Living becomes difficult for household members during rainy and hot seasons as they have to put up with the coldness and the smell.

However, different sections can be clearly identified and separated from each other. The main distinguishing feature of these different housing categories is the main road that separates RDP houses, subsidies and Mortgages. This allows easy identification. The RDP housing units in Extension 71 and 73 are referred to as 'The RDPs', the subsided housing units are referred to as 'Subsidy' while the mortgage section in Phase 1 are referred to as 'The Bonds' (which partly identifies how people gained access to this type of housing). The identity labels also apply to the residents, with people occupying RDP houses being referred to as 'people from the RDPs' and those from the mortgage called 'people from the Bonds'.

This may seem irrelevant, but it has implications on interactions and how people relate to each other. These labels tend to identify certain people as the 'others', who are different from us, because of where they live, and probably how they gained access to housing. This does not only end there: The different housing categories are clearly different. The RDP housing units are fairly standard, small, with small yards, while the subsidized units are an improved version of the RDP houses; they are still substandard when compared to the mortgage units, which are a reflection of a modern architecture. Of course, people are transforming RDP housing through renovations, but they are facing space limitations, while other two sections are enjoying continued investments.

43

It should be noted that not everyone can renovate an RDP house since most people are poor. While people from the other two sections are mostly those with income. A distinguishing feature of the three housing categories, therefore, was the growing incidents of the development of shack structures and other unauthorised building structures, mostly for rental, in the RDP section. There are also some modern structures built from cement bricks with corrugated iron sheets or tile roofing. Some of these structures can rival buildings in an urban setting.

While these houses may be an exceptional case in that they are geographically well placed, a number of lessons can be drawn from the integration of the area, including the importance of prioritizing the development of well-located infill areas and the development of integrated well-established transport routes between spaces.

In terms of climate, it is a hot area during summer seasons with temperatures that range between 38 degrees and 39 degrees Celsius and hardly ever has rain; therefore, the area is mostly dry. Even in winter, the area is not extremely cold, with temperatures ranging between 25 and 27 degrees Celsius. This also results in the constant water shortages in the area.

Looking at the linkages between the three different housing Units. The establishment of Lethuli Park aimed for viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in an area allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities. However, the researcher has realized that Lethuli area is not a good environment for unity, and households are divided into different sections. People's standards of living are different, according to which house and section they live in. There are no great inter-personal relationships and People are divided between the poor and the middle-class community. The setting divides people into different categories of settlements, promoting stigmatisation and class differences.

Lethuli Park being the researcher's focus area, which is governed by the Polokwane Local Municipality, and with the Municipality's mandate to bring about social cohesion, stability, and security within the area and to create a good socio-economic well-being for the community of Lethuli Park, the researcher therefore views the key features of the area as: 'generally unmanaged low-density sprawl' (resulting from the development by public, private and informal actors).

The Municipality tried its best to address the imbalances of the past by providing basic needs to the poor and needy people in Lethuli Park, and also with much attention to comfortable and affordable human settlements. In Lethuli Park, there are RDP houses provided to the poor, and

44

affordable houses encompass all the low-cost houses that are subsidized by government and provided to people that cannot afford to get bank home loans from private banks. Subsidised houses are for people that need assistance to improve their housing and mortgages for people that get loans directly from the banks.

4.2 POPULATION, HOUSEHOLD GROWTH AND INFRASTRUCTURE

4.2.1 Population

Here, I provide the population of the Lethuli Park area based on the census data from 2015 and 2020. This is done in an attempt to show trends in population growth over the years. This may also provide an idea of housing needs and the significance of the development arrangements, which are the subject of this dissertation. Since 2001, the population in this area has been mainly characterised by low and middle-income housing developments.

As of 2021, the Lethuli Park area is a home to approximately 50 000 people. Growth figures from 2001 to 2008 shows that the Lethuli Park population increases by about 3.27% per year on average. Much of this growth is attributed to an influx of people from other, more rural, municipal areas into the area, whereas the perception of more employment and greater economic wealth exists, because of its close proximity to town. 79% of its households are using electricity for lighting, 62% for cooking, and 58% for heating. Recent figures shows that 94.1% of the population is Black, 4.8% White, 1.1% Coloured, Indian or Asian. The population growth in Lethuli Park averaged 2.7% per year between 2015 and 2020. This is attributed to the availability of land: the land available for development in the historical wards was taken up and filled.

Table 4.1: Population growth in Lethuli Park

Year	Population size
2015	50 540
2016	51 080
2017	51 620
2018	52 160

2019	53 240
2020	53 785

Lethuli Park is a reflection of South African society. The growth in population tells a sad reality of a society of inequality and poverty. The poor live alongside the middle-class groups. This may be reflected in the different housing categories and their respective residents. But it is also documented. According to the Municipality's Annual report, about 48.5% of the Lethuli Park population is poor. However, while one cannot deny that Lethuli Park is a diverse area, it is one of the townships with large economic and social disparities. This is displayed in the Municipal report which is used to measure the disparities of townships (and hence the degree of inequality), shows that there is a high degree of inequality in Lethuli Park.

The study also sought to understand school availability in the area, and whether these schools were available to these different communities. The assumption guiding this investigation was that a zoning system was in place in terms of school enrolment, where schools would cater for a particular zone. The distribution of schools is as follows: 1 primary school located in Extension 73; 1 primary school in Phase 2; 1 public high school in Phase 2, and 2 high schools in Extension 71 and 73. While this may not appear to depict segregation, we need to understand how the enrolment system works in South Africa, how schools in a zoning system operates in terms of enrolment; proof of address is needed for children to be enrolled.

The presence of schools in Extensions 71 and 73 may mean that it may be difficult for children from the section to enrol in the schools in Phase 2 and vice-versa. This does not mean that there were no children from other sections in these schools. However, it means that in principle, this confines children from each section in their zones, and prevent these children from interacting. It was a common case that children from the RDP section were enrolled in schools in Extensions 71 and 73, rather than children from Phase 2. It is interesting that parents from the RDP section preferred sending their children to schools in Phase 2, which is a reflection of aspirations and attitudes towards their own schools. For parents in Phase 2, it was common to send children to schools outside the community, mostly to Polokwane.

It should be noted that some of these parents worked in the city and drove to work every day, which made it easy for their children to attend schools outside their communities. However, some children were using scholar transports or public transports. Asked why they attended schools outside the community, the common answer was that the schools offered better quality

46

education than the local ones. But in a nutshell, parents preferred for their children to attend schools with children of similar status. Some of these children attended private schools.

4.2.2 Housing access and social status

Moving from the brief account on schools and interaction of children, the analysis returns to the different housing categories, and focus on what they mean, the issue of access and ownership. The focus was on how the general setting identifies people from different houses and classifies those that live in the low-housing category as poor, and therefore discriminating against them. The researcher focuses on Lethuli Park in Seshego, for the review of BNG Policy, taking a look at the different housing categories and the livelihoods of their occupants.

- **Fully Subsidised Housing: RDP**

Fully subsidized houses, or RDPs as they are known in South Africa, are mostly provided to the poor sections of the population. To qualify for RDP housing in South Africa, you must be a South African Citizen and earn or make less than R3500 a month per household. This was reflected in Lethuli Park, where a high percentage of households are headed by females. Female headed households were estimated at 43.3% compared to 36.7% of households headed both by males & females, as well as 20% male headed households. It would appear that the municipality's housing allocation policy was biased towards poor women than males. Women fall under the vulnerable group category, together with people living with disabilities.

People that reside in the RDP houses include:

- domestic workers,
- garden workers,
- people that work in retail stores,
- petrol attendants,
- unemployed people, hairdressers,
- Street vendors etc.

Unemployment and poverty remain a challenge in the area. Most participants are from low-income households. As of the third quarter of 2021, the unemployment rate in South Africa (SA) reached a new record of 34.9%, increasing by 0.5% from the second quarter of 2021. The country currently has a youth unemployment rate of 66.5%, which is still among the worst globally. Despite assurances of a better life in the post-apartheid era, the majority of the 'born free' generation of young South Africans continue to face high levels of poverty,

unemployment, and limited opportunities for upward socioeconomic mobility experienced by their parents decades earlier (Kanjere, 2021).

The low-income settlements are located in Extensions 71 and 73. These are four roomed houses and not all RDP homes are the same; some are bigger and can measure up to 45 m². However, according to the people of Lethuli Park, only 30% of all houses built by the government were larger than 30 m², and few of the houses complied with the standard building regulations. The RDP houses are four-roomed houses with painted walls, and steel roofs, which has become an increasingly popular roofing solution for the RDPs. Many of these RDP homes have been fitted with Inverted Box Rib (IBR) or sheet metal roofing and occupants have to put up with leaks and heat. Most RDP houses offer nothing more than a shelter, although some may have one or two interior walls to divide up the living space. The structure only has a bathroom with a small sink, a toilet, and a shower head fitting in the ceiling- with a hole on the floor for drainage.

The residents in RDPs, in extensions 71 and 73 use 25 litre buckets and other facilities that they can use to collect water. The collected water is then stored inside drums, buckets, and containers for easy access when it is needed. The stored water is used for all the domestic purposes, making it necessary for household members to conserve water. That is, the members have to make sure that they use a small quantity of water when doing other household activities like washing dishes and bathing. Some even make their children share water when bathing, either by taking bath at the same time in one bathing facility or by one taking bath after the other, using the same water.

Fig. 4.3: Fully subsidized houses:

Access to good schools, healthcare, electricity, safe water, and other critical services remains elusive for many and is often determined by socio-economic status, gender, ethnicity, and geography. People in RDPs are not able to have their own water facilities in their yards and

48

will often ask for water from their neighbours from the middle-class groups. They make use of candles for light and coal stoves for cooking. The people of Lethuli Park collect and store water in containers and JoJo Tanks so that the water may be able to sustain them for a while. This is because sometimes they experience shortages of water due to their neighbour's taps running dry and the authorities doing nothing to supplement the situation.

Due to lack of water within the society, it also affects their sanitation services. These people make use of pit latrines and other on-site methods. This, however, worries the people of Lethuli Park as it affects their health. These people do not even have proper waste management sites and end up using plastics in their homes to rid of the waste and when they are full, they throw the waste within the area, which then results into smelly dumping sites that interferes with their health negatively.

Poverty is a difficult cycle to break and is often passed from one generation to the next. Typical consequences of poverty around the area include alcohol and substance abuse; less access to education; poor housing and living conditions. Heightened poverty is likely to cause increased tensions in the society as inequality increases. These issues often lead to rising crime rates in communities affected by poverty and those that can afford proper housing living amongst them.

The Living conditions of people in the RDPs are like this because there is relatively poor financial status. The incomes of these people are relatively too low for any formally regulated markets to consider granting them housing that needs financial assistance. Government has opted to try and increase the people's standard of living by providing them with RDPs, its hand being forced by nothing else but the undeniable fact that everybody has the right to proper housing, and that it is the government's responsibility to make sure that this right is protected (Harris, 1999).

There is electricity within the area but sometimes when people struggle to keep up with the high costs of electricity, they end up using other means to survive; such as making fire with wood for cooking and heating up food and also paraffin stoves and making use of candles as a means of light. The number of households provided has increased immensely since the provision of housing started. And there is now up to 30% increase. Whereas only 10% increase was expected. Looking at the overall population of Lethuli area, it has increased rapidly overtime, as compared to when the area was started. Their growth rate is above the expected local average, which then proves that indeed population growth is real.

49

A lot of people in the RDPs of Lethuli area, are unemployed, hence an increasing need for housing provision around the area. A need to have a house is placing pressure in these many households, especially when they compare themselves to their neighbors. Unemployment rate keeps on rising, not only in the area but in the country as a whole. (Goebel, 2007)

- **Partially Subsidised houses**

Unlike people in RDP houses, residents living in the partially subsidized households units cannot be categorized as poor. They are mostly people with access to some form of income but cannot afford their own mortgage housing. They have, however, contributed towards the building of their own houses. They, however, differ in status because of their different incomes.

Partially subsidised units were amended to include beneficiaries earning up to R15000.00 per month. Under the revised programme, qualifying households earning between R3501.00 and R7000.00 per month who are unable to secure a mortgage loan may apply for the allocation of a vacant serviced stand, created through the Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP). Qualifying households earning between R7001.00 and R15000.00 per month qualify for financial assistance towards the repayment of the bond. The subsidy attaches to the beneficiary and not to the property. The subsidy will be used to decrease the mortgage bond and is only applicable to persons who have never been assisted by the state before. It will be disbursed as a once off subsidy (The National Housing Code, 2009)

People who resides within this this type of housing in Lethuli Park are people who are able to live independently with an ability to upgrade their houses and make additions and alterations. These are usually five roomed houses with one garage, which either have painted walls or bricked walled. They are situated in phase 1, which is the west side of Lethuli Park area. The subsidised housing is located within this specific section only and that is how the researcher was able to identify them.

Subsidised houses have a room for improvement, as many will feel that their rooms are not enough as families start to grow. They say that when they have saved enough money, they extend their houses by adding 1 or two rooms. They are mostly not able to go beyond that because of the limited amount of space in their yards. These are full families that have 9-5 jobs, which work for government as teachers, nurses or police officers. People from these houses have a normal lifestyle and will not go to bed hungry. Although they cannot afford to have lush lifestyles as most of them still take their children to local schools.

50

Fig. 4.4: Partially subsidized houses:

This subsidy is given to people who want to build or manage the building of their own homes. Unlike the Project Linked Subsidy where a contractor builds houses for a number of people, the Peoples Housing Process allows people or beneficiaries to build or organise the building of their homes. People oversee their own houses construction process in this programme and are supported by a support organisation.

People that resides within this type of housing in Lethuli Park are able to live independently with the ability to upgrade their houses and make additions and alterations. They can just submit an application to the developer to make adjustments on the subsidy amount, which will have to include proof of their salary statements or any form of disabilities that they might have. This group is situated in Phase 2, on the west side of Lethuli Park area.

Thus, those who qualify for a housing subsidy have received additional amounts to improve their houses with special additions such as paving, ramps to the outside doors, grab rails in bathrooms, kick plates on doors and visual doorbells for the deaf. Yet, people of Lethuli Park says that there are many instances where the houses are sold and used to make money and make ends meet by getting people to rent some of their rooms. Some individuals in Lethuli Park rent out the houses to people who need places to stay where they can be closer to their working places or colleges. And they themselves go and live in RDPs or informal settlements. These people also cited that they find it hard to live alongside those in the poor spaces who owns RDP houses because they don't make them feel comfortable and also that their presence tempers with the value of their properties.

Of course, people in subsidized housing in will encounter or have encountered their own share challenges, especially with various policies that came in place in an attempt to integrate the

51

place and develop this area to make people's lives better. Their challenges include being in an environment where there is a lot of crime, where people steal from them with the assumption that they will afford to replace those stolen things. People from subsidized homes have their own taps in their yards that they use to collect water. They also can afford day to day nannies to take care of their children. Their children go to school using transports that they pay for on a monthly basis.

People who resides within these subsidized houses are usually government employees who are not in high positions. Their children are able to attend colleges and Technikons in Seshego or Polokwane. They have cars in their yards that move them around, even though they are not the most expensive ones. These subsidised houses have become 'valuable assets' in the hands of the people of Lethuli Park. In addition to this, the inability of recipients of the subsidy-housing to pay for municipal services and taxes has meant that such housing policies have been viewed as liabilities to municipalities and have not really achieved their purpose of assisting many of the people struggling to come into terms with rapid changes of economic conditions as the municipality is not collecting any revenue from them.

- **Mortgage Houses**

Residents in mortgage houses are mostly middle class. They have access to regular and high income and are able to qualify for a loan from the bank. *The Mortgagor is the individual, company, close corporation, partnership or trust who has borrowed money to finance the purchase of an immovable property and mortgages his/her property as security for repayment of the loan. The Mortgagee is the Bank, Financial Institution, employer or individual who lends the money to the Mortgagor and in whose favour the mortgage bond is registered.*

A mortgage bond is based on an agreement that the Mortgagor borrows money from the Mortgagee and agrees to pass a mortgage bond over a specific immovable property in favour of the Mortgagee as a security to the Mortgagee for the repayment of money. All immovable properties improved or unimproved, which can be registered in a Deeds Office can be mortgaged. This includes a flat as well, if it is held under sectional title and is owned by the Mortgagor.

Repayment of the loan: The Mortgagor must repay the capital debt and interest to the Mortgagee in terms of the loan agreement. The terms of repayment are contained in the agreement and the term of repayment is normally 20 years. **Use of the property:** The Mortgagee does not obtain the use and enjoyment of the mortgaged property as this is retained

by the Mortgagor subject to certain restrictions e.g., the Mortgagor may not, without the written consent of the Mortgagee, grant servitude over the property in favour of a third party.

Fig. 4.5: Mortgage

Right to sell and transfer: The Mortgagor cannot transfer the property unless the mortgaged debt has been paid in full and the bond cancelled, or the land is released from the operation of the bond with the written consent of the Mortgagee. The cancellation or release normally takes place simultaneously with the transfer. People that reside in this type of housing in Lethuli Park are financially stable and are able to maintain 6 rooms and more with double garages and wide yards with painted or bricked walls**.** People that own Mortgage houses in Lethuli Park are situated in Phase 2, on the east side of Lethuli Park area. Phase 2 is an area of only Mortgage houses, which makes it easy to be identifiable.

In Mortgage houses you will see improvements in their yards, new fences and electric fences. The owners of these houses also have 9-5 jobs (government based or private companies). They have lawns in their yards and are also able to afford cars and take their children to private/boarding schools. Their houses are built in first bricks and have tiles as roofs. Some have wooden windows and some normal windows. Some even have electrical gates. Some have their own boreholes, and some have taps in their yards.

These are the people that work for government and earn more than R22 000 upwards and can afford to pay monthly installment to the bank. People from mortgage homes are usually people who can afford basic needs and beyond. They have cars in their yards and therefore that is their mode of transport, to travel to and from work.

Their financial stability allows them to live a comfortable life and to be able to pay for their loans on a monthly basis. Most of them are even able to invest in good education for their children, from childhood to university. They pay for security companies to guard their homes and have more than one car in their yards.

They have their own modes of transport which transports them to and from work. They have washing machines to wash their own clothes and do not need to go ask for water from their neighbors. These are the people who can afford to live a comfortable life that allows them an opportunity to have nannies while they are at work.

In this section, the analysis set the scene for our understanding of perceptions and attitudes of residents from different sections. It sought to demonstrate the differences between the different housing sections in Lethuli Park, and thus, highlight differences in social statuses. The section sought to highlight the inequalities between different residents. These differences are very critical in understanding of how these different residents interact and behave towards one another.

Mortgage owners also have their own problems which they blame on the housing development policy, BNG (2004). They feel that the government let them down when it made them live alongside those who cannot afford mortgage houses. They think that most of the social ills that affect them are coming from those they regard as poor living alongside them. Because of this, they don't think BNG policy achieved its objectives as far as they are concerned.

4.3 Differences between the middle class and the poor.

It is normal that people that see themselves as poor relate differently to others that may seem as more privileged or wealthier than they are. In South Africa, the name '*makgowa*' is mostly used by the poor to refer to people who are wealthy. The use of the term reflects our sad history, and the concentration of resources on minority whites. The reference of middle-class blacks as 'whites,' as the word relatively means, is metaphorical and tells the sad reality of our society. The term has been used to refer to the wealthy ones in the same community, or those who can afford a better life. It is normal then that people in the RDP houses saw it fit to use the term to refer to those living in the other sections. After all, their homes are different, their lifestyles are different, and most of them are gainfully employed while they, the poor, are mainly unemployed. The fact that the middle class can afford loans from the banks means that they are in a different category from those in the RDPs. Hence this perception often comes with

54

certain expectations and behaviours towards the other. In this section, the analysis focuses on the interaction dynamics, attitudes and expectations towards people in Phase 2.

4.3.1 How they impact their interaction?

- **Lack of community interaction:**

Generally, people tend to interact with people of the same status. It is therefore not surprising that there are limited interactions between the two groups. Not that people in the RDP section do not want to interact with those from Phase 2, it is just that they see them as not being in the same class with them. The adults who were interviewed had no real interaction with people in Phase 2. To them, it is a different place where in the words of one old man:

> *"You cannot associate with them. You will be embarrassed. They behave differently from us because they have everything. They will treat you like a boy. You know people when they get rich. Most of those people are educated and live like 'makgowa'. They have their own friends. You only go there when it is absolutely necessary. Other than that, just keep your distance"* (Ngoato, interview, October 2020).

This is where the researcher is of the view that people from low-cost housing lack self-confidence, independence, a sense of education and culture, ambition, and discipline. However, these are dispositions that are relevant in these societies since they will determine the success or failure of those that wish to better their lives.

Children also never interacted and also very few young adults had friends in Phase 1. They also rarely play there because those people do not tolerate strangers. One of the young adults explained:

> *"We are afraid of the security vehicles that patrol the area. Those security guards are not friendly and always chase us away. We only go there when we are sent, and if you meet the security vehicle on patrol, you are always asked questions. They do not want to see us moving in groups. If they do, they send us back"* (Tshepo, interview, November 2020).

The interviews also revealed that people general believe that residents in Phase 2 do not see them as people. One of the participants said that "*Bona ga baboniwe bjale ka batho*", they do not regard them as people that are of value or that they will want to be associated with.

- **Feelings of Isolation/ Inferiority:**

55

Bullying emerged as one of the major problems identified by the community. As explained earlier, residents from Extension 71 and 73 felt that it was not easy to go to Phase 2 because of the security guards. The youth felt that they were being bullied by the security guards and community because they are poor and seen as inferior. Thus, the residents are very self-conscious and preferred to keep to themselves to avoid embarrassment by the security company patrolling Phase 2. People also fear arrest and talked of incidents where people were arrested by the security company for being found within the Phase 2 residential area.

Residents felt that they were being treated like criminals by Phase 2 residents, who didn't want them anywhere near them. They were associated with most of the criminal activities happening in the area, and the security company was hired to guard against them. One of them explained:

"Those people have a DTI Security Company to guard their area against us because we steal from them, allegedly. We are seen as burglars. Our every move is monitored. Once there is any burglary, police are here to search us. I am not saying there are no criminal elements here. What I am saying is that we are labelled criminals because we live in RDP houses" (Ngoana, interview, December 2020).

Due to the incidents of bullying and fear of being bullied, residents tend to keep to themselves. They avoid unnecessary entry into an area where they believe they are not wanted.

Residents believed that they are treated differently because they are seen as free riders. Since RDP houses are allocated to people free of charge, these people feel that they are inferior, and believe that others do not value them. This is also because the majority of them are not employed, or do menial jobs, and do not earn the kind of income that the 'others' earn. Because of these, RDP residents are very sensitive when it comes to their interaction with Phase 2 residents.

They further went on to explain that it is only fair that they treat people the same way they treat them, that way they do not have to face the realities of exclusion or feeling like they do not belong. Hence keeping the relationship within their social circle, one of the reasons they have these feelings of exclusion is because of the way they have always been excluded from the rest of the group, so it is difficult for them to be comfortable around other people without knowing how they will be treated. As one participant said, "*O phela le baba mohlompang'*, meaning that he will only interact with those that respect him for who he is.

People from low-housing units feel as though even if they needed help about anything, they would not be able to receive it because of the way they are treated. Hence they have grouped

themselves and only live by themselves. They are always blamed for the misfortunes that happen around the other two groups; incidences such as crime and violence. One participant said that "*ba re bona jwale kama hodu ebile ba re tshaba*", (they regard us as people that steal, and they are afraid of us.)

From another perspective, although these residents are discriminated against because of their situation, they also agree that the residents in Phase 2 are essential to their livelihoods. It emerged that Phase 2 residents have become major employers of people in the RDP section and informal settlements. They provide piece jobs, although some people are permanently employed as house maids and gardeners. For example, Dineo is 33 years old and married to a Security Guard, who works at the local mall. Dineo has been employed as a domestic worker for Mrs Mphale for the past 6 years. She said that the income she gets helps to supplement her husband's salary. She has four children that she left at home in Ga-Mphahlele in Limpopo Province. She supports the children and manages to send them to school. She said, "We tend to judge these people because we do not understand them. I never had a problem with them. They pay me well and sometimes, my husband come and assist me here when he is off, and they pay him also."

The issue of employment is very important, and some members of the community had developed expectations that residents in Phase 2 should provide jobs because they have money. These expectations have become a major problem because not all residents can provide employment. Their failure to provide employment is often seen as refusal to employ them. This emerged in an interview with a resident, who complained that:

"These people do not want to employ us, yet they have money. They only want to spend the money on themselves" (Tsepiso, interview, January 2021).

Besides employment, residents from Phase 2 are customers and buy goods, particularly vegetables from residents from the RDP houses that sell on the streets.

People from Extension 71 and 73 regards themselves as poor. They are always suspicious of the behaviour of residents from Phase 2 and avoid interacting with them because they feel inferior amongst them. They feel discriminated against because they are labelled as thieves and burglars as they are less fortunate. They also think that people from the two sections do not value them, and always want to dominate because they have money and are educated. Hence a lot of people from RDPs think that they do not add value to the society and that they are not appreciated for who they are. That people only see them as poor people and nothing more. It is

57

the people that are in the same situation or within the same housing units that get along with each other. According to one participant, in his exact words "*Batho ba Lethuli ba rata Boikgokgomosh*o" (They are proud). This participant also spoke of incidences where he was living in a shack, and he was refused to have access to electricity by the other two groups.

Due to the factors outlined above, the issue of acceptance still remains a problem for the poor, including the fact that there is a communication barrier between the poor and the middle class. For instance, it remains a constant fight for people from RDP households because they think the middle class perceive themselves as 'superior.' These issues are triggered by feelings of insecurity that causes the poor to hold grudges against the middle class. One cannot deny the fact that these are the issues that causes class distinctions amongst different groups.

The researcher cannot refute the fact that poor people lack power in communities and that leads to constant emotional stress for them as it is the case with the ones in the RDP houses. Their disconnectedness to the world often will reflect also on their children where one would be able to identify signs of stress, anxiety and emotional regression. This is mainly because of their lack of basic needs and their parents' inability to provide for them. In this instance, this only confirms that parents in RDP households would also struggle to pay school fees for their children and also struggle to consistently provide food for their families.

These differences also affect the power sharing factor among the community members, with the rich assuming more of the powerful roles in the community, therefore automatically placing the poor under their control. The poor feel that they were stripped of their voices in the matters of the community simply because they have no materials and that the rich see them as non-contributors to the community. This, however, highlights another big problem created by the Breaking New Ground (2004) housing policy when it fails to address other social issues beyond providing housing for the community. Thus, even though the policy succeeded in providing housing for the community, it failed the community by not putting into consideration other matters concerning the livelihoods of the community members.

4.4 CHALLENGES FACED BY THE COMMUNITY.

This research was guided by research questions. These questions were chosen so that, through them, the research can get the best of the study areas view as well as highlighting the most burning issues the community at the study area, Lethuli Park, are facing. These questions were

58

decided on because they were found to have the ability to align the data the research seeks to gather from the community with identifying the problems they are facing. And also, they make it possible for the researcher to gather the data that can be used in solving those problems. Using data the researcher gathered by basing all her questions on these main questions, the researcher was able to pinpoint the most problematic issues in relation to the implementation of the BNG housing programme and come up with relevant recommendations of what can be done to solve those problems.

These questions did not only help the researcher to highlight the problems that the communities at the study area are facing, but also to go beyond as to what caused them and how they relate to the implementation of the BNG programme. And also, to find out if the BNG housing programme was successful in empowering the communities.

Therefore, since these questions are the ones the research set out to answer, it is very important that the research show us that they were indeed answered and clearly so. Using all the data that the researcher gathered during the research, the researcher should make a presentation of that data by way of using it to show us that the research did really answer those questions.

Data presentation here is a way of logically presenting everything the researcher learned throughout the process of conducting the research while at the same time showing us how that data helps in answering the questions by which the research was guided.

As indicated before, this chapter's main purpose is to answer the research questions. Here are four main questions that the research is meant to answer.

4.4.1 Inequality caused by different housing programmes.

Housing was the cornerstone of South Africa's post-apartheid efforts to redress the legacies of racial discrimination and segregation. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, 1994) and Breaking New Ground (2004) provided more than 3.5 million houses for poor black households. However, the focus on free-standing, individually owned units resulted in newest developments taking place on the urban periphery, far from economic and social opportunities.

The policy tended to reinforce spatial divides and economic inequalities. This led to some beneficiaries selling their houses and went to rent closer to central cities, even if it meant living in poorer quality houses with poor sanitation. Moreover, despite this massive construction of public housing, supply has fallen far short of demand. While the focus of South Africa's housing policy was on home ownership, social rental housing programmes began as early as

59

1995. The government made subsidies available to third-sector organisations to build and manage affordable rental accommodation. Social housing aims to promote social and racial mixing. But this has been difficult for the government to achieve because of neighbourhood segregation.

Housing can therefore be seen as the main contributor in the differences among the community groups. Mortgage and partially subsidized units generate structural inequalities which consist of: cost (housing affordability), conditions (housing quality), consistency (residential stability) and context (neighbourhood opportunity). Mortgage and partially subsidized units also have spatial inequalities that have prevented segments of the residents from accessing jobs, social opportunities, and high-quality education.

The emphasis is on social exclusion and inequality as the main issues when it comes to society's lack of Unity. And because of this lack of unity, inequality becomes an issue when the poor start to feel like they are being treated unfairly and the middle class feeling like they do not have to mix with the poor. This sense of injustice can be fuelled further when inequalities start to include other factors like race, relative income standing or ethnicity (i.e., horizontal inequalities between groups), and how permanent these socio-economic statuses are over time (relating to intergenerational mobility and relative access to resources and opportunity). Large and occurring inequalities (perceived as injustices) can thus be destructive to societal cohesion by means of a grievance-based mechanism: the extent to which inequalities effect huge frustration and grievances among relatively disadvantaged groups (Gurr, 1970).

Implications for Social Cohesion (2012), inequality relates to the differences in outcomes for individuals in education and in society. Inequality of outcomes might be considered a major cause of the gap between the rich and the poor. Inequalities of outcome – which may occur as a result of differences in individual subsidizing, or in the way people are treated by institutions and other individuals - are usually measured in terms of inequality in wages, household income, and wealth. Different forms of inequalities often mutually reinforce each other. For example, income differences are usually linked to a number of factors, including social class, ethnicity, gender, wealth, and the rural-urban divide (Han et al, 2012). Such levels of inequalities can cause depression amongst residents and overall feelings of isolation.

- **Relative standing as the primary source of social division**

Relative standing refers to where one fits into the distribution of economic welfare, be it measured by income, wealth, or the measure used here, perceptions of relative financial

60

welfare. Measures of relative standing and relative income more specifically, are often studied in relation to self-reported happiness or subjective well-being (see for example Easterlin 1974, 1995 and Kingdon and Knight 2007).

The general finding from such studies is that although absolute income levels have a role to play, how people rank their own welfare in relation to others has a strong relation to their level of subjective well-being. This is generally understood as individual subjective well-being diminishing due to the higher income of reference groups and the accompanying sense of relative deprivation or reduced status.

The other issue that has been stated is the issue of economic inequality; this is perceived as one of the main issues why there are social inequalities and class distinctions amongst the residents. The question was to investigate the extent to which the perceptions of income inequality affects societies and was determined by how one recognizes one's economic situation in relation to that of others. These perceptions aroused looking at the distribution of resources amongst people and also lack of interdependence with other societal members and groupings. Relative standing looks like it plays a role in the well-being of the individuals, and it is likely that it could have an impact on the division of the society.

- **Understanding the role that inequality plays in dividing a society**

"Poverty is pronounced deprivation in well-being and comprises of many dimensions. It includes low-incomes and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice, capacity and opportunities to better one's life" (World Bank 2011).

There is sufficient amount of recognition of the fact that the overall setting in the area produces persistent high levels of inequality, and that can have an impact on the overall society and its economy. In the 2009 book 'Spirit Level', Wilkinson and Pickett provided a summary of several empirical investigations into how inequality correlates with multiple social problems: including health problems, mortality, crime and substance abuse. Their argument is that the psycho-social stressors that are heightened due to high levels of inequality lead to a systemic breakdown in the social structure. These social factors can affect a person's overall well-being, so this places an emphasis to many reasons as to why there is a concern about high levels of inequality and economic disparities.

The setting in Lethuli Park area does have an impact on the poor groups, and high levels of inequality found there means that large segments of a society may be excluded from economic opportunities. Thus, limiting both those individual's outcomes, as well as the aggregate performance of the economy. Such inequalities of opportunities are not in line with the aspirations of post-apartheid South Africa as reflected in the Constitution and as the RDP objective, which has been the main objective of all policy development since 1994. It reflects the society's loss of its potential and productivity. People who receive the best opportunities are the ones who are in the middle-class, and these are not necessarily the same as the ones who are the most talented or who would make the best use of such opportunities.

As a contingent, let's assume that government could provide sufficient financial assistance to all poor households that would bring them out of poverty (i.e., above the poverty line). While this would help to eliminate poverty in the community, the gaps between different groups could still remain the same (or even continue to grow), keeping inequality amongst Lethuli Citizens high (whether that be in labour market outcomes, levels of income, health status, etc.).

Adding a couple of thousands of rand to the monthly pocketbooks of the poor could elevate them above the poverty line and set them on a better life trajectory – which would hopefully materializes in long-term benefit for the individuals and their households – but it doesn't immediately result in greater equality between the outcomes of certain groups as underlying issues of inequality in the labour market and household economy remain distinct.

As discovered in the area, inequality issues are deeply rooted in Lethuli. Reducing them will require changes to the structure of the economy and the improvement in the quality of services government provides to ensure equal access, and most importantly, equal positive outcomes in terms of health and education across the population. On an economic front, job creation and inclusive economic growth remain vital pillars towards achieving the country's long-term objectives around improving the lives of all Citizens, especially in the areas of poverty and inequality (NPC, 2012).

These inequalities contribute a lot in preventing unity among the different groups of the community as others look at others as the more privileged while they themselves are denied the opportunities they know they deserve. Because of these, these two groups cannot interact properly. With other residents feeling inferior, the community cannot be able to stand and seek to accomplish a common goal in anything concerning their livelihood as the ones feeling inferior will think that they will be doing things so that only the superior ones can benefit. And

the superior ones will in turn think that the inferior ones have nothing to offer them, therefore they cannot work towards a common goal with them as they are the only ones who will be putting in more effort and resources.

4.4.2 The perception of the poor towards the rich

During the research, the researcher came to realise that those community members who live in what is referred to as RDP houses see themselves as inferior when they compare themselves to those who live in partially subsidised and mortgage units. The reason behind this is that they think that because they themselves were given houses for free and are most likely not expected to pay anything, it makes them look cheap to those who are paying for their houses. And also, the way those in partially subsidised units and mortgage units treat them, it shows them that they do not regard them as people worthy of their respect since, according to them, they do not contribute anything to the GDP of the country.

One community member from the RDP houses, who is a cashier at a local shopping complex commented that, "Who am I to be compared to those rich people who stay there in fancy houses surrounded by high walls? I don't want to even lie to myself and say we are equal just because we live in the same neighbourhood, the gap is clear and the quicker I admit that the better." (Interview, Lethuli Park)

After getting the same responses from different community members who stays in the RDPs, the researcher then concluded that these community members think of themselves as worthless as compared to those in the gated portions of the neighbourhood. To them, the fact that they couldn't afford to pay for their houses shows that they are nothing more than just poor group of people who are the government's burden while those who could afford are living the lives normal and able human beings should live. As said by one young man who is a part-time gardener "What do you think? Do you think I can say that I am their equal when I must use a candle every night for light? How can I compare myself to the people who can afford to even put light on their walls?" (Interview, Lethuli Park)

While most of the residents from the fully subsidised units, otherwise known as the RDPs, do not like the ones from the other two housing programmes, the mortgage and the partially subsidised, because of various reasons related to the differences in their lifestyles, we cannot deny the fact that this one is not the general perception of the community. There are others who regard themselves lucky because they were provided with jobs by the residents of those two housing programmes.

63

But if we are to answer our questions; these residents see themselves as being at the mercy of those who gave them those jobs because they cannot see anywhere beyond their lives without a helping hand of those in the mortgage and the partially subsidised housing programmes.

4.4.3 The nature of the relationship between the residents from different housing programmes.

Housing policies by the Department of Human Settlement were aimed at getting people out of poverty and empower them through giving them decent homes. But in doing so, our government introduced other problems as they failed to integrate the communities they were putting together. The fact that they introduced three types of units which also represents three different social standings paved a way for inequalities and class identity amongst the community members as those living in the so-called expensive houses tend to look down on those living in what is referred to as RDP houses which are free. They do this because to them those who live in the RDPs are clearly poor. Hence, they couldn't afford to pay for their houses and had to depend on the government to provide them with free houses. And because of that, they do not think they can contribute anything towards the GDP of the country as they have nothing to offer.

This kind of perception towards the 'poor' members of the community is always followed by the assumptions that because they cannot afford to live decent lives, they will resort to stealing from those who live in partially subsidised units and mortgages to support their families. Therefore, they are labelled as thieves even when they didn't steal anything. This then make the rich community reluctant when it comes to interacting with the so-called poor community as they don't think it is a good idea to be too close to those who have nothing as this might make them vulnerable to their acts of thieving and all kinds of criminalities. Another thing, the rich ones will always complain about the fact that the lower standard of the houses and the dirty surroundings thereof, of the RDPs houses is taking the value of their properties down.

On the other hand, community members who live in the RDPs find this kind of treatment by those who live in partially subsidised units and mortgages as unfair. They complain that those rich people even hired security companies to protect themselves from the poor community members as they think they will terrorise them. One of the RDP owners said, "Those people think very low of us, they always look at us with suspicious eyes like all we think about in our lives is to steal from them. They don't think we can also work to earn our living. The fact that

we cannot afford to have what they have doesn't mean that we are that poor." (Interview, Lethuli Park)

Looking at all these, it was clear to the researcher that these two groups, the 'poor' RDP owners and the 'rich' partially subsidised and mortgage owners, do not get along. The ones from the RDP houses feel they are being mistreated by the ones in other units, while those from other units feel they do not deserve to live alongside the RDP ones as they do not have anything else to offer but just bad things. They even claim that they make their communities unsafe, "We have to make sure that our children are playing inside our yards because there is no telling to what those people can do to a human being just to survive."

On the other hand, the RDP community also complained that even the government services are only enjoyed by those in other two housing programmes. Raisibe who is a 29-year-old petrol attendant said:

"Those ones think that they are better. Everything is about them. If there is a problem with their electricity, it cannot last for few hours before it is fixed, but here in our community it can even take weeks before they come and attend to it. I think they are using their money to influence these kinds of behaviours towards us because they do not want us here." (Interview, Lethuli Park)

The nature of the relationship between these communities doesn't seem to be healthy in any way. The divisions caused by the failure to integrate these communities created a huge gap and therefore different perspectives of the other community towards the other.

4.4.4 The perception of the rich towards the poor

The community in these two housing programmes; partially subsidised and mortgage, look at those who live in the RDPs as poor. To them, the fact that they cannot afford to pay for their houses means that they cannot afford to live decent lives. Worst, most of the residents from these two housing programmes think that those in the RDPs are not even educated. Some think that they are in that situation because of their own doings. As one of them said, "Those people chose to be where they are because of the bad decisions they made in their lives. Most of them spent all they have in alcohol. And painfully, they just do odd jobs, but instead of them trying to use the little they have to improve their lives, they use it to feed their unhealthy lifestyles." (Thabo, Lethuli Park)

Apart from blaming them for the kind of life they lead, residents from these two housing programmes think of the people in the RDPs as a burden. They think that because those people

65

cannot afford to pay for their houses or any services, they are just benefiting from what they, the rich ones, are paying.

The residents from these two housing programmes also think of the community in the RDPs as criminals. They don't trust them. Most of them said that the people from the RDPs are the reason why they had to hire security companies to protect their families. The main reason for this they said that it is because those people in the RDPs take their houses and rent them to undocumented citizens of other countries so that they can make a bit of money from it. "But the problem is that those undocumented people will come here and terrorise us. And you can be sure that no one will be arrested as we will not be able to identify those who did it.

"We tried to raise this issue with the authorities, but it seems as nothing has been done. And it is giving us a lot of problems." Phaahla, a 35-year-old man who works for government, from the mortgage units said.

Others raised the issue of dumping sites that are just mushrooming all around the RDP houses. They said it is the reason their neighbourhood will never be clean. "Those people are just throwing things everywhere. You cannot walk in that place without seeing four or five piles of dirt. This is a major concern for us as it also affects the value of our property."

Another one said that they are even afraid of allowing their children to play with those from the RDP houses because most of them are into some sort of drugs.

Residents from the mortgage and the partially subsidised units also complained about the expectations that the residents from the RDPs have on them. They said that those from the RDPs always expect them to provide employment for them since they can afford to live in good and expensive houses. And that sometimes when they tell them that they cannot afford to hire them, the RDP residents take that as if they are just refusing to hire them when they actually can afford to do so. One of the residents from the mortgage community said this about those from the RDP community:

"It is not like we do not hire them. The thing is we can only manage to do so much. Some of us here hired our home executives from the RDPs. But that is not enough to them. They want us to just go there and hire everyone even when we cannot afford to do it. It is very annoying." (Interview, Lethuli Park)

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In order to understand the current situation of Lethuli Park, which falls under Seshego area, it became necessary to provide the context. The context included understanding Lethuli as a case study, its governance and origin, its geographical setting, population, household growth and infrastructure, as well as the Breaking New Ground as a Policy & how it affects the case study area. The chapter also aims to understand the different housing categories in Lethuli and their livelihoods, their profiles and the different lifestyles within the area.

These housing settlements are important because without them there will be no impasse. The chapter has presented us with a rough understanding of the area and its people. It has also highlighted the long history of the affected communities in the area and how the different housing settlements caused a barrier between the people, especially those that are regarded as from poor households. The researcher looked at how people interact with each other on a daily basis, their occupations as well as their income standings. It also highlighted the social issues that may incur when different people in different housing units interact with each other.

The chapter also highlighted the perceptions of people from RDP towards the partially subsidised units and mortgage units and the overall perceptions of the three groups towards each other. Clearly, the benefits of economic growth for township residents have been far below expectations. In this chapter we also looked at the role of differences between these groups, namely: the poor, partially subsidized and the mortgage group, in influencing inequalities and therefore promoting divisions among them. But it is worth to note that the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor is not only a Lethuli Park area phenomenon but reflects a global trend. Obviously, this is no consolation, but it emphasises the urgency to start locally when reversing the trend.

Therefore, since this chapter was guided by the research questions, it is safe to say that it managed to answer all the research questions as the researcher made it a point that all research questions related problems were identified and analysed within the frameworks of the research questions to best answer them. The data collected during the research was therefore put into good use in terms of addressing the issue that the community of Lethuli Park, as our study case area, are facing and use it to come up with the answers to the research questions.

The main question was whether the housing development policies introduced by the government to the community of Lethuli Park, in Limpopo Province, managed to move beyond just providing housing for the community and address other social issues faced by the community? But as it was found during the research, these initiatives by the Department of Human Settlements failed decimally as they instead introduced social inequalities and class identity when they failed to put other social needs of the community into account. Thus even though these housing policies such as, BNG and RDP were successful in providing housing for the community, they did nothing to address the issues of social inequalities and class identity in the community. This then brings us to our four main research questions. 1. How do the residents in fully subsidised housing units view themselves in relation to their neighbours in the mortgage and partially subsidised units? 2. What is the nature of the relationship between the three communities, fully subsidised, partially subsidised and mortgage? 3. What is the perception of residents in two housing programmes towards the community in what is referred to as RDP housing? 4. How does the mortgage and partially subsidised setting influence inequalities and class identity among residents?

Throughout this chapter, the researcher was answering these questions, using the data she collected throughout the research.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focussed mainly on presenting the data collected during the study. Through the process of data presentation, the researcher managed to highlight some of the problems faced by the community of the study area. The researcher also managed to make clear the causes of these problems as well as how they are related to the BNG housing programme.

In this chapter, the researcher will be discussing the overall outcome of the research as well as giving recommendations on what the researcher thinks can be done to fix the problems faced by the community of the study area.

In this chapter, the researcher will also discuss the policy implications in relation to the BNG housing programme.

5.2 DISCUSSION

Population growth was even greater in the corridor area and formerly white Polokwane with little growth in the history of Lethuli area, after consolidation. However, despite so many changes and fluctuations, there has been a significant growth in the area in terms of the population and that also had an impact on the infrastructure, with high growth areas seeing a growing backlog.

There is no denying that household income and expenditure in Lethuli Park remains below the levels of formerly white Polokwane, there has been significant growth with strong suggestions of growing affluence and an expanding middle class. There has been significant development towards satisfying the consumption needs of Lethuli locally, with expansion of retail space in Lethuli, even though of course there are a number of social issues that arise and need to be dealt with. These social issues are due to the programs that were introduced with an intention to grow the population and ease the lives of many people that do have housing.

However, even with these issues, one cannot deny the fact that in the absence of strong economic growth in Polokwane, the successful integration of the marginalized citizens of

69

Lethuli may have been significantly less successful. The type of integration taking place in Lethuli is functional as opposed to cultural and is to some degree normative in that the integration is what is considered to be the normal or correct way of integrating. This is shown in the number of households that were separated during the apartheid regime. This study looks at the class distinctions that exist amongst the area, looking at different household units and how that has an impact on the people that are in the low housing category, those that are regarded as 'poor.'

5.2.1 Purpose of the study.

The main purpose of the study was to try and find out if the housing programme such as BNG as introduced by the Department of Human Settlements, managed to take the previously oppressed majority of people out of poverty. It was aimed at looking if the programmes showed any ability to go beyond just providing shelter for the people and take other social aspects into consideration.

The study was also done in order to find out how communities including Lethuli Park, feel about the different housing programmes and how those different programmes are influencing their everyday interaction within the community.

Guided by the research questions, the study was also done in order to find out about the different problems faced by the community at Lethuli Park.

5.2.2 Research questions in relation to the study topic.

Research questions were chosen with the following considerations in mind:

- That they do not prevent the research from gathering adequate information that will paint a good picture of the study area.
- That they allow the participants to feel free when sharing their information with the researcher, in other words, they must not be imposing the researcher's ideas but allowing the participants to come up with their original and authentic opinions about the area of the study.
- That they do not make the participants to feel like they are doing more than just sharing the information with the researcher.

These questions are the ones that enabled the researcher to collect all the relevant information needed to compile this paper. Through them, the researcher was able to clearly

identify the problems in the community and their causes in relation to the housing programmes such as BNG.

5.2.3 Research techniques and their impact

The researcher adopted various research techniques. These techniques allowed the researcher to get more information as one technique would supplement where the other couldn't give the researcher much of useful information. For an example, where interviews failed to give the researcher a certain information, either because the participant didn't have the capacity to share that information or that the questions didn't allow them to do so, the researcher was able to get that information through observations and other different techniques.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Housing programs need to adopt an integrated approach that acknowledges the connection between informal and formal housing markets. One direct outcome of a more integrated approach is targeting social rental housing towards specific groups, such as young professionals and students, who seem more willing to be close to public transit. The Corridors experience also shows that increasing access to opportunities requires integrating bus rapid transit, and other mass transit systems, with the informal minibus system. Finally, a forum to support public, private, and civil society stakeholder engagement could create more civic ownership, improve transparency, and create wider buy-in, shielding long-term transformation policies from the political winds of change.

Local government have to define their long-term plans for increasing the supply of affordable housing, balancing the need to minimize urban sprawl with the limits of the viability of building denser and taller houses. They need to address political considerations that could hold back the development of new affordable housing, ensure that housing developments have adequate infrastructure, explore ways to improve the situations of those living in informal housing, and create a strong regulatory enabling environment for the private and non-profit sectors.

Private-sector players need to keep abreast of emerging solutions in construction techniques and materials, work with governments to ensure an adequate flow of skilled labour and consider new solutions in financing and innovative tenure models. Non-profit organizations such as community land trusts, housing cooperatives and microfinance institutions have a critical role in bridging the gap between governments and the private sector to improve the affordability of

71

housing, as well as working with individuals to help them understand their options and make informed decisions.

In order to adequately address the inadequate housing challenges in South Africa, the idea of housing must be understood not for what it is (a physical product), but for what it does (a process) and also for a change in housing policies, which include an appropriate multidimensional strategy targeted interventions that are premised on a resolute commitment of resources. Furthermore, through the Housing Development Agency (HDA), an entity of the Department of Human Settlements, the government needs to engage the private sector, state-owned enterprises, provinces and municipalities to unlock strategic parcels of land suitable for human settlements development, which provision, especially for low-income groups should be at subsidised rates. The country needs an efficient, formidable and incorruptible department that is able to perform the huge task of spatial integration.

Crucially, the BNG approach to sustainable human settlements argues that it is critical for communities and the beneficiaries of government housing programmes to be organized and partner with government in the implementation and execution of new human settlements. This suggests that government institutions should promote social cohesion in such a way that citizens work towards common goals. Importantly, the Letsema campaign was introduced to encourage communities and households to work together to improve the lives of all (Department of Housing 2004). The Letsema campaign is an initiative by the Department of Human Settlements to encourage citizens to work together and assist the Department to achieve its effort of building sustainable human settlements. This, and the objectives noted above, suggests that the Department of Human Settlements recognizes that there is a link (at least potentially) between social capital and human settlements. In this sense, the BNG policy is aimed at producing, bridging and linking social capital to achieve a 'better life for all'. Of course, the formation of real trust, networks and norms of reciprocity would be a long process, subject to recurrent false starts and failures. There are no quick fixes or immediate answers.

Interestingly, particularly given our own ideological constructs, class has generally not been the focus of many social scientific studies of disaster. Whether this scarcity of class-based studies is due to the difficulties of operationalizing the concept of class or a reluctance to deal with class issues is open to question. Notwithstanding this situation, some researchers who have probed the issues have found that disasters tend to intensify pre-existing status differences and inequalities (Haas, Kates and Bowden 1977; Peacock and Bates 1982; Geipell982; Bolin

and Bolton 1986; OliverSmith 1986; Low 1988). Others have noted that post-disaster assistance is often assistance to the poor, especially in the developing world (Davis, 1978)

In general, however, it seems fair to say that greater attention needs to be paid at the issue of social stratification and its relationship to post-disaster reconstruction for social change and development. Indeed, post-disaster reconstruction in both design and implementation may play an important role in the re-establishment of traditional patterns of inequality and domination in the built form of the society or, conversely, may create new conditions which will sustain movements toward more equitable social and economic institutions.

Aigbavboa and Thwala (2012), suggest ways on how low-income housing could be used to change the quality of the life of poor. And that is by providing an allowance to the poor on services' rates and tariffs, including absolution from payment in case beneficiaries are unemployed, as well as that municipalities must be permitted, both financially and administratively, to facilitate their effectiveness to implement the BNG programme. The government's commitment to provide people with adequate houses should be expressed at all levels of government. Some municipalities are not authorized to execute the programme fully.

Cross (2008), suggests that the objectives and procedures of future housing policy will need to be continually reviewed and aligned to changing realities on the urban ground. This will ensure that the policy gives ground for vigilant optimism for South Africa's housing delivery undertaking.

5.3.1 Socio-Economic Status and Livelihoods of Lethuli Park Residents

The demographic composition of the households shows that significant amount of inequality exists within Lethuli households. In general, as outlined in Chapter 4, RDP owners and people within informal settlements live in degraded poverty. Poverty is understood as "a state or condition in which a person or community lacks the financial resources and essentials for a minimum standard of living". RDP households usually have one member employed and with earnings not enough to last for the whole month. Hence many residents pursue a range of other survival strategies so that they can be able to provide for their families.

It is quite difficult to separate poverty from housing and in the case of Lethuli, the experiences of poverty are felt in their daily living lives in relation to housing, water, sanitation and other services. In this regard, poverty is not merely a material condition but a human condition. Analysis of such a fact means that social sustainability is extremely difficult, and that poverty remains a challenge.

73

The idea that disaster reconstruction should be linked to development strategies is hardly new, but the concept of development which has driven such disaster linked efforts deals mostly with infrastructural improvements, technology and knowledge transfer. In housing and settlement reconstruction, the focus has been largely on materials, construction techniques, occasionally on financing and other economic issues, and, most recently, culturally appropriate design with the aim of getting people housed in environmentally and culturally adequate dwellings (Aysan and Oliver, 1987). Certainly, the long-term viability of a settlement and its potential to sustain further social development is as dependent on its arrangement in social space as it is on the cultural appropriateness of each individual dwelling or the safety of the terrain.

Successful reconstruction unquestionably requires building safe, culturally appropriate dwellings, but such dwellings also have or acquire social meaning in terms of both the materials with which they are built and their location in space. Consequently, successful reconstruction also involves arranging houses on the ground, which itself may be socially categorized and valued, and fixing such houses with specific people who are equally socially categorized and valued.

5.3.2 Perfect communication and coordination

In order to win the support of partner institutions for successful implementation of the BNG policy, all respondents recommended that timely engagement of how the implementation will unfold should be made to all stakeholders. The DHS as a lead department should design a communication strategy through which all features of the policy implementation process can be elaborated. Implementation plans that include required resources, roles of stakeholders, assessments of internal and external constraints, and a feasibility study should be communicated to all stakeholders in a clear manner and to ensure that orders are specific and understood. It involves changing the mind-set of stakeholders and gaining their support, enthusiasm and commitment towards effective BNG implementation. The following communication structure should be strengthened to serve its mandates as purposed which are to examine policy issues of the Province:

The planning process of the department of housing should, as a priority, involve dwellers of Informal Settlements in the development of efficient strategies. They need to have a say in this process as they have knowledge of the areas in question. Lessons learned from their challenges could be of use to the department. This is important in that they are the people most affected, and they are expecting bigger houses. The Department of Human Settlements also need to

ensure that such a programme is well communicated, even to other stakeholders, that there is visible commitment behind it, so that it is differentiated from others presented in the past. Local government need to actively involve communities in the upgrading of Informal Settlements to become active partners in improving the issues of land, houses and service delivery in the Informal Settlements.

Political and administrative leadership has emerged during the study that issues of policy development, implementation and advocacy, are to be driven from the top in order to make an impact. There is a need for clearer political and administrative leadership to be seen in the delivery of integrated and sustainable socio-economic services. The implementation of BNG policy through executive decisions and funding priorities will be the correct move from the top management. It must further be demonstrated through the show of personal commitment to promoting BNG policy to stakeholders in other partner institutions by such senior management at the top of institutions.

5.3.3 Political leadership

All the respondents only learned about the BNG policy through the community councillors during their community meetings called "*makgotla*". As a result, it was not clear how the reforms would be articulated. It is recommended that the MEC, HOD and senior managers demonstrate the ability to articulate the components of BNG policy vision and lead processes necessary to implement and support the vision.

Lack of strong leadership and support from these senior management resulted in stakeholders lacking the insights into critical goals that they are to achieve. Top management must ensure that all Stakeholders involved in implementation understand how their positions contribute directly or indirectly to the BNG goals.

The provision of low-cost housing is a noble cause for which government, municipal authorities and financial institutions collaborate to achieve the national goal. However, the companies that are contracted to construct the houses tend to maximise profit and neglect housing quality, health and safety. It was evident following the observations in this study, that the main issues across the visited housing clusters observed were poor housing quality and environmental degradation as well as inequality and class identity issue as emanating from the former.

Contractors might work under pressure to deliver the houses with minimal supervision, and this will result in beneficiaries incurring costs associated with incomplete work. The poor

workmanship increases the cost of maintaining the house and affects the beneficiary`s ability to pay monthly instalments to the financiers of the housing project. It is posited in this study that the aesthetic appeal, human-building interaction, and health and safety of occupants would be compromised when housing structures develop faults. Future studies could focus on on-site strategies of monitoring health and safety standards in the construction of houses and development of landscapes for low-income groups as quality control and quality assurance measures.

For policies like BNG to work, those in the authority must make sure that they are engaging the concerned communities enough to get a clear view of what might suit them and what might not. Politicians must try not to dictate things to the communities without even first consulting them to find out if what they are thinking of offering them will work for them.

5.3.4 Education and opportunities

During the research, the researcher found that those from the mortgage and the partially subsidised units prefer to send their children to outside the community for schooling. The reason for this is that they do not think local schools are offering good quality education that can help prepare their children for the world out there. Some of them even said that the education in the community schools is outdated. Saying that some of the schools do not have equipment for things like science experiments and coding. Things they say their children must learn. And I think it is of paramount importance to make it clear that they are doing this because they can afford to do it. Some of them don't even have to pay for school transports as they can afford to drive their children to school every day. Some of them just drop them on their way to work.

Now, with this comes a question; what of those in the RDP houses who cannot afford to take their children to other better schools out of the community? Do they have to suffer because they do not have enough money to give their children a better education? Some of them, if not most of them, are unemployed. The few who are working are not earning enough to even put food on the table until the next pay. So how do they go about acquiring good quality education if they are in these dire situations?

This is where the government should come in. Those schools in their communities should be equipped enough to give their children a good quality education so that they can be competitive when they go out there to seek employment. Not giving them access to good quality education

76

is the same as denying them opportunities as they will never be in good positions to take up those opportunities even when they are presented to them.

When it comes to adults from the RDP houses, they must be afforded job opportunities so that they can take good care of their families. The fact that the government just gave them houses and did nothing about creating job opportunities within their communities is the biggest problem. This lack of job opportunities or any opportunity that can make them afford to take good care of their families is a major contributor in the skyrocketing rates of criminalities. And this will result in the other two communities not feeling safe living alongside the RDP residents.

One negative impact this will have being that no business will ever want to come and invest in these communities if the level of crime is too high. So, the only way to curb that is by providing equal opportunities for all, therefore ushering in more investments that will also come with even more opportunities.

The government can do this through introducing programs that can equip the residents with skills so that they can use those skills to create jobs for themselves. The government can also assist them to start their own co-operations where they produce different things and sell, as a community. All these initiatives will contribute towards taking them out of poverty as well as empowering themselves.

Getting equal opportunities can help to solve a lot of social ills within a community as no group will look at the other and blame them for their misfortunes.

5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Despite persistent inequality and the increasing need for and dependency on social and income grants in South Africa, as set out at the beginning of this chapter, the South African government one decade into the new millennium was optimistic about its ability to move beyond this situation. In 2009, it committed to a Medium-Term Strategic Framework for its fourth term in the office, 2009 to 2014 (The Presidency, 2009). This spells out a set of cross-sectional goals. The overarching goals involve halving poverty and unemployment by 2019: ensuring that the benefits of economic growth are distributed more equitably while reducing inequality; improving health and skills while ensuring that access to basic services is universal, freeing the nation of racism, sexism, tribalism and xenophobia; and reducing crime and corruption, and therefore improving citizens' safety.

77

Beyond its outcomes approach, the Presidency further proceeded in setting up a National Planning Commission (NPC) consisting of independent expert commissioners with the task of conducting a high-level analysis or diagnostic and of developing concrete recommendations. The Commission produced its National Development Plan in 2012. This recommends that human settlements development be focused on attaining spatial justice, spatial sustainability, spatial resilience, spatial quality and spatial efficiency.

Another recommendation is to urgently review the existing grant and subsidy regime for housing towards greater diversification including state funding for public spaces and public infrastructure (NPC, 2012). It suggests a facilitating rather than providing role for the state in relation to housing. The commission further recognises the role played by informal settlements and recommends enhancing the existing national programme for upgrading informal settlements by developing a range of tailored responses.

5.5 POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES

BNG covers numerous issues, from process to substance. Some issues, however, do differ based on the outcomes of a particular situation at a particular area. Apart from 'sustainable human settlements', the main messages can be hard to refine. Even though the creation of sustainable human settlements is central to BNG, its meaning is hard to understand. The danger is that a municipality could focus on aspects of BNG while losing the main messages.

BNG suffers something of an identity crisis – policy enhancement, strategy and program. For municipalities that have made it their role to plan for housing or producing housing strategies, this ambiguity complicates the task of alignment as difficult as the task already is.

Having mentioned that, BNG introduces an expanded role for municipalities. This was done by ensuring that there is a shift from a supply-driven framework towards a more demand-driven process. it places an increased emphasis on the role of the state in determining the 'location' and 'nature of housing' as part of a plan to link the demand for, and supply of, housing. BNG assumes that municipalities will proactively take up their housing responsibilities. The following interventions are identified:

• The accreditation of municipalities.

• Building municipal capacity; and

• Undertaking housing planning as part of municipal IDP

At a minimum the shift from housing units to human settlements implies integration via the provision of the full suite of services in housing projects – housing units plus schools, clinics and other facilities. According to Royston (2009) BNG is the position that more integrated settlements are also better-quality settlements. In this sense, the shift is to integrated settlements and both intra-governmental (within one sphere of government) and intergovernmental type instruments for integrated planning and co-ordinated investment (such as the Housing Chapter of the IDP and spatially prioritising investment), will be important.

The budget co-ordination required for spatially prioritised investment is a long and challenging endeavour. The challenge persists; anecdotes exist about fully subsidy constructed houses without water connections. While housing planning as part of IDPs is intended as one of the inter-governmental planning instruments to guide the co-ordination of investment, this 'bottom-up' planning intervention, is still somewhat at odds with the reality of who holds the purse strings.

Although in intention plans for accreditation address this contradiction, there is very little experience of municipalities having both the responsibility for prioritising the nature and location of housing investment, and the authority to deliver on the plans through allocation. Although progress with accreditation is required to overcome this contradiction, a very real housing capacity problem persists in municipalities – especially those outside the metros – which could undermine the ability to plan effectively for housing and to spend public housing resources. (Marais, Venter & Cloete, 2009)

The mandate from BNG is for 'sustainable human settlements' to not only integrate human settlements. Thus, in addition to interpreting this mandate as integrated settlements through the provision of services as well as housing units, BNG requires that municipalities should take a broader perspective. It is the 'sustainable' element in the call for 'sustainable human settlements' that requires more attention. This is one of the plan's biggest weaknesses – that the main message is incompletely defined.

It appears up to municipalities to give content or substance to the sustainable human settlements mandate. The sometimes-competing notions of financial viability and sustaining livelihoods come into play. This raises the question of perspective; sustainable for whom – the environment, the city, the settlement or the household? Sustainability for the city suggests an

emphasis on financial viability, which will be particularly important in the light of the delivery challenges and backlog quantum.

Sustainability for households leads to a livelihood's perspective, suggesting providing protection and creating opportunities for the poor and vulnerable. Given the lack of explicit direction in BNG, it may well be that the financial viability emphasis will win the day, when a larger challenge – and more complete interpretation of the mandate - lies in finding the balance.

A key challenge for municipalities in planning for the achievement of sustainable human settlement is an institutional one regarding where responsibility for the achievement of sustainable human settlements is located. The achievement of sustainable human settlements will rely on a range of interventions, and a set of well-targeted instruments, only some of which reside in housing line functions.

 A housing department would be extremely challenged to take responsibility alone – given the issues of intergovernmental relations, budget co-ordination and prioritisation required. Sustainable human settlements are not a single sector concern and BNG is not sufficiently explicit about how municipalities should resolve the overall leadership of the sustainable human settlements mandate. Neither does it give municipalities enough confidence that the National Department of Housing will assist them in championing the cross-sector nature of sustainable human settlements.

5.5.1 Integration of BNG

The second key outcome of BNG discussed in this article is 'integration'. BNG treats integration in a multi-faceted way including spatially, institutionally, socially and economically, as this section will demonstrate. BNG's treatment of integration links it to inclusion, better quality settlements and improved quality of life, improved intergovernmental relations and spatial restructuring.

The lack of spatial integration is identified in the problem statement of the review section of BNG, where a quality concern arising from poor spatial integration, or its absence, is described – 'settlements have generally lacked the qualities necessary to enable a decent quality of life' (South Africa Department of Housing, 2004).

BNG links the issues of better quality and integration, and it attributes lack of integration to poor intergovernmental relations, "…the lack of funding and poor alignment of budgets and priorities between line function departments and municipalities responsible for providing social facilities in new communities" (South Africa Department of Housing, 2004).

80

BNG raises spatial restructuring as a means for achieving integration. For example, in the objectives, sustainable human settlements are seen to support spatial restructuring: "… utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements in support of spatial restructuring" (South Africa Department of Housing, 2004). The notion of 'inclusion' is central to the way BNG treats integration. The progressive eradication of informal settlements is BNG's main response:

'Informal settlements must urgently be integrated into the broader urban fabric to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion.' Other responses for addressing spatial restructuring are promoting densification and integration; enhancing spatial planning and the location of new projects; supporting urban renewal and inner-city regeneration; and developing social and economic infrastructure (these were unpacked in the sustainable human settlements sub-section above).

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Maphoko Nthabiseng Tjebane

Student No: 14352339

Supervisor: Prof. Vusilizwe Thebe

The department of Human Settlement's Comprehensive Housing Plans, Class
Identity and Inequality. A case study of the Lethuli area in Polokwane,
Limpopo.

Re: Approval in respect of request to conduct research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned
researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The Onus
rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with
the different people that will be interviewed. Should you have any further questions,
do not hesitate to contact me on 074 568 7092 / adorapss@gmaili.com

I will be thankful to receive the final findings of the above mentioned research study.

Sincerely,

Cllr Phetola Adolph Rapetswa

Cllr Petronella Mohloana

Appendix 1

Informed Consent – Community

You are hereby invited to participate in a research study by Nthabiseng M Tjebane, an MSocSci in Development Studies student in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria. The study focuses on the consolidated settlement model and dynamics of class identity and inequality, and uses the case study of the LethuliSettlement area in Limpopo. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant. If you would prefer me to read the letter, I will read it in a language that you prefer.

Title of the study

Exploration of Class Identity and Inequality in The Department of Human Settlement's Comprehensive Housing Plan.

What will happen in the study?

The study will involve interviews with you on information and views on aspects that the study is interested in understanding. The interview will take about an hour of your time and with your permission, may be voice recorded so that I do not miss any important information that you share. You can choose to have the interview session in English or in Sepedi.

Risks and discomforts

There will be no danger to you or your household. It may however be difficult for you to share some information, and you will be free not to answer any questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. If you experience some level of discomfort after joining the study, and you would

like to stop participation, please be free to let me know. You will be allowed to stop participation without any prejudice and the data already collected will be discarded.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?

Participation is voluntary, and you will not receive any money or gifts for your participation. Your contributions will assist me in developing a dissertation for my qualification, but it may also benefit the community indirectly through findings that may assist in finding better ways of doing things.

Confidentiality

Apart from me as the researcher, the data will be shared with my supervisor, Prof. Vusi Thebe of the University of Pretoria. Every effort will be made to ensure that the information you share is not linked to you or your household. Your identity and that of your household will not be revealed and you will be identified through pseudonyms. The data will be stored in a password protected computer during fieldwork, and in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, for a period of 15 years for archiving purposes. If the data is used during this period, it will only be for research purposes.

The results will be produced in the form of a dissertation or scientific paper, or may be presented at both local and international forums like workshops and conferences. The voice recordings of the interviews will not be broadcasted on radio, television, and internet or on social media but will be utilised to make findings for the study.

Any questions?

For any further questions or enquiries, please do not hesitate to contact me on 0793292272. You can also send me an email on the following address: nthabisengtjebane@gmail.com

CONSENT DECLARATION

I_____ (write your name) hereby agree to participate in this study.

Date: ……………………………………

Appendix 2

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Humanities 100.
Since 1919

29 June 2021

Dear Miss MN Tjebane

Project Title:	Exploration of Class Identity and Inequality in the Department of Human Settlement's Comprehensive Housing Plan, A case study of the Lethuli Area in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, South Africa
Researcher:	Miss MN Tjebane
Supervisor(s):	Prof V Thebe
Department:	Anthropology and Archaeology
Reference number:	14352339 (HUM007/1120)
Degree:	Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 27 May 2021. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Karen Harris
Acting Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

Appendix 3

Topic: Exploration of Class Identity and Inequality in The Department of Human Settlement's Comprehensive Housing Plan:

A Case Study of the Lethuli Area in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, South Africa.

Interview schedule by Nthabiseng Tjebane in partial fulfilment of MSocSci in Development Studies

Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Supervisor: Prof. Vusilizwe Thebe

-

_____

_____

The study will adopt an open interview approach with no specific set of questions. The study will be guided by the research questions and some thematic areas that must be covered by the interviews.

Importantly, the data collection approach will be guided by the following main question:

- To what extent does the Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements in South Africa cluster people into spaces of different privileges and identifies those in the low the housing category with the stigmatic label of the poor, and therefore impose class differences with others?

The interviews will be divided into four (4) sections:

Section 1: Interviews related to the views residents in the fully subsidised housing units have in relation to their neighbours in the mortgage and partially subsidised units

- The researcher aims to ascertain the different kinds of outlooks residents in the mortgage and partially subsidized housing.

Section 2: Interviews regarding the nature of relationship between the communities. (Partially Subsidised, Fully Subsidised and Mortgage Units)

- Basically, the researcher wants to find out the forms of relationship, interaction the residents possess to each other; and on what they think should be done to improve the association these communities have.

95

Section 3: Interviews related to the perceptions of residents between households in mortgage andand partially subsidised units towards those residing in RDP houses.

- The researcher aims to hear residents' feelings, beliefs and attitude from the mortgage and partially subsidised units.Moreover, the researcher wants to get in-depth insight on the attitude of residents towards each other.

Section 4: Interviews about the influence of class identity and inequalities among residents

- For this section, the researcher wants to determine the influence class identity has on the inequalities experienced by residents

Appendix 4

Exploration of Class Identity and Inequality in The Department of Human Settlement's Comprehensive Housing Plan:

A non-disclosure agreement of the Research Assistant:

1. Keep all the research information shared with me confidential. I will not discuss or share the research information with anyone other than with the Researcher or others identified by the Researcher.
2. Keep all research information secure while it is in my possession.
3. Return all research information to the Researcher when I have completed the research tasks or upon request, whichever is earlier.
4. Destroy all research information regarding this research project that is not returnable to the Researcher.
5. Comply with the instructions of the Researcher about requirements to physically and/or electronically secure records (including password protection, file/folder encryption, and/or use of secure electronic transfer of records through file sharing, use of virtual private networks, etc.).
6. Not allow any personally identifiable information to which I have access to be accessible from other people.

Regards

Shaku Pebetse Beauty

083 821 7839

Appendix 5