

Informality and sustainability: reflecting on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector from a planning perspective

LG Lategan

21441480

Thesis submitted for the degree *Philosophiae Doctor* in
Urban and Regional Planning at the Potchefstroom Campus
of the North-West University

Promoter: Prof EJ Cilliers

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PREFACE

Before commencing with the study at hand, it is important to note that research and subsequent findings captured as part of this thesis are assimilated in the article format allowed under the Manual for Master's and Doctoral Studies at the North-West University (NWU, 2013a) and the University's Faculty of Natural Sciences' Quality Manual (NWU, 2013b). In case of submission in the article format, the Faculty of Natural Sciences requires that at least one article be accepted for publication on the day that the thesis is submitted for examination (NWU, 2013b:111).

The article format was selected for this study for various reasons. Firstly, the article format suits the subject matter of this study by providing the opportunity to relate literature directly to empirical research and findings, without the traditional division between literature and empirics required in a more traditional thesis approach. The article format further meets a primary research objective for the Faculty of Natural Sciences in realising the objective to 'add new knowledge to natural sciences by publishing scientific articles in subject journals' (NWU, 2013b:79). Producing publishable articles provides immediately tangible outputs as a result of the PhD study, preventing research from becoming a solely academic exercise without further application potential or real-world penetration. The article format also provides a significant challenge, but provides the opportunity to hone research skills and develop competency as an academic, as the NWU (2013b:114) recognises that 'writing a compact research article is a much more advanced skill'.

It is important to note that there is no minimum requirement on the number of articles to be included in a thesis submitted in the article format (NWU, 2013b:112), but that three articles are considered the norm. This study exceeds the minimum expectation by providing two review manuscripts and four research articles in addition to the conclusion and recommendation chapters provided. The research articles included in this study were either submitted or prepared for submission to the following journals:

- Town and Regional Planning (article accepted for publication). This journal was selected as it is the only DHET (Department of Higher Education and Training) accredited Town and Regional Planning journal in South Africa, with the journal's research focus aligned to that of the article submitted.
- Housing Studies (prepared for submission). The journal was selected based on its impact factor and the journal's publication objectives that could be aligned with the article prepared for submission.
- Community Development Journal (prepared for submission). The journal was identified based on its impact factor and the platform the journal presents for cutting-edge debates on community development in theory and practice.
- Environment and Planning A (prepared for submission). This journal was again identified based on its impact factor, but also selected due to its cross-cutting focus on human geography, environmental studies and urban and regional research.

More detail on the above journals and further motivations for their selection are provided within the contents of the study, under each research article in Chapter Three. It should be noted that article texts are not provided in the preferred font and size of each journal, for the sake of thesis uniformity. It is accepted that the articles will undergo substantial changes and abridgements before ultimate publication, pending reviewer comments (as also acknowledged in the NWU Manual). Although all articles are officially co-authored by the promoter, Professor E.J. Cilliers, all research, writing and editing was conducted by the candidate. Professor Cilliers acted as reviewer, making comments and suggestions to improve the chapters, review manuscripts and research articles as well as the study in its totality, as befitting the role of a promoter. Professor Cilliers was added as co-author on all articles submitted and prepared for submission in recognition of her contributions. Substantiation to this fact may be found in her declaration provided on the following page and attached as **Annexure N** for ease of reference.

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1 December 2016

Re: Declaration from co-author

I, Prof Elizelle Juanee Cilliers (NWU personnel nr 12248029), am the promotor of Mr L.G Lategan (Student nr 21441480) for his Thesis submitted for the degree Philosophiae Doctor, entitled "Informality and sustainability: reflecting on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector from a planning perspective".

I hereby confirm that, as promotor, I am co-author of the papers submitted for publication. As co-author my role was defined by the Code of conduct for supervisors and promoters, as captured in the Manual for Postgraduate Studies of the NWU. As such my role included:

- Ensuring quality of the research
- Assisting in the development of the research process and guidance throughout the introductory phase, the planning phase, the implementation phase, the reporting phase and the evaluation phase.
- Guiding the development of expertise in the research field
- Supporting appropriate methodologies employed in the research
- Review and assessment of submitted work in terms of technical and academic standards
- Ensuring that ethical research processes are followed throughout

Mr L.G Lategan, as first author, conducted all research, and was solely responsible for the writing and editing of the research. Mr Lategan illustrated the ability to conduct high level research independently, he made a distinct scholarly and original contribution to the knowledge and insight in the field of Urban and Regional Planning.

His thesis complies with rule 5.4.2.7 of the quality manual, stating that where the article option is used, "the thesis must still be presented as a unit, supplemented with an inclusive problem statement, a focused literature analysis and integration and with a synoptic conclusion, and the guidelines of the journal concerned must also be included".

As co-author I hereby give permission that the article(s) can be submitted for degree purposes. All included articles in this thesis flow forth directly from the student's research after registration for the doctoral degree at NWU.

Regards,



Prof. Juanee Cilliers

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ABSTRACT

South Africa's low-income housing sector is typified by sprawling subsidised housing, informal settlements and a hybrid typology manifest as the informal backyard rental sector. Despite growth in informal backyard rentals post-apartheid, housing policies have discounted the sector, focussing on subsidised homeownership and eradicating informal settlements according to Northern-derived modernism. Figures on the scope of informal backyard renting are unreliable and existing literature provides a piecemeal account based on metropolitan case studies. The neglect of the informal backyard rental sector disregards prospects for more sustainable human settlements. This study reflects on these sustainability outlooks from a planning perspective, addressing the research question: 'What challenges and potentials do South Africa's informal backyard rental sector present towards the sustainability of human settlements?' The study employs a literature review informed by electronic data bases and implements mixed method research relying on quantitative data gathered *via* questionnaires and qualitative data from semi-structured interviews and anecdotal observation in the nonmetropolitan case study of Oudtshoorn, the Rose Valley informal settlement, Bridgton and Bongoletu. The thesis focuses on housing policy and legislation, planning theory, spatial, economic, social and environmental considerations in relation to the informal backyard rental sector.

Research evidences that South African housing policy has made negligible reference to informal backyard rentals and that a dedicated national policy is overdue. By discussing the informal backyard rental sector within planning theory, relating the sector to radical planning and co-production, the study strengthens the argument to consider everyday practice and theorise from the South towards more representative and just outcomes. In investigating the spatial impacts of the informal backyard rental sector, the study reaffirms that informal backyard infill increases dwelling unit and population density substantially, promoting urban compaction and redirecting urban growth from informal settlements. Furthermore, the excellent access to basic services enjoyed by informal backyard tenants improves living conditions, but also stresses infrastructure networks. In terms of economic sustainability, findings suggest that low-income dwellings rarely realise financial asset value, trapping homeowners on the low levels of the property ladder in unaffordable housing. Conversely, informal backyard rentals provide rental income or other remittances, realising economic asset value, whilst providing tenants with affordable rental accommodation.

Informal backyard rentals further promote the social asset value of housing and support social sustainability, evidenced in co-dependent, low-conflict landlord-tenant relationships framed by filial connections that provide tenure security. Findings indicate that informal backyard rentals challenge sustainability through health and safety concerns. In terms of environmental considerations, research evidences that informal backyard densification does not necessarily require an increased number or area of urban green space to compensate for backyard infill, simply that access to public greenery must be readily available. Evidence suggest that littering and dumping are concerns connected to an increased number of consumers accommodated in backyard rentals. The study concludes that informal backyard rentals contribute towards the sustainability of South Africa's human settlements, but that interventions should be considered by authorities and planners to address impediments and amplify potential, especially in terms of informality and sustainability from a planning perspective.

Key words: *Informality; sustainable development; informal backyard rentals; low-income housing; urban and regional planning; South Africa*

OPSOMMING

Informaliteit en volhoubaarheid: 'n besinning oor Suid-Afrika se informele agterplaas verhuringsektor vanuit 'n beplannings perspektief

Suid-Afrika se lae-inkomste behuisingssektor word gekenmerk deur uitgebreide gesubsidieerde behuisings, informele nedersettings en 'n hibriede tipologie wat as die informele agterplaas verhuringsektor manifesteer. Ondanks groei in informele agterplaas verhuring na apartheid, ignoreer huidige behuisingsbeleid die sektor en word die fokus op gesubsidieerde huiseienaarskap en die uitwissing van informaliteit toegespits in oorstemming met modernisme uit die Noorde. Syfers oor die omvang van informele agterplaas verhuring is onbetroubaar en huidige literatuur verskaf 'n sporadiese oorsig gebaseer op metropolitaanse gevallestudies. Die verwaarloosing van die informele agterplaas verhuringsektor verontagsaam vooruitsigte vir meer volhoubare menslike nedersettings. Hierdie studie besin oor dié volhoubaarheidsvooruitsigte vanuit 'n beplannings perspektief deur die volgende navorsingsvraag aan te spreek: 'Watter uitdagings en geleenthede hou Suid-Afrika se informele agterplaas verhuringsektor vir die volhoubaarheid van menslike nedersettings in?' Die studie steun op 'n literatuur oorsig wat van elektroniese databasisse gebruik maak en implementeer gemengde metode navorsing deur op kwantitatiewe data afkomstig van vraagbriewe en kwalitatiewe data van semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude en anekdotiese waarneming in die nie-metropolitaanse gevallestudie van Oudtshoorn, die Rose Valley informele nedersetting en Bridgton en Bongoletu te steun. Die tesis fokus op behuisingsbeleid en wetgewing, beplanningsteorie, ruimtelike, ekonomiese, sosiale en omgewings oorwegings in verband met die informele agterplaas verhuringsektor.

Navorsing bewys dat Suid-Afrikaanse behuisingsbeleid weglaatbare verwysings na informele agterplaas verhuring bevat en dat 'n toegewyde nasionale beleid nodig word. Deur die informele agterplaas verhuringsektor vanuit 'n beplanningsteorie invalshoek te bespreek en die sektor tot radikale beplanning en ko-produksie te verbind, versterk die studie die argument om die alledaagse te oorweeg en vanuit die Suid te teoretiseer om meer verteenwoordigende en regverdige uitkomstes te bereik.

Deur die ruimtelike impakte van die informele agterplaas verhuuringssektor te ondersoek herbeklemtoon die studie dat informele agterplaas invul wooneenheid en bevolkingsdigtheid merkwaardig verhoog, wat stedelike kompaktheid bevorder en groei weg van informele nedersettings kanaliseer. Verder verbeter die uitstekende toegang tot basiese dienste wat informele agterplaas huurders geniet lewenstoestande, maar plaas dit ook druk op infrastruktuur-netwerke. In terme van ekonomiese volhoubaarheid dui bevindinge daarop dat lae-inkomste wooneenhede selde finansiële bate waarde realiseer en huiseienaars dikwels op die lae vlakke van die behuisingsleer vasvang in onbekostigbare wonings. Informele agterplaas verhuurings verskaf huurinkomste of ander bydraes wat ekonomiese bate waarde realiseer, terwyl huurders van bekostigbare akkommodasie voorsien word. Informele agterplaas verhuurings bevorder verder die sosiale bate waarde van behuising en ondersteun sosiale volhoubaarheid, bewys in mede-afhanklike, lae konflik verhuurder-huurder verhoudings wat deur familie bande gekenmerk word en stabiele verblyfreg verskaf. Bevindinge dui ook daarop dat informele agterplaas verhuurings sekere uitdagings vir volhoubaarheid inhou in terme van gesondheid- en veiligheidsbepommernisse. In terme van omgewingsoorwegings dui navorsing daarop dat informele agterplaas verdigting nie noodwendig 'n vermeerderde getal of groter oppervlak van stedelike groen ruimtes vereis om te vergoed vir agterplaas invul nie, slegs dat openbare groen ruimtes beter toeganklik moet wees. Navorsing voer aan dat rommelstrooi en afvalstorting die gevolg is van 'n verhoogde aantal verbruikers wat gehuisves word in agterplaas verhuurings. Die studie kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat informele agterplaas verhuurings tot die volhoubaarheid van Suid-Afrika se menslike nedersettings bydra, maar dat ingryping oorweeg moet word deur owerhede en beplanners om struikelblokke aan te spreek en geleenthede verder uit te bou, veral in terme van informaliteit en volhoubaarheid vanuit 'n beplanningsperspektief.

Slutelwoorde: *Informaliteit; volhoubare ontwikkeling; informele agterplaas verhuurings; lae-inkomste behuising; stads- en streekbeplanning; Suid-Afrika*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

20 PTP:	Twenty Prioritised Townships Programme
ANC:	African National Congress
ARP:	Alexandra Renewal Project
AsgiSA:	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative
BESIP:	Backyard Essential Services Improvement Programme
BNG:	Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements
CBD:	Central Business District
CRU:	Community Residential Units
CSIR:	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DBS:	Discount Benefit Scheme
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
DRC:	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EDM:	Eden District Municipality
EPHP:	Enhanced People's Housing Process
FAR	Floor Area Ratio
FLISP:	Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme
GDHS:	Gauteng Department of Human Settlements
GEAR:	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
HDI:	Human Development Index
ICESCR:	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDP:	Integrated Development Plan
IHP:	Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy (IHP) in South Africa

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IUDF: Integrated Urban Development Framework

LDC: Least Developed Country

LED: Local economic development

LUS: Land Use Scheme

MDG: Millennium Development Goal

MTSF: Medium Term Strategic Framework

NDP: National Development Plan

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NHF: National Housing Forum

NHSS: National Housing Subsidy Scheme

NP: National Party

NRF: National Research Foundation

OLM: Oudtshoorn Local Municipality

PHP: People's Housing Process

PIE: Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and
Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19 of 1998

RDF: Rural Development Framework

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

RHT: Rental Housing Tribunal

RSA: Republic of South Africa

SA: South Africa

SALGA: South African Local Government Association

SDF: Spatial Development Frameworks

SHI: Social Housing Institution

SHP: Social Housing Policy

Soweto: South Western Townships

SPLUMA: Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013

TB: Tuberculosis

UDF: Urban Development Framework UDF

UISP: Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme

UN: United Nations

USDG: Urban Settlement Development Grant

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. Unpacking the title of this thesis

This chapter provides a primary introduction to the research theme and elaborates on the research methodology employed in this investigation. Before the contents of the chapter is officially initiated under the heading 'Problem statement and motivation', this section deciphers the study's title to provide some orientation. The title of this research, 'Informality and sustainability: reflecting on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector from a planning perspective', is decoded in **Table 1**.

Table 1: Unpacking the title

Informality	The unauthorised and ostensibly unorganised practices commonly relied on by the indigent, but regarded by authorities as illegal, undesirable and anti-modern as an increasingly critical planning consideration in the local (South African) context.
Sustainability	Generally premised on economic, social and environmental considerations for sustained future wellbeing and framed by broader resilience-minded thinking as a point of departure in considering human settlement planning.
Reflecting	To review and contemplate with intense consideration, in accordance with Bloom's taxonomy in reference to doctoral level outputs.
Informal backyard rental sector	The small-scale private rental sector constituted by informal tenements erected adjacent to formal dwellings as a growing housing subsector in South Africa to be considered within the local planning environment.
Planning perspective	Through the lens of the urban and regional planning profession, in terms of planning theory and practice towards improved future outcomes.

Source: Own construction (2016)

This research therefore aims to reflect on informality and sustainability as two critical considerations within the planning profession, by evaluating the role and contribution of the informal backyard rental sector within the local South African reality. It should be noted that new knowledge generated in this regard, in keeping with the requirements set for a PhD, are provided in Chapters Four and Five of this study, specifically *via* **Tables 15** and **16**.

2. Problem statement and motivation

Informality has become, and will remain a part of urban life for the foreseeable future across the globe (Ernstson *et al.*, 2014:1568). Traditionally associated only with the developing world, relegated to the geographies of the global South, informality is progressively recognised as a feature of urban life in the western world, regularly identified in the cities of the global North (Porter *et al.*, 2011:119). Whilst informality conceptualises a range of unregulated settlements, unsanctioned social networks, livelihood and income-generating strategies, cultural and political mobilisation practices (Huchzermeyer, 2009:59; Watson, 2009a:186; Yiftachel, 2009:88; Duminy, 2011:1; Ernstson *et al.*, 2014:1568), it is most distinct where physically manifested. In this regard, informal housing has become an especially pertinent field of investigation within a number of fields and particularly in urban planning. In connection with previous assertions on informality as a developing world issue, the informal has traditionally been conceptualised around potential negative impacts in terms of an illegal and improper corruption of the modern and progressive, as chaotic and anarchistic and as fundamentally unsustainable (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:654). The last is especially pertinent given the now well-established focus on sustainability as a planning and development guideline, and that framing informality as in the aforementioned way curtails sustainable development objectives (Odendaal, 2012:176).

Sustainable development is most commonly defined according to the landmark definition provided by the Brundtland Commission in the 1987 report, *Our Common Future*, as: 'Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Blewitt, 2008:9; Claes *et al.*, 2012:10; Barkemeyer *et al.*, 2014:16; Imran *et al.*, 2014:134).

Following the Brundtland definition, sustainable development is often conceptualised by a concentric model that consists of economic, social and environmental spheres, also referred to as the three pillars of sustainable development, or the 'triple bottom line' (Barkemeyer *et al.*, 2014:17). Following the triple bottom line approach, sustainable development requires a compromise between economic, social and environmental objectives that may establish wellbeing for both present and future generations (Ciegis *et al.*, 2009:34; Claes *et al.*, 2012:10; McCormick *et al.*, 2013:4).

Whilst Brundtland-derived interpretations on sustainability have been criticised (Blewitt, 2008:9; Dixon & Woodcraft, 2013), the above definition is still the most widely cited and remains as the foundation of sustainability-thinking. Sustainability-led thinking has formed part of urban planning dogma for some time and urban planning is now reciprocally fundamental to the idea of sustainability (McCormick *et al.*, 2013:4) as urban development provides challenges and opportunities for more sustainable futures (Weingaertner *et al.*, 2014:124). In elaborating on sustainability within planning for human settlements, references are made to stewardship of the natural processes that support human life and equivalently to the social dimensions of urban life, equity, community and social justice, as well as to the aesthetic and spiritual qualities of the built environment (Friedmann, 2005:213). Planning for more sustainable outcomes is however fraught with challenges. To quote Dixon (2011:3): 'There are formidable issues to address if transitions to a more sustainable future in urban areas are to be managed successfully'.

Porter *et al.* (2011:115) articulates these challenges as including rapid urbanisation, poverty and informality. In pursuit of true sustainability, it is perhaps fitting to acknowledge that sustainability is a fluid and transient target and that we can at best seek to be more sustainable than we are at present (Childers *et al.*, 2014) by continuously reevaluating our understanding of the subject and what may be included under sustainable practice. In keeping with the fluidity of sustainability and related theorising, this study also recognises the emergence of resilience as a concept now increasingly related to sustainability (Davoudi *et al.*, 2012:299) with both sustainability and resilience theory included under the emerging interdisciplinary field of sustainability science (Childers *et al.*, 2014:320). Resilience is a recent addition to the planning repertoire (Davoudi *et al.*, 2012:300) conceptualised broadly as the ability of a system to respond to change or disruption without altering its basic state (Ahern, 2011:324), alternatively termed as the ability of a system to 'bounce back' or 'bounce forth' (Davoudi *et al.*, 2012:301).

Ahern (2011:341) states: 'While the concept of resilience is intellectually intriguing, it remains largely unpractised in contemporary urban planning' and whilst resilience is gaining currency in the planning field, there are still critical issues to be addressed (Davoudi *et al.*, 2012:333). Resilience is key to sustainability, but sustainability remains as ultimate objective (Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:18). This study thus acknowledges resilience, but depends on sustainability and its triple-bottom line to inform and guide research.

Sustainable development is a key focus in the rhetoric of South African policy and legislation, well represented in especially planning and housing policy (RSA, 1994b; RSA, 2004; RSA, 2011; RSA, 2014a). For example, articulated as the integration of social, economic and environmental factors into planning, implementation and decision making (Gardner, 2009:15) and advancing spatial justice and spatial sustainability (Nel, 2016). Sustainable housing practice is framed as balancing the technical aspects of housing construction with the acute need for appropriate, sufficient and affordable shelter within communities through a co-evolutionary process between empowered stakeholders engaging with government, comprehending and implementing appropriate technologies and denouncing the conventional 'one size fits all' style of housing delivery (Gardner, 2009:16). A focus on sustainability in housing is significant, given that housing is a complex and multi-dimensional concept that intersects with social institutions, the economy, demographic changes and the natural environment (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5). Despite policy assertions, sustainability is poorly integrated into practice (Todes, 2011:123) and both planning and housing continue to grapple with a range of challenges in this regard.

The South African city is characterised as an archetype of the modernist city owing to past apartheid planning and contemporary low-density, sprawling urban development (Gardner, 2009:8) patterns. The approach followed in South Africa's approach to low-income housing, in its delivery of extraordinary volumes of low residential densities constituted by a detached typology of one-house per stand designed to accommodate a nuclear family (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:20; Gardner, 2009:7) placed in monotonous suburbs generally located on the urban periphery (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:20; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5) further contribute to an unsustainable urban morphology. Homeownership has been championed in the South African approach to low-cost housing in the post-apartheid era (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:20; Gunter, 2014:98), neglecting other forms of tenure and their legitimacy (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:134) centred on eradicating informality in all forms (Morange, 2002:3), to deliver on the 'suburban bliss' (Robins, 2002) associated with the ideals of modern urban life. As such, South Africa essentially resorts to apartheid-era approaches in dealing with the informal (Miraftab, 2009:36; Huchzermeyer, 2014b:42) and reverts to the default response historically employed by the bourgeois when faced with housing the poor, resorting to displacement (Fainstein, 2014:2) through slum clearance and relocation programmes (Watson, 2009a:167).

The emphasis on homeownership is critiqued as a very narrow interpretation of the Constitutional right to housing (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5). It is well documented that the subsidised dwellings offered for ownership rarely meet the needs of the beneficiaries they are intended to serve (Carey, 2009:7; Gardner, 2009:7; Lemanski, 2009:482; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5). In addition, subsidised housing delivery has slowed down (Gardner, 2009:6; Watson, 2009b:9; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:29; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:19), the housing backlog is increasing (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:688; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5) and despite attempts at eradication, informality has taken root more aggressively (Watson, 2009b; Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:268).

The bulk of recent growth in informal housing has taken place in the form of informal backyard rentals and not as free-standing informal dwellings in shantytowns (du Plessis, 2014:82; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:4), despite expectations that informal backyard rental numbers would decline given increased household incomes and continued housing subsidisation (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:8). Backyard dwellings are one of the fastest growing housing sub-sectors, absorbing more households than informal settlements and delivering a major share of new accommodation compared to the state's subsidised housing programmes (Tshangana, 2013:2-3). Low-income private rentals, of which informal backyard dwellings constitute a significant proportion, have been recognised as both efficient and pervasive (Gardner, 2009:3), representing the 'second-most successful functioning housing sub-market' in South Africa (Carey, 2009:11). Informal backyard rentals are progressively becoming more of a practical and rational accommodation choice to a range of heterogenic households (Watson, 2009b:5; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:26; Tshangana, 2013:2; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20) who are awaiting housing subsidies, prefer rental over ownership or are better served by informal options (Carey, 2009:10; Gardner, 2009:10). Informal backyard rentals continue to grow (Zwaig, 2015:3) due a range of both supply and demand side factors (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:16), without state intervention (Zwaig, 2015:3).

South Africa's informal backyard rental sector has enjoyed limited acknowledgement in official housing policy (Morange, 2002:23; Lemanski, 2009:475; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:19), only narrowly referenced in certain policy documents and addressed in limited piecemeal attempts at national, provincial and metropolitan level (Gardner, 2009:13; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:44).

The disregard shown for the informal backyard rental sector to date stands as a testament to the complexity of the issue and the negative lens through which it has been perceived by most authorities (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:22) and politicians (Watson, 2009b:9; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:72), largely framed by perspectives focused on condemnation and eradication (Lemanski, 2009:480; Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:269; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:68). Whilst scholarship has progressively engaged with informal backyard rentals from a more positive viewpoint and the state's dialog on the subject is showing a turn towards recognition and policy intervention in the distant future (RSA, 2014a), the issue requires more ardent and urgent support in pursuit of more sustainable human settlement outcomes.

In attempting to view informal backyard rentals through the sustainability lens, it is important to recognise that the sector produces various challenges, but more importantly, also potentials (Morange, 2002:23; Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:22; Carey, 2009:10; Gardner, 2009:12; Lemanski, 2009:476; Watson, 2009b:7; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:10; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663; Tshangana, 2013:7; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:19; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:11) for more sustainable futures in terms of informal backyard rental landlords, tenants, the state and South Africa's human settlements. The accuracy of such assertions will only come from continued research on the subject to validate and disprove existing generalisations and enrich our understanding towards a more nuanced comprehension.

As early as 1997, Gilbert *et al.* (1997:144) called for more research on the informal backyard rental sector to fill knowledge gaps and increase our understanding of the sector's complexities. Whilst much research has been conducted on South Africa's housing sector in the meantime, backyard dwellings are often still referenced as 'a subsidiary element of studies focusing on other aspects of housing' (Lemanski, 2009:474), leaving the informal backyard rental niche as fairly obscured and hidden from analytical view. In 2007 Bank (2007:207) commented that '...one is struck by how little we know about the yards as residential, social and economic environments'. By 2009, Lemanski (2009:474) maintained that informal backyard rentals was still an under-researched area, covered only by a handful of in-depth studies.

Notwithstanding such claims, both Carey (2009:15) and Watson (2009b:7) proclaimed that the then existing empirical work conducted on landlords and tenants in the sector was self-reinforcing and that whilst case studies would present variations on established generalisations, the chances of uncovering significant new insights would be slim and that the discussion could move to possible interventions. However, this study shows that there are still significant contradictions in findings on the informal backyard rental sector in prevailing literature. For example, Crankshaw *et al.* (2000:847); Morange (2002:13); Bank (2007:211) and Lemanski (2009:478) report that informal backyard landlords and tenants rarely share filial ties, whereas Watson (2009b:19) and Zwaig (2015:5) find that many landlords and tenants are related. Furthermore, Gardner (2009:23); Lemanski (2011:479); Shapurjee and Charlton (2013:658) and Gunter (2014:102) cite a financial motivation as primary consideration in landlords' decision to provide informal backyard rentals, whilst Gilbert *et al.* (1997:133) maintain that landlords provide rentals mainly motivated by compassion for the otherwise destitute, with Morange (2002:16) and Tshangana (2013:11) concurring that financial motivations are rarely at play. In terms of the landlord-tenant relationship, Gilbert *et al.* (1997:133); Morange (2002:13); Carey (2009:16); Watson (2009b:6) and Rubin and Gardner (2013:6) report non-exploitative and relatively conflict-free rental conditions, Lemanski (2009:481) typifies the relationship as one of indifference, whereas Gunter (2014:100) and Zwaig (2015:2) emphasise the vulnerability of tenants in the midst of exploitative and constrained settings. Moreover, Morange (2002:5) reflects on the scarcity of backyard shacks in relatively new subsidised housing projects, whilst Lemanski (2009) shows the contrary. Shapurjee and Charlton (2013:663) and Turok and Borel-Saladin (2015:5) laud the informal backyard rental sector for providing improved accommodation outcomes compared to the dispersed informality manifest in shantytowns, whereas Morange (2002:3) posits that informal backyard tenancy does not provide tenants with improved accommodation in this regard.

As such, much of the current information on informal backyard rentals is based on contradictory evidence from quite dated studies (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31) and it would still be premature to offer specific policy proposals without more comprehensive research (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:22). Shapurjee *et al.* (2014:25) contend that more qualitative research is needed to address what Rubin and Gardner (2013:79) refer to as a dearth of accurate data on informal backyard rentals in South Africa. It is important to improve our understanding of the causes and effects related to informal backyard rentals if an appropriate policy is to be devised (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5).

It is only through persistent review, reassertion and interpretation within the flow of human activity that the value of planning (Healey, 2012:201-202) in terms of real world application may be shaped.

In this regard, future backyard planning interventions must be informed by those stakeholders involved in the informal backyard rental sector (Zwaig, 2015), leading Robins (2002:543) to recall the value of 'further fine-grained ethnographic research in specific sites' to arrive at realistic and implementable interventions' based on lived experience and everyday practice (Robins, 2002:513-518). In a broader sense, such research endeavours are supported by calls for ethnography, surveys, extensive quantitative and qualitative exercises, mindful reflection and comparative study in the enduring quest to engage meaningfully with the Southern city and all its intricacies (Parnell *et al.*, 2009:236). In the South African context connecting research to real world applications has become synonymous with the approach followed at most academic institutions (Ernstson *et al.*, 2014:1569) and research entities, demonstrated in the case study approach that has come to define the bulk of research on the informal backyard rental sector locally.

It must be noted however that almost all informal backyard rental case studies in South Africa have been based on specific locations (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:79), being metropolitan or city-based (Zwaig, 2015:2), reflecting a broader research bias towards such areas (Visser, 2013). The metropolitan and larger city focus stems from contentions that rental housing is a significant component mostly in major cities (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:134) and that the 'success of backyard shacks seem to be linked to the size of the city' (Morange, 2002:6). This study challenges these generalisations following (Zwaig, 2015:2), addressing the concern raised by (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:79) that 'little is known about the real (rental) conditions in smaller cities and towns across South Africa'. Differences in the informal backyard rental sector across urban scales and between different contexts must be acknowledged and accommodated by planners in the spirit of South Africa's guide to sustainable human settlements, the breaking New Ground policy (Bank, 2007:226). It is only through more representative data that a national policy on informal backyard rentals may be drafted with application power at all urban scales. Research at the local level is further substantiated as until a national policy emerges, local authorities will be responsible for the challenges informal backyard rentals may present (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:19). Here, the resources and capacity to address issues may be substantially weaker than in metros and larger cities (Zwaig, 2015:5).

Accordingly, and in recognising that research practices cannot be reduced into a tidy package of pragmatic answers applicable to any and every context (Bond, 2009:20), this study draws the research lens to the smaller town of Oudtshoorn and the informal backyard rentals in its Bridgton and Bongoletu townships

Given the problem statement and motivation provided in this section, it is important to crystallise the main research question posed by this study.

3. Main research question

The main research question posed by this study is articulated as follows: What challenges and potentials do South Africa's informal backyard rental sector present towards the sustainability of human settlements?

In keeping with the main research question, this study aims to meet certain primary and secondary research objectives, briefly captured below.

3.1 Research objectives

The primary and secondary research objectives formulated for this study are provided in the following subsections. Note that these objectives are revisited in Chapter Five of the study, with **Table 16** linking these objectives to the final conclusions drawn, recommendations made and new contributions ultimately provided by this research.

3.1.1 Primary research objectives

- Reflecting on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in terms of spatial, economic, social and environmental sustainability;
- Framing South Africa's informal backyard rental sector within established planning theory discourse;
- Constructing a suitable definition for the informal backyard rental sector;
- Contextualising South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in terms of the historic, policy and legislative framework;
- Drawing the research focus to nonmetropolitan areas as the next frontier to be investigated in terms of the informal backyard rental sector;
- Concluding which established generalisations can be confirmed and which new contributions can be made following this study;

- Providing some recommendations for future interventions in the informal backyard rental sector to be considered in policymaking, and broader sustainability-thinking.

3.1.2 Secondary research objectives

- Tracing references to both formal and informal rentals in the nomenclature of South African housing policy;
- Providing a review of informal backyard rentals in recent academic research;
- Investigating the lasting legacy of apartheid approaches in the contemporary low-income housing context;
- Questioning the accuracy of Census data in relation to the informal backyard rental sector in the case study;
- Quantifying the extent of informal backyard rental densification at case study level;
- Reflecting on the part played by informal backyard rentals in urban compaction;
- Investigating the failing property ladder elucidation and the asset value of low-income housing;
- Illuminating the role of informal backyard rentals as a survival strategy for landlords and tenants;
- Investigating whether informal backyard rentals support or hamper social sustainability;
- Determining the role of urban green space in relation to the informal backyard rental sector;
- Building a case for Southern-based research and theorising opportunities.

In addressing the research question and meeting primary and secondary research objectives, the following section describes the research methodology employed by this study.

4. Research methodology

The research methodology section is constituted by three main components. The section is initiated by clarifying the quantitative and qualitative research traditions from a theoretical perspective, motivating the choice of research model selected for this study. The succeeding section describes the methodology employed in the literature review completed, followed by a section clarifying the empirical research design employed.

4.1.1 A theoretical perspective on selecting an appropriate methodological approach

Methodology is developed according to a researcher's ontological and epistemological positions (Olson, 1995:4), but should be framed by the phenomenon under investigation to decide on an appropriate method objectively (Krauss, 2005:761). Accordingly, considering variables in developing the research model demands an understanding of context (Hitchcock & Newman, 2013:39) as the basis of epistemological assumptions as either quantitative (positivist) or qualitative (constructivist) (Krauss, 2005:759). Both the positivist and constructivist epistemologies are empirical in nature, but differ in their adherence to tools for scientific analysis (Druckman, 2005:6). Quantitative and qualitative research traditions are discussed briefly.

4.1.2 The quantitative research tradition and the positivist paradigm

Quantitative research is a form of conclusive research involving representative samples and fairly structured data collection procedures. A primary role of quantitative research is to test hypotheses (Struwig & Stead, 2013:4). Accordingly, quantitative researchers argue for the validity of generalisations based on their methods (Druckman, 2005:8). The quantitative approach to research is principally rooted in the paradigm of positivism. Positivism combines a deductive approach with the exact measurement of quantitative data in order to discern and confirm casual laws that would allow predictions about human behaviour (Struwig & Stead, 2013:5).

To the positivist, the object of study is completely independent from the researcher, with knowledge discovered and verified by means of direct observation or measurement (Al-Zeera, 2001; Krauss, 2005:758). The researcher becomes the Cartesian knowing subject, separated from the respondent, or participant, or phenomena as the research object in an attempt to understand reality objectively (Olson, 1995:5).

Following the emphasis on objectivity and hard evidence, quantitative research approaches demand that data be expressed in numbers. The most common methods implemented in quantitative research include exploratory, descriptive, experimental and quasi-experimental methods (Struwig & Stead, 2013:7). Quantitative research methods generally examine variables, or constructs, in the form of structured observation or sample surveys through questionnaire distribution (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2004:2; Struwig & Stead, 2013:4). Such questionnaires are typically distributed according to the outcomes of random sampling where possible (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2004:2). Where quantitative research is conducted *sans* random sampling, methods and results rely on the assumption that the sample may still be representative of the larger population (Hitchcock & Newman, 2013:42-43). As an outcome of research activities generalisations may be made from sample data to the entire population through statistical inference (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2004:2). The following section elaborates on the qualitative research tradition.

4.1.3 The qualitative research tradition and the constructivist paradigm

Qualitative research is rooted in constructivist ontology, positing that there is no objective reality, but rather multiple realities constructed by individuals who experience phenomena (Krauss, 2005:760). The phenomenologists, or constructivists, favour interpretations provided by subjects as participants (Struwig & Stead, 2013:12), relying on reflections, perceptions and stated beliefs in pursuit of divergence in observations made and subsequent interpretations offered. Thus, constructivists endeavour to capture unique experiences and the concept of multiple realities (Druckman, 2005:5). The constructivist contends that epistemologically speaking, the observer and the observed are so innately involved that findings are the literal result of the inquiry process (Al-Zeera, 2001; Krauss, 2005:761).

Subjective research submerges the researcher, or subject, into the context of a situation in order to comprehend it. In this regard, the separation between subject and object is reduced with the object actively involved. The subjective researcher pursues knowledge by viewing a situation through the eyes of the participant as respondent (Olson, 1995:5). In order to gain an in-depth understanding and represent participant views and allow new issues to emerge and be addressed, flexibility in the research design is paramount (Sidani & Sechrest, 1996; Krauss, 2005:760-763). A variety of research methods are connected under the umbrella of qualitative research, including archival source analyses, content analysis, participant observation, focus groups and interviews. Qualitative research may be regarded as interdisciplinary, multi-paradigmatic, multi-method (Struwig & Stead, 2013:11) and nuanced (Druckman, 2005:8).

4.1.4 The quantitative-qualitative dichotomy and its shortcomings

Accepted definitions on the 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' imply opposition between the two. In this regard the quantitative branch of research has historically been more clearly defined, with the qualitative often only understood in its opposition to the quantitative (Olson, 1995:2). The main distinction commonly drawn between the quantitative and qualitative approaches to research relate to the ways in which data are collected as well as the number of observations made (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2004:2). Methodology is thus held as a central dividing principle, yet, the dichotomy is more accurately rooted in philosophy and not methodology (Olson, 1995:4; Krauss, 2005:758).

The quantitative-qualitative dichotomy is not clear-cut (Druckman, 2005:8; Struwig & Stead, 2013), the one habitually spills over into the other (Bolden & Moscarola, 2000:451). For Hitchcock and Newman (2013:37) research strategies that align themselves with either the quantitative or qualitative are commonly more similar than unlike. In this regard, all data are 'soft' with any method of data collection comprising a series of compromises. Furthermore, quantitative data is often interpreted and informed using qualitative methods (Struwig & Stead, 2013:20). Qualitative elements may be present where quantitative researchers use previous research to inform new hypotheses and select the observational domain, number of cases used and unit of analysis employed. Where a new study is not a replication, decisions regarding coding behaviour categories, events, discussions and self-reports may also be qualitative in nature. Furthermore, qualitative studies often benefit from quantitative analysis, for example where elusive concepts need to be precisely defined (Druckman, 2005:8).

Accordingly, the commonly accepted quantitative-qualitative dichotomy, is a dangerous one, restricting the extent to which innovative methods and findings may be reached (Bolden & Moscarola, 2000:451). Empirical research inquiry may be improved once the commonalities between quantitative and qualitative approaches are recognised and methods are integrated in a more synergistic manner (Hitchcock & Newman, 2013:37). The benefits provided to studies that have combined behavioural and subjective data indicate that an integrated approach is not only plausible, but also fruitful. In this regard, focussing on measured outcomes may enable comparison and strengthen generalised arguments and focussing on subjective events may facilitate understanding of individual and personal variables. As such, these approaches may be regarded as complimentary, each contributing towards a clearer understanding (Druckman, 2005:7).

Incorporating both quantitative and qualitative approaches to research lends itself to realism. As such, realism as a philosophical paradigm, contains both positivist and constructivist elements (Healy & Perry, 2000). Where positivism refers to a single and concrete reality and constructivism to multiple realities, realism concedes to multiple perceptions concerning a single, mind-independent reality (Krauss, 2005:761). In this regard, stating that reality can only be imperfectly understood, research findings are probably true and that qualitative research methods can also be utilised (Struwig & Stead, 2013:5).

Irrespective of the research philosophy employed, complete objectivity is impossible when recognising the human nature of all researchers. The interpretation of research results may reflect the researcher's knowledge of prevailing literature and theory in the field as well as his/her own personal experiences and perspectives (Struwig & Stead, 2013:3). In this regard the distinction between the quantitative and qualitative paradigms is not that the one is wholly objective whilst the other is not, but that constructivist and post-positivist researchers document their biases and do not seek to rise above them, instead attempting to develop a relationship with research participants (Olson, 1995:5). Regardless of the acknowledgement or recording of bias, the true extent to which researcher characteristics will influence data analysis can never be fully known (Krauss, 2005:763), but may be somewhat counterbalanced when research and interpretation continually acknowledge context and the principle of ultimate transferability. In the quantitative realm external validity is recognised, whilst qualitatively, the notions of transferability and naturalistic generalisation are acknowledged. Naturalistic generalisation is directed at generalising on the grounds of logic by considering similarities across contexts (Hitchcock & Newman, 2013:42).

In keeping with the focus on context, case studies are a useful tool. Flyvbjerg (2006:220) states that context-dependent knowledge lie at the heart of case study research. Simons (2009:21) defines the case study as: '...an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a 'real life context'. Thomas (2011:512) defines the case study as: 'analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame (an object) within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicate'. Reflecting the value of case study research in accommodating multiple methods, Hitchcock and Newman (2013:45) recognise that case studies can be examined by quantitative, qualitative and mixed-method approaches. As such, the case study is conceptualised as a vehicle for multiple possible methods (Thomas, 2011:512). This is exemplified by Stake (2005:433) who states that the case study is not a methodological choice, but rather a choice of what is to be studied. In this regard, cases may be studied entirely by repeated measures or hermeneutically, analytically or holistically, organically or culturally.

The relevance of the case in relation to real-life and its details is especially significant if one wishes to capture a nuanced view of reality and develop ones skills as researcher (Flyvbjerg, 2006:223). The investigator who employs case study research does not study a few variables in a large number of cases, but instead focuses his/her attention on the complex interactions of a multitude of factors in a limited number of cases. In this regard, the extensiveness of a focus on a large number of cases is discarded for the intensity fewer cases offer (Thomas, 2011:512). Some would argue that one cannot generalise from a single case whilst others proclaim that case studies may only be of value for pilot studies, but are inadequate for comprehensive research schemes. Still others may argue that the case study is too subjective to the researcher's interpretations, thus invalidating legitimacy. These claims broadly form the conventional wisdom censuring case study research. However, the conventional wisdom, whilst not directly wrong, is certainly misleading in its oversimplified generalisations (Flyvbjerg, 2006:219-220).

The case study may well be a detailed examination of a single example (Struwig & Stead, 2013), but it can also provide dependable information on the broader case or population (Flyvbjerg, 2006:220). Where multiple cases are studied, findings should be organised by themes that provide improved understanding when triangulating findings across cases in order to portray a sense of individual complexities and the reasonable generalisations that may stem therefrom (Hitchcock & Newman, 2013:45)(Hitchcock & Newman, 2012:45). In order to preserve a sense of individual case complexities and aggregate findings, Hitchcock and Newman (2013:46) recommends a 'cross-case dialectic' that compares individual case findings with aggregate findings. Accordingly, even conflicting findings encountered in comparisons may illuminate phenomena. Thus, singular generalisations may not be the goal, but rather a desire to establish how phenomena behave in specific contexts, similar to the qualitative paradigm's concept of transferability. Case study research is broadly classed under the umbrella of the qualitative tradition (Struwig & Stead, 2013), but provides a fitting vehicle to employ realist, post-positivist, research.

In considering the literature on research methodologies and philosophical approaches captured in this subsection, the following subsection expands on the research design followed in this study. Recognising the possible restrictions and opportunities presented in both quantitative and qualitative traditions and the value of mixed method approaches, this study employs case study research, invoking a realist ontology. Following suit with exploratory research as a section of quantitative investigation (Struwig & Stead, 2013), this study turns to secondary sources of information to provide insight through an extensive literature review, ultimately shaping the empirical research design. The literature review is discussed accordingly.

4.2 Literature review

The literature review comprises a critical part of the research process, as an analysis of exiting literature frames the subject with regards to established knowledge and exposes shortcomings yet to be addressed. Literature provides significant direction by defining core concepts, exposing the researcher to previous studies and research methodologies and providing constant redirection by consulting and incorporating the latest published sources on a continuous basis throughout the research process.

The literature review completed for this study includes published academic articles, books, book chapters, conference papers, theses and grey literature in terms of South African and international policy and legislation, reports, surveys, census data and newspaper articles. Literature sources were mainly collected from electronic databases accessed via the North-West University's Ferdinand Postma Library portals. Databases included, *inter alia*, ScienceDirect, EBSCOhost, Emerald Insight journals; JSTOR; Sabinet Online; SAePublications and Google Scholar. Innumerable search terms were employed and providing an exhaustive list would be impossible. Fundamentally search terms included variations on apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa, informality, rental housing, informal backyard rentals, low-income subsidised housing, sustainability and planning theory. In select cases sources were also obtained in hardcopy from the Ferdinand Postma Library's extensive inventory. The work of noted international and especially local scholars is well represented in the literature review. Collectively, more than 640 literature sources are cited throughout this study, dated from 1961 to 2016 as included in the bibliography. Whilst every attempt was made to include only the most recent sources, certain concepts have gradually been covered in less detail in more contemporary literature, obliging the use of more dated sources. 'Apartheid-literature' serves a prime example.

After obtaining the literature the arduous task of reviewing and processing each text was initiated. Sources gathered from the same search term were grouped, read through and main concepts and contributions summarised. As a result a very extensive literature summary was produced spanning hundreds of pages from which the individual literature sections in the chapters, review manuscripts and research articles included in the study could be assembled. The literature review was a direct influence on the empirical study, directly producing an informed and appropriately targeted empirical research design. The structure of the empirical research completed for this study is discussed in detail in the following subsection, initiated with an introduction to the case study.

4.3 Empirical investigation: design and details

4.3.1 The case study: The town of Oudtshoorn, the Rose Valley informal settlement and the Bridgton and Bongolethu townships

This study draws primarily on quantitative and qualitative research in the case study of Oudtshoorn, a town in South Africa's Western Cape Province. Oudtshoorn initially drew attention in 2010 when a sprawling informal settlement, then known as Riemvasmaak, was established on the town's south-eastern boundary adjacent to a main thoroughfare and tourism route (See **Annexure E**). Riemvasmaak, later renamed Rose Valley, was a main focus in previous research (Lategan, 2012) that provided compelling evidence to research the informal backyard rental sector in more detail. As such, results showed that the majority of Rose Valley's informal settlers relocated from informal backyard rentals elsewhere in Oudtshoorn, predominantly from backyard tenements in the apartheid-era townships of Bridgton and Bongolethu.

Bridgton and Bongolethu provided logical future case studies to pursue further research on informal backyard rentals given the research footing already established in the Oudtshoorn area and the previously noted dearth of data on informal backyard rentals in smaller South African settlements.

Case study research is comprised of five chief components. Quantitatively, the study references a 2012 Rose Valley survey, a 2013 survey in Bridgton and Bongolethu, and a 2015 survey in Bridgton and Bongolethu. Qualitatively, the study references semi-structured interviews conducted with municipal officials in the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (OLM), supportive interviews completed with official from the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements and The City of Cape Town and anecdotal evidence based on observations during the surveying processes. Empirical components are discussed in greater detail below.

4.3.2 The 2012 Rose Valley survey

The Rose Valley survey was distributed in the Rose Valley informal settlement (See **Annexure P**) in July 2012, constituted by 100 questionnaires circulated on a door-to-door basis. Respondents were selected based on convenience sampling and included based on their willingness to participate. Random sampling was impossible as no prior database existed that could identify individual informal dwellings to assign them to experimental or control groups. The researcher was accompanied by two local Rose Valley residents who acted as chaperones and provided a level of credibility and trust amongst a community where members could be apprehensive of any formal survey given their vulnerability as informal settlers in violation of the law. As a result of the convenience sampling method 100 questionnaires could be retrieved and a 100% return rate achieved. Questionnaires were comprised of eighteen rudimentary questions, exploring demographics, where settlers were previously accommodated, deciphering their future housing aspirations and what their opinions regarding housing, increased densities and backyard renting were. Each questionnaire took between ten and fifteen minutes to complete. The survey is referenced as the 2012 Rose Valley survey throughout the study and a copy of the questionnaire is included as **Annexure F**.

4.3.3 The 2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey

The 2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu Survey was completed in June 2013 and distributed to 101 properties surrounding the Bridgton Pavilion in the Bridgton and Bongolethu townships. The area targeted in the survey was identified following a review of satellite imagery in search of an area that would meet two requirements.

Firstly, the area needed to accommodate a significant public green space, congruent with the objective of investigating the effects of informal backyard rentals on urban green space planning and use; secondly the area had to accommodate a significant informal backyard rental community in proximity to said public green space. In reviewing Bridgton and Bongolethu from above, the green oblong of the Bridgton Pavilion attracted immediate focus. Further analysis showed that the surrounding area also presented a significant number of informal backyard structures, meeting the requirements set for a Bridgton/Bongolethu target area.

The 101 respondent properties included in the survey were selected based on convenience sampling. Given the further aim of the survey to uncover the prevalence of informal backyard rentals in the area, the 2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey, as it is referenced throughout, included properties whether informal backyard components were presented or not. Thus the only further criterion for inclusion was the presence of an adult respondent willing to participate. The researcher, accompanied by two members of the local community watch, distributed the questionnaires, seeing to a 100% return rate. Questionnaires contained twenty questions directed at public green space use and preferences, domestic gardening trends and the presence of informal backyard rentals (See **Annexure G**). Each questionnaire took between ten and fifteen minutes to complete. Questions were drafted in collaboration with the North-West University's Statistical Consultancy Services, who captured data and analysed results using IBM's SPSS software.

4.3.4 The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey

The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey was distributed around the Bridgton Pavilion in May 2015. Questionnaires were distributed by two police reservists who were well-acquainted with the area and well-known by the community, thus enjoying a certain level of trust and honesty from respondents. The researcher accompanied the two surveyors in the field to further explain motivations, answer questions from respondents, gather anecdotal evidence and make observations. A total of 103 respondent properties were included in the survey based on convenience sampling, with a 100% return again secured. Random sampling was impossible as a randomised selection would require previous data on which properties contained informal backyard rental components to generate a sample from. Unlike the 2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey, 2015 questionnaires were directed only at respondent properties containing informal backyard rentals.

To be included in the survey properties had to contain at least one informal backyard dwelling, secondly an adult representative from the formal household had to be home and willing to participate, thirdly an adult representative from at least one of the informal backyard dwellings presented had to be home and willing to participate. Two sets of questionnaires were drafted, one directed at main and one directed at backyard dwelling respondents. A total of 120 informal backyard tenant questionnaires were retrieved.

The two questionnaires shared certain questions for comparative analysis with other questions remaining specific to the type of household surveyed. Questionnaires for main households contained twenty nine questions (See **Annexure H**) and questionnaires directed at backyard units (**Annexure I**) presented respondents with twenty six questions. Each questionnaire took between fifteen and twenty minutes to complete. Questions probed the informal backyard rental phenomenon with regards to spatial, demographic, economic and social trends. Survey questionnaires were drafted in collaboration with the North-West University's Statistical Consultancy Services, who also captured data and helped with statistical analysis and the interpretation of results. Statistical analysis was completed using IBM's SPSS software.

4.3.5 Semi-structured interviews

A total of ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials from the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (municipality of the case study area) identified as key informants in terms of housing, planning and tangent issues. Furthermore, four interviews were conducted with officials from the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements and the City of Cape Town. Overall interviews provided valuable supportive information and a more nuanced understanding of the issues under consideration. Interviews were recorded and transcribed.

This study places a high value on ethical research and reporting, commensurate with responsible and accurate research. Ethical consideration are discussed as follows.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Before the discussion on ethical research principles can be approached, it should be noted that this study was initiated prior to the availability of guidelines on ethical research for Urban and Regional Planning at the North-West University, with guidelines only published in the second semester of 2016. Notwithstanding, the research design implemented in this study complies with the 2016 guidelines eventually provided.

Various steps were taken in pursuit of an ethical research approach. In terms of the literature review every effort was made to interpret and translate texts as accurately as possible, yet the margin for human error and bias in this regard is also acknowledged. Biases are included in more explicit terms in **Section 5.1** of this chapter.

Ethical considerations were especially pertinent to the empirical research component of this study in terms of the surveys and interviews conducted. All respondents who participated in the surveys did so willingly. Informed consent was described in terms of the requirements of respondents' participation, with terms of voluntary participation, general research purposes, expectations and time commitments articulated to them (in writing). A very small number of prospective respondents declined to participate in the surveys, mostly because they were in the midst of daily chores. Where the invitation to participate in the study was declined, decisions were respected and individuals thanked for their time in considering participation. It should be noted that no prospective respondents declined to participate out of objection to the study or its intentions. In fact the majority of respondents were extremely welcoming, seeming very happy that they were given a platform to share their circumstances and narratives. Furthermore, respondents were made aware that they could withdraw their consent at any time, though none exercised this right. Respondents conceivably felt secure in their participation given the onus placed on confidentiality as a core principle in data collection and analysis. In neither the 2012 Rose Valley survey, nor the 2013 Bridgton/Bongoletu survey were any details recorded that could identify a questionnaire sheet as belonging to any individual, household or dwelling. The 2015 Bridgton/Bongoletu survey recorded street addresses, only to trace municipal property valuation, but this information as all other responses recorded, were only shared with researchers and analysts directly involved in the study.

As an example of the commitment to confidentiality, a map showing fluctuations in property valuation corresponding with the presence of informal backyard rental components was considered, but could not be included as such a visual representation of participant properties would infringe upon confidentiality agreements and expose respondents to potential backlash given the illegality associated with informal backyard rentals.

In terms of ethical considerations related to semi-structured interviews, interviews were audio recorded only with the explicit permission of the interviewees. In one instance an interviewee refused permission to audio record the interview, in which case the conversation was captured in writing and copies held by both the interviewer and interviewee. In order to safeguard the identity of interviewees, specifically important considering the political instability that has characterised the OLM in recent history, pseudonyms are used throughout this study in references to those interviewed. Interview recordings are also kept in safe storage and will remain only accessible to the researcher.

It should also be noted that there are no foreseeable negative side-effects related to this research. The risk of findings being appropriated for negative purposes is very low if statements contained in this study are extrapolated in acknowledgement of the positive context in which this study frames the informal backyard rental sector.

Several challenges and restrictions were furthermore encountered in the completion of the various elements of the empirical study, briefly captured below.

4.5 Challenges and obstacles encountered in the empirical study

A main challenges in all three survey stages was presented in identifying suitable chaperones and survey assistants. Relatively few individuals could be identified that were well-known by the communities researched, held suitable knowledge on these communities to guide the researcher and were also adequately literate and available to assist on the days required. An additional restriction, and one where the value of knowledgeable chaperones became very evident, was presented in the safety concerns raised in the case study areas. The researcher was advised that it could be unsafe to remain in the areas surveyed after working hours, as these areas could undergo a sudden change in character as the workforce returned from their daily toil and often engaged in social drinking to ease the stress of the day.

Accordingly, research activities could only be carried out between the hours of 08:00 and 16:30 between Mondays and Thursdays and until approximately 15:45 on Fridays. As a result, the research design opted to interview any adult representative at home and willing to participate with knowledge of the household characteristics probed. In most cases respondents were still regarded as the head of the household, or at least the spouse of the individual regarded as the head of the household.

Case study locations could not be accessed at all on weekends, because of weekend binge drinking.

Certain other restriction in terms of data capturing and analysis were also presented. With regards to the 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey, although respondents in the 103 properties surveyed declared a total of 141 informal backyard rental structures, only 120 backyard questionnaires could be retrieved. This discrepancy may be attributed to two main explanations. Firstly, the occupants of some second, third or fourth backyard structures were not at home to participate. Secondly, in selected cases some backyard structures were vacant at the time, as new tenants had not yet taken up residence. A further restriction in the 2015 Bridgton survey became apparent in the data capturing phase when the stand numbers of only 81 of the 103 properties included in the survey could be retrieved on the municipal valuation roll and be allocated stand sizes by the time statistical analysis took place. With regards to semi-structured interviews, the strained political situation in Oudtshoorn was reflected in the manner in which officials seemed uncertain as to who was the most appropriate person to interview on certain topics as key figures had left municipal employment. This also impeded continuity and made follow-up interviews difficult.

5. Research hypothesis

The research hypothesis for this study is articulated as follows: South Africa's informal backyard rental sector provides significant challenges and potentials for sustainability to be channelled by appropriate planning, but contextualised research is needed to consider suitable interventions at national level that will find application possibilities at all settlement scales.

5.1 Assumptions

Reflecting certain biases, this study is based on several assumptions formulated at the outset of this research, some of which have been confirmed and others invalidated. Assumptions are captured briefly as follows:

- The assumption that backyarder characteristics will either be markedly different or very similar across geographical contexts.
- The assumption that informal backyard rental challenges could outweigh potentials in terms of sustainable development.
- The assumption that respondents involved in informal backyard rentals would be reticent to participate in research activities and disclose details on their lives as backyarders.
- The assumption that cash rents would characterise the significant majority of backyard rental arrangements.
- The assumption that backyarders would be decidedly unhappy in their circumstances.
- The assumption that informal backyard tenants feel unsafe in their tenements.
- The assumption that an approach based on significant intervention in the informal backyard rental sector will be required.

5.2 Research limitations

Whilst this study references South Africa's entire housing market and especially the low-income subsidised and informal housing sectors, the main focus of this study is limited to South Africa's informal backyard rental submarket. As such this research recognises that a range of informal rental arrangements may exist in the South African context, including unsanctioned rentals in buildings originally intended for other purposes, for example factory buildings, warehouses or office blocks (Carey, 2009:9), informal room-sharing (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:15) and autonomous rental dwellings in informal settlements, or shantytowns often provided by large-scale landlords (Gunter, 2014:97). The study further acknowledges the existence of formal backyard rooms put up for rent by homeowners in low-income areas (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:654) as well as those backyard rental provisions traditionally associated with middle and upper-income suburbs as the garden cottage or 'granny flat', and other private rental provisions in terms of workers' quarters, communes and converted garages (Gardner, 2009:3).

This study further acknowledges that informal backyard structures may be used for both residential and commercial purposes (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:21), but restricts its focus to the residential component of the sector.

In addition, as referenced throughout this chapter and the remainder of this study, this research is delineated to the nonmetropolitan scale, limited in particular to the case study of Oudtshoorn and the town's Rose Valley informal settlement and the townships of Bridgton and Bongoletu. Case studies on previous interventions in the informal backyard rental sector at metropolitan scale are discussed only for comprehensiveness and to illumine past challenges and potentials.

As the preceding sections of this chapter have provided sufficient oversight on the research subject, motivation for research, methodology and tangent issues, the last section of the chapter is dedicated to delineating the contents of the study.

6. Chapter division and delineation of contents

This study is divided into five chapters. This chapter, as Chapter One, is followed by Chapter Two, comprised of two extensive review manuscripts. Chapters One and Two constitute the main literature review for this study, with supplementary literature reviews included in each of the research articles included under Chapter Three. In keeping with the article format selected for this study (See preface), Chapter Three is comprised of four research articles, either submitted or prepared for submission to reputable academic journals, as indicated. Chapter Three is followed by Chapters Four and Five, as the conclusions and recommendations provided for the study, based on review manuscript and research article findings. The delineation is provided in more detail below, with a short synopsis of each chapter and sections provided accordingly.

Chapter One: Introduction

Following the preceding sections, the content of chapter one is already evident.

Chapter Two: Review Manuscripts

Review Manuscript One: A review of the South African housing policy: Placing the informal backyard rental sector in context for future intervention

Review Manuscript One provides a substantial review of South Africa's informal backyard rental context, revisiting apartheid and its urban planning and housing rhetoric before assessing post-apartheid policy and legislation and academic publications linked to the informal backyard rental sector. The manuscript crystallises the South African approach to rental housing, emphasising informal backyard rentals as an essential, yet officially unrecognised housing submarket. The manuscript provides a textual review of formal and informal rentals in prominent post-apartheid housing policy to track the dialogue on rentals in the post-apartheid era. Furthermore, Review Manuscript One provides an informative definition for the informal backyard rental sector, referenced throughout this study, and provides an overview of past attempts at engaging with and intervening in the sector at different levels. The manuscript sets the scene for the research to follow in the succeeding review manuscript and the research articles that follow.

Review Manuscript Two: Overcoming the equatorial divide – planning theory imbalances and opportunities from the global South based on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector

Review Manuscript Two provides this study with an essential theoretical foundation following the policy and legislative groundwork laid in the preceding review manuscript. The manuscript reviews leading branches of planning theory motivated by the responsibility to look beyond the global North and embrace the contributions everyday practice in the global South may present. In doing so, promoting multi-directional transversal theory making between the global North and South, but within a framework of context-sensitivity to arrive at more just outcomes. Review Manuscript Two uses South Africa and specifically the informal backyard rental sector throughout to substantiate the argument and connects informal backyard rentals in the local context to established planning theory including radical planning, co-production and hybridity.

The two review manuscripts are followed by four research articles based on the three pillars of sustainable development previously noted in this introduction chapter, as well as the first article in the chapter that reflects on the informal backyard rental sector from a spatial perspective.

Chapter Three: Research articles

Research Article One: Towards more compact South African settlements through informal housing: the case of backyard densification in Bridgton and Bongolethu, Oudtshoorn

Research Article One discusses South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in terms of its spatial impacts, notably by engaging the concepts of urban sprawl and density. The article provides the first and most detailed introduction to the Oudtshoorn, Rose Valley and Bridgton and Bongolethu case studies of the four research articles included in this study. Cases study research utilising the quantitative and qualitative methods described above allow the article to demonstrate that informal backyard rentals augment both dwelling unit and population densities considerably, counteracting informal urban sprawl. Research Article One further broaches the critical issue of infrastructure access in relation to the informal backyard rental sector, finding that tenants enjoy excellent access to basic services with potential infrastructural capacity ramifications. Research Article One has been accepted for publication in the Journal Town and Regional Planning, Issue 68. In keeping with the theme of sustainability, the next research article in the series explores the economic potential offered by informal backyard rentals.

Research Article Two: How informal backyard rentals realise the multidimensional asset value of subsidised homes in South Africa

The second research article questions the one-dimensional asset lens through which the state generally views South Africa's low-income housing stock, in terms of a potential financial asset based on the value of formal property rights, Hernando de Soto's dead capital debate and the fantastical notion of a scalable property ladder.

Research Article Two recognises an asset trinity in reviewing the value of low-income housing in South Africa, in terms of financial, economic and social asset value. Research in the Bridgton and Bongoletu case study provides that financial asset value may be weakest with economic and social values realised for homeowners by providing informal backyard rental accommodation. Findings substantiate the contribution made by the informal backyard rental sector in realising the economic sustainability of homeownership in the South African context and provides a segue to research on the prospects for social sustainability captured in the Research Article Three.

**Research Article Three: South Africa's informal backyard rental sector
through the lens of social sustainability: a case study of Bridgton and
Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn**

Research Article Three reflects on the informal backyard rental sector in terms of its contributions to social sustainability, again focussing on the Bridgton/Bongoletu case study to provide empirical substantiation by reporting on demographic findings, the landlord-tenant relationship and related issues such as conflict. Findings uncover co-dependant landlord-tenant connections in which familial ties are dominant, negligible levels of conflict, secure tenure and several other links to socially sustainable arrangements. Whilst arguing in favour of the informal backyard rental sector, the article also identifies certain pathologies related to informal backyard rentals, notably in the form of fire and health risks. The final research article in the series reflects on certain environmental aspects to be considered with informal backyard rentals in mind, focussed on urban green space planning.

**Research Article Four: Revisiting the compensation hypothesis: planning for
urban green space and informal backyard rentals in South Africa**

Research Article Four presents the first research on urban green space planning and use related to South Africa's informal backyard rental sector. The approach is based on reviewing the 'compensation hypothesis', supposing that households will substitute private green space lost due to (informal backyard) infill and densification with public green space.

Invoking the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study, article four dismisses the compensation hypothesis, finding that even in the midst of substantial informal backyard densification, respondents continue to use public green spaces infrequently and children continue to play in domestic gardens that also demonstrate relatively high levels of differentiated vegetation. Findings further show that number of informal backyard tenants and not number of informal backyard dwellings may affect feelings of reduced outside space and privacy on the yard.

Chapter Four: Conclusions

Chapter Four captures the main conclusions drawn from the research, elaborating on conclusions already provided within the chapters, review manuscripts and research articles included in the study and linking elements into a more coherent whole. The chapter's main contribution is provided in its synthesis of the generalisations confirmed and new contributions made to the knowledge base on informal backyard rentals in South Africa, linked to informality and sustainability considerations, based on the nonmetropolitan case study of Oudtshoorn.

Chapter Five: Recommendations

Chapter Five provides recommendations for future interventions in the informal backyard rental sector, mainly based on the conclusions presented in Chapter Four. These recommendations are not intended to provide a comprehensive and all-encompassing set of interventions, but to close the study with a view to the future in the hope that contributions may be recognised in prospective policies and planning frameworks on the informal backyard rental sector.

Annexures

Several annexures are provided after Chapter Five that contain supplementary documentation and images to be considered in conjunction with this study. For a complete delineation of annexures, see the table of contents.

Bibliography

As each review manuscript and research article incorporated in the study is intended as a standalone document fit for publication, each contains a standalone bibliography. In keeping with the study as a unit, a comprehensive bibliography of all sources cited from Chapters One to Five and in the annexures included is also provided as the closing section of this study, with citations and references in the Harvard style prescribed by the NWU. The Endnote digital referencing platform is used throughout the study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW MANUSCRIPTS

REVIEW MANUSCRIPT ONE

A REVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING POLICY; PLACING THE INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTAL SECTOR IN CONTEXT FOR FUTURE INTERVENTION

Abstract

This review manuscript sets out to provide the context in which the informal backyard rental sector was established and continues to function and expand in South Africa by reviewing apartheid's urban planning and housing discourse and providing an overview of post-apartheid policy and legislation and publications related to informal backyard rentals. The manuscript aims to clarify South Africa's position on rental housing for the poor with a focus on informal backyard renting as an integral part of the housing market that has remained officially undefined and unaddressed by national government to date. In this regard, this review includes a study of references to the rental sector, in varying forms, in prominent policy documents in order to trace the development of policy discourse around formal and informal rentals. The manuscript provides a definition for informal backyard rentals and discusses past backyarding interventions at provincial and local level, ultimately providing some guidance for the way forward.

Key words: *South African housing; policy and legislation; informal backyard renting; social housing.*

1. Introduction

This review follows a qualitative research approach based on an extensive literature review of published academic works by South African and international researchers and organisations, South African housing policy and legislation, publications by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and newspaper articles. These sources were gathered from electronic databases, based on key search terms related to the topics of colonialism, apartheid, South African democracy, housing policy and legislation, informal settlement, low-income housing, rental housing and informal backyard rentals. In accordance with the literature reviewed, a desktop case study analysis is also provided, based on past provincial and local interventions in the informal backyard rental sector.

The review commences with a broad discussion on core apartheid principles in order to provide insight into the legacy South African planners and policy makers are continuously faced with when addressing low-income housing and urban development in the democratic age. In this regard, the review elaborates on the role of planning as an instrument of apartheid and discusses apartheid era housing provisions, especially rental housing and hostel accommodation for migrant labourers. This discussion provides the necessary introduction to the informal backyard rental sector, as focus for the remainder of the manuscript, including the definition for the sector compiled and used throughout the review. Some statistical evidence of the informal backyard rental sector's scope is also provided.

The succeeding section then sets out to provide a broad overview of post-apartheid housing policy, programmes and legislation and how some of these documents relate to formal rentals and informal backyard renting. In this regard, an analysis of specific phrases and concepts found in housing policy documents is included to illuminate the relationship between formal housing policy and both formal rentals and informal backyard renting in the lexicon of South African housing policy. The discussion on post-apartheid policy is divided into two periods with the 2004 Breaking New Ground policy serving as point of delineation. South Africa's approach to rental housing post-1994 is then deliberated, substantiated by references to the policies captured in the preceding sections. The discussion on rental housing policy and approaches is intended to substantiate the argument of a failing formal rental housing sector and an overemphasis on homeownership in which the informal backyard rental sector fills subsequent vacuums.

Accordingly, past intervention attempts aimed at the informal backyard rental sector are discussed as case studies in order to derive best practice principles for future backyarding interventions as well as to cite developments in the policy and research spheres that place some hope for a targeted national informal backyard rental strategy on the horizon, whilst highlighting certain shortcomings. The manuscript is completed by a few concluding remarks, not as the result of an intensive evaluation, but a review intended to raise points of contention for future discussions on developing approaches to informal backyard renting in South Africa. In keeping with the structure provided above, the succeeding section introduces apartheid as point of departure.

2. Coming to terms with apartheid

This section provides a general overview on the main features of apartheid, not intended to saturate already very complete literature on the subject (See Hindson (1985:204); Maylam (1990); Mabin (1992); Maylam (1995); Hindson (1996); Moultrie (2005); RSA (2009a)), but to lay the foundation for the discussion to follow. Accordingly, the succeeding section reflects on South Africa's apartheid era, officially launched in 1948 and dealt its final blow by the first democratic elections of 1994 in which Nelson Mandela, as representative of the African National Congress (ANC), was elected president (Glad & Blanton, 1997:568; RSA, 2014c:10).

Prejudice, racism, segregation and inequality have come to define South African history, most represented by the Afrikaans term, 'apartheid', which continues to live in infamy (Schensul & Heller, 2011:80). Today, apartheid is viewed as a definitive policy of oppression and segregation, both locally and in the international arena. However, apartheid by no means presented the first inclination towards racially based segregation and oppression in South Africa. Accordingly, Maylam (1995:22) questions whether today's segregated city owes its existence to apartheid era policies, or to the preceding colonialist preoccupation with control and dominance, whilst Snodgrass and Bodisch (2015:65) recall the master-slave worldview that later informed apartheid thinking. Even before the official onset of apartheid in 1948, the state did not provide a great deal of housing for the poor, who were mostly members

of the African population. As a result, Africans were relegated to poor and limited housing conditions even before 1948 (Vestbro, 2012:2).

Apartheid expanded on the foundation laid by British colonialism in which western dominance was supreme and absolute, based on the conviction that no Black South African should occupy a higher position than the lowest position occupied by any member of White society (Vestbro, 2012:6). As such, apartheid manifested as a system of planning and development that relied heavily on race-based classifications. In recognition of a range of racial subgroups, apartheid policy provided for an intentionally nuanced degree of racial segregation (Hendricks & Lushaba, 2005:111; Corrado, 2013b:5). Under apartheid, urban and rural populations were systematically organised according to classifications of White, Indian, Coloured or African, most notably enforced under the Population Control Act of 1950 (Oldfield, 2004:190), in conjunction with the Group Areas Act of the same year. Thus, after 1950 efforts were wholly concentrated on segregating South Africa in totality according to racial and ethnic groupings (Lorraine & Molapo, 2014:901). Those classified as African, or Black, were subjected to the harshest consequences and were most disadvantaged by apartheid law. Citizens classified as Indian and 'Coloured' were afforded slightly improved opportunities owing to their more European features (Adhikari, 2004:174; Hendricks & Lushaba, 2005:111; Adhikari, 2006:145). In essence, under apartheid non-White South Africans were systematically and legally marginalised (Debrosse *et al.*, 2016:1) and shut out of all political and economic structures and thus had very limited to no influence on the allocation of resources (Maharaj, 2002:1). In this regard, apartheid was a form of planning that sought to minimise mixed social interaction, exploited non-White labour and reserve the most beneficial and desirable localities for White occupation (Corrado, 2013b:5). Urban planning was introduced as a central mechanism of segregation (Mabin, 1992:406), control and resource allocation (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014:2).

2.1 Planning as an instrument of apartheid

Colonialism and apartheid employed land use planning to achieve racial and spatial segregation (Schensul & Heller, 2011:83; Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014:2). In fact, apartheid policy was generally regarded as a form of planning control (Corrado, 2013a:5). Accordingly, planning laws formed the first line of offence and defence in apartheid's arsenal of racial segregation (Berrisford, 2011:249), influenced by pre-apartheid planning measures.

(For more on the history of urban planning in South Africa, see Mabin (1992); Turok (1994); Christopher (1997); Mabin and Smit (1997); Berrisford (2011); Newton and Schuermans (2013); Williams (2014)). The role of urban planning as a vehicle to enforce urban segregation found its origins in the 1930's. By this time, for example, the Transvaal Town Planning Ordinance of 1931 required local authorities to exercise stricter control over urban planning with reference to land use, building size and residential densities. It is now clear that these initiatives were endorsed by agencies that held racial zoning as ultimate objective (Maylam, 1995:27), placing Africans at significant distances from their White countrymen and the urban centres they occupied. Those Africans who found themselves residing within reasonable distance of White urban centres were mostly exiled to sub-standard housing or agglomerations of informal dwellings, known as squatter camps, shantytowns or 'locations', notoriously branded as overcrowded, unhygienic and plagued by tuberculosis (Thomas, 2010:199). Through White eyes, these settlements presented health threats to their own residents and the White population at large (Dubow, 1995). As a result, the segregation agenda was repeatedly and conveniently defended by health concerns (Lorraine & Molapo, 2014:901). Public health was first cited as motivation for the establishment of segregated African settlements, as 'native locations', in the beginning of the 20th century, following concerns that outbreaks of the bubonic plague in 1904 and influenza in 1918 would spread to the White population (Maylam, 1990:61; Wilkinson, 1998:217; Vestbro, 2012:3). The 1919 Public Health Act, ensured that disease was increasingly regarded in racial terms with segregation offered as measure to control and mitigate the health threats perceived to flourish in Black townships (Maylam, 1995:24-27). Accordingly, the White minority would be protected from the infiltrations of 'uncivilised and unhygienic Africans'. This created the perception of a 'septic fringe' where Africans were allowed to settle and be kept at a 'safe' distance from the European population (Bigon, 2012:2). However, the 'sanitation syndrome' pretext, as it was commonly referred to, presents an over idealised explanation of segregation for the sake of relieving White anxiety and racist paranoia. In all probability the 'sanitation syndrome' merely provided a convenient excuse to pursue economic gains (Moultrie, 2005:219).

Apartheid served a variety of material interest (Maylam, 1995:24-27), but total segregation did not always equate to sound economic policy. The segregation agenda presented various difficulties to the economic growth required to meet the material interests of the ruling party and its constituents. As a result certain compromises were needed that opposed the notion of complete segregation.

According to Vestbro (2012:6) the apartheid regime was characterised by a myriad of contradictions permitted as a result of economic pressures and logistical issues, giving effect to what Hendricks and Lushaba (2005:114) terms 'racial capitalism'. The need to supply mines and manufacturing industries with cheap labour and to house domestic workers closer to their White employers soon outweighed the complete segregation agenda. A system that secured Black labour in urban and industrial areas, yet safeguarded separation, thus needed to be developed. These contradictions promoted Black exclusion but labour inclusion for the sake of material gain (Goodlad, 1996:1631), paradoxically set against the grand apartheid plan to establish complete separate nations (Maylam, 1990:57). The loci for these nations were established through legislative means, through the Bantu Acts of the 1950s, including the Group Areas Act of 1950, which cemented the division of urban areas into complete homogenous and segregated districts. In union, the Bantu Acts deported Black South Africans to ten homelands, or Bantustans (Corrado, 2013a:6), shown in **Figure 1**. Homelands were intended to extend political rights to the Black population, whilst denying Africans full socio-economic rights and participation in the country's economy (Goodlad, 1996:1631).

Figure 1 provides the location of homeland areas, as well as a representation of their total size in comparison to the area provided for White use.

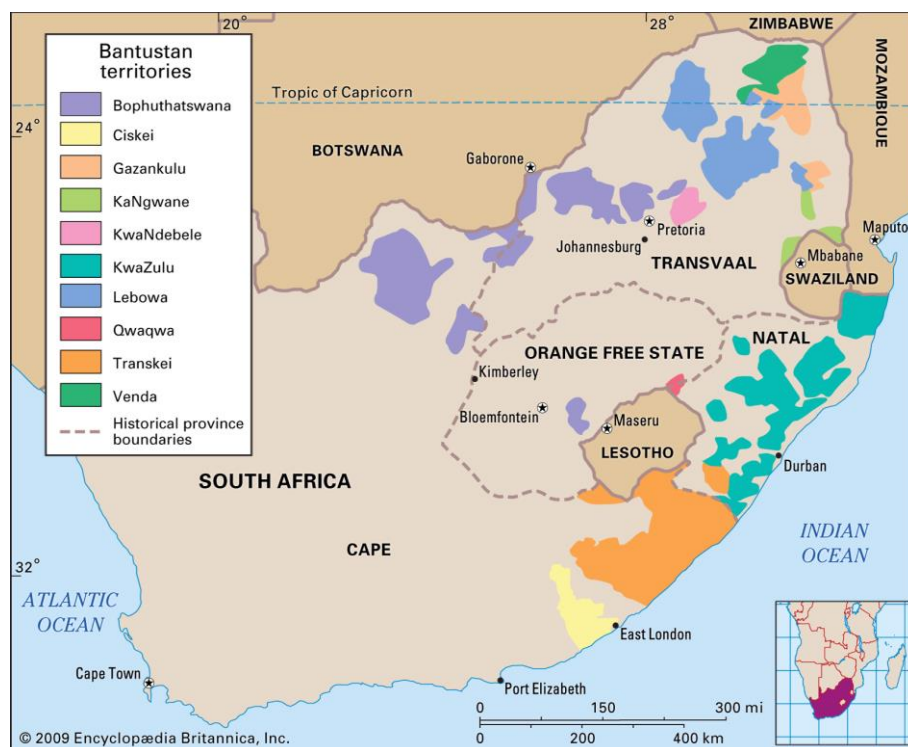


Figure 1: Apartheid's ten homelands or Bantustans

Source: Encyclopaedia of Britannica (2009)

Africans deported to the Bantustans illustrated in **Figure 1** were denied South African citizenship, instead issued with a nationality based on their state-generated homeland designation (Oldfield, 2004:190). According to Vestbro (2012:4) these homeland classifications did not always reflect heritage or sustainable livelihood strategies and thus further showcased the disregard shown for cultural identity, human rights and the progressive development of the African majority. Homelands were supposedly Black territories, yet most planning activities for homelands were conducted by White officials until the late 1980s (Mabin & Smit, 1997:208). The apartheid homelands were symptomatically underdeveloped and rural, far removed from the economic nodes in White hands. In addition, these rural hinterlands showed limited mining or agricultural promise, thus increasing the need to seek employment in White urban areas (RSA, 2014c; Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014:3). To allow for the residence of Black workers within White cities, a system of controlled residence and migration from the homelands had to be devised that safeguarded some sense of segregation whilst providing the White economy with adequate access to Black labour. This came in the form of intensified influx controls, as the rigid limitation and control imposed upon the movement of Africans into urban areas, intended to confine 'surplus' and unemployable Africans to the homelands (Robins, 2002:526). By the 1950s the apartheid state intensified influx controls based on the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923 that relegated Black citizens as temporary sojourners in urban areas (Maharaj, 2002:2; Vestbro, 2012:4), described by Goodlad (1996:1631) as the first form of systematic segregation. According to apartheid influx policies, Black workers could be deported to rural areas and homelands once their work contracts expired, or they took part in trade union or other activities deemed undesirable by the state. As the most severe measure, pass laws were introduced by the Population Registration ACT of 1950, that required Black citizens to carry pass books at all times (Vestbro, 2012:4). Through these instruments of spatial segregation and migratory control a system of migrant labour was secured that could provide mines and industries with manpower to drive the South African economy (Oldfield, 2004:190) and restrict the social and political difficulties perceived to accompany the process of Black urbanisation (Maylam, 1995:33).

In spite of attempts to limit urbanisation through the enforcement of separate development and influx control policies, Black urbanisation was merely retarded and distorted (Harrison & Todes, 2015:151) and the South African city continued to expand. A lack of socio-economic opportunity and poverty amongst the Black population in rural areas resulted in large-scale migration to urban centres (Maharaj, 2002:2). In an attempt to house some of the overflow of domestic and industrial workers who could not be accommodated in urban areas, a few Black townships were established in closer proximity to White regions. Yet, these townships could not cope with the influx of migrants, which unsurprisingly manifested as an increase in informal settlement. Following the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 (See Frankel (2001); Lodge (2011)) and increasing international isolation, apartheid adopted a more draconian approach, as urban migration and growth controls intensified (Goodlad, 1996:1631).

Well before the publicised protests of the 1960s and 1970s, the South African state had established a long tradition of oppressing and eradicating the products of Black migration in the form of informal settlement. The apartheid dogma gained momentum during the last years of United Party rule in the 1940's, precisely because of a growing concern under local authorities of major cities for the growth of uncontrolled African settlements. This materialised as the strong focus on racial zoning and the demolition of uncontrolled settlements that followed (Maylam, 1995:28). In 1951 the National Party (NP) government passed the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act that reprimanded the illegal occupation of public land and buildings, as well as land in the native locations (Thomas, 2010:199). The 1951 Act sanctioned the demolition of a substantial number of informal settlements (Vestbro, 2012:3). Demolition and relocation often went hand-in-hand with forced removals very common during the apartheid years (Corrado, 2013a:6). Relocation most commonly took place to homogenous neighbourhoods, strategically located in an urban arrangement that incorporated buffer zones of Coloured townships or industrial sectors between Black and White urbanites as shown in **Figure 2**. In 1961 the Urban Bantu Councils Act made Black administrators the enforcers of influx control initiatives. These administrators had the power to evict persons who resided in their areas of jurisdiction illegally, addressed the illicit occupation of buildings and the demolition of these structures (Thomas, 2010:199). Demolitions and relocations were not only limited to informal settlements, but also to more formalised urban regions where a broader mix of races were established in order to give effect to the Group Areas Act and its 1966 amendments.

As a result, mixed areas such as Sophiatown in Johannesburg, Cato Manor in Durban and District Six in Cape Town were eradicated and replaced with White neighbourhoods in the 1960s (RSA, 2014c:4). By 1966 approximately 99.7% of the White population already resided in areas designated as White zones, thus imposing very little discomfort (Goodlad, 1996:1631). The same could not be said for especially the displaced, Coloured and Indian communities who suffered most under the removals sanctioned by the Group Areas Act (Thomas, 2010:204). In the period between 1960 and the early 1980s in excess of 3.5 million South Africans were removed from their homes and communities and re-established in order to maintain the geographically segregated racial isolation represented by the apartheid city model shown in **Figure 2** (Jürgens *et al.*, 2013:2; RSA, 2014c:4).

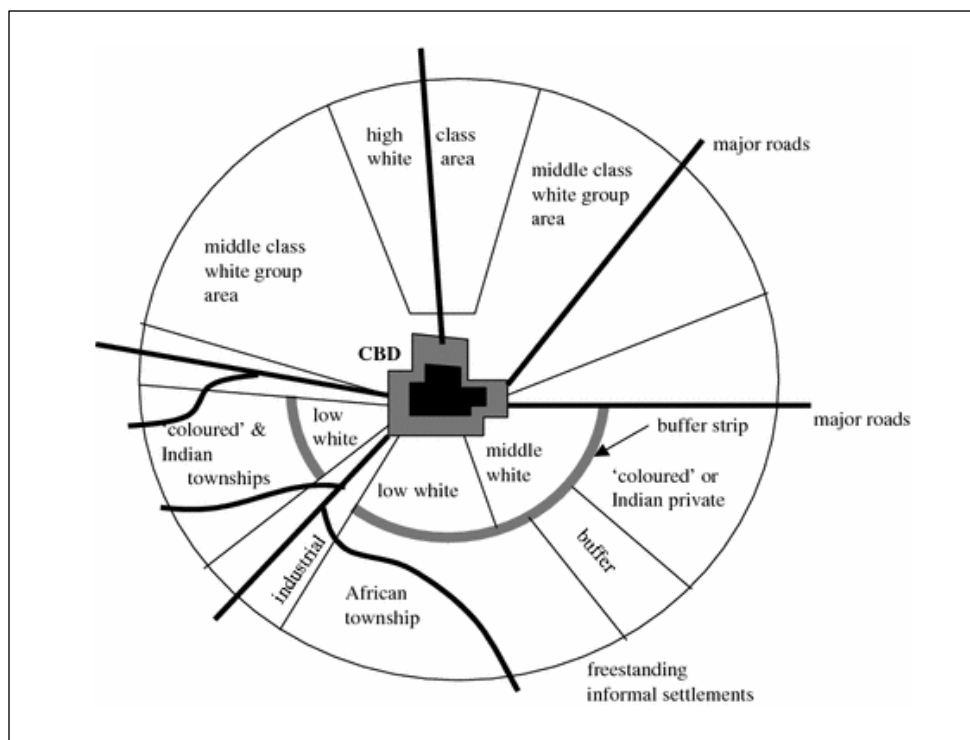


Figure 2: The typical apartheid city model

Source: Landman (2006)

As a result of both the need to accommodate those being relocated and those migrating to urban areas, the apartheid government provided 'township' housing to non-White citizens as state tenants and housed labourers in compounds and hostels, as discussed below.

2.2 Housing the apartheid nation

At the core of the debate on including Black labourers in South African 'White zones', lay the need to exploit the country's wealth of natural resources and to provide accommodation options specifically tailored to the unskilled work force. These accommodations took the form of labour compounds and hostels, which were provided well before the apartheid benchmark of 1948.

Hostels as residential institutions were developed as a result of the South African mineral revolution of the late 19th century (Mpehle, 2012:214) and were first formally established under the Native Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923 and maintained by Section 2 of the Native Urban Areas Act 25 of 1945, that imparted a responsibility to local authorities to provide Black migrant workers with housing in urban areas (Vestbro, 2012:3). Thus, hostel accommodation was related to the migrant labour system from the outset (Xulu, 2014:141). Male African migrants faced an acute housing shortage when they moved from rural to urban areas in search of the employment opportunities mining and industry offered and were thus forced into hostels. These hostels served not only to accommodate the labourers needed to grow and maintain mines and industries, but also to safeguard a society based on race and gender classes. In this regard, providing accommodation for those employed in cities was secondary to the political agenda of excluding the African population from the economic mainstream (Lorraine & Molapo, 2014:902) and keeping them oppressed. As a result, the comfort of residents was of no concern (Xulu, 2014:141). According to Thurman (1997:45) hostels were specifically designed as unattractive and uncomfortable temporary residences, with comparisons commonly drawn to prisons and army barracks. (Goodlad, 1996:1631) describes hostel residency as imposing some of the poorest living conditions endured under apartheid. For example, in Soweto, an acronym for South Western Townships, hostels provided occupants with approximately 3.5m² of living space each (Thomas, 2010:204). The lack of personal space, privacy and comfort predictably ignited conflict between tenants, contributing to enduring feelings of hostility and resentment (See **Section 2.1** of this review manuscript). Hostel conditions furthermore impacted on the health and mental well-being of residents and had severe consequences on the family relations of hostel migrant workers and their kin who stayed behind in rural homelands (Lorraine & Molapo, 2014:902). Males could only be accommodated in hostels on the provision that they held employment in the city, but their wives and children were not allowed to join them. Short-term visiting permits could however be issued under certain circumstances (Thurman, 1997:45).

As influx control policies siphoned male members of Black families off into urban industrial centres, their female kin were left relegated to peripheral rural areas. By fracturing families the apartheid state enshrined the identity of Black males as wage workers and females as unpaid labourers (Mpehle, 2012:215). According to Elder (2003:928) apartheid relied on the spatial fracturing of the African family unit, but not on the complete destruction thereof. In this regard, apartheid set out to disperse Black family connections across space and time. The abolition of influx controls in 1986 had a significant impact on hostels. As one outcome, municipal service delivery to hostels was neglected and crime and unemployment rates increased exponentially (Xulu, 2014:142). In the period between 1990 and 1993 violent clashes were also recorded between hostel dwellers and their surrounding communities (RSA, 2009a:48).

In addition to hostel accommodation, African citizens could be housed within or at least within proximity to urban areas as state tenants in the peripheral townships delivered in the 1950s and 1960s (See **Figure 2**). Housing provision under the apartheid government originated with large scale investment in Black townships (Marais, 2005:27). Alexandra in Johannesburg and the Walmer Township in Port Elizabeth are prime examples (Vestbro, 2012:3). However, the attention paid to housing non-White citizens was short lived. The substantial African housing development schemes, initiated in the 1950s, as the development of peripheral townships, slowed down and ceased completely by the 1970s (Maylam, 1990:70; Goodlad, 1996:1631; Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:137; RSA, 2009a:13). As a result, the White minority state ultimately provided very limited housing opportunities for the Black population under the whole of apartheid rule (Thomas, 2010:198). In the 1960s housing funds were redirected from urban townships to the homelands and dormitory towns in-between (Hindson, 1985:405; RSA, 2009a:13). By the time democracy reigned in 1994, the expelled apartheid state had only been spending 1.3% of total budget on housing (Marais, 2005:27). Between 1948 and 1962 the apartheid government delivered an average of 11386 housing units per annum (Dewar & Ellis, 1979:15; Thomas, 2010:204). Numbers declined by 1968 when only 5227 units were delivered. This trend continued well into the 1970's, until the development of township housing ceased completely (Hindson, 1996:90).

The housing units the state did deliver, furthermore did very little to address individuality or the full range of needs presented by the African population. In order to deliberate on the best course of action the state commissioned the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) to research appropriate and cost-effective housing options for Black beneficiaries (Haarhoff, 2011:189). The subsequent model produced provided relatively small, detached single-storey nuclear-family homes erected in the middle of a stand of uniform measurements. In Johannesburg's Soweto, stands measured approximately 260m² (Vestbro, 2012:5). Here, 90% of dwellings were developed as three to four roomed units of approximately 40m², the majority of which were not provided with indoor lavatories (RSA, 2009a:42; Thomas, 2010:204). Access to roads, refuse removal and standpipes located every 460m were provided as part and parcel. As a cost saving measure sites and some services were delivered to residents who were expected to construct their own homes, in conjunction with formal housing. In this regard, housing choices were limited to a few prototypes with self-build construction supervised and controlled by state appointed supervisors. Accordingly, the specifications set for township housing were intended to assert state control (Chipkin, 1998; RSA, 2009a:41). As a result, row upon row of uniform, colourless and uninspiring housing was developed in 'numbing monotony' (Bonner & Segal, 1998:34). An identical approach was copied nationwide with total disregard for climatic or cultural variations. This stood in stark contrast to apartheid ideology that spoke of the need for each racial group to develop according to its own heritage and culture (Mancheno Gren, 2006:27). Township homes were reduced to severe Spartan matchboxes due to austere housing budgets. These homes provided only minimal comfort and access to amenities, as anything more would discourage Africans from identifying with their 'tribal homelands' (Thomas, 2010:202-203). The dogma of providing detached, single-family units placed in the middle of the stand, was often defended as 'suited the African way of life'. This argument maintained apartheid philosophy that labelled the Black population as non-urban citizens who longed for the countryside (Vestbro, 2012:4). As a further motivation for the low-density, single-family dwellings provided in the middle of the stand, the opportunity to provide Black residents with on-site training through self-build schemes was provided (Welch, 1963:4). In 1951 the Native Building Workers Act was passed which provided a legal framework for the proficient development of affordable housing. As a result, Black workers were trained in the construction field and as tradesmen, specialising in restricted and specifically limited areas of expertise. These limitations reduced the actual educational value of these schemes.

As a result of strict control, individual choice in building design was limited. Although housing typologies that would present increased densities, such as apartments were considered (See for example the three storey apartment blocks developed in Retreat, Cape Town (Lohnert & Parnell, 1998:87)) the detached, single-family dwellings favoured by apartheid planners, were preferred because these models could incorporate self-help construction which provided economic benefits (Vestbro, 2012:4-6). Where increased density options were provided, these accommodations were mostly reserved for unattached workers as multi-storey blocks or hostels.

Under apartheid rule, African citizens were prohibited from owning homes (Gunter, 2013:278) outside Bantustans and as a result, almost all township housing in South Africa was state owned and controlled (Seekings *et al.*, 2010:5). According to the Regulations Concerning the Administration and Control of Land in Black Urban Areas of 1968, tenure insecurity amongst the Black majority was ensured. These regulations counted amongst many other steps against tenure security and included regulations that Black individuals could only gain tenure through a permit to erect a private dwelling, a resident's permit to rent from local government or a certificate of occupation of a house. Thus, public rental housing was the dominant form of tenure for the Black population under apartheid rule (Goodlad, 1996:1631; RSA, 2009a:30; Maass, 2011:766).

Vestbro (2012:1) states that the harshness of apartheid yielded some interesting results, in that by the 1950's South Africa had become the only African country that had eradicated informal shantytowns, as agglomerations of informal shacks, although this 'victory' came at the severest of cost to the non-White majority and was fairly short lived. By 1968 the allocation of work and living permits were coordinated with the allocation of township housing. In this time informal settlements expanded in the homelands and urban peripheries, where they were regularly demolished almost until the end of apartheid rule (Goodlad, 1996:1631). The later weakening of apartheid control and the repeal of legislation restricting African urbanisation predictably provided Black labourers with access to economic opportunities in areas of their choice (Thomas, 2010:207). These areas could however not accommodate all new migrants, resulting in the need to find alternative housing options. Consequently, informal tenancy again became a popular housing choice for many. At the outset, tenants resided in rooms within formal dwellings or doubled up in hostel accommodation. As numbers rose, an increasing number settled in informal backyard dwellings. (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:134).

Thus, during the later apartheid years, Black urbanites were not only housed in state-owned rental accommodation and hostels, but also in informal settlements and backyard lodgings that provided access to urban areas without conveying any real housing rights. The right to housing and apartheid's neglect of this right became a cornerstone of organised mass opposition to White rule (Maylam, 1990:78; Robins, 2002:527; Freund, 2010:184; Sapire, 2013:176). Black civil society groups contemplated their own definitions of what constituted 'adequate housing' when claiming housing rights (Thomas, 2010:294).

These definitions did not equate to the state's view of appropriate provisions for those only officially included in urban areas to maintain the labour force. In response, by the 1970s political and social upheavals in the townships shocked the apartheid state. Externally, these actions provoked international sanctions and criticism (Jürgens *et al.*, 2013:2). A new trajectory was established for African housing after the Soweto youth uprising of 1976 (See Baines (2006); Ndlovu (2006)) became an international symbol of the common uprisings and protests against the influx policies and housing circumstances of the time. Most transgressions against 'adequate' places of residence came as the result of attempts to access improved employment opportunities and basic services (Goodlad, 1996:1631).

In the decade following 1976, attempts were made to 'reform' the existing social structure, but still within the parameters of apartheid thinking (Mabin & Smit, 1997:209). In part influenced by the 1976 Soweto riots and the rent and service boycotts that followed, the state became increasingly aware of the financial burden placed on its shoulders by the rental stock it had accumulated in the 1950s and 1960s (Marais *et al.*, 2014:58-62). As a result, the management of the extensive rental opportunities offered during apartheid suffered and eventually fell apart (Harrison *et al.*, 2008). Instead of increasing the state's responsibility as housing provider, the government responded to rent strikes and boycotts by systematically reducing its responsibilities as housing landlord. In 1975 and 1978 reforms had allowed Africans the right to leasehold ownership of township housing on a thirty and later a ninety nine year lease basis (Goodlad, 1996:1633). In 1983 state-owned dwellings were put up for sale at market-related prices (Marais *et al.*, 2014:58-62). These opportunities were welcomed by many. Those who did not purchase were affected by rent hikes in the later 1980s, which invoked the unrest of 1984 to 1986. These protests resulted in a state of emergency and further rent boycotts (Goodlad, 1996:1633). By 1989 34% of municipal tenants had purchased homes.

As a result of a low demand and increasing financial pressure, the state introduced a R7 500 Discount Benefit Scheme (DBS) in 1990 to promote the purchase of state subsidised rental units at discounted rates (Gardner, 2003:13). Subsequently, the early 1990s were characterised by a major influx of poor Black households into urban areas across the country. The privatisation programme, known as the 'Big Sale', was continued by the democratic state after 1994. As a result, almost all of the 500 000 rental units then owned by the state were privatised by 2012. Consequently, very few rental properties, especially as detached dwellings, remained in state hands as inherited from the apartheid government after 1994 when a new democratic age was heralded in (Marais *et al.*, 2014:58-62). The rental housing gap left as consequence was increasingly filled by informal rental tenancy.

In keeping with the theme of this review, the informal backyard rental sector is defined in the following section in order to support the discussions to follow.

3. Defining South Africa's informal backyard rental sector

The origin of South Africa's informal backyard rental phenomenon can be traced to the 1960's (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:19) when the sector responded to a lack of sufficient accommodation in proximity to economic opportunity nodes such as central business districts (CBD's) after the influx of migrants from rural homelands left very few alternatives (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:134). According to Crankshaw *et al.* (2000:3) by the end of its reign the pre-1994 government tolerated the extensive establishment of informal dwellings, both in backyards and in vast informal settlements. Effectively, by the mid-1980s, land invasions and informality became so common, that it is generally accepted that the state had lost regulatory control of the South African township. In post-apartheid South Africa, informal development has continued and a new supply of backyard dwellings has increasingly been established in older townships and state-subsidised housing areas (Bank, 2007:206; Lemanski, 2009:474). The informal backyard rental sector has continued to thrive (See **Table 2**) amidst housing policies that cannot keep pace with the scope of a growing housing backlog and do not provide more formal alternatives to those households and individuals better suited to rental accommodation (See **Sections 3.4** and **4.2.6** of this review manuscript).

Whilst informal backyard rentals provide apparent advantages, for example accommodating the indigent, increasing residential densities through infill, capitalising on existing housing and infrastructural investments, supporting livelihood strategies and promoting community and multigenerational kinship networks (Gardner, 2009:10; Watson, 2009b:6; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:87; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5; Zwaig, 2015:1), the sector is still viewed in a negative light by most authorities, as a housing component to be eradicated rather than maintained and encouraged (See **Table 6**) (Morange (2002); Poulsen and Silverman (2005); Bank (2007); Lemanski (2009); Lategan and Cilliers (2013b)).

Such interpretations are motivated by an overemphasis on the sector's informality that invokes undertones of illegality, inadequacy, poor living conditions, exploitation, overcrowding, social unrest, fire and health risks, disorder and overburdening existing infrastructure provisions (See **Table 6**; Govender *et al.* (2011b); Shapurjee and Charlton (2013); Shapurjee *et al.* (2014); Turok and Borel-Saladin (2014)). Furthermore, backyarding has long been regarded as a form of temporary shelter, providing provisional accommodation to those on their way to state subsidised housing projects (Bank, 2007:206). As such, South Africa's housing policies have discounted informal rental structures as a legitimate component of the country's housing stock (Watson, 2009b:9) and more than twenty years after the fall of apartheid and rigorous housing policy development (See **Table 4**), no national policy draft on informal backyard renting has been accepted. Thus, the informal backyard rental sector continues to function without consistent state support or intervention (Tshangana, 2013:2; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:4; Zwaig, 2015:4).

In keeping with the negligence shown for the informal backyard rental sector to date, an official definition for the informal backyard component of the rental market has not been established. According to Tshangana (2013:5): 'There is no generally-agreed upon definition of backyarders or backyard dwellings, and thus there are many different interpretations and perceptions regarding the term and perceptions of the sub-sector'. An official definition is of great value when the scope of the informal backyard rental sector is to be established, as the absence of an officially accepted definition has introduced uncertainties and dualities in past surveys and studies (See **Table 2**). Before 1996, housing policy effectively paid no attention to backyard dwellers. In this regard this sector did not even enjoy a separate category of classification in surveys and was simply lumped in under the informal settlement classification (Lemanski, 2009:473).

However, the definition used by government and stakeholders has critical implications for how backyard dwellings are approached, regulated and managed (Tshangana, 2013:5), or more succinctly, planned for. In keeping with the objectives of this manuscript, it is important to formulate an appropriate definition to inform the remainder of the research conducted on the subject. For Gardner (2009:2) the most appropriate definition would separate three issues, referring to the delivery system, outcome of accommodation and more subjective descriptions that would denote accommodation quality. Based on these issues, this manuscript articulates a definition according to three leading features, namely locational characteristics, physical attributes and the nature of rental agreements.

3.1 Locational characteristics of informal backyard rental structures

Firstly, the structures in question are located on the same stand as a formally developed and serviced form of housing (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:655) most commonly a subsidised Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (See **Section 4.1.1** of this review manuscript) or older township stock unit provided by the state as part of a low-income housing project (Lemanski, 2009:474), or a dwelling provided by the apartheid government in an older township. Watson (2009b:3) states that two categories of backyard dwellings can be distinguished. Referring firstly to structures built by landlords with intent to rent to tenants. Secondly referring to structures built by tenants on spaces rented from landlords. Thus, these informal structures are placed within the boundaries of formally defined properties that contain at least one formal dwelling unit and may be erected by landlords or tenants.

3.2 Physical attributes of informal backyard rental structures

Secondly the structures inhabited by tenants physically resemble the informal dwellings erected in the shantytown townships most commonly instituted through land invasion and informal, unserviced settlement. These structures are generally crudely constructed from non-durable materials including timber, corrugated iron sheets, plastics and insulated with cardboard. Informal backyard structures mainly consist of one or two rooms (Morange, 2002:6) and are used for day-to-day living activities which include all culinary, hygiene and sleeping needs (Lemanski, 2009:473). Accordingly, an appropriate definition would reference the quality and level of permanency related to building materials.

Informal backyard structures would thus by definition not conform to National Norms and Standards on building materials and construction quality, nor be built according to formally approved plans. Structures may be informally constructed from a variety of materials salvaged or bought for the purpose of erecting a dwelling unit of at least one room attached or adjacent to an existing formal dwelling.

3.3 Nature of rental agreements

Thirdly, in this instance, the term ‘informal backyard rental’ may reference a range of informal to formal lease agreements which may be negotiated in writing, verbally agreed upon or never formally communicated, instead evolving according to a continuum of needs and circumstances. These agreements may trade rental space or rental units in return for monetary payments or services rendered to landlords, or may simply refer to permission granted to reside on/in the property. According to NURCHA (2003) a portion of these rentals are occupied by family members related to landlords on a no-rental, sharing or limited rental basis, often without any form of prior rental agreement. Thus a suitable definition would include a written or verbally negotiated contract or ‘sense of understanding’ that provides permission to reside in informal rental units or on space for informal rental accommodation in return for monetary remuneration, services or no payment to the landlord household. It may or may not include provisions on service access, eviction procedures and the rights enjoyed by both landlords and tenants. Where no agreement is negotiated before occupation, a backyard structure may be regarded as used to accommodate overflow from the main household and not as a rental unit, but may still be included under the term ‘informal backyard rental’.

3.4 Constructing a new definition for the informal backyard rental sector

Based on the previous sections and clarification of core terms, an informal backyard rental structure is defined, for the purpose of this research, as: An informal structure erected by a property owner or tenant within the boundaries of a formally defined property that contains at least one formal dwelling unit. The materials and construction practices used do not comply with National Norms and Standards with the structure constructed attached or adjacent to an existing formal dwelling.

An oral or written agreement or ‘understanding’ may or may not be negotiated that provides permission for settlement and may include terms of rental remuneration, conditions of service access, eviction procedures and other landlord and tenant rights.

As definitions vary (See **Table 2**) it is difficult to estimate the exact size of the informal backyard rental sector in South Africa. In addition there is no data available to identify those households that rent the spaces occupied by the structures they erect themselves. These arrangements seem to constitute a significant and unaccounted share of the market (Carey, 2009:12). According to Watson (2009b:4) the informality and associated illegality of the sector also leads to a substantial level of under-reporting in official surveys and the national census.

Lemanski (2009:473) states that by 2009 the proportion of households residing in rented backyard dwellings was growing faster than the proportion of households in informal settlements. In fact, between the years of 2007 and 2011 the backyard rental sector delivered an average of 72 000 additional dwelling units per annum. In the same period, an estimated 120 000 units were delivered *via* state subsidies. This equates to 30% of all new affordable accommodation as backyard structures (Tshangana, 2013:4). In total, between 30% and 50% of all township housing, referring here to low-income, predominantly Black and Coloured townships, include informal backyard structures on their properties (Bank, 2007:206). It is important to note here that the term ‘Coloured’ is an inoffensive and accepted term in post-apartheid South Africa (See Adhikari (2004)), still used in the National Census. The following table provides a summary of figures on the scope of the informal backyard rental sector as provided by various sources.

Table 2: Figures on the scope of the informal backyard rental sector in South Africa

Source	Figures on informal rentals
1999 Household Survey	746 697 formal and informal households in backyard rentals
2001 South African census	600 000 households in 'household rental', defined as including house, flat, room in backyard, informal dwelling, shack in backyard.
2006 General Household Survey	397 000 households rent shacks in backyards
2007 Community Survey	421 000 households rent informal structures
2011 General Household Survey	672 000 households in informal dwellings in backyards
2011 South African census	713 000 households in informal dwellings in backyards
2013 General Household Survey	700 000 households in informal dwellings in backyards
2014 General Household Survey	756 000 households in informal dwellings in backyards

Source: Own construction based on Gardner (2003); Watson (2009b); StatsSA (2011b:63); StatsSA (2011a:102); Topham (2011); StatsSA (2013:121); StatsSA (2014:122)

The surveys captured in **Table 2** illustrate that the informal backyard rental sector constitutes a significant and escalating proportion of the South African housing market. Informal backyard rentals remain popular on both supply and demand sides. As such, landlords continue to provide informal backyard rental opportunities to capitalise on their housing assets, mostly to meet basic expenses or for small profits, (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:136; Greene & Rojas, 2008; Watson, 2009b:6; Lizarralde, 2011:176), or to meet a moral obligation to house the otherwise destitute as complete strangers, mere acquaintances, friends or family members (Saphire, 1992:675; Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:140; Morange, 2002:13; Bank, 2007:209; Lemanski, 2009:479).

On the demand side, informal backyard tenants may include those who prefer rental over ownership, require smaller living spaces, are foreign or domestic migrants, temporary workers not in need of homeownership, adults without dependants, those who wish to rent but cannot afford other rental options, homeowners who find ownership responsibilities untenable, those renting in order to maintain community ties and/or kinship connections with landlords and the marginalised in search of alternatives to life in a shantytown, as informal backyard rentals may provide housing a rung above residency in informal settlements on the property ladder (Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000:853; Cross, 2006a:28; Gardner, 2009:10; Freund, 2010:287; Landman & Napier, 2010:304; Ndinda *et al.*, 2011:782; Tshangana, 2013:2).

Whilst a national backyarding policy that recognises such demand and supply side motivations, as well as broader potentials and challenges is yet to be devised, existing policies and legislation have referenced informal backyard rentals to some extent, or have at least promoted principles that could be reconciled with objectives that would address key issues. The following section provides a review of such policies, programmes and legislative measures.

4. Housing policy in the post-apartheid age

Apartheid left several housing imbalances to be restored by the democratic government post-1994. In accordance, significant policy and legislative development was initiated with the onset of the democratic age to address accommodation crises and plan for scaled housing delivery. **Table 4** provides a synthesis of the fourteen most prominent housing policies and programmes post-1994 and analyses references to specific phrases and concepts relevant to both the formal rental and informal backyard rental sectors within these policies, as point of reference throughout the remainder of the manuscript. Search phrases and concepts were formulated to cover all possible references to formal and informal rentals within policy texts, with specific phrases and concepts delineated under the heading *Phrases, concepts and number of references* provided in **Table 4**. Searches were conducted using the search function in Adobe Acrobat Reader. **Table 3** is followed by **Table 4** that captures primary housing legislation as directly related to housing law.

Table 3: Post-1994 South African housing policies and rental references

Year	Policy Documents and Housing Programmes	Phrases, concepts and number of references								
		Rent/ Rental/ Renting	Back-yard	Backyard Rent/ Rental/ Renting	Informal	Informal Rent/ Rental/ Renting	Informal backyard Rent/Rental/ Renting	Low income (low-income) Rent/Rental/ Renting	Affordable Rent/ Rental/ Renting	Social housing
1994	Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)	4	0	0	14	0	0	0	1	0
1994	White Paper: A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa	9	2	0	15	0	0	0	0	4
1996	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
1997	Urban Development Framework (UDF)	5	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	0
1998	People's Housing Process (PHP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2000	National Housing Code 2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2004	Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (BNG)	7	4	2	35	0	0	0	0	33
2005	Social Housing Policy for South Africa (Social Housing Policy) (SHP)	135	0	0	3	0	0	0	4	390
2007	Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy (IHP) in South Africa (Inclusionary Housing Policy)	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
2009	Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP)	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
2009	Revised National Housing Code	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2011	National Development Plan (NDP)	19	1	0	100	0	0	0	2	1
2014	Integrated Urban Development Framework Draft (IUDF)	7	6	3	44	0	0	0	2	1
2016	White Paper on Human Settlements	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Own construction (2015)

Table 4: Post-1994 South African housing legislation

Year	Primary Housing Legislation	Amended
1996	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 18 of 1996(Constitution)	
1997	Housing Act 107 of 1997	1999; 2001
1998	Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19 of 1998 (PIE Act)	2006
1998	Housing Consumers Protection Measures Act 95 of 1998	
1999	Rental Housing Act 50 of 1999 (Rental Housing Act)	2007; 2014
2000	Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 (Municipal Systems Act)	
2008	Housing Development Agency Act 23 of 2008	
2008	Social Housing Act 16 of 2008 (Social Housing Act)	
2007	The National Norms and Standards for the Construction of Stand Alone Residential Dwellings Financed through National Housing Programmes	2014

Source: Own construction (2016)

From **Table 3** and **Table 4** it is evident that South African housing policy and legislation witnessed significant development and evolution during the last twenty two years. In the 1994 to 2016 period, seventeen new housing subsidy programmes have been instituted, including informal upgrading programmes, self-help building programmes, subsidies for integration and support for rental and social housing (RSA, 2014:69). The foundation for these interventions was laid in the period between 1994 and 2003, as elaborated on in the following sections, based on the most influential of these policies and legislation.

4.1 South African housing policy and legislation in the period 1994 to 2003

The collapse of apartheid encouraged a dramatic increase in Black urbanisation, resulting in substantial housing shortages and a growing culture of informal settlement (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014:3). By 1994, more than one million households, or 23.8% of the total population and 45% of all Black urban households were housed in shacks, hostels or outbuildings in urban areas, excluding those in rural areas and previous homelands (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:133). In total, 60% of South Africans were living in rural areas characterised by abject poverty, unemployment, weak institutions and gross inequality (RSA, 2014c:40). In addition, only 58% of all households enjoyed tenure security, whilst 9% resided under traditional or officially unrecognised tenure arrangements, mostly in rural areas, with 18% of all households presenting no security of tenure in the informal settlements, backyard structures and formal dwellings in urban areas they occupied (RSA, 1994a:11). In 1994 the housing backlog was estimated at 1.2 million units (RSA, 2014c:41). In response to the dire need for low-income housing to accommodate those relegated to informality and their tenure insecurity and those migrating to urban areas from rural locations in the previous homelands, drastic policy and legislative action was required. The democratic government adopted a variety of housing policies, programmes and mechanisms, captured in this section, to aid low-income households in access to secure tenure, services and starter housing to meet its housing mandate and redress the legacy of apartheid (Landman & Napier, 2010:299). In light of the vast imbalances left by apartheid planning and development, housing remains a politically charged subject in the democratic era. As a result, no other African country promises its poor the degree of social provision pledged by the South African government (Cross, 2006a:3). Social assistance through grants has been government's main instrument of poverty reduction (RSA, 2014c:13). As part of the commitment to poverty alleviation and social support, housing and service delivery remain at the top of the agenda, and unsurprisingly so (Freund, 2010:286). It is the previously marginalised, homeless and asset-deprived who today wield the power bestowed by majority to make or break political rule. In order to redress past injustices and meet the demands posed by newly empowered voters, the South African government has committed itself to delivering freehold tenure of a serviced detached home to those in need. This principle found support in the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994.

4.1.1 1994: The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The RDP was established in 1994 as an overarching framework for policy formulation and implementation in a spectrum of economic and social policy contexts, including housing (Wilkinson, 1998:224), with a focus on reforming administrative infrastructure and establishing responsive delivery mechanisms as a prelude to effective implementation (Mackay, 1999:398). The RDP was designed as: '...a policy framework for integrated and coherent socio-economic progress' (RSA, 1994c:7) and was the first to articulate the right to access to adequate housing as later enshrined in the Constitution (See **Table 5**) (Huchzermeyer, 2001:305). The RDP, aided by capital subsidies (National Housing Subsidy Scheme (NHSS)), was launched as a means to reach an ambitious housing target of one million homes within the first five years of democratic rule (Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009:334) in response to the housing backlog faced by the disadvantaged (Moolla *et al.*, 2011:138). The RDP set the template for the commitment to detached housing units under freehold tenure that continues to guide the majority of state-subsidised housing projects today. Despite the course set by the Programme to deliver for ownership, the RDP also acknowledged rental housing. In fact, the RDP referenced rental housing four times (See **Table 3**). However, these minimal references merely recognised the sector without prioritising specific strategies and without any focus on addressing the informal component of the market, other than as 'affordable rental'. The RDP was replaced by the neoliberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme in 1996, aimed at coordinated and integrated development (Goebel, 2007:293; RSA, 2009c:12). However, RDP objectives continue to define public policy (RSA, 2014c:11), with approaches established under the defunct RDP still guiding most new low-income housing projects, with most still colloquially branded as developed in the 'RDP-style' (Lemanski, 2011:60). With specific reference to housing delivery, the RDP was followed by the White Paper on Housing in 1994.

4.1.2 1994: White Paper - A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa (The White Paper on Housing or the Housing White Paper)

The White Paper: A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa of 1994 was based on the Botshabelo Housing Accord of 27 October 1994 and the National Housing Forum (NHF), a multi-party non-governmental negotiating body established before the democratic elections of 1994 (Hopkins, 2007:1). The foundation of South Africa's post-apartheid approach to housing delivery lay primarily in the Constitution and the Housing White Paper, as affected by the RDP, with the principles contained in the Housing White Paper being fundamental to achieving the later established Constitutional right to adequate housing (RSA, 2009c:12), which it referred to as the 'right to live in dignity, in habitable circumstances' (RSA, 1994a:20).

However, the White Paper on Housing acknowledged that delivering on this right amidst the challenges of the country's apartheid inheritance would not be easy. Accordingly, the Housing White Paper identifies various inhibiting factors to housing development including socio-economic issues, land and planning issues, institutional challenges and inequitable and fragmented human settlements, land invasion and informal settlement concerns (RSA, 1994a:11-15). As part of the housing challenge to formalised tenure rights and overcrowded townships, the Housing White Paper references the term 'backyard shacks' twice (See **Table 3**).

In reaction to the challenges it references, the White Paper on Housing offers points of departure on the role of the state in following a people-centred approach that affords freedom of choice and non-discrimination. In an overall approach to housing delivery, the Housing White Paper offers stabilising the housing environment and supporting the housing process as courses of action. In support thereof, the policy *inter alia* endeavours to mobilise housing credit and savings, describe institutional arrangements and approaches to land acquisition and redistribution, approaches to co-ordinated development and providing subsidy assistance (RSA, 1994a:24-30). With regard to subsidy assistance, the White Paper on Housing was established on the foundation laid by the RDP (See **Section 4.1.1** of this review manuscript) and the NHSS (Lizarralde & Root, 2007:2068). The NHSS was founded to provide capital subsidies to qualifying beneficiaries through a developer driven process (Tissington, 2011).

Accordingly, subsidised housing projects were then, and continue to be, funded through national government allocations to provincial authorities. Provincial governments then allocate these funds to local authorities who act as project developers. Most commonly, local authorities have employed external project managers or private sector stakeholders to act as developers (Lizarralde, 2011:176). Subsequently, project-linked subsidies have been provided to enable housing development by the private sector in service of provincial and local authorities (Lizarralde & Root, 2007:2068). After the RDP and 1994 White Paper, capital subsidies were soon applied in a variety of contexts, including for individuals purchasing existing completed homes, constructing fully subsidised dwellings, constructing institutional rental housing, upgrading hostels and self-help construction. The concept of self-help construction is especially significant given the White Paper's reference to the progressive manner in which the right to housing is to be realised (RSA, 1994), as personified by the People's Housing Process (PHP) of 1998 (Marais *et al.*, 2008:6) (See **Section 4.1.4** of this review manuscript). The 1994 White Paper on Housing was later legislated and extended by the Housing Act 107 of 1997, amended in 1999 and 2001. In the year preceding the 1997 Housing Act, South Africa adopted the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa as a symbol of South African democracy and its commitment to equity and human rights.

4.1.3 1996: Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (The Constitution)

The focus on housing in public policy can be identified in most post-colonial societies, or where political transitions from traumatic wars or authoritarian regimes to stability and democracy have transpired (Turok, 2015:2) and reparation, inclusion and equity now play an important part in maintaining political stability. This is specifically evident in the South African Constitution's progressive stance towards human rights and the provision of social services in accordance therewith, with the Constitution containing justiciable socio-economic rights (Tissington, 2011:12). The Constitution is a transformative document that stresses the transformation of South African society into a more equitable, open and democratic entity rooted in freedom, dignity and human rights (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:353).

Calls for housing are rightly supported by the principle of housing as a human right. The United Nations Habitat Agenda of 1996 states: 'Everyone has the right to an adequate standard of living for themselves and their families' (United Nations, 1996:4) and in the United Nations Fact Sheet on Human Rights that 'human rights are interdependent, indivisible and interrelated...the violation of the right to adequate housing may affect the enjoyment of a wide range of other human rights' (United Nations, 2014:9). However, exactly what the right to adequate housing refers to in the South African context remains open to interpretation as the term is not defined by the Constitution or case law. In keeping with the international perspective provided by The United Nations (UN), Maass (2011:771) suggests that the term 'adequate housing' may be defined, consistent with the Constitution's obligation to the Bill of Rights, according to international law. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), signed by South Africa in 1994, prescribes that 'adequate housing' should not be limited to meaning 'roof over one's head', but instead as the right to occupy property with security of tenure (ICESCR, 1966).

The 1996 Constitution presents the provisions captured in **Table 5** with regard to the right to housing, as the foundation for all housing policies, legislation and programmes instituted thereafter.

Table 5: The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the right to housing

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

Source: Own construction based on RSA (1996) and Tissington (2011)

As evidenced by **Table 5**, the Constitution emphasises the right to adequate housing in Chapter 2 Section 26. However, delivering on this right in a unilaterally equitable manner continues to present challenges to governmental capacity. In realisation of Constitutional obligations and laudable yet unsustainable delivery according to the RDP and Housing White Paper, South African policy continued to evolve, most notably through the Urban Development Framework (UDF) of 1997 (RSA, 1997a; Donaldson & Van Der Merwe, 2000), the Rural Development Framework (RDF) of

1997 see (RSA, 1997b) and the People's Housing Process (PHP) in 1998 as a programme of self-help housing provision.

4.1.4 1998: The People's Housing Process (PHP)

As presented in **Sections 4.1.1** and **4.1.2** of this review, South African housing policy is rooted in a once-off housing subsidy (through the NHSS), intended to provide beneficiaries with a site, basic services and a nuclear home that can be extended and improved over time. Thus the self-help concept is entrenched in the fundamentals of South African housing policy, through the concept of beneficiary-driven improvement and extension (Marais *et al.*, 2008:1). The 1994 Housing White Paper recognised self-help processes but did not expressly identify a self-build housing strategy as an immediate housing approach (Clark, 2011:29). As time went on, the need for an active citizenry in fulfilling housing needs beyond the scope of the NHSS became increasingly apparent as the capital subsidy could only stretch as far as a serviced site and a small and very rudimentary top structure. In this regard, Parnell and Hart (1999:384) state: 'For a liveably sized top structure individuals must count on building for themselves'. This realisation, in conjunction with housing delivery rates that could not keep up with expectations, contributed to the development of a self-help policy, as the People's Housing Process (PHP) (Clark, 2011:29).

The PHP was only officially launched in 1998 (Huchzermeyer, 2001:299; Landman & Napier, 2010) and as such, was a relatively late addition to South African housing policy (Marais *et al.*, 2008:7). The programme was adopted to allow communities to assist themselves in housing delivery by encouraging beneficiaries to build their own dwellings. The PHP was motivated in the Housing Code of 2000 (See **Section 4.1.5** of this review manuscript) as: 'Experience has proved that if beneficiaries are given the chance either to build houses themselves or to organise the building of houses themselves, they can build better houses for less money' (RSA, 2000). Thus the Programme envisioned an increase in housing delivery and the active participation of South Africans in the realisation of their Constitutional right to housing.

Accordingly, the PHP targeted the same beneficiaries as the capital subsidy and could be applied to access a consolidation, project-linked, institutional or rural subsidy, but not an individual subsidy (Clark, 2011:30). The Programme provided support to those households who wished to construct, or organise the construction of their homes themselves (Landman & Napier, 2010:299). Thus, via the PHP, poor households could access affordable accommodation and bypass tedious financing processes (RSA, 1998). Accordingly, the PHP facilitated access to land, services and technical support. This support was formalised by two programmes. The first programme facilitated access to housing subsidies. The second facilitated access to technical, logistical, financial and administrative support (RSA, 1998:1).

According to Marais *et al.* (2008:8) the PHP has been regarded as an instrument to funnel private investment into housing delivery on the back of the limited success of the formal banking sector to do so, as well as a mechanism to encourage intensified beneficiary commitment. This commitment is commonly regarded as ‘sweat equity’ for those unable to afford a cash contribution towards the development of their homes. However, over time the concept of ‘sweat equity’ was criticised for its connection with individualism and cost-recovery ideologies (Khan & Pieterse, 2004:19). Given the neoliberal approach to development in which private interests often overshadow people-centred initiatives, private sector contractors were commonly more involved than housing beneficiaries, negating the intended advantages of capacity building, stakeholder engagement and empowerment (Lizarralde & Root, 2007:2068). Thus in many cases limited stakeholder engagement could be identified in housing projects delivered under the original PHP.

A lack of capacity and effective community support was also largely to blame in the failure of the original PHP to deliver at scale (Hopkins, 2007:6). Accordingly, these concerns were addressed by the Enhanced People’s Housing Process (EPHP) in 2009 (See **Section 4.2.4** of this review manuscript).

The original PHP, as well as other National Housing Programmes were amalgamated under the National Housing Code of 2000, as captured below.

4.1.5 2000: The Housing Code

The Housing Code of 2000 was drafted in line with the Housing Act of 1997 and provided fundamental policy principles, according to which National Housing Programmes were to be applied (The Housing Code was updated in 2009). The 2000 Housing Code also provided the first National Norms and Standards for the Construction of Standalone Residential Dwellings financed through National Housing Programmes, that provided minimum construction and servicing standards. According to the Code, the state's main objective was then 'subject to fiscal affordability, increase housing delivery on a sustainable basis to a peak level of 350 000 units per annum until the housing backlog is overcome' (RSA, 2000:5) The 2009 Housing Code is elaborated under **Section 4.2.3** of this manuscript.

4.1.6 Concluding housing 1994-2003: Substantial yet insufficient and unsustainable housing delivery

The South African government rightly prioritised housing provision for the poor and marginalised in the decade following the 1994 democratic elections, as evidenced by the policy and legislative measures introduced during the period. These measures soon bore fruit, resulting in staggering delivery volumes. During the first years of post-apartheid housing development more than 200 000 subsidised dwellings were being delivered per annum (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:267). The advances made deserve recognition for the sheer number of beneficiaries housed, but after the first million dwellings were delivered, significant contradictions surfaced to what housing policies and programmes intended (Khan & Thring, 2003). It became clear that the housing backlog remained and expanded, that unit quality left much to be desired and that the system exposed itself to corruption (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:267).

In addition, delivery mostly resulted in impressive volumes of small and identical detached dwellings (Seekings *et al.*, 2010:2) poorly located (Massyn *et al.*, 2015:413) often on the urban periphery (Klug *et al.*, 2013:668). South African cities thus continued to spread and sprawl, resulting in long commuting distances for many of the country's poorest citizens. State policy was directed at developing compact and integrated human settlements, yet low-income housing projects continuously embodied the opposite. The developer-driven approach adopted to deliver the volumes achieved also further resulted in the destruction or weakening of valuable social and livelihood networks (Huchzermeyer, 2003:595) in return for profits. In essence, the products delivered *via* approaches adopted under the RDP and 1994 White Paper resulted in development characterised by 'breadth over depth'. In this regard policy provided poorer housing to as many households as possible (Tomlinson, 2006b:87). The approach was severely criticised.

For Bond and Tait (1997:20-21) post-apartheid housing policy seemed to amplify some of the worst features of previous strategies, including limited attention to consumer affordability, limitations to the availability of suitable state-owned land for housing development and an excessive reliance on market players. In response policy did not remain stagnant and attempts at reparation were made throughout this period. Between 1995 and 2003 ad hoc changes to housing policy saw minor adjustments to the housing strategy implemented in 1994. These included the recognition of rental housing as an integral component of a balanced housing policy, further promoting increased residential densities and expanding access to housing for vulnerable groups (Gardner, 2003:28-29). These adjustments were taken on board further in the second wave of housing policy, which came in the form of Breaking New Ground: a Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (BNG) in 2004. Opening with BNG, the following section elaborates on housing policy and legislation in the period 2004 to 2015.

4.2 South African housing policy and legislation in the period 2004 to 2015

4.2.1 2004: Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (Breaking New Ground or BNG)

By 2004 an estimated 1.6 million subsidised homes had been built (RSA, 2014c:105), yet not without difficulties. The BNG policy was intended to address the delivery problems identified since the adoption of the 1994 Housing White Paper and accordingly attempted to address housing quality concerns and the backlog that had been gaining momentum (Tomlinson, 2006b:85). However, instead of providing a drastic departure from previous trajectories towards the development of sustainable human settlements, BNG was broadly based on the 1994 White Paper on Housing and the Housing Code of 2000 (Cloete *et al.*, 2009:29), with some fundamental principles remaining virtually unaltered (Marais *et al.*, 2008:6). Yet, the policy provides noteworthy guidelines with the potential to significantly alter the low-income housing environment. BNG, *inter alia*, refers to shifting from product uniformity to demand responsiveness by addressing the multi-dimensional needs of human settlements and providing for housing flexibility and mobility. In accordance, the policy calls for an enhancement of the housing product by improving settlement and housing quality and design (RSA, 2004). In addition, Breaking New Ground presents the case for densification and integration through densification policies, development permits, fiscal incentives and enhanced spatial planning (RSA, 2004).

These elements are reconcilable with interventions that would address the need for strategies aimed at informal backyard renting. Yet, BNG only references the term 'backyard' four times (See **Table 3**), merely in relation to the size and growth of the sector and the need for further research on backyard rental accommodation (RSA, 2004:19-20). The Breaking New Ground policy thus presents minimal progression from the 1994 White Paper with regard to the informal backyard rental sector, in that it further acknowledges that the sector exists, is expanding and that at that time not much else was known about it, mandating further research. Under BNG, the backyard rental sector is regarded firstly in terms of its informality, which is of specific relevance when Breaking New Ground is considered.

On the back of a more sustainable approach, the BNG policy supports progressive informal settlement eradication through integration, in-situ upgrading and improved social housing opportunities. Following the eradication mentality supported by BNG, informal backyard rentals are commonly eradicated (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:68). In line with the commitment to informal settlement upgrades and ultimate eradication, BNG provides for the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme (UISP), published as one of seven business plans under the policy. Other business plans include: Stimulating the Residential Property Market; Spatial Restructuring and Sustainable Human Settlements; the Social (Medium-Density) Housing Programme; Institutional Reform and Capacity Building; Housing Subsidy Funding System Reforms; and Housing and Job Creation (RSA, 2004:28). These business plans and their intentions seem to strike at the core of the housing deficiencies identified in the 1994 to 2003 period, aside from a targeted informal backyard rental response. In keeping with the theme of addressing inefficiencies and pre-2004 housing approaches, BNG also called for a redirection of the PHP, discussed in **Section 4.2.3** of this review manuscript.

From the 1994 period onwards, integration at all levels of South African society was continuously on the agenda, yet a lack of true spatial, social and economic integration within low-cost housing projects and between these projects and the surrounding urban environment could still be identified. In response, an inclusionary housing policy was adopted in 2007.

4.2.2 2007: Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy in South Africa (Inclusionary Housing Policy or IHP)

In South Africa, initiatives to draft an inclusionary housing policy materialised as a result of apprehensions regarding the success of attempts to address the apartheid's city's divisions and fragmentations (Tomlinson & Narsoo, 2008). Following suit, the 2007 Inclusionary Housing Policy for South Africa (IHP) was the result of a commitment to include low-income housing opportunities in commercial housing developments for more racially integrated and income inclusive settlements (Tissington, 2011:71).

The policy was developed to harness private initiative to develop middle and higher income housing to the benefit of socio-economic balance and to increase affordable housing development by incentivising or compelling the private sector to develop housing for low-income and lower-middle income groups in areas where such development may be traditionally excluded due to market forces. The IHP furthermore seeks to increase the supply of affordable rental accommodation (Tissington, 2011:71), referencing the term 'rent' in various forms 25 times (See **Table 3**). The policy has shown limited implementation and to date has remained without legislation to give effect to its aspirations (Klug *et al.*, 2013:668). However, several inclusionary housing projects have been established regardless of a lack of legislative enforcement, including Cosmo City in Johannesburg (See Onatu (2010); Haferburg (2013)) and the controversial N2 Gateway Project in Cape Town (See Dewar (2008); Huchzermeyer (2010)). Following South Africa's housing policy evolution post-BNG, existing policies and programmes were also revised, as illustrated by the Revised Housing Code of 2009.

4.2.3 2009: The Revised Housing Code

As the Revised Housing Code of 2009 includes BNG principles and BNG remained based on the 1994 White Paper on Housing, the fundamental policy and development principles presented by the 1994 White Paper remained relevant and continued to guide housing policy and implementation according to the 2009 Housing Code (RSA, 2009c:7). The 2009 revision to the Housing Code aimed to provide a less prescriptive and more flexible style than its 2000 predecessor; yet it remains a lengthy document of more than thirty volumes, making it very difficult to gain an overall impression of South African housing policy and programmes from it (Tissington, 2011:73). In essence, according to the Housing Code (RSA, 2009) National Housing Programmes are categorised according to four 'Intervention Categories', as Financial Programmes, Social and Rental Housing Programmes, Incremental Housing Programmes and Rural Housing Programmes. Under these categories, the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP), the Social/Rental Housing Programme and the Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP), under the banner of Incremental Housing Programmes, are broadly considered the core of future housing delivery.

The 2009 Housing Code also revised the National Norms and Standards for the Construction of Stand Alone Residential Dwellings Financed through National Housing Programmes contained in the 2000 Housing Code in order to address unit size and service quality concerns. The revised Housing Code also includes a revision to the 1998 PHP under Incremental Housing Programmes, in accordance with BNG, as the Enhanced People's Housing Process discussed below.

4.2.4 2009: The Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP)

By the time BNG was introduced six years after the release of the 1998 PHP, significant shortfalls and missed opportunities could be identified in the approach to self-help housing followed in South Africa. By this time, the slow pace and limited extent to which the PHP was contributing to housing delivery understandably raised alarms. Concerns regarding the developer-driven approach, the narrow definitions included under the term 'self-help', the limited involvement of beneficiaries and contradictions within the PHP also accumulated (RSA, 2004:17; Tissington, 2011:84). In response, Breaking New Ground sought to intervene and respond to the critique raised (RSA, 2004:17-18; Marais *et al.*, 2008:8). Accordingly, the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) was adopted in 2008 and rolled out in 2009 (Clark, 2011:28). The revised policy adopts a broader definition of 'self-help' and allows for increased flexibility and choice according to a people-centred approach to development more focused on the outcomes of the housing process in totality based on community involvement and engagement (Tissington, 2011:84). The policy focuses on community contributions rather than the original PHP's emphasis on individual 'sweat equity'. It also allows beneficiaries to participate in decision-making during the housing process and product development to empower communities, foster partnerships, retain social capital and deliver homes better suited to household needs for sustainable and inclusive settlements (RSA, 2009c:26). Despite calls for inclusivity, the EPHP paid minimal attention to self-help rental practices, thus discounting informal backyard rentals completely (See **Table 3**).

Notwithstanding the redirection provided under the EPHP, South Africa has not witnessed a substantial uptake of self-help schemes (Newton, 2013:642). The expectations of potential housing beneficiaries who demand fully subsidised and completed dwellings as well as the disinterest often shown for the physical input as individual or communal 'sweat equity', and financial input required in such schemes, have inhibited rollout in larger volumes (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:135; Landman & Napier, 2010:304). The EPHP has effectively done little to place human settlement policy and development in the hands of the people.

As long as institutional arrangements are geared towards a housing-for-profit approach in favour of the private sector, a people-centred housing approach will not be realised (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:268-270). South Africa's human settlement agenda has had too narrow a focus on providing 'formal' and profitable housing, resulting in the neglect of a true people-centred approach in favour of market actors. In 2011, South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP) was adopted that, *inter alia*, focuses on people-centred and demand-responsive development.

4.2.5 2011: The National Development Plan (NDP)

The National Development Plan of 2011 (NDP) outlines a broad plan and vision for the South Africa of 2030 (RSA, 2014c:18) and recognises the need for a new approach that moves from a passive citizenry to one where people are active champions of their own development (RSA, 2011:1). The NDP also acknowledges that spatial patterns currently exclude the poor from the benefits of development. In response, the Plan advocates the adoption of housing and land policies that would address diverse household circumstances and types that would see the state becoming a housing facilitator instead of primary housing provider. It also calls for innovative approaches to encourage and enable communities to take more responsibility for their own housing provisions. Accordingly, the NDP acknowledges that the capital subsidy regime has failed to meet the needs of a large segment of the population who would be better served by rental accommodation, with informal backyard tenancy as consequence.

In this regard, the Plan concedes that the role played by the informal sector in housing should be recognised and that a focussed strategy for those who do not qualify for NHSS homes and earn too little to purchase their own bonded properties must be developed. The Plan further proposes increasing urban population density, also acknowledging the potential costs of densification and opposition to new residential patterns (RSA, 2011:258-292). As with BNG, the NDP provides a broad and supportive range of principles that could be reconciled with investing in an informal backyard rental strategy, but it does not explicitly call for such an intervention. The Plan does refer to the term 'rent' on nineteen occasions (See **Table 3**), but only eleven of these references are directly related to rental housing. Of these, the term 'affordable rent' comes up twice and the terms 'backyard rent' or 'informal rent' are never referenced in any form. This could be construed as worrying, given the importance of the NDP as a guiding policy for future development. According to the Presidency (RSA, 2014c:165) the NDP, as a long-term plan, provides sustained focus for medium-term, sectoral and departmental plans that will all be focused on achieving NDP objectives. The plan seems to continue in the tradition of extensive policy development and planning that has come to characterise the post-1994 period, however whether its contributions to housing interventions at ground level will be realised, remains to be seen.

4.2.6 Concluding housing 2004-2015: a continued case of breadth over depth

In the 20 year period spanning 1994 to 2014, the South African government managed to deliver approximately 2.8 million subsidised homes and 875 000 serviced sites, representing roughly 3.7 million housing opportunities. Nearly one quarter of the population, or 12.5 million people benefited from these provisions in more than 10739 communities and 968 towns and cities (RSA, 2014:68). Of these provisions, approximately 1.2 million subsidised homes were delivered in the period after 2004. The 2004 to 2016 period saw significant housing policy development taking place, mostly based on the foundations laid by interventions adopted in the period before the rollout of BNG in 2004.

Although BNG provides an optimistic vision for the development of more sustainable human settlements and directly influenced revisions to the Housing Code and PHP, in practice it continues to have limited influence and has not resulted in a severe departure from the delivery systems and housing products delivered under the RDP and 1994 Housing White Paper (Tissington, 2011:63; Lemanski, 2014:2945). Project-linked development remains at the core of the approach to housing development (Lizarralde & Root, 2007:2068) with housing delivery in the RDP tradition continuing to take up most of the capital subsidy (Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009:334). As a result, apartheid disparities have remained, with the poor still trapped on the sprawling urban periphery in ownership of matchbox dwellings devoid of character and socio-economic opportunity; hardly the epitome of sustainable settlements envisaged under BNG. Goebel (2007:292) states that new homes and accompanying infrastructure and service provisions are of poor quality and thus deteriorate rapidly, thereby demanding constant and expensive maintenance. Even after BNG, the 'breadth over depth' approach has remained, resulting in dissatisfaction with the small size and quality of units delivered to date (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:2; Hopkins, 2007:5; Freund, 2010:287; Lizarralde, 2011:176; Lorraine & Molapo, 2014:905).

These factors are the result of an approach focussed on quantity and not quality often rooted in political agendas and election promises (See Alexander (2010); Wertman (2015)). In addition, true socio-economic integration remains elusive, with the IHP left as a barking dog without much bite. In truth most new low-cost housing continues to be developed as extensions of existing townships, thus maintaining apartheid's spatial status quo (Goebel, 2007:668; Klug *et al.*, 2013:688; RSA, 2014c:4; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:688).

Those who have not yet benefited from state subsidised housing are left to fend for themselves and survive as best they can. For most, informal accommodation presents the only affordable opportunity to house themselves and their families and access the socio-economic prospects offered by urban centres. As a result, the absolute number of urban households living in informal dwellings has increased. In the metros an increase of 10% in the number of households in informal dwellings, most of which as informal backyard structures, can be identified in the last decade (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:688).

By 2014 1263000 informal dwellings not in backyards and 756000 informal dwellings in backyards were recorded by the 2014 General Household Survey (StatsSA, 2014). Thus, communities across South Africa have continued to empower themselves through their own solutions in informal dwellings when they have not yet received, or are not eligible, for state subsidies (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:268). Post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed a range of unaided self-help housing initiatives in the unregulated informal market, including informal backyard structures in formal RDP housing projects or older township areas (Landman & Napier, 2010:303; RSA, 2014c:70). In this regard, the limited number of self-help dwellings constructed under formalised policy, such as the EPHP, do not constitute the complete scope of self-aided housing construction in South Africa. Informal housing options are almost always the result of self-aided initiatives to provide shelter, for which South Africans have counted on their own resources even before the PHP (Clark, 2011:28). The informal sector maximises self-help and mutual aid building and is the only sector that has been able to provide scaled low-cost shelter options for the urban poor (Bhatt & Rybczynski, 2003). According to Bradlow *et al.* (2011:268) the poor have proven to be the most efficient actors in housing delivery. The creativity of informal construction and service delivery practices has been markedly resourceful where formal state interventions have been found lacking. Massey (2014:290-295) refers to these practices as 'counter-conduct... adopted to manipulate and benefit from what is available, in order to ensure the survival of social networks and other livelihood strategies'. Accordingly, Massey describes backyarding as a form of counter-conduct, an unintended and officially unsanctioned practice that stands in sharp contrast to what state initiatives based on eradicating and upgrading informality, such as BNG-based directives, intend on reproducing (Massey, 2014:290-295).

Under BNG the UISP introduced advances in eradication and upgrading with a primary focus on phased in-situ upgrading with relocation as a last resort (Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009:338). In conjunction with the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19 of 1998 (PIE Act) (See Huchzermeyer (2003); Tissington (2011)), which set out to prevent arbitrary evictions, some sense of tenure security and permanency is theoretically conferred, but not guaranteed. Huchzermeyer (2011:3) states that the dominate approach to development still seems focussed on eradicating the informal.

As a result, the progressive legal and policy framework has been overshadowed in favour of forceful anti-poor discourse around slum eradication. Thus, in practice relocation to temporary transit camps whilst upgrading takes place or permanent relocation and eradication are often the result of programmes aimed at addressing informality (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:272). In asserting the need to completely eradicate informal practices, post-apartheid policy has enshrined a divide between the formal and informal and in doing so has favoured formality as the ultimate and only valid housing option, encouraged through eviction, eradication and redevelopment approaches. According to Bradlow *et al.* (2011:269): 'The housing subsidy programme in South Africa has created an aggressive contrast between shacks that need to be 'eradicated' and 'formal' houses that need to be delivered'. Eradication has been advocated against the backdrop of realising the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of 'slum-free cities' and developing internationally competitive settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2014b:42). By 2009 Gardner (2009:5) foresaw that it would be impossible for the state to meet its MDG target of eradicating informal settlement by 2014 with the settlement policies which then directed and continue to guide development. As a result, the MDG target set for 2014, has been missed and any future goal in accordance, seems to be becoming more and more distant. Equally distant, seems to be any chance of meeting the objective to provide the majority of South Africa's current and future destitute with homeownership opportunities or even formalised rental accommodation.

Unaided self-help housing, including informal settlement and backyard housing, will thus be an issue to contend with for some time to come (Landman & Napier, 2010:305). The commitment to freehold tenure and the standardised 'RDP-style' development still followed to deliver on this commitment will see the housing crisis intensify exponentially in future. The daunting task of delivering on this mandate within the complexities of a historically fragmented and segregated society, within which equally complex needs are presented by the poor, demands a much more nuanced approach than a strategy simply targeted at homeownership and standardised service delivery (See Kingwill *et al.* (2006)).

The preoccupation with homeownership as the most significant and valuable of property rights (See Lemanski (2011) as both a basic Constitutional right and a form of reparation, has prevented a multitude of alternative tenure options from being fully developed and implemented in South African settlements (Maass, 2011:763). Homeownership does not necessarily meet the diverse needs presented by the urban poor, as there is a preference amongst at least a proportion of poor households for rental accommodation instead of ownership (Watson & McCarthy, 1998; Maass, 2011:763). South Africa's approach to rental housing is discussed in more detail in the following section.

5. South Africa's approach to rental and social housing

South Africa's relationship with rental tenure can at best be described as contentious. Post-1994 there was a certain stigma attached to rentals as a tool of exclusion under apartheid and as an instrument applied to deny home and land ownership and deepen dependence on the state (Mackay, 1999:395). Following the 'Big Sale' in the later years of apartheid (Seekings *et al.*, 2010:5; Marais *et al.*, 2014:61-62), ownership was increasingly equated to liberation, thus entrenching a desire to own property by the majority of those previously denied the right. For the state, the rent boycotts and strikes endured by the apartheid administration (See **Section 2.2** of this review manuscript) also left an impression that equated rental housing to past governance struggles. In addition, international experience showed public rental/social housing to be potentially difficult to manage, especially where rentals were provided as high-rise apartments, with considerable concern for rent collection and crime where management was not attentive and well-supported (Cross, 2006a:15).

This possibly further embedded the notion of large-scale rentals as perpetual burdens on state resources that would depend on private sector support. Thus, whilst high-density and multi-storey rental housing were considered options, these prospects were abandoned in part due to a lack of interest shown by the state and private sector to manage the complexities associated with sectional title schemes and rental properties when housing policy was drafted (Harrison *et al.*, 2008). To evade prospective conflict and discontentment, a more controllable and less reliant model was preferred (Harrison *et al.*, 2008) in which homeownership dominated.

Yet, the state has never shied away from vocalising the importance of access to rental housing for the urban poor (Maass, 2011:759). In fact the RDP avidly insisted upon the development of affordable rental accommodation for low-income earners who preferred this option (RSA, 1994b:28). This was echoed by the 1994 Housing White Paper that referenced the importance of rental tenure, even stating that: 'Government rejects the elevation of the individualised private homeownership above other forms of secure tenure. Subsidy policy will therefore be designed to provide for the fullest range of tenure options...' (RSA, 1994a:38). Policy may have referenced the importance of varied tenure and rentals, but in practice this was never realised, with development almost entirely focused on bestowing ownership rights. In this regard, Bond and Tait (1997:20) questioned the validity of claims that government had adopted any real rental housing policy, stating that at that time rental policy only seemed loosely tethered to policies focussed on homeownership. Thus, building one million homes and presenting one million households with ownership remained as the ultimate objective during the first five years of democratic rule, with very little rental development taking place as consequence. Even the limited references to rental housing focused exclusively on formal rentals, with the informal rental market still largely ignored in the mid-1990s (Dewar, 1997) (See **Table 3**).

In keeping with the references made to rental and social housing in the policies of the time, instruments were developed to enable and encourage rental housing development. The institutional-subsidy scheme was established in 1996, as captured in the Housing Code of 2000 (RSA, 2000). The initial institutional subsidy presented some limitations, including problems with funding mechanisms and institutional support. In order to mitigate these problems, the Social Housing Foundation (SHF) was established in 1997 to provide housing institutions with technical assistance (Cloete *et al.*, 2009:29). Rental housing was further regulated by the Rental Housing Act 50 of 1999, amended in 2007 and 2014, which regulates the relationship between landlords and tenants in all types of rental housing. Section 2(1)(a)(i) of the Act states: 'It is government's responsibility to promote a stable and growing market that progressively meets the latent demand for affordable rental housing' (RSA, 1999).

Despite institutional and legislative support, by 2004, rental accommodation was still not being delivered at an appropriate scale. As captured in **Section 4.2.1** of this manuscript, the Breaking New Ground policy represented a significant shift in South African housing policy in 2004; not in the least through its inclusion of social housing directives (Cross, 2006b; Tomlinson, 2006b; Tonkin, 2006; Napier, 2009). The third BNG business plan is dedicated to the Social (Medium-Density) Housing Programme (RSA, 2004:28) and within the policy itself, the term 'social housing' is referenced no less than 33 times (See **Table 3**). Before 2004, institutional subsidies were insufficient to fund the cost of a rental unit in a social housing project, accordingly BNG provides that tailored funding mechanisms should be sought to address the needs of individual housing types. As a result, depending on the type of housing accessed, diverse households are able to qualify for diverse subsidy amounts (Tomlinson, 2006b:97).

South Africa's social housing commitments were further institutionalised by the Social Housing Policy (SHP) of 2005 (Cloete *et al.*, 2009:29) and the Social Housing Act 16 of 2008 as the main legislation that regulates the social housing sector in terms of the 1997 Housing Act and the Rental Housing Act of 1999, giving effect to the SHP. Social housing projects and social housing institutions were established well before the SHP, but functioned within a policy and legislative vacuum (Tissington, 2011:101). In this regard, the SHP provides structure and direction for social housing development and plays a vital role in trying to meet BNG principles. The prime objectives of the SHP, captured as a volume in the National Housing Code 2009, are firstly to contribute to the restructuring of South African society to address structural, economic, social and spatial 'dysfunctionalities' thereby contributing to the national vision of an economically empowered, non-racial, and integrated society living in sustainable human settlements. Secondly, the SHP endeavours to advance and contribute to the general functioning of the housing sector, in particular, the rental sub-sector, especially through manners in which social housing can contribute to expanding the range of housing options for the poor (RSA, 2009b:12). The SHP provides significant restructuring in the approach to social housing development. The policy, *inter alia*, attempts to extend social housing options to a wider income demographic, to audit Social Housing Institution (SHI) rental rates and to advance from an individual-based to a project-based approach (Tissington, 2011:99).

However, even after BNG-inspired interventions in the social housing sector, only a limited number of affordable rental opportunities have been delivered by the SHP (Gardner, 2009:8). Between 2005 and 2010 the SHP managed to deliver 30332 units against a conservative target of 50000 units set for the period (Tissington, 2011:99). Very few of these opportunities eventually reached the lower band of the income spectrum due to private SHI reluctance to meet the development, operational and maintenance costs or risk of rental default linked to very low-income rental provision (Cross, 2006a:6; Hopkins, 2007). Thus, the majority of social housing opportunities have not served the market most in need of rental assistance, instead offering prospects to those with increased income (Tissington, 2011:102). Consequently, the benefits potentially presented by increased density social housing, such as improved locations or reduced rents, have not reached the income bracket most in need of support (Hopkins, 2007:6; Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009:350). These deficiencies were soon identified with attempts at amending the situation swiftly drafted.

As the SHP proved unable to fully penetrate the lowest end of the rental market, the Community Residential Units Programme (CRU) was developed in 2006, with the objective to deliver 25 000 affordable rental opportunities that provided security of tenure and stable conditions to the bottom end of the market (Tissington, 2011:103). The CRU Programme is of specific interest to this manuscript, as it develops hostels, amongst other state-owned dysfunctional and abandoned buildings, into quality rental housing as a solution to the need for rental housing and the appropriate use of disused buildings in state ownership (SHF, 2008a:3). CRUs are designed to replace former single sex workers' hostels with family housing (Xulu, 2014:140), that present opportunities in terms of their general locations close to urban centres and employment opportunities. These structures present a potential supply of high density, low-income rental housing (Thurman, 1997:44) and make improved use of existing assets.

Accordingly, approximately 2000 public hostels and 200000 residential units in ownership of the state were identified in terms of the CRU as potential sites for redevelopment to be made available to the affordable rental market (Tissington, 2011:103). By 2014, a total of 15225 CRUs had been developed nationally (RSA, 2014a:8).

A commitment to proactively pursue rental housing at scale seems to be well established in the rhetoric of South African housing policy, following references in the RDP, 1994 White Paper on Housing, BNG (See **Table 3**) and dedicated social housing policies such as the SHP and CRU. The evolution of South African rental housing policy speaks of a desire to house the country's destitute population in security of tenure in a range of alternatives to homeownership. However, the failure of these interventions to meet targets and promote rental over ownership still reflects a lacking maturity under social housing and rental policies to fully address the need for affordable rentals on the part of the state and the destitute. The most glaring example of a lacking approach to affordable rental housing is embodied by the neglect of South Africa's informal backyard rental sector. Although a national policy on informal backyard renting remains elusive, varied attempts at addressing the sector have been made throughout the country. These approaches are discussed below as a continuation on the theme of exploring progressions in approaches to low-income housing development in South African.

6. Past responses to informal backyard rental issues

As derived from the precluding discussion, South African housing policy has developed and evolved to include multiple tenure options. Yet, the overwhelming focus on homeownership in practice, the relative failure to promote affordable rental opportunities and the crusade against informality have painted the informal backyard rental sector as a controversial issue. Informal backyard rentals seem to oppose the state's housing commitments, yet provide invaluable support in a housing market as of yet unable to sustainably house the nation according to housing policy directives. The lack of national policies and limited local responses to the informal backyard issue may not entirely relate to a lack of conviction that action is needed, but rather to a shortage in technical and conceptual ability to support and address this sector of the market (Morange, 2002:23). Any attempt to address the informal backyard rental sector must acknowledge this and concede to the challenges the sector presents. The most prevalent of these challenges, synthesised from the literature, are captured in **Table 6**.

Table 6: Most prevalent challenges to be addressed by a backyard intervention policy

Backyard challenge	Discussion
Many structures are illegal	Many second dwellings, specifically those in the informal sector, contravene municipal by-laws, do not meet national building regulation norms and standards, or other health and safety considerations. Inconsistent enforcement and contravention of the legislative framework is unacceptable. Landlords often argue that their structures are irregular and extra-legal, because of the complicated bureaucratic planning processes and costs involved in obtaining planning permission. Landlords and tenants thus choose to ignore official frameworks. In many municipalities, a dual system applies to development. Referring to a system that requires middle to high income neighbourhoods to comply with formal processes, whilst low-income townships are left to contravene these processes. The policy vacuum in which the informal backyard rental sector continues to exist illegally curtails any attempts by authorities to address the sector.
Backyard accommodation may be unsafe and unhealthy	In part related to excessive densities at individual stand level of poorly constructed and small informal structures. These dwellings, especially in the informal market, rarely comply with national norms and standards.
Backyarders may not have access to adequate basic services	Access to basic services is a Constitutional right and is vital to health and safety. Access through main dwellings may produce metering and payment difficulties and complicates the delivery of basic service packages by authorities. Increased densities may also hamper service provision.
Over-burdening of infrastructure	Due to increased densities and possible overcrowding in areas where infrastructural capacity is stretched beyond capacity.
Prevalent government policy favours backyard structure eradication or replacement	In spite of the positive contribution to urban life such as densification and integration opportunities presented by backyarding, perceptual problems prevent capitalising on positive prospects. For example, backyard structures are disallowed officially in most subsidised housing areas. Many municipalities still regard the backyard sector in a negative, rather than an appropriately positive light, resulting in strategies aimed at replacement, removal or remediation.
Landlord-tenant conflicts	Tenant evictions occur most commonly due to landlord tenant conflicts, often exacerbated by the informality of lease agreements.
The scope and exact conditions in the informal backyard rental sector is unclear	Further tasked research is necessary to increase understanding on conditions within the backyarding sub-sector in order to disseminate information to municipal management.
Backyard conditions and intervention requirements vary contextually	Backyarding conditions are not uniform and will thus require differentiated responses between different municipalities and within different zones within each municipality. Interventions will also need to respond to requirements for both greenfield developments and where backyarding is instituted through infill in existing neighbourhoods.

Source: Own construction based on Carey (2009); Watson (2009b); Rubin and Gardner (2013); Tshangana (2013)

The challenges presented in **Table 6** focus primarily on implications at local municipal level, including municipal zoning regulations and enforcement capacity, health concerns, local infrastructural capacity, service delivery and contextual variances. Until a national policy emerges, local authorities will bear the brunt of responsibility to respond to the informal backyarding issues in their areas of jurisdiction (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20). More importantly, a lack of national directive precludes provincial intervention which would translate to local level. This is significant given that housing development in South Africa is a provincial mandate. Despite no clear national policy direction on the matter, the Gauteng and Western Cape Provinces developed their own preliminary informal backyard rental policies and pilot programmes (Carey, 2009:6), as discussed in the following section.

6.1 Approaches to backyard rental interventions in the Gauteng Province

According to Watson (2009b:18) the Gauteng Backyard Rental Programme set out to eradicate informal backyard structures in favour of structures that would comply with minimum standards approved by the Gauteng Department of Housing in order to improve living conditions. The programme set out to eradicate the informal nature of backyard dwellings (Lemanski, 2009:475). Through the programme's pilot projects landlords received grants with the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements (GDHS) seeing to the management of service providers and contractors (Abrahams, 2008). The projects undertaken in the Gauteng Province are summarised below.

6.1.1 Alexandra Renewal Project as a combined response by all levels of government

Alexandra is one of South Africa's most densely populated townships, providing few services and extremely poor accommodation standards (UN-Habitat, 2009:1). The township was intended to house around 70000 people, but by 2002 more than 350000 residents called 'Alex' home (Robins, 2002:514). Existing properties showed high densities of backyard structures, many under slum-like conditions. In reaction, a joint venture renewal project was launched in 2001, with a national government allocated budget of R1.3 billion (Joburg, 2012). Financial support was provided from national, provincial and local government (Sinwell, 2011:69) with the initial budget spent by 2005, resulting in the extension of the project to 2014 with additional funds (Joburg, 2012). The project aimed to instil civic pride by improving living conditions and health through sustainable and affordable service delivery, reducing crime and violence statistics, upgrading existing and developing new housing opportunities (Onatu & Ogra, 2012). Part of the project was directed at planning for, renewing and upgrading existing housing and backyard units (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013). The Greater Alexandra township presented a total of 90000 housing structures, 52000 of which were backyard structures in 2009 (UN-Habitat, 2009:4; JDA, 2014). With 70% of Alexandra residents as backyard dwellers, the backyard-shack upgrading element of the project was identified as a pivotal component.

Engaging with Alexandra's backyard sector required a complex set of responses due to high densities and overlapping property rights and claims, as well as a desire to preserve continued livelihood strategies and relationships (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:47). However, by 2013, the backyard plan had still remained unexecuted, because the community 'had not bought into the programme' (Joburg, 2010a). Yet the plan's general principles and concepts are useful in understanding the approach and issues it encountered (See Rubin and Gardner (2013:45-47)). These principles include preserving exiting structures and relationships by building and upgrading instead of relocating and mapping aspects such as unit quality, access to facilities and amenities to inform decisions on upgrades and demolition.

Accordingly, alternatives based on no intervention, minimal intervention (only addressing key issues related to health, safety and service provision), moderate intervention (significant physical upgrading and an improvement in service delivery) and maximum intervention (total demolition of Old Alexandra and entire reconstruction) were developed. Moderate intervention was selected as the most appropriate option. In general the project has managed to curb but not halt informal settlement, with de-densification still regarded as a major challenge (Joburg, 2012).

Even though the backyarding project has remained unimplemented, failing to realise the vision of '...the formalisation/improvement/replacement of existing housing stock in the yards' (Joburg, 2012), the case study provides that responses can be developed even in the worst conditions. The status of the backyard component as unimplemented indicates the need to address backyarding as a primary component of urban regeneration strategies and for meaningful stakeholder engagement in order to achieve communally acceptable objectives.

6.1.2 Orlando East and Zola as urban improvement in a low-income township

In Soweto, the oldest suburbs of Orlando East and Zola account for a significant number of informal backyard structures in the City of Johannesburg (Joburg, 2010b:38). Orlando East witnessed significant expansion in the backyard sector since the 1980s, resulting in high backyard densities of up to seventeen structures per property. The area presents a good location and large serviced stands. However, a lack of public investment, dirt roads, a lack of street lighting and poor and overcrowded public infrastructure turned Orlando East into a settlement on the verge of becoming a slum in everything but name (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:49). Accordingly, improvements have been implemented according to an approach based on upgrades. Thus, engineering services were upgraded and movement systems improved by tarring roads, improving public walkways and recreation areas, planting, providing street furniture and enhancing economic linkages with other areas. No formal controls on backyarding were implemented (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:50).

Orlando East was identified as a pilot for the Gauteng Backyard Rental Policy, initiated in 2005 as part of the 20 Prioritised Townships Programme (20 PTP), through which grants would be provided to upgrade informal backyard structures into fully serviced two- or three-roomed structures (Lemanski, 2009:475), at a size of approximately 11 m² each (Gauteng, 2011:7). In Zola as well, no special provisions were established with standard by-laws, building standards and regulations still applied.

The Zola project was realised following specific principles. Accordingly, the owner of the property to be upgraded had to be living there permanently and had to remain there for a minimum of five years (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:51). Households were also given the opportunity to apply for the construction of backyard units to the Dept. of Housing who determined the work needed to be done to construct the maximum of two units per stand, with construction financed *via* the Affordable Rental Accommodation Grant, almost equivalent in size to the BNG subsidy. The project produced one 40m² unit with a subsidy of R48 000.00, comprising three living areas, and shared ablution facilities. By 2013 the initiative made 2000 to 3000 rooms available. Additional support for the formalisation of the landlord-tenant relationship was also provided (Lemanski, 2009:475), chiefly through mandating formal, written and signed lease agreements. After upgrades, backyard tenants remained eligible for a housing subsidy to be granted after they vacated the backyard rental unit. However, backyard households were chosen by landlords themselves, often as family members, leaving others displaced. Landlords also raised rents and thus displaced the poor (Lemanski, 2009:482). Some upgraded units for commercial use. The initiative thus eventually displaced more households from existing backyard accommodation than it replaced (Carey, 2009:26). Neither the state nor landlords assisted displaced tenants which saw many relocated to worse conditions, leading to the establishment of a Backyard Dwellers Association that rallied to demotivate backyarders in other areas against the scheme. The passage of time also showed that rental agreements mostly remained verbal (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:53). The project was furthermore severely criticised for the double-subsidisation of those who had already received state assistance in the procurement of main dwellings (Carey, 2009:26; Lemanski, 2009:482).

In general, the project has thus shown mixed results. Certain areas have shown backyard de-densification and others formalisation of structures through private investment and public spending, resulting in a change in the area's character. The case study shows the use of increased residential densities, the need for greater public investment in infrastructure and the regular maintenance of services as well as the value of improved amenities and transportation networks (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:51).

However, additional informal structures were and are still erected, managed by verbal and informal lease agreements and services and infrastructure networks continue to struggle with pressures exerted by high residential densities (Watson, 2009b:19). Still, the project was extended to Mamelodi and Atteridgeville (Gauteng, 2011:7).

6.1.3 Cosmo City, City of Johannesburg: Controlled backyarding growth in a new, mixed income settlement

The mixed-income (inclusionary) housing approach (See **Section 4.2.2** of this review manuscript) is typified by Cosmo City, a suburb on the north-eastern boundary of Johannesburg's built-up area (Haferburg, 2013:262). The RDP properties here have densified through the development of formal commercial and residential backyard units. These developments have been managed to uphold the formal nature of the area and protect private and state investments. The approach entails discouraging informal backyard units with controlled development of a specified number of formal backyard structures allowed, regulated by building inspectors and community liaison officers. In order to be approved, backyard units must be constructed from formal materials, be serviced and comply with by laws according to plans (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:54). Thus, according to Tshangana (2013:9) measures in Cosmo City resemble guidelines in many middle and higher income areas. New owners are trained on by-laws and conditions for upgrades. These bylaws have not thwarted development and backyards have continued to densify. As a result of formal backyarding, household densities have almost doubled, increasing the number of households who can benefit from Cosmo City's locational benefits whilst preserving a quality urban environment. The approach shows that backyard structure development can be guided and controlled by effective and efficient urban management (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:54).

However, this approach to regulation may not be duplicated easily where local authorities with already stretched capacity would be expected to inspect and regulate illegal structures, as shown as a major constraint by Tshangana (2013:11). Although Cosmo City allows for backyard densification, primary township layout and unit placement are not optimised and ideally suited to growth through the horizontal densification introduced by backyarding.

Thus, plans for higher specifications and engineering works to allow for planned densification are being considered (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:55). Accordingly, the new phase of the Cosmo City development allows for backyard units for rent in its primary design (Tshangana, 2013:10).

6.1.4 Additional subsidised room rentals in the K206 RDP settlement

The K206 programme forms part of the greater Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) and is intended to provide households with improved living environments and housing opportunities as a greenfield project that provides unemployed beneficiaries and low-income households with a home with two attached rental units (Osman & Davey, 2011:2). Under the ARP, the K206 is branded an 'innovative solution' (Joburg, 2012). The project includes re-housing and relocating informal settlement residents to improved accommodation with income earning potential as well as contributing to increasing housing densities in a subsidised housing project (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:55). Accordingly, eight to ten units are grouped together around semi-private communal courtyards (Osman *et al.*, 2011:4), providing a 40m² or 50 m² double-storey serviced dwelling, with full ownership, totalling 1229 units. Each unit is also provided with two adjacent but independent, ground-floor rental rooms with communal ablutions, totalling 1665 rental units (Joburg, 2015). The approach was based on the individual housing subsidy for the primary dwelling and R18 000.00 per unit from the ARP for rental units. There has been some controversy over who received ownership tenure and who was placed in rentals, as all beneficiaries came from the same disadvantaged circumstances (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:56). Many renters have refused to pay rent to peers who are seen as equals who benefited unjustly from their placement as new home owners (Matamong, 2014).

Such approaches undermine the delicate social networks that often govern rental agreements and show a disregard for examples where tenants are friends or family members or do not pay rent in the form of financial contributions. Furthermore, simply providing the opportunity for entrepreneurial development through the provision of more formalised rental structures, without additional training and support may not result in the establishment of sustainable private rental enterprises.

Still, according to Osman *et al.* (2011:4) residents generally seem happy with the project as a novelty in comparison to otherwise standardised townships developed under the auspices of RDP and BNG projects. Yet, Moriarty (2012) identified a 'great deal of dissatisfaction and distrust' in the K206 following the findings of a community survey. Many new home owners continue to resent the role of the state as rental tenant selector. Quality concerns were furthermore raised with regard to rental units (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:56) with complaints regarding water seepage and lacking insulation, ventilation and natural light in the units provided (Osman *et al.*, 2011:6).

6.1.5 Findings on Gauteng's attempts at addressing the informal backyard rental sector

Although the Gauteng Province's attempts at addressing the backyard sector and placing it on its own development agenda in line of national directives to do so must be lauded, Gauteng programmes have presented some unintended outcomes. Still, these interventions present significant food for future intervention thought.

In Johannesburg, the ARP approach emphasises the value of improving on existing conditions and upgrading infrastructure networks. Where infrastructure upgrades are attempted, the Orlando East approach presents that upgrades need to take the added capacity concerns of current densities as well as increases due to future informal development into account. The cognisance taken of backyard construction, albeit as formal structures, in future Cosmo City extensions point to a step in the right direction. However, informal densification must be accounted for in both existing and greenfield low-income housing projects.

The K206 programme, a greenfield development, delivered innovative unit design and placement in contrast with traditional RDP-style provisions, yet only to the benefit of formal rentals. The main Gauteng directive is focused on formalisation which is often found lacking. For example, attempting to formalise lease agreements, as in Orlando East, may only be helpful where written lease agreements protect both landlords and tenants without negating the advantages of informal rentals for both parties. Enforcing formalised agreements may also prove difficult, with arrangements reverting back to informal oral agreements, as witnessed in Orlando East and Zola. The fact that the Orlando East approach formalised rentals follows the theme of upgrading to completely replace informality with blatant disregard for the value of existing arrangements. The limits placed on the number of backyard rentals provided makes sense from a planning and authoritarian perspective, but limits the use value of these spaces for low-income owners. Effects are similar in Cosmo City, where the regulation of backyard structures may be better suited to the needs of middle to higher income groups, whilst discounting the requirements of low-income beneficiaries and potential renters.

The K206 programme acknowledges the potential economic and financial significance of small-scale rentals, attempting to extend benefits through formal leasing strategies. However, this approach discounts the social significance of backyard housing arrangements. Social justice and rallies against unfair practices related to the double-subsidisation of existing housing beneficiaries in Orlando East should also be noted for future interventions in pursuit of fair and equitable service delivery. Ensuring that those renters who benefit from backyarding interventions remain eligible for future housing subsidies and that they are acutely made aware of that fact, may aid in securing at least some degree of community buy-in. Interference relating to tenant placement by external agencies further aggravate communities as backyard rental relationships are intimate, often because of familial and platonic associations, leading to discontent as witnessed in the K206 programme. The establishment of community representative groups such as Backyard Dwellers Associations in Orlando East indicate civic responses to interventions that stem from noble intentions but are not sensitive to the range of needs presented by communities.

A positive ARP contribution to be considered relates to the development of a variety of responses, with careful contemplation for the most effective action to be taken, as seen in the decision to implement interventions according to the moderate intervention option. However an even more nuanced approach within this intervention, addressing individual household circumstances per stand would prove more sensitive and perhaps sustainable in the hopes of establishing some sense of social justice.

Overall, the Gauteng approaches failed to appreciate the intricate and precarious nature of informal rental arrangements and proceeded to force rules and regulations better suited to larger-scale, formal rental situations. Approaches to informal backyard rental interventions in the Western Cape Province are covered in **Section 6.2**.

6.2 Approaches to backyard rental interventions in the Western Cape Province

According to Rubin and Gardner (2013:57) the Western Cape Provincial Department of Housing started developing a response to the backyard question, initially based on the Gauteng Provincial Government model. As such, the Western Cape Province initiated a programme labelled ‘Support to Backyard Dwellers and Informal Landlords’. This programme attempted a responsive rather than proactive or innovative approach which sought to address issues in existing stock, rather than promote an increase in rental supply. Initial drafts suggested a substantial proportion of newly developed housing units be set aside in favour of those in backyard accommodation. It also envisaged a subsidy for landlords that would allow them to upgrade their backyard rental provisions, with a proposed pilot in Athlone (Watson, 2009b:19). Accordingly backyard structures would be upgraded to conform to minimum norms and standards. However, the Western Cape initiative showcased competing objections. In this regard a capital subsidy to landlords in conjunction with the formalisation and regularisation of the low-income rental sector, would inevitably contradict the ‘support to backyard dwellers’ objective (Watson, 2009b:19-20). Following the repercussions the model had in Gauteng, the pilot programme was abandoned (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013a:4). This attempt did however place the backyard sector on the provincial agenda as a major issue (For more on the Western Cape’s informal backyard rentals, see (Cape, 2010).

Almost in unison with the Western Cape Province's attempts at developing a backyard policy, the City of Cape Town started drafting its own strategy, initially intended to respond to the provincial process. When the provincial policy did not make it past the draft phase, the City of Cape Town continued with its strategy. In 2011, the draft was completed and the proposal approved. By September 2011, the City of Cape Town launched its Backyard Essential Services Improvement Programme (BESIP) in the townships of Langa, Hanover Park and Facticeon (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013a:6).

The Knysna Local Municipality also attempted to intervene in its backyard stock. Both initiatives are described below.

6.2.1 Facticeon, Cape Town, as a services intervention in a municipal housing area

The BESIP emphasises the improvement of circumstances for backyard renters in municipally owned housing estates that present high densities in the back of the city's detached and row house rental stock. Most backyard units are informally constructed, with overcrowded conditions and poor access to services provided by timeworn infrastructure. The preliminary focus falls only on the backyards of municipal housing stock as a starting point, in acknowledgement that it will not be possible for all RDP backyards to be upgraded (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013a:6). The three pilot areas of Facticeon, Hanover Park and Langa were selected based on the receptiveness of landlords and tenants following stakeholder engagement and surveys (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:57). The first pilot area, Facticeon, was surveyed, backyard units logged, and needs assessed (City of Cape Town, 2012:4). Following community engagement, plans were approved by residents for the replacement and/or upgrade of bulk supplies, service reticulation to backyards and the de-densification of some yards. Certain backyards were very densely populated, and required a re-layout. However, most were kept at their original densities (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:58). As a result of the programme, all upgraded stands now enjoy shared access to water and sanitation accessed through innovative electronic metering systems, shared waterborne lavatories and pre-paid electricity to as many as three backyard structures per stand, as well as additional 240l refuse bins (City of Cape Town, 2012:9).

The programme is funded *via* the Urban Settlement Development Grant (USDG) (Zain, 2015). In order to provide a legal mechanism to utilise the USDG and other housing funding, extend minimum standard services to backyards and allow for multiple households to access basic services allowances through a communal standpipe, a Special Residential Two zone was promulgated, effectively allowing informal structures on properties with formal dwellings.

Thus at a neighbourhood-wide scale, both primary formal tenants and informal backyard renters were able to benefit from service upgrades and improved quality of life. However, the project has not addressed the quality of backyard structures themselves (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:59).

The programme was also received with mixed reaction, not only from within the city council regarding logistical and infrastructural capacity issues, but also amongst backyarders who perceived the programme as an admission that they were never going to own their own homes (Jooste & Barnes, 2011). The Cape Argus newspaper reported on dissatisfaction amongst beneficiaries of the programme in August 2011. Those protesting expressed concern that programme funds should be used to build formal housing and that backyards were already cramped before additional structures for lavatories were constructed (Mposo, 2011). According to Phaliso (2012) there was also some discontentment from backyard tenants who occupied informal backyard structures on private property regarding the favouritism shown towards those tenants on council property as well as despondency by programme beneficiaries for electricity connections only limited to three backyard structures per stand (Phaliso, 2012). This contrasts with later media reports lauding the pilot as a triumph and initiative that has improved the lives of thousands of backyard residents (Zain, 2015). It would be difficult to ignore the strides made. To date the City has also not reported increased rents or substantial displacement as a result of the programme.

The BESIP approach prescribes to Watson (2009b:7) views on an appropriate intervention as one that would not be overly invasive or complicated, instead focussing efforts on facilitating current backyarding trends and amending selected problem areas, most notably linked to health, safety and public services considerations.

As this was a pilot, Cape Town expects various lessons to emerge in both survey and implementation phases which will inform future strategies (City of Cape Town, 2012:9). It is accepted that an approach aimed at conditions in private areas will produce other complexities to consider (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:59). Cape Town, as a metro, might have considerably more resources to commit to pilot projects and intervention strategies, than smaller authorities, but that did not stop the Knysna Local Municipality from recognising informal backyard rental concerns.

6.2.2 An attempt by the Knysna Local Municipality

In 2008 the Knysna Municipality's Human Settlements Strategy for 2008 to 2013 repeatedly referred to the need to address the informal backyard rental issue within the municipality. Accordingly, it stated that the local authority suggested 'adopting appropriate policy responses which favour in-site progressive developmental approaches...to address this widespread phenomenon, the extent of which requires further assessment' (Knysna, 2008:9). Ultimately, Knysna attempted to duplicate the Gauteng template, but the programme was not carried out as it was established that the majority of backyard tenants in Knysna were related to landlords in main dwellings and did not pay rent. As a result, the same household would benefit from state housing assistance twice, whilst others remained on the housing waiting list in anticipation of their first subsidies (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:57).

6.2.3 Findings on the Western Cape's attempts at addressing the informal backyard rental sector

The fact that the Western Cape Province abandoned its 'Support to Backyard Dwellers and Informal Landlords' programme on the back of lessons learnt in Gauteng approaches, stresses the value of learning from pilot interventions and untested innovations. However, it also conjures some disappointment that alternative strategies were not researched and pursued to address the problems identified. The same can be said for the Knysna Local Municipality.

The fact that the Western Cape programme placed the backyard issue on the agenda for the City of Cape Town, points to the need for national policy directives to place the informal backyard rental issue on all provincial and municipal agendas in a similar trickledown manner. The City of Cape Town's interventions in service delivery provide a much needed stepping stone in the direction of addressing backyard concerns regarding health, safety and landlord-tenant relationships. The innovations on how these services are metred as well as the planning approach followed via the special Residential Two zoning instituted also deserve contemplation for future interventions elsewhere. The Cape Town approach highlights the value of thorough stakeholder engagement and preparatory surveying in order to establish the facts and manage community input and support.

The Cape Town pilots should provide valuable insight for future interventions and should inform drafts on informal backyard rental interventions targeted at privately owned backyards in the city and elsewhere. As the programme progresses and is applied in more areas, the city will begin to realise significant advances in serviced rental stock, without reducing the number of opportunities currently provided or interfering in delicate landlord tenant relationships. The initiative at least indicates some degree of support for informal backyard renting without the destructive outcomes more elaborate programmes aimed at formalisation have produced elsewhere in the country. The matter of structural quality has however remained unaddressed and it is as of yet unclear how structural conditions and the health and safety aspects related to the physical conditions of informal structures will be addressed.

The Gauteng Province and the City of Cape Town and Knysna Local Municipality have not been alone in their quest to address the backyard sector and as such other less influential and less specific attempts must be noted. These include the unimplemented Ekurhuleni Metro's U4G Proactive Frameworks for Small-Scale Landlord Development, the Greater Kokstad Municipality's Integrated Sustainable Development Plan and the Northern Cape strategy to double household density (see Rubin and Gardner (2013:60-65)).

All these initiatives are examples of responses considered in the hopes of addressing issues related to the backyard sector, further substantiate the evolution of responsiveness to the backyard issue and calls for a national policy directive in accordance therewith.

6.3 The way forward

The legitimacy and value of the informal backyard rental sector is increasingly being recognised. Following Breaking New Ground's calls for more research on the sector scholars have started to gradually delve deeper and have provided valuable insight since 2004. **Table 7** provides a synthesis of publications with either small-scale private rentals or informal backyard rentals as focus.

Table 7: Publications on small-scale and informal backyard rentals post-2004

Authors and year	Title	Location	Main focus
Poulsen, L., Silverman, M. 2005	Design strategies for the densification of low income housing	South Africa	Designing with backyard dwellings in mind.
Gordon, R., & Nell, M. 2006	Small-scale landlords: research findings and recommendations	Gauteng townships	Investigating housing as a productive asset in relation to small-scale landlordism and home based entrepreneurs.
Bank, L. 2007	The Rhythms if the Yards: Urbanism, Backyards and Housing Policy in South Africa	Duncan Village township, East London	Exploring the social organisation and relationships that inform backyard rentals.
Carey, S. 2009	Investigation into the proliferation of low-income private rental housing supply, and the development of recommendations concerning appropriate interventions/responses	Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town	A strategic assessment of research on low-income private rentals conducted locally and internationally.
Gardner, D. 2009	Strategy for increasing supply of small-scale private dwelling rental in South Africa	South Africa	Outlining a strategy to increase the rate and scale of delivery of affordable rental accommodation in existing suburbs and townships.

Lemanski, C. 2009	Augmented informality: South Africa's backyard dwellings as a by-product of formal housing policies	Westlake, Cape Town	Exploring the dimensions of informal backyard housing for landlords and tenants as a result of post-apartheid housing policies.
Watson, V. 2009	Strategic literature assessment for informal rental research project	South Africa	A review of literature on all forms of informal rental to illuminate potentials, challenges and possible interventions in South Africa.
Govender, T., Barnes, J.M., Pieper, C.H. 2011	The Impact of Densification by Means of Informal Shacks in the Backyards of Low-Cost Houses on the Environment and Service Delivery in Cape Town, South Africa	Cape Town	Reporting on the stresses imposed on municipal infrastructure by informal backyard dwellings in Cape Town and relaying unintended health risks.
Gunter, A. 2013	Renting shacks: Landlords and tenants in the informal housing sector in Johannesburg, South Africa	Johannesburg	A qualitative investigation on the experiences of informal backyard landlords and tenants.
Shapurjee, Y., Le Roux, A., Coetzee, M. 2013	Backyard housing in Gauteng: an analysis of spatial dynamics	Gauteng	Documenting the spatial footprint of backyard accommodation in Gauteng as an instrument of urban spatial change.
Shapurjee, Y., Charlton, S. 2014	Transforming South Africa's low-income housing projects through backyard dwellings: Intersections with households and the state in Alexandra, Johannesburg	Alexandra, Johannesburg	Exploring informal backyard landlord and tenant experiences and reflecting on the informal backyard rental sector's potential.
Turok, I., J. Borel-Saladin. 2015	Backyard shacks, informality and the urban housing crisis in South Africa: stopgap or prototype solution?	Gauteng	Developing a framework to assess the impacts of informal backyard rental growth and reflecting on the role of the sector in housing the poor.
Zwaig, P.J. 2015	Everyday hazards and vulnerabilities amongst backyard dwellers: A case of Vredendal North, Matzikama Municipality, South Africa	Vredendal	Identifying the hazards and livelihood vulnerabilities of 'small town backyard populations' to inform future development planning.

Source: Constructed based on Poulsen and Silverman (2005); Gordon and Nell (2006); Bank (2007); Carey (2009); Gardner (2009); Lemanski (2009); Watson (2009b); Govender *et al.* (2011b); Gunter (2013); Shapurjee and Charlton (2013); Shapurjee *et al.* (2014); Turok and Borel-Saladin (2015); Zwaig (2015)

Table 7 provides a relatively low number of publications in the period following the BNG call for more research in 2004. In addition, almost all studies, with the exception of Zwaig (2015), have targeted metropolitan areas and larger cities in their research activities. As a result, smaller cities and towns have been neglected where informal backyard rental figures may be lower, but the capacity to address issues related to the sector also weaker. It is very probable that such contexts may present unique opportunities and challenges in harnessing potentials and formulating appropriate interventions at national level. There are also further research gaps apparent considering the foci of recent studies provided in **Table 7**. Examples of such shortcomings may include how informal backyard rentals could integrate into existing planning theory and advance new modes of thinking; more detailed investigations on the role of informal backyard rentals in densifying urban areas and related spatial impacts; further research on the value of informal backyard renting in realising the non-financial asset value of dwellings; what impacts familial and kinship connections between backyard landlords and tenants may have on issues related to social cohesion and social capital; and additional research on environmental impacts and design consideration with informal backyard rentals in mind. The fact that the bulk of existing research has been conducted on a case study basis calls for further case studies to test findings and unearth which generalisations may be appropriate for consideration in a national backyard rental policy.

Whilst academia has, albeit somewhat disappointingly, heeded the call for further research, it has not been the only sector to respond. In reaction, the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) produced a policy proposal on the backyard sector in 2013 (See Rubin and Gardner (2013); Tshangana (2013)). The draft follows the resolutions set at the 2011 SALGA National Conference to address the formalisation of backyard services for backyard dwellings. In accordance, the policy proposal presents a framework that provides guidance to municipal authorities in the development of individual backyard policies and strategies (Tshangana, 2013:2).

It is prudent to note that the draft captures the status quo and reflects on possible principles to be followed, as well as the tools available to local government to respond to the backyard issue in its entirety, not just in the informal sector. However, this draft provides proposals which have not been accepted or implemented to date. The draft seems to pull together a myriad of possible approaches without providing a truly focused response. Thus it provides substantial theoretical value, but cannot be evaluated without the benefits of lessons learnt from practical implementation. The draft will thus not be discussed in further detail here, but its impact on future policy development cannot be over-emphasised.

In its medium term strategic framework for 2014-2019 (MTSF), South Africa's Department of Human Settlements uses the draft position paper by SALGA as a baseline for the development of a strategy which will incentivise increased support for improved backyard rentals by 2019 (RSA, 2014a). The MTSF also suggests that the informal settlement upgrading programme be scaled up with a multi-segmented and coherent social housing programme, which will include backyard rentals (RSA, 2014a). Furthermore, a new draft White Paper on Human Settlements is being assembled. According to the Integrated Urban Development Framework (draft) of 2014 (RSA, 2014b) the draft White Paper will have to address 'multi-segmented rental housing (including backyard rentals), which will be based on NDP housing principles'. The IUDF draft also brings with it a greater focus on backyard renting in itself, referencing the term 'backyard' six times, three times directly as 'backyard rental' (See **Table 3**).

In the interim, following the SALGA draft, which calls for a change in municipal laws and their application, including Land Use Schemes (LUS) and town planning controls (Tshangana, 2013:16), the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) may present substantial promise. The SPLUMA was promulgated in 2013 and came into effect in mid-2015 as the first legislative measure to provide a unified spatial planning and land use management system for all of South Africa and all government levels (Nel, 2016:80).

According to Strauss and Liebenberg (2014:8) the enactment of the SPLUMA stands as a significant step towards spatial justice through planning and land use management. In this regard, the SPLUMA presents spatial justice as an obligatory norm to all spatial planning and land use management, as well as development policies. The Act also places sustainable development at the forefront, referencing the term in its preamble (Kruger, 2014:95). The main objective of the SPLUMA and accompanying legislation is to address the spatial fragmentation of the past and introduce integrated spatial systems and more coherent and inclusive mechanisms to land development (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:357).

The SPLUMA obliges all spatial planning mechanisms to redress issues related to access to land, security of tenure and the incremental upgrade of informal areas. The Act forces spatial development and policies at all government levels to speak to the inclusion of people and spaces that were excluded from previous development frameworks. In this regard, the SPLUMA emphasises the inclusion of informal settlements, former homelands and regions regarded as deprived and poverty-stricken (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014:8). According to the Act, the primary instrument in planning and development is the LUS, as to give effect to Municipal Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs), as the context for the determination of all land development applications (RSA, SPLUMA, 2013). In accordance, several LUSs and SDFs would need to be updated and made SPLUMA compliant, thus leaving the opportunity to include pro-backyarding measures, such as the City of Cape Town's Special Residential 2 zoning. According to Gardner (2003:12) substantial opportunities have continuously been presented and missed to capitalise on the products offered by the rental market. It is hoped that the SPLUMA will present another such opportunity, but that this time municipalities will seize the chance to do so even before a national strategy is rolled out in 2019 and that such actions will be informed by contextualised research that investigates all current shortcomings

7. Conclusion

Apartheid continues to cast a shadow over housing delivery and urban development in the current context, perhaps most apparent in the severe housing backlog and persistent informal housing practices that characterise the South African milieu. The post-1994 government responded to the housing crisis with gusto, yet the sustainable settlements envisioned under its flagship BNG policy have not materialised to date, with the low-income housing sector still dominated by isolated neighbourhoods of small, monotonous detached units intended to house nuclear families, 'blighted' by informal rental structures in their backyards. Instead of eliminating these informal backyard rentals, policy directives instituted with the RDP and 1994 White Paper on Housing have unintentionally encouraged the phenomenon (Lemanski, 2009).

Policies have mostly discounted the informal backyard rental sector and have referenced the sector to a minimal extent, as observed from the textual analysis of housing policies and programmes included in this review. Informal backyard rentals may have enjoyed only minimal references, but following the 2004 BNG trajectory, formalised rentals as social housing, have benefited from increased recognition. Yet, despite continued calls to support multiple tenure types and targeted rental housing development, homeownership has remained as ultimate objective; largely due to apartheid related prejudices against rental housing, housing as form of reparation and providing the poor with a tangible asset. The failure of South African rental policy to meet delivery targets and continued political favouritism for freehold tenure, have left a large proportion of those most in need of rental accommodation without affordable prospects. The neoliberal approach to housing and the dependence on private-sector contributions to make social housing work have often placed rental opportunities beyond the reach of extremely low-income earners. Outcomes have also limited the extent to which low-income rental housing as a whole has delivered, ascribed to escalated construction costs and the minimal returns on investment potentially offered. The National Housing Subsidy Scheme has furthermore been unable to deliver ownership opportunities at scale, with voids increasingly filled by informal backyard tenancy as a form of self-help accommodation.

Notwithstanding the significant contributions made to South Africa's housing stock by the informal backyard rental sector, its encouragement of state supported concepts such as rental tenure, densification, integration and housing as an asset, a targeted intervention strategy at national level has remained elusive. At national level eradication and complete formalisation seem to be the preferred course of action. Provincially, efforts by Gauteng echoed this mantra, whilst the Western Cape Province abandoned attempts at addressing informal backyard rentals based on lessons learnt from unintended consequences in the Gauteng approach. The Western Cape's capital, Cape Town, opted for a more supportive and minimally invasive slant focused on service access by upgrading infrastructure networks and extending service connections. It is the verdict of this review that any future backyarding initiative will need to favour support and improvement instead of eradication.

Where eradication is sought, viable alternative rentals must be provided that improve on the detriments of informal backyard renting, whilst maintaining the advantages the sector provides to landlords, tenants and the housing market as a whole. Whether or not such alternatives can be realistically developed at scale, is an issue for intensive debate at national level. If such alternatives cannot be provided, the urban poor will be worse off once they try to (re)settle in urban areas and all informal options have disappeared with no viable alternative affordable rental solutions made available to them (Cross, 2006a:29).

Appropriate alternatives and interventions will also require dedicated planning scholarship on informal backyard rentals, focussing on gaps in existing literature. Following this thread, nuanced and context sensitive approaches, based on research and surveys at local level, especially in smaller towns and cities as well as the metro's may prove invaluable. The outcomes of such research activities need to find intervention support in policy adopted at national level. Failing to do so will recall apartheid-era discourse that neglected opposing or varying needs from one area or group to another.

Ultimately backyarding interventions must maintain, if not encourage, backyard rentals without reducing the significant number of housing opportunities the sector contributes to a functioning housing market. In this regard, reactive strategies are needed to address issues in existing backyards and proactive policies considered to facilitate informal backyard rentals in greenfield projects. In line with this manuscript's review of South African housing policy and legislative development, the references to SALGA's draft policy, the SPLUMA and future Human Settlements White Paper currently being drafted, with its prospective focus on backyard rentals, provide some hope for informal backyard rentals in the future.

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MANUSCRIPT TWO

OVERCOMING THE EQUATORIAL DIVIDE: PLANNING THEORY IMBALANCES AND OPPORTUNITIES FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH BASED ON SOUTH AFRICA'S INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTAL SECTOR

Abstract

This review manuscript joins a well-established train of thought on the need for the planning discipline to adopt more context sensitive approaches in planning theory-making and practice towards more just outcomes. This research provides a brief review of planning theories and concepts that have shaped contemporary understandings of the planning idea, set against the need for global planning to evolve beyond Northern dominance and embrace the potentials of the global South. South Africa is used as case study throughout, with specific emphasis on the country's informal backyard rental sector and its links to radical planning, co-production and hybridity in support of Southern-based theorising. In exploring potentials of the global South this manuscript finds that multi-directional transversal theorising is both possible and necessary, but that contextual relevance must remain as guiding factor when planning ideas are generated, imported, exported, accepted and institutionalised.

Key words: *Planning theory; global South, formal-informal, South Africa, informal backyard rentals; justice; co-production, radical planning*

1. Introduction

This manuscript reflects on dominant shifts in planning focus, not in an attempt to provide complete historical accounts of each theoretical or conceptual divergence, but to place modern-day planning in context, set against the claims to follow on the need for context sensitive and globally balanced research open to influences from outside the Northern hemisphere. In this regard, this manuscript joins the debate on the need to reconsider the manner in which the bulk of global planning theory is generated and reciprocally applied in practice. The manuscript takes the purview that the evolution of planning scholarship and the majority of theory branches included are based on improving planning outcomes, albeit through process, and therefore fundamentally on expanding justice.

In this regard, dominant theories such as advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965; Checkoway, 1994; Clavel, 1994), the right to the city approach (Lefebvre, 1968; 1970; 1996; Huchzermeyer, 2013) and a deliberate focus on justice (Rawls, 2005; Fincher & Iveson, 2012), communicative (Healey, 1992; Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Fainstein, 2014), radical (Monno *et al.*, 2012) and insurgent planning (Miraftab, 2009; Harrison, 2014), and forces such as modernism (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012) and neoliberalism (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005), the formal-informal dichotomy (Lombard & Huxley, 2011), the 'dark side of planning' (Flyvbjerg, 1996; Yiftachel, 1998) and co-production (Ostrom, 1996; Mitlin, 2008; Watson, 2014b) are included. The value of hybridisation through co-production and radical planning are specifically highlighted through references to South Africa and its informal backyard rental sector. In this regard, foregoing research conducted on South Africa's low-cost housing and informal backyard rental sectors compliment the literature review completed for this manuscript. The literature study involved extensive literature reviews for each section with electronic databases and academic search engines employed to recover published journal articles, conference papers and other relevant literatures. As such, the work of both Southern and Northern based authors is incorporated, with South African scholars especially well represented.

2. Placing the global South in a research context

Planning in theory and practice is unavoidably context defined and cannot be applied under the pretext of universally held truths according to which planning ideas may transverse the globe and automatically apply to all contexts in which they land. Differentiated socio-spatial, economic and environmental constructs require equally differentiated planning theories and practical applications (Friedmann, 2005:184; Zhang, 2006:21; Watson, 2009a:187; Healey, 2012:199; Ernstson *et al.*, 2014:1567). It is within this realisation that an increasingly urgent dialog has been established that calls on planning scholars and practitioners around the globe to recognise the contexts in which planning concepts are being implemented, in the hopes of more just outcomes. Accordingly, contemporary emphasis falls on those regions that have been underrepresented in the past and have stood witness to the application of theories and models intended for fairly unrelated conditions (See Blanco *et al.* (2009); Watson (2009a); Watson (2011); Healey (2012); Odendaal (2012); Visser (2013); Campbell *et al.* (2014); Watson (2014a). These underrepresented regions are predominantly located in the global South, in the cities of Latin America, Asia and Africa (Harrison, 2006).

The majority of urban growth takes places in cities located in these underrepresented regions, with 95% of urban expansion to take place in the developing world in the future (United Nations, 2015). In these places kinship and other networks are critical to survival, civil society is often ethnically divided, poor infrastructure, unemployment, poverty, unstable political conditions and weak public institutions, informalisation and complex intersections between modernity and the 'retraditionalisation' of society are the norm. These pressures have slowly shifted the planning focus to these parts of the world (Harrison, 2006:322; Watson, 2014b:62) often providing stark contrasts to the conditions that guide urban planning and development in most of the global North, in the domains of Euro-America and alike (Watson, 2011:151).

Modern day urbanisation and the asymmetrical nature of globalisation suggest that poverty, inequality and environmental degradation are deepening and that authorities in the global South are simply not capable of managing urban development to facilitate greater inclusion and distributive justice. The situation is exacerbated not in the least by the mismatch between prevailing theory and the pressing urban challenges faced in the South (Blanco *et al.*, 2009:240). Africa in particular has been singled out in international discourse around the need for context sensitive and locally generated research and practice, as Africa especially faces more serious challenges than anywhere else in the world (Watson, 2002:34; Blanco *et al.*, 2009:233). Given the vast area the continent covers, uneven patterns of urban growth and economic development can be identified across its diverse landscape (Odendaal, 2012:175). As a result, any generalisation will likely be confronted with contradictions from specific non-conforming instances from one African case to the other (Friedmann, 2005:194). This becomes evident when one takes cognisance of the discrepancies that have come to typify a modern Africa where vast disparities between the wealthy and poor are further entrenched by infrastructure failures and privatised enclaves of wealth set against the slums that continue to characterise much of Africa's urban panorama (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012:127; Odendaal, 2012:175). As such, significant contrasts are presented. Take for example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) with a 2013 human development index (HDI) of 0.338, placing it 186th out of 187 countries and territories, compared to the Republic of South Africa (RSA or South Africa), with an HDI of 0.658, placing it in 118th position globally. (HDI's based on United Nations Human Development Report 2014, (United Nations, 2014)).

Surely the DRC as one of 33 Least Developed Country's (LDCs) in Africa and South Africa, as the most developed on the continent, would present extreme divergences and therefore vastly different needs and opportunities for the generation of planning theory and its application. However, it would also be irresponsible to assume that these countries, as most in Africa and even the greater global South, do not share certain histories and contemporary challenges.

The danger of irresponsible generalisation across the continent (and beyond) is ever present, but is somewhat overcome by a communal history of colonialism that continues to unite much of the continent and developing world. It is also within this shared history that researchers may confront and overcome the notion of South African exceptionalism and may include South Africa in African studies in accordance (Watson, 2002:29). It is from this vantage that this manuscript refers to South Africa as case study.

2.1 The case of South Africa and its informal backyard rental structures

South Africa is located at the southern tip of the African continent and as such is situated further from Europe and North America than any other African country. Yet, the RSA presents various linkages to the west. By 1989 Dewar (1989:265) already commented on South Africa as ‘a marginal member of the Western world’. Here the dominance of Eurocentric and Americanised forms of commerce, culture and planning came into existence through a long history of colonisation by various European nations, the country’s past apartheid policies and continuous processes of modern globalisation. Apartheid has been especially influential. The apartheid system serves as the ultimate example of modern western domination in Africa, through which diversity, equity and democracy were discounted and urban planning, in both theory and practice, instituted as instrument of control (Maylam, 1995:27; Berrisford, 2011:249). For more on apartheid, see Hindson (1985); Maylam (1990); Mabin (1992); Maylam (1995); Hindson (1996); Moultrie (2005); RSA (2009a). Facilitated by a racially based planning system, apartheid left significant housing shortages for the disadvantaged Black population in its wake. As a result, housing South Africa’s burgeoning and poverty-stricken population became a main priority for the post-apartheid government in 1994 (RSA, 1994c; RSA, 1994a). The state embarked on delivering home ownership opportunities on a scale and pace the world had not seen before. For more on the South African housing sector, see Gardner (2003); Tomlinson (2006b); Goebel (2007); Dewar (2008); Bradlow *et al.* (2011); Lemanski (2011); Ndinda *et al.* (2011); Tissington (2011); Turok and Borel-Saladin (2014) and Wertman (2015). Despite tremendous efforts, a growing housing backlog still remains and informal development is on the increase (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:688; Tomlinson, 2015).

Vast informal settlements, as shantytowns on invaded land parcels have continued to characterise the South African city (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:268), joined in escalating numbers by informal backyard rental structures (Carey, 2009; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:4). The informal backyard rental sector has no officially recognised definition in South Africa, thus this manuscript synthesises its own designation based on core literature (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997; Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000; Bank, 2007; Gardner, 2009; Watson, 2009b; Rubin & Gardner, 2013; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013; Tshangana, 2013; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015; Zwaig, 2015). Accordingly, an informal backyard rental structure is defined for this research as: 'An informal structure erected by a recognised property owner or tenant within the boundaries of a formally registered property that contains at least one formal dwelling unit. The materials and construction practices used do not comply with National Norms and Standards with the structure constructed attached or adjacent to an existing formal dwelling. An oral or written agreement or 'understanding' may be negotiated that provides permission for settlement and may include terms of rental remuneration, conditions of service access, eviction procedures and other landlord and tenant rights'. It is estimated that South Africa's informal backyard rental sector is comprised of more than 756 000 households (StatsSA, 2014). The sector will be revisited throughout this manuscript. Despite the informal backyard rental sector's pervasiveness, the South African government has left the segment to function without any national policy directives (Tshangana, 2013:2; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20; Zwaig, 2015:4). In this regard, those in backyards are left unseen and unattended by the powers at national level. The neglect of the sector represents a system unable to respond to the context-specific challenges it faces, caught up in reaching a western ideal on development, whilst discounting its African reality. Through the exclusion of the informal backyard rental sector (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:6; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:4) and blunt housing policy unable to respond to housing needs either sustainably or at scale (Goebel, 2007:292; Lall *et al.*, 2007; Tissington, 2011; Twala, 2014; Wertman, 2015:719), South African planning continues to fail in its normative purpose.

3. The Planning idea and its foci

The discipline of planning presents a widely accepted and district normative purpose to 'better' general living conditions, also reflected in the normative theories that have come to shape the planning idea and its evolution (Bond, 2011:179; Campbell *et al.*, 2014:45). In this regard, planning urges those who call themselves planners to strive for a 'better' future (Healey, 2012:199), providing a certain trajectory towards that which is 'better', without any precise destination in realising this pursuit (Campbell *et al.*, 2014:46). This manuscript takes the view that the 'better' and the 'just' have become somewhat conflated in this quest. Substantively, the planning concept revolves around the manner in which people live their lives in relation to others in dynamic, complex, spatially differentiated places (Healey, 2012:199). The spatial thus becomes central to the planning idea and must be reflected in the theories that inform the discipline (Roy, 2011:7). Emphasising the spatial and especially spatial differentiation is of specific importance for this manuscript considering where the bulk of planning theory-making has taken place in the past. The western world, or global North, has historically played host to the development of the majority of the planning theories and urban models that continue to dominate the field of planning globally (Harrison, 2006; Watson, 2009a; Watson, 2011). However, it has become increasingly apparent that generalised planning theories from the North bestow limited relevance to the contexts of the global South (Ernstson *et al.*, 2014:1564). The following sections provide a brief overview of the most influential normative theories and movements in planning over the last five decades set against the need for context sensitive approaches.

4. Reflections on some normative planning theories

Philosophies on planning and the urban environment have presented various trajectories through which dominant planning theories and shifts in focus can be observed (Roy, 2011:6). In a review of planning theory evolution, Allmendinger (2002) identifies seven main clusters of development. These include systems and rational theories (comparable to policy analysis); Marxism and critical theory; New Right theory (succeeding Hayek's deregulation and small government ideas); pragmatism theory; advocacy theory; postmodernism theory (including Multi-culture theory); and

collaborative theory (coupled with collective and communicative planning). These clusters do not present a linear evolution, but illustrate the non-linear, multi-directional and divergent evolution of planning theory (Zhang, 2006:22). As such, it is generally accepted that thoughts on planning theory have developed beyond any notion of a single truth or rationality towards an acceptance of critical and non-foundationalist philosophy and social thought, and towards the acceptance of a diversity of truths (Harrison, 2006:322).

As outlined in the introduction of this manuscript, it is not the intention of this research to provide a detailed discussion on the historic development of planning theory in its entirety. Instead, this work underscores some of the most prominent developments in the planning theory field, identified and included based on the potential linkages established between these movements and theorising with South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in mind. The discussion is initiated with the rational model as the epitome of a singularly held truth and springboard for that which developed after it.

4.1 The rational planning model

The rational planning model dominated the field of theory from the 1960s with its regard for planning as science with a focus on the logical, measurable and hypothetically verifiable. Epistemologically, the rational model was strongly positivist, with public input limited to advising on preferences and values (Innes & Booher, 2015:3). In practice the model was infrequently applied, because its preconditions of agreement on values and objectives were rarely presented in the field. The rational model left planning as a fairly undemocratic and elitist practice. In resistance to rational planning's definition of planning limited to activities undertaken by all-knowing agents, advocacy planning arose in the mid-1960s (Miraftab, 2009:41), serving as a link from earlier monolithic approaches in planning to the more diverse trajectory established after the 1970s (Clavel, 1994:146).

4.2 Advocacy Planning

Paul Davidoff's advocacy planning presented a powerful appeal to 'open up planning processes' (Forester, 1994:154) and encourage participatory democracy (Checkoway, 1994:139). He proposed that planners could contribute to a more inclusive pluralism by providing services to underrepresented groups (Clavel, 1994:146), by including those traditionally excluded from decision-making representation and participation in the decisions that affect their lives (Checkoway, 1994:139). In terms of advocacy planning, these groups would have their interests articulated (Peattie, 1968:81), facilitated by increased education, argument and debate (Forester, 1994:154). Accordingly, planners would become advocates for the previously excluded and become part of a more embracing system of planning (Clavel, 1994:146), in which democracy and social justice would be fundamental (Sager, 2005:2). Pivotal to the idea of social justice, stood positive social change, that for Davidoff, would conquer societal factors such as poverty and racism and reduce disparities between income groups and genders (Checkoway, 1994:139) with a focus on attaining basic human rights (Gaventa, 2004). As a result of the emphasis on inclusion and the representation of various previously excluded stakeholders, the notion of multiple truths and their validity became fundamental, as Paul Davidoff rejected the notion of any single 'best' solution or the concept of a general welfare served by any such solution (Peattie, 1968:81). Universal solutions forced on the public were the markings of a repressive, elitist and undemocratic system, much like the system of apartheid that dominated millions of South Africans at the time advocacy planning came to the forefront. Apartheid left very little room for the poor and disenfranchised Black majority, to have a say over the policies that affected their daily lives (Tapscott & Thompson, 2013:371), or to be represented. In many cases advocates for their rights were reprimanded severely. Thus, in South Africa today, the concept of representation and advocacy is particularly poignant in the ever-present quest to democratise society and institute redistributive spatial and social justice, thus presenting strong links with many of Davidoff's advocacy principles. For more on advocacy in post-1994 South Africa, See **Section 4.4.2** of this review manuscript.

4.3 The just city and the right to the city

The issue of justice has come to influence the bulk of normative planning theory in some way or the other, with the 'just city' approach commonly identified as one of the main streams of normative planning theory in of itself (Watson, 2002). One of the most influential works of literature on the concept of justice, came in the form of John Rawls' book, *A theory of justice*, in 1971, in which he held that the allocation of goods in society should follow the 'difference principle'. Accordingly, those better off should only benefit from improvements when 'doing so is to the advantage of those less fortunate' (Rawls, 2005:75). In this regard a sense of egalitarianism would be ensured, in that the elite would only enforce that which would benefit all sectors of society, with the needs of the poor and disenfranchised equally articulated and taken care of. The just city would promote everyone's rights on the basis of a moral obligation to do so. Ideas on egalitarianism, in keeping with Rawls, are also major themes in the work of other noted theorists, including Iris Marion Young (Young, 1989; Young, 2002; Young, 2011), Andy Merrifield (Merrifield, 2002; Merrifield, 2013), David Harvey (Harvey, 1973; Harvey, 2003; Harvey, 2005), Leonie Sandercock (Sandercock, 1998; Sandercock, 2003) and perhaps most notably, Henri Lefebvre. The work of French philosopher and sociologist, Henri Lefebvre has been especially influential, finding broad academic recognition (Huchzermeyer, 2014a:46), specifically through his 'right to the city' slogan. Within the focus on justice, context and the spatial, Lefebvre's work is specifically relevant in terms of the focus of this manuscript. Today, the notion of spatial justice, and the 'spatialisation' of concepts surrounding human rights and democracy revive Lefebvre's right to the city (Soja, 2009:1). Lefebvre (1968; 1970; 1996) defined space according to its social relations instead of the conventions of the time that regarded space according to its physical, territorial, and demographic features. Accordingly, space became a constituent of production and reproduction and played a part in contributing to inequality and therefore injustice (Fainstein, 2014:1). Spatial injustice may be expressed through locational discrimination and lasting spatial structures of privilege and oppression, generally introduced according to class, gender and race disparities, not necessarily presented through spatial segregation (Soja, 2009:3). However, spatial segregation may embody the most severe form of spatial injustice, as witnessed in apartheid South Africa and throughout much of the colonised world in the past.

In apartheid South Africa a struggle for the right to the city in literal terms supported resistance to apartheid (Huchzermeyer, 2014a:47), yet Lefebvre introduced his 'right to the city' in France, without noting the very real struggles for this right taking place in South Africa at the same time (Huchzermeyer, 2013:4). Apartheid South Africa would have made an excellent case study for Lefebvre, as the country denied millions of their right to the city and epitomised injustice on all levels. But what precisely is a just city?

For Fainstain, the just city is supported by equity, diversity and democracy (Uitermark 2010:107). These elements frequently produce some tensions with the pursuit of one often achieved at the cost of another. However, Fainstain, suggests that of the three, equity should remain as the more central objective in defence of urban justice (Uitermark, 2012:107). Fincher and Iveson (2012:235) provide that equity may, *inter alia*, be advanced by promoting transparent development practices, providing adequate social housing and ensuring that corporations are not favoured above small business and residents. For diversity, the authors call for reduced segregation and aid for those frequently discriminated against and where democracy is sought, groups unable to participate in consultation should be represented by advocates. Accordingly, especially through the last, certain links may be drawn between the just city and advocacy planning discussed above.

The new South Africa, as a democracy with one of the most comprehensive (Boswell, 2014:12) and progressive constitutions in the world (RSA, 2014c:11; Kotze & Prevost, 2015:143), strives to meet all three requirements on justice, as equity, diversity and democracy, in its cities and beyond, with a strong focus on meeting basic human rights and addressing past injustices. Here equity, diversity and democracy form the building blocks of the approach to development. To what degree these objectives have been and continue to be realised however remain as issue of contention. According to Subreenduth (2013:582) any notion on justice may be questioned when 'the everyday lives of the Black masses within South Africa's almost two-decade-old democratic nation remain fairly similar to their experiences under apartheid'. As such, a renewed struggle for the right to the city has emerged (Huchzermeyer, 2014a:47).

South Africa is however not unique in this regard, with other examples from around the world, most notably from Eastern-Europe, showing intensified socio-economic inequality alongside an expansion of political and civil rights (Miraftab, 2009:40). In an attempt to advance justice and defend the right to the city, the South African government has included community participation and stakeholder engagement as cornerstones of post-apartheid policy (See **Section 4.4.1** of this review manuscript). To a certain degree, the approach represents the post-apartheid state's moral obligation to right past injustices and reflects the value now placed on democracy, influenced by the participatory planning trajectories of the 1980's and 1990's that followed advocacy planning and advances in equity planning (Miraftab, 2009:41).

4.4 Participatory planning

Two leading models of participatory planning theory can be identified; the collaborative or communicative model and the radical or insurgent model (Monno et al., 2012:86), as captured accordingly.

4.4.1 Collaborative or communicative planning

Collaborative, or communicative, planning theory evolved from the work of scholars who borrowed concepts from social theory to decipher what they observed and develop normative views on practice. In this regard, prevailing ideas about the state, citizenship and participation were based on Western socio-political theory that inevitably infused with the discipline of planning and its theory-making basis (Watson, 2003:397). These foundations led to an emphasis on communication, dialogue and interaction and in doing so, attracted new theorists into the planning domain. These included most markedly, John Dewey, Michel Foucault and Jürgen Habermas (Innes & Booher, 2015:2). Habermas presented the philosophical notion of ideal deliberative structures with a focus on democratic decision-making as a response to traditionally autocratic and technical methods (Fainstein, 2014:7). Habermas inspired the notion of communication, therefore participation, as the most important element of planning practice (Watson, 2002:29).

Where the just city approach requires us to pursue an explicit moral agenda, a focus on the dialectic and communicative presents the notion of arbitration through participation in a process that adjudicates the interests and moral positions of varied actors (Harrison, 2006:321). Thus, even where there is diversity and disagreement, this can be overcome. In keeping with the fruition of planning theory thought from any singular truth to diversity, communicative planning theory is based on the acknowledgement of difference and diversity, set against the normative ideal of overcoming this through consensus-building (Harrison, 2006:322) through civic engagement and dialogue amongst stakeholders with different claims (Monno *et al.*, 2012:86). For the communicative theorists deliberation will shape understanding, give meaning to potential action and motivate stakeholders. Communicative planning theorists propose that pragmatic interaction and learning contextualised around a specific place and time must be accompanied by informed judgement to deliver tailor-made responses to individual issues (Innes & Booher, 2015:4), thus echoing Davidoff's rejection of any single 'best' solution (See **Section 4.2** of this review manuscript). Communicative theory quickly made its way across the globe and landed in the global South, where post-colonial nations such as South Africa adopted it with gusto.

Planning's reputation in South Africa was compromised severely by its collaboration in apartheid, however, in line with international planning trends, the profession has progressed into a more strategic, integrated and participatory field (Friedmann, 2005:197). The inclusion of participatory structures in the country's political and planning sectors was influenced by and continue to find support in international planning theory on participation, through which it is hoped that participation will provide more just outcomes (Aylett, 2010:99). This is reflected in references to collaboration and participation within South African policy documents, specifically where planning and housing are concerned. See for example the White Paper on Housing (RSA, 1994a); Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (RSA, 1994b); Breaking New Ground (BNG) (RSA, 2004); National Development Plan (NDP) (RSA, 2011) and the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) draft (RSA, 2014b).

Calls for stakeholder engagement are further supported by a plethora of legislation enacted to bestow different state structures with a responsibility to promote citizen participation (Tapscott & Thompson, 2013:371). However, the degree to which full participation and engagement and the inputs received through such processes are taken on board and shape outcomes has been disappointing (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:268; Tapscott & Thompson, 2013:380). South Africa's market-led approach to development has left a participation system in place that is restricted to formal channels of engagement, which has been proven inadequate in one of the most unequal societies in the world (Miraftab & Wills, 2005:203). Furthermore, participation in the RSA remains only rhetorically important in a policy-making and planning environment in which managerialist and technocratic dimensions dominate (Watson, 2009a:179). In other parts of Africa, collaboration and participation have also proved problematic, as a great deal of the rationale surrounding actor collaboration is currently based on the social norms of the global North that do not translate to the African context (Odendaal, 2012:179). Africa presents extreme difficulties for consensus-building, not in the least complicated by often dysfunctional, fractured and racially divided societies (Harrison, 2006) with vast differences presented in the interests and powers of the wealthy set against the needs, skills and capacities of the disadvantaged and disenfranchised.

As seen in both advocacy planning and the just city, the underrepresented, disadvantaged and marginalised are also of specific interest to communicative theorists. Accordingly, it is expected that the more significant the role of disadvantaged and marginalised groups in policy decisions, the more redistributive outcomes will become. In essence, broad deliberation and participation are assumed to produce more just outcomes. However, if the aim is justice, then the purpose of inclusion in decision-making is to have interests fairly represented and not to merely value participation as a tokenistic concept (Fainstein, 2014:7-12). In Africa, and presented all over the world, including the idea of participation and collaboration in a planning or political system does not guarantee the inclusion of those who may be most in need of having their interests represented, with consequences for any sense of justice through equity, diversity or democracy.

A major constraint connected to participation in general is that it is mostly the more well off and educated who show interest in engagement, with many collaborative processes seeming to co-opt or ignore poor or marginal groups (Innes & Booher, 2015:5). The level of true participation also depends on how much power a political system is willing to concede to its citizens (Monno *et al.*, 2012:88). Internationally, critique on communicative planning theory is widespread, particularly from those who maintain a more positivist outlook, with accusations that communicative models eventually boil down to peer pressure and at best result in lowest denominator resolutions (Innes & Booher, 2015:4-5). Others lament that communicative planning processes emphasise the debates required to form plans but are generally less troubled with involvement in delivery processes and project management (Watson, 2014b:71). McGuirk (2001) suggests that planners have been intensely concerned with communicative rationality but not as much with instrumental rationality as the conversion of accepted ideas to plans and through to implementation. In reaction, Fanstein suggests that communicative rationality cannot guarantee a democratic city. For her, outcomes and not processes are the key to unlocking justice (Uitermark, 2012:108). As a result, a sense of disillusionment has arisen regarding communicative theory, specifically around participation as tokenism that results in end products that rarely reflect participation inputs (Monno *et al.*, 2012:86). The notion of participation as tokenism was challenged by Arnstein's seminal article in 1969 (Arnstein, 1969) in which she introduced a participation ladder where nonparticipation, through manipulation and therapy, were placed on the bottom rung and full citizen control placed at the apex (Aylett, 2010:101), as depicted in **Figure 3**.

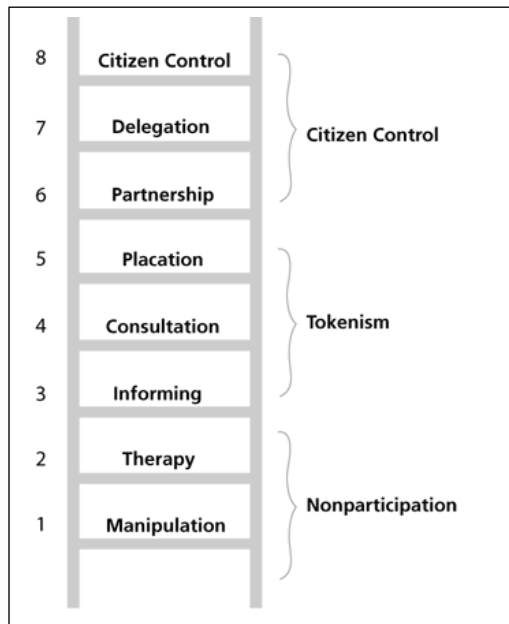


Figure 3: Arnstein's participation ladder

Source: Arnstein (1969)

In terms of Arnstein's participation ladder above, radical planning may be found on the top rung of the continuum. Radical, or insurgent planning, is discussed accordingly.

4.4.2 Radical or insurgent planning

Radical planning is concerned with the mobilisation of civil society to challenge influential elites and expand democratic action and citizen rights, as opposed to participation as a form of conventional civic engagement, by placing planning within an agonistic interplay between the state and the insurgent (Monno *et al.*, 2012:89). The word 'insurgent' specifically emphasises the counter-hegemonic potential of radical planning practice and the right of citizens to 'rebel' and prescribe their own terms of participation and engagement by supporting oppositional practices established at grassroots level (Miraftab, 2009:41-46). As such, those in the informal sector may 'defy and remake the planned city from below' (Huchzermeyer, 2013:2).

In this regard, community-building is facilitated according to everyday efforts to improve living standards amongst marginalised and disenfranchised communities (Beard, 2003). Radical planning advocates for the empowerment of marginalised groups and the establishment of a participatory structure capable of working with conflict productively, inspired by the ideals of social mobilisation and agonistic democracy (Aylett, 2010:103; Monno *et al.*, 2012:86). The latter follows Chantal Mouffe's work on radical democracy in which antagonism and conflict are transformed into agonism, as related to the ideal of '(those) whose ideas we combat, but whose right to defend those ideas we do not put into question' (Mouffe, 2000:102). The radical and insurgent seem to apply most aptly in the contexts of the global South, where informality and opposition to Western domination are most pronounced. As such, there is something to be said for the manner in which community organisations and advocacy groups here stand up for the plight of the marginalised and demand to negotiate their right to the city on their own terms. For South African examples refer to movements such as Abahlali baseMjondolo in Durban (Huchzermeyer, 2014b:42), the Women's Power Group in Cape Town (Watson, 2003), the Western Cape Anti-eviction Campaign (Miraftab & Wills, 2005) and Backyard Dwellers Associations in Gauteng (Carey, 2009; Rubin & Gardner, 2013) to name but a few cases across the country.

Radical planning is well-represented in South Africa's entire informal housing sector, but especially in the backyard rental sector, where tenants have forced the state to accept their presence and increasingly adapt the official response from one of total disregard and eradication to increased recognition, legitimisation and future support. This is most demonstrated in the South African state's commitments to produce national policies on backyarding in the future (RSA, 2014a), not intent on eradicating the sector, but on agonistically supporting and encouraging the segment as an independent grassroots response to the housing backlog. Whilst conflict and the threat of eradication remain (See **Section 5.4** of this review manuscript), backyarders have carved out their own niche in the housing market through persistence and continued defiance of building regulations and zoning requirements based on prescripts better suited to western contexts. As such, this manuscript posits that they engage through perseverance and protest in a participatory model that favours formalised and tokenised participation.

Through this backyarders and informal settlers may be baptised as part of radical planning, as they continue to function beyond the framework of established power relations, attempt to transform these relationships, alter the framework that mandates how things work and indeed reimagine the parameters of what is considered feasible in existing contexts (Purcell, 2009:140). Through such radical practices as backyarding planning imagination be may decolonised by re-examining the South through fresh eyes to understand the subaltern according to unique values and guidelines outside the prescripts of the West (Miraftab, 2009:45) (See **Section 5.5** of this review manuscript).

The following section moves away from normative theory per se in order to discuss some other leading influences on planning as a global discipline, also identified as of value in terms of theorising South Africa's informal backyard rental sector.

5. Other relevant planning influences and concepts less related to normative theory

Emphases on participatory planning only partially represent the myriad of planning ideas that transverse the globe, as supported by Allmendinger (2002) observation on the multi-directional and evolutionary course of planning theory. Other concepts, less related to normative theory, yet influenced by theoretical discourse, must be noted.

Accordingly, historical, predominantly Northern-based, planning movements such as New Towns and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (Odendaal, 2012:176) and more contemporary concepts focussed on the spatial such as 'new urbanism' (Lund, 2003; Trudeau, 2013), the 'compact city' (Burgess & Jenks, 2000; Burton *et al.*, 2003) or 'gated community' (Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Bekleyen & Yilmaz-Ay, 2016), development instruments such as 'micro-credit' (Pallavi & Ramakumar, 2002; Ahlin & Jiang, 2008) and 'developer contributions' (Kurz, 1987; Wyatt, 2016), governance processes such as analytical techniques on local housing market analysis, sustainability indicators (Turcu, 2013; Huang *et al.*, 2015) and impact assessments (Healey, 2012:190) and even Southern derived concepts such as Hernando de Soto's philosophies on formalisation through land title (Briggs, 2011:132; Geyer, 2014:36)

and Latin America's 'participatory budgeting' (Cabannes, 2004; Novy & Leubolt, 2005; van Lindert, 2016) may be included. South Africa welcomed many of these concepts and included various principles stemming from these and other planning movements in national and local policy, legislation and development. Examples include, *inter alia*, Pinelands in Cape Town as an example of the garden city concept (Home, 1990), the influence of new urbanism (Burgess & Jenks, 2000) and the compact city (Donaldson, 2008) across the country, Cape Town and its smart city aspirations (Nam & Pardo, 2011:282) and the de Soto influence on South Africa's National Housing Programme's emphasis on homeownership (Kingwill *et al.*, 2006:57; Watson, 2011:151), with both negative and more positive repercussions.

Arguing for context specific theorising and application should not discount lessons to be learnt and the potential for international planning concepts to hold value even in very different contexts from where theories and models were originally penned. As such, scholars should be mindful of branding all Northern-based concepts and theories as irrelevant or unsuitable for the South (Parnell & Robinson, 2012:597). When considering merit, Patsy Healey's (2012) origin narrative, as presented in **Section 5.5** of this review manuscript, may be of value. As examples of promise, paradigms focussed on developing new urban forms such as compact city concepts with infrastructure-led spatial plans and new urbanism provide important spatial principles that present alternatives to the spatial and urban forms propagated under urban modernism in much of the South (Watson, 2009a:189).

Modernism continues to be an important influence across the globe. As such, this section of the manuscript is initiated with a discussion on modernism as a movement based on the idea of progression and a desirable future that has produced less than desirable outcomes, especially south of the equator where progress is intended to deliver outcomes based on western standards (See **Section 5.1** of this review manuscript). In keeping with the focus on the global South and Africa in particular, the modernist ideal is followed by a review of neoliberalism as a failing Northern-based concept intended to promote international competitiveness. Neoliberalism is specifically related to low-income housing development in South Africa and the emergence of participatory discourse and insurgency in the country (See **Section 5.2** of this review manuscript).

The return to the insurgent is then complemented by a discussion on the formal-informal dichotomy, presenting informality as a by-product of the formal, often as the result of a failed modernism in the global South (See **Section 5.3** of this review manuscript). The formal-informal dichotomy provides a fitting segue to the 'dark side of planning', manifesting when the informal is deliberately classified as such for the purpose of control and amassment, referencing the eradication of informality in South Africa and the ultimate re-emergence of the informal, specifically in the form of informal backyard rental accommodation (See **Section 5.4** of this review manuscript). **Section 5** is closed by a discussion on the 'co-production' concept, exemplifying the informal backyard rental sector and providing substantiation for the possibilities of future research and theorising from within such hybridised vantage points.

5.1 Modernism

In contemporary times urban planning in much of the world is still closely associated with the modernist movement. Modernism originated in Europe and is best represented by the work of Le Corbusier and his modern skyscrapers, as well as the City Beautiful Movement that drew on the promenades and boulevards of European cities (Watson, 2009a:165). The modernist city finds its foundation in the West (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012:114) in the well-developed regions of the global North, where modernist ambitions were translated to practice through abstract maps, as blueprint, master or layout plans that provided detail on the ideal end-state to be achieved.

This end state was mostly focussed on delivering on the ideal of the 'good city', at the heart of which order, harmony, formality and symmetry, the functional specialisation of areas and movement, the free flow of traffic, connectivity, vertical building, open space development and slum removal lay firmly embedded (Watson, 2009a:167). The last is of specific importance for this manuscript, with the will to order and formalise cited as part of 'high modernist ideology' intended to arrive at 'the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws' (Scott, 1998:4). As such, modernism and the rational planning model are quite closely related.

Although theory-making and the development of alternative models of urban development, as referenced in the previous section, have evolved to transcend both the rational planning model and modernism, the latter has remained much more entrenched. The effects of modernism have remained (Barnett, 2011:11) and the movement may still be used to characterise development agendas across the globe (Watson, 2014a), entangled in the recurrent belief that progression is desirable and possible (Schrijver, 2011:251). A fascination with the modernist dream was especially prolific in the cities of the South, where in the colonial and post-colonial world, development and modernisation became synonymous (Watson, 2003:396).

Instead of revolting against the Westernised forms of development enforced under colonial aspirations to develop the South according to modernist principles, most post-colonial governments were inclined to support and embed colonial era spatial plans and land management tools, sometimes in even more severe terms than under colonial rule (Njoh, 2003). A prime example can be identified in South Africa's apartheid city model that further entrenched colonial ideas on controlling native populations and followed modernist principles on urban development and housing (Haarhoff, 2011:185), with related consequences for the course of contemporary development. Throughout Africa, experience suggests that international aid and development agencies try to address urban challenges through models that do not translate well in the African context (Blanco *et al.*, 2009:233). These attempts keep the vision of urban modernism alive, still based on the assumption that Africa will 'catch up' economically and culturally with the West and will produce cities administrated by resilient and stable municipalities, populated by formally employed households who own cars and are moderately well-off, comparable to American or European urbanites (Watson, 2009a:173).

The new master plans imposed on many of the continent's larger cities seem to depart even more radically from African urban reality than the colonial and post-colonial zoning plans that steered development in the older parts of these cities in the past. These master plans present urban utopias that perpetuate and rely on the assumption that Africa is 'rising' in keeping with similar connotations made in reference to India and China. In accordance, African master plans now conjure visions of Shanghai, Singapore or Dubai (Watson, 2014a:215).

Viewing Africa as a place still lagging behind the rest of the world in desperation to catch up and rise to Northern ideals reflects quite ignorant and antiquated views on the recognition of the Southern world in grand human history only if these regions convert to Northern capitalist modernity (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012:115). The persistent and exhausted pursuit to drag Africa and the rest of the subaltern world into the 'modern age' has not served the global South well, with the neoliberal development philosophies that have accompanied such attempts having been absolutely destructive (Watson, 2002:46). The following subsection reviews neoliberalism.

5.2 Neoliberalism as an instrument of modern development

Neoliberalism first emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (Monno *et al.*, 2012:85-86), as a theory of political economic practice based on the belief that human well-being can most effectively be advanced by 'liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' (Harvey, 2005:2), with a benign yet frequently directive state needed to encourage competitive, entrepreneurial, acquisitive and commercial behaviour (Gilbert, 2013:9). Under neoliberalism, privatisation becomes more central than any ideology based on the free market (Aalbers, 2013:1084). The focus on privatisation places the onus on profit maximisation with policy and development choices justified when they are perceived to serve the greater good in an efficient and effective manner. Neoliberals evaluate policies accordingly, based on cost-benefit analyses, grounded in philosophical utilitarianism (Fainstein, 2014:6). According to the conventions of neoliberal cost-benefit evaluation, the displacement of residents may for example be justified if the majority benefits even slightly, irrespective of the cost to the displaced who may already be from disadvantaged and marginalised groups. As such, cost-benefit analyses may benefit the already advantaged elite and discount those truly in need of aid (Aalbers, 2013:1084; Fainstein, 2014:6).

Such decisions have repercussions for urban justice and the marginalised's right to the city. 'Lesser injustices' are often overlooked in the belief that benefits to the greater good will eventually cancel out other more 'insignificant' losses, thus failing to recognise the full scope of negative impacts related to public decisions. Planners who ignore these impacts will be regarded as unfeeling, indifferent, authoritarian, conceited, and presumptuous and ultimately as part of a problem and not a solution (Forester, 1994:155-156). And so, despite its pervasiveness, the neoliberal approach has been widely criticised for the neglect it shows for questions of distribution (Campbell, 2000) and the deteriorating effect it has had on cities and life within them (Purcell, 2009:141), specifically in the global South (Watson, 2002:46).

Despite its failings, neoliberal practice continues in new and evolving forms around the world (Aalbers, 2013:1083). Post-apartheid South Africa quickly embraced neoliberalism, as the country was eager to reintegrate into the global economy, encouraged by international agents such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (Harvey, 2005:116). As a result, South Africa's post-apartheid polices paint the picture of a country only too zealous to promote neoliberal programmes encouraged under the influence of the global North (Martin, 2013:173). South African neoliberalism is best reflected the country's 1996 macroeconomic and very market-driven fiscal plan, the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution policy, or GEAR, that followed the redistributive agenda of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994 (Miraftab & Wills, 2005:203). GEAR effectively stripped South Africans of their substantive citizenship rights, turning post-apartheid citizens into fee-paying customers of basic service providers in the public and private domains (Miraftab, 2009:36). South African neoliberalism is aptly represented in the country's approach to low-cost housing delivery. The neoliberal approach is embodied in the 'breadth over depth' mantra (Tomlinson, 2006b:87), through which the greatest good for the greatest number of people is cited as motivation through housing policy aimed at delivering housing ownership to as many beneficiaries as possible, with the quality and desirability of homes offered as trade-off. In order to deliver in volume, the private sector is employed as housing developer, under instruction of provincial or local government. Private developers are logically involved in housing construction to maximise profits, following the principles of entrepreneurship in exploiting profitable opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000:217; Ramoglou & Tsang, 2016:414).

However, in South Africa complications and delays have exposed developers to financial risks (Myeni & Mvuyana, 2015:790), leading many private developers to withdraw from the housing sector (Charlton & Kahito, 2006:264) or compromise the products delivered. Through the commitment to volume and private sector employment, the approach results in large, but dwindling numbers of fairly low quality, stock-standard, and therefore demand unresponsive housing (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:20; Hopkins, 2007:5; Freund, 2010:287; Lizarralde, 2011:176; Lorraine & Molapo, 2014:905).

In South Africa, mounting concerns over transformation and the part played by the state in conveying more equitable living environments are increasingly entangled with neoliberal notions on efficacy and competitive cities (Friedmann, 2005:197). As such, citizens doubt the extent and impact of their inclusion when weighed against the state's objectives to progress towards the modern. For Miraftab (2009:36) South African neoliberalism in particular illustrates how citizens can be excluded materially whilst being symbolically included in governance and decision-making. Participation and neoliberalism are intertwined, in that neoliberalism as an ideology relies on legitimisation and the perceptions of citizens regarding their own inclusion in order to establish hegemonic power (Bengs, 2005; Miraftab, 2009:33). As such, the idea of participation entered the mainstream with the neoliberal paradigm, as a means to diminish the responsibility of the state and intensify the role of civil society (Tapscott & Thompson, 2013:369). Accordingly, neoliberalism sparked the interest in collaborative and communicative planning (Sager, 2005:3) and the shift in public debate from representative to deliberate democracy that followed (Monno *et al.*, 2012:86). The participatory focus in South African policy discussed under **Section 4.4.1** of the manuscript on communicative planning should thus be noted as another example of neoliberalism in South Africa. It is within this framework that the insurgent and radical planning, discussed in **Section 4.4.2** of this review, may be established and be significant. As such, the insurgent attempts to promote social transformation and unsettle neoliberal attempts by the state to stabilise oppressive relationships through inclusion by acknowledging the survivalist and transformative practices invented by the disenfranchised outside neoliberal definitions of inclusion (Miraftab, 2009:41-43).

The following subsection is devoted to the formal-informal dichotomy that has become characteristic of life in the global South, further entrenched under the influences of both modernism and neoliberalism, presenting a delineation between the desirable and officially unwanted.

5.3 The formal-informal dichotomy

Globally, the poor often find themselves surviving outside the margins of formality and desirability established by the powers that be (Miller, 2006; Blanco *et al.*, 2009; McFarlane & Waibel, 2012; van Gelder, 2013). Nowhere is this more pronounced than in the cities of the global South where millions have settled in informal settlements and make-shift structures. It is now estimated that a billion people live in slums globally, with the majority accommodated in the global South (United Nations, 2015). Throughout the subaltern regions of the world, especially in Africa, the informal has become a symbol of modern urbanisation in the face of abject poverty and the modernist ideals that continue to shape urban planning concepts here. AbdouMalik Simone in Friedmann (2005:196) suggests that a failed modernity has emerged across large tracts of Africa, through which urban planning, as in most of the global South, has failed to address the challenges faced in the 21st century. Failures are attributed to the manner in which ill-suited ideas have been borrowed or imposed based on concepts from the global North and because of the way these concepts and planning systems articulate with local political, cultural and economic factors and are misused or abused in the process (Watson, 2009a:168) (See **Section 5.5** of this review manuscript). The ideals surrounding the modernist city and the manner in which these ideals continue to be pursued in establishing 'good' cities, initiated through colonialism and maintained by post-colonial efforts to reach western development standards through neoliberal mechanisms, have resulted in a severe divide between the modernist ideal and the real subaltern world. This rift categorises practices according to the dualistic classification of activities into the formal and informal sectors (Kamete, 2013:19), using the gauge of Northern derived urban normalcy (Watson, 2009a:186). According to Lombard and Huxley (2011:121) the binary distinction between the formal and informal implicitly expresses the formal as positive, whilst expelling informality as a problematic symptom only found in the developing world.

In support of this, the informal often finds linguistic expression in the term 'slum', signifying the illegal, irrational and disordered, the unwanted and that best classified as a nuisance or urban cancer to be excised (Revell, 2010:5). Emphasising the negative and uncontrollable nature of informality consolidates the notion of the informal as entity found outside the realm of the formal, the planned and the modern. In reality the informal finds itself both within and outside the system (Miraftab, 2009:35). Formal planning elicits the informal by distinguishing between activities as formal or informal, or indeed as more or less legal, by authorising or denouncing activities from one sector to the other (Roy, 2009:10). Distinguishing between activities as merely formal or informal encourages homogenous perceptions of practices and networks that are sometimes not as clearly definable (Duminy, 2011:9) and may in fact be interconnected and related at multiple levels. In this regard, informality may respond to a range of requirements.

In most cases, specifically in the global South, the informal reacts to needs neglected or not fully fulfilled by the formal processes that drive urban planning and development under neoliberal capitalism, in reaction to or in conjunction with state-driven development practices (Miraftab, 2009). Accordingly, the informal primarily meets basic human needs (Huchzermeyer, 2009:59; Kamete, 2013:19) or secondarily responds to the restrictions sometimes enforced under formalised systems. In cases of the latter, the informal may be deliberately chosen due to the absence of alternative options or because the sector provides basic shelter or commercial opportunities not restricted by the costs and rigidity associated with options under state controlled systems (Blanco *et al.*, 2009:234) with an added degree of flexibility and resilience. 'Informality is highly resilient', in that it continuously responds to the shocks of the future and meets previously unanticipated needs (Revell, 2010:7). In keeping with the primary and secondary needs met by the informal, Duminy (2011:13) distinguishes between informalisation for survival versus informalisation for accumulation. Using South Africa's informal backyard rental sector as example, informality may be pursued by tenants out of a basic need to access some form of shelter that allows them to survive (Tshangana, 2013:6).

Alternatively, informal backyard accommodation may be provided by landlords for income-generation (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:6) or employed by tenants to save money as examples of accumulation (Morange, 2002:6). When the disadvantaged and marginalised turn to informality for survival, they place themselves in a vulnerable position to political and criminal threat (Watson, 2009a:186), in an atmosphere of considerable tension (Huchzermeyer, 2013:3) Where attempts at survival through informal livelihood strategies are reprimanded for the sake of control and not improvement, planning dons a more sinister garb (McFarlane, 2012:93), commonly referred to as the 'dark side of planning' (Yiftachel, 1998; Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002:3; Duminy, 2011:14), to the detriment of all notions on the just city and the principles that underpin it. The 'dark side of planning' is discussed in more detail below to illuminate the motivations that may drive classifications into the formal and informal, with a focus on the eradication of informality in the South African context.

5.4 The dark side of planning

The 'dark side of planning' (Flyvbjerg, 1996; Yiftachel, 1998) is often invoked where resources are highly contested, with the poor intentionally disadvantaged and displaced through the corrupt manipulation of the planning system for political domination or economic gain (Watson, 2009a:176). Thus, the 'dark side' of planning refers to the propensity to order and control with the purpose of promoting select interests and social divides, facilitated through forced removals, social planning and engineering and the disconnect between spaces delivered and the needs of those who use them (Todes, 2011:117). Where the planning system is used to promote elite urban development agendas and informality is suspended outside the law in order to facilitate this, informality is utilised as a tool of amassment and authority, placing it 'central to the urban planning regime' (McFarlane, 2012:93). As such, the state may actively employ the informal as a mechanism of authority and accumulation. Thus, policy-makers may define urban informality as a tactic to indirectly contain the 'ungovernable', condemning vast communities to life on the urban fringe deprived of quality services whilst hiding behind the pretence of an open, civil and democratic urban governance system (Watson, 2009a:177).

When exploited even further, the informal may be used as an instrument of political leverage and prospect by presenting opportunities for political manipulation in exchange for services (Miraftab, 2009:35) or under threat of eradication.

Eradication may also be pursued under the motivations of 'progressive development' to ply the masses whilst pursuing the ever-present modernist ideal. In many cases, planning is officially cited to justify 'cleansing practices' aimed at relocating or completely removing informal housing and economic activities (Kamete & Lindell, 2010:912). In many instances, evictions for the sake of slum clearance are not the result of 'dark planning' motives, but may be motivated by the responsibility to protect ownership rights against invaders, to improve health, safety and environmental conditions or for informal settlement upgrades (Strauss & Liebenberg, 2014:1). However, the lines between cases with merit and those inspired by more sinister ambitions are often blurred, with these motivations easily cited as justification on either side of the spectrum.

In the global South, considerable analysis has taken place on the subject of displacement, specifically in relation to the uprooting of squatter settlements and the expansion of isolated enclaves of privilege (Fainstein, 2014:5). In Africa, informal settlements find themselves in attractive locations that hold value in realising the ideals set by the new master plans envisioned to facilitate Africa's rise. As a result, vulnerable low-income groups are relocated and evicted across the continent (Watson, 2014a:216). The situation is no different in South Africa, where developing internationally competitive cities (Huchzermeyer, 2014b:42) and reaching development targets in accordance with international norms motivate slum eradication programmes. A significant influence in this regard comes from the United Nations and its Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of 'slum-free cities' (Huchzermeyer, 2014b:42; Chance, 2015:68). South Africa's post-apartheid poor now endure forced removals from their homes for very different reasons than under the previous regime (Miraftab, 2009:36).

In South Africa, slum clearance was habitually enforced under Apartheid rule (Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009:334), but instead of turning its back on the oppressive strategies of the past, the post-apartheid state has in some instances turned to 'repealed apartheid-era statutes for unconstitutional tools for slum eradication' (Huchzermeyer, 2014b:43). South Africa presents a mixed bag of responses to informal settlements. The officially preferred method relies on an incremental process of phased in situ upgrades (Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009:338). However, in practice informal settlements are still more commonly eradicated completely, with residents relocated to greenfield transit camps that frequently provide circumstances very similar to the informality from which they are intended to present refuge. Thereafter, evictees are placed in sterile rows of monotonous housing on the urban periphery, designed in keeping with the modernist tradition and constructed *via* neoliberal mechanisms (Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:272). Accordingly, the socio-political ties forged in both previous informal settlements and transit camps are again severed, established communities dissipated and all claims to a right to the city lost. For Huchzermeyer (2013:10) the removal of informality in the South African context reflects a severe denial of Lefebvre's right to the city through spatial domination and 'negative appropriation'.

Where beneficiaries have been displaced to new housing estates, these communities rarely remain the exclusive domain of the formal. Numerous sites revert back to informal practices (Robins, 2002:516; Lemanski, 2009:474). This is proved by the overwhelming number of illegal electricity and water connections, informal businesses and informal backyard structures that dominate the formal housing landscape in South Africa (Tissington, 2011:87; Massey, 2014:290). Informal practices are unavoidably established in co-existence as a result of co-production for survival. The following subsection aims to link South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in particular to the 'co-production' concept and build the case for future research and theory making based on lived experience in the global South.

5.5 Co-production and hybridity across borders

The term 'co-production' was coined by political economist, Elinor Ostrom, who defined co-production as: 'a process through which inputs from individuals who are not 'in' the same organisation are transformed into goods and services' (Ostrom, 1996:1073). The concept of 'co-production' denotes the joint production of land and services by the state and citizens, with elements of the process shared amongst both. In this regard, both actors have a part to play, specifically in situations where the state does not have the capacity to deliver or regulate independently and low-income citizens cannot depend on their own systems or resources either, thus requiring hybrid forms of production (Mitlin, 2008; McFarlane & Waibel, 2012; Watson, 2014b:65). In many instances co-production manifests quite organically, often according to unplanned and unsanctioned terms in the informal sector. It is important to recognise the part played by hybridised forms of service delivery for the poor and marginalised who may utilise services delivered by the state to support and sustain their own survival, even when these services are not directly intended for them. In such cases the formal, as the state and its services, and the informal, as those disadvantaged groups that make use of these services without permission, meet one another and overlap. In these contested grey areas spaces are established that transcend the formal-informal dichotomy, being neither completely integrated nor eradicated, establishing 'pseudo-permanent margins' within contemporary cities (Yiftachel, 2009:89), within which actors from both sides utilise what is available within the system to meet their own objectives.

It is in providing a real world example of co-production as the meeting point of formal and informal processes, that South Africa's informal backyard rental sector provides prime researching opportunities. The informal backyard rental sector was not established out of deliberate state-led attempts to encourage hybridisation in acknowledgement of its own shortcomings. Instead, the sector finds its origins as a grassroots response established in the insurgent during apartheid (Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000:843; Morange, 2002:20; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:19) and today continued as an unintended by-product of formalised housing delivery (Lemanski, 2009:472) necessitated by shortcomings in the housing sector maintained in the democratic age (Goebel, 2007:292; Tissington, 2011; Wertman, 2015:719).

The post-apartheid state remains unable to meet the extreme housing backlog it faces (Turok, 2016:5), and the poor are generally incapable of accessing basic services without some sort of support. The latter evidenced in the servicing objectives of the National Housing Programme and instruments such as the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme (UISP) (RSA, 1994b; RSA, 2004). It is surmised that within this context informal backyard rentals bridge shortfalls on both sides, thus conforming to the definition on co-production provided above, echoing (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:665). This manuscript posits that the informal backyard rental sector not only provides an example of co-production and hybridisation in service delivery, but also within the context of the North-South debate included throughout this manuscript. It is within these backyard spaces that the modernist aspirations for subsidised housing and control, influenced largely by conventions from the North, meet an opposing South African reality. This manuscript posits, that here an informal development culture and struggle for survival, as part of an indigenous system of knowledge, confront and amalgamate with attempts to order according to Western conventions. Accordingly, the informal backyard rental sector establishes an intriguing interface between the formal and informal and the North and South. It is important to note that this interface does not establish a dubious binary between a will to order and that which escapes it (Osborne & Rose, 1999).

Instead, it presents a struggle in which engagement adopts unpredictable, diverse and hybridised forms with related negative and/or positive results (Watson, 2009a:188). In this regard, it is important to remember that hybridisation through co-production is not an exclusively positive process, but that as in the informal backyard rental sector, the formal-informal interchange can at the best of times be 'mutually enhancing and mutually corrupting at worst' (McFarlane & Waibel, 2012:2). Yet, it is within this struggle that the most thought-provoking possibilities for learning and understanding are presented to produce effective new planning ideas (Watson, 2009a:188; Ernstson *et al.*, 2014:1566).

According to Watson (2014b:63) co-production holds value for planning theory for a number of reasons. Firstly, certain manifestations of co-production reveal different forms of 'participation' and engagement commonly included under ideas of collaborative or communicative planning. South Africa's informal backyard rental sector may for example be included under ideas on radical and insurgent planning. As such, co-production examples may expand the range of planning ideas from which planning theory and practice can draw. The co-production idea is of specific value as it allows us to uncover ways of reasoning and place-making that exist between Western rationalities and theorising and everyday life in the South, according to which Harrison (2006:332) invokes the concept of 'border thinking, as a new epistemological modality. Continuing on this theme, examining cases of co-production from the global South may advance the internationalisation of planning by recognising forms of planning engagement across varying global contexts (Watson, 2014b:63).

Working transnationally holds value, in that global influences and experiences may constantly inform and challenge perceptions of how the world works and develops (Healey, 2012:192). This is especially important in order to challenge dominant perceptions about the struggles and opportunities presented outside the Western world, as experience from America and Europe may not apply universally and may more likely be exceptional in the global context (Seekings & Keil, 2009). In this regard, challenges to the notion of informality as the exception rather than the norm (McFarlane & Waibel, 2012:2) and as problematic entity found outside and far removed from the formal are particularly significant. In advocating a shift from Northern theoretical dominance, theorists have called for a departure from the often uncontested image of the African (or any other Southern) city as a place of failure and hopelessness, perpetually in need of aid from the North (Ernstson *et al.*, 2014:1567). As such, the planning community at large might start to focus on Africa and beyond, but not as instances of deteriorated modernity. Instead, regarding subaltern examples as both part of and separate from Western modernity, established through the resourceful responses of citizens to their own states of vulnerability, manifesting a form of Afro-modernity (for more on the concept of Afro-modernity, see (Hanchard, 1999; Adejumo, 2006:39; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012:117)).

Such conceptualisations may allow us to regard Africa and the South in a more positive light that acknowledges successes and potentials despite structural constraints (Harrison, 2006:323). Delivering this message and making it stick will require a shift towards recognising a real-world perspective based on empiricism, everyday experience and indigenous knowledge (See Blanco *et al.* (2009); Ernstson *et al.* (2014)). A focus on the everyday may bestow a level of respectability to modes of local knowledge and practice dismissed as irrationalities or irrelevancies in the past (Harrison, 2006:324). These sentiments find support in Watson (2003:366), for whom the local empirical holds substantial value. She calls for planning research to re-establish its roots in the empirical, not as a return to the much critiqued empiricism of the past, but as a means to relate theory to practically viable applications, in a sense supporting instrumental rationality and the focus on outcomes as related to critiques on an international fixation on collaborative planning.

Through these adjustments in emphasis, contemporary research focused on the global South may elaborate on how regionally bound local experiences can contribute to planning thought at a broader global scale (Visser, 2013:84) and place a responsibility on the shoulders of those planners who find themselves in Western contexts to learn from experiences in the global South (Harrison, 2006:319; Healey, 2012:199). As such, ways of thinking and theorising in Africa may well show the future to the North (Connell, 2014:211), to where issues such as informality are increasingly becoming part of the daily urban experience (Miraftab, 2009:42; Porter *et al.*, 2011:119). It is here that insurgent planning becomes invaluable in its recognition that the North and South and all peripheries in-between might exist within each other (Miraftab, 2009:46). Comaroff and Comaroff (2012:127) summarise the sentiment aptly by stating: 'In short, there is much South in the North, much North in the South, and more of both to come in the future'.

However, these realisations should not convince planners that inter-contextual, transregional work will come without limitations or that scholars and practitioners can now promote the simplistic borrowing of best practice ideas from one part of the world to the other (Watson, 2009a:186), simply because the direction of travel is reversed. In the endeavour to generate Southern-based theory, scholars should be cautious of establishing artificial binaries between global North and global South thinking, or of presenting Southern-based planning theory as a set of homogenous ideas that have the potential to universalise from one context to another (Watson, 2014b:75). Whenever ideas are transferred it is important to ascertain if any contextual common ground can be established, in terms of politics, society, economy or environment, which underpin the approach and hold elsewhere (Watson, 2009a:188). This manuscript affirms that when planning concepts are imported from elsewhere, it becomes the responsibility of planning academics and practitioners to take cognisance of and address the potential distortions applied to planning ideas over time as they become institutionalised or part of politicised attempts to dominate (Healey, 2012:199). In this regard, Healey (2012:195), in keeping with influences by Roy (2010a); (2010b) emphasises the value of an 'origin narrative' that identifies the situation in which a specific concept was born, describes its specific history and also examines how it travelled from its site of origin to assist in determining what can be learned from it of bearing to other contexts and circumstances. Accordingly, an origin narrative may be useful in establishing a body of international research that avoids the tendency to generalise according to 'best practice' and follow decontextualized theories that ignore the significance of place in shaping planning thought and practice (Watson, 2014b:75).

6. Conclusion

This review manuscript strengthens the argument for the need to abandon the notion of unified field theories and urban models that surmount contextual variances and are applied unilaterally across the globe, especially across the equator from North to South. In this regard, this manuscript reinstitutes the need to accept multiple rationalities, concede to the existence of an alternative modernity and accept that justice can be established beyond the confines of western prescripts on order.

The domination of Northern influences, including colonialism, modernism and neoliberalism and examples such as South African apartheid, have stood in the way of planning to truly serve as a vehicle of justice in the South.

In order for planners across the globe to engage with the concept of justice and express it in their work, there is a need to establish a planning community that can confront its own misconceptions and prejudices and be open to learning from those outside the formal dictates of the profession in the North. As such planning globally will need to engage with its own limitations and broaden its horizons through determined efforts to overcome the cliché of Southern ineptitude. This calls for the establishment of a cadre of planning academics, situated both within and outside the South, who value real life experience and prioritise their normative purpose to 'better' the future through their work, regardless of the ways in which such endeavours may correspond or clash with classical planning thought from the North.

In South Africa, planners need only take note of what is happening in their own backyards, acknowledge local responses and respect the rights of those insurgents who oppose plans to sweep them away and deny them of their right to the city. This will require out-of-the box thinking in two respects. Firstly, by challenging the relevance and supremacy of the standardised low-cost housing unit provided under South Africa's National Housing Programme, as a physical box, delivered to enforce a very Westernised way of living. Secondly, by planners becoming advocates for the disadvantaged by not merely ticking the box of tokenistic community engagement when conducting their work, but by encouraging grassroots participation, taking outcomes on board and advocating for the needs of the marginalised, even in the midst of opposition. It is within this framework that planners must accept the responsibility to support the kind of Afro-modernity established through radical planning practice and co-production as examples of Southern potential, exemplified by the informal backyard rental sector in this manuscript.

Through such realisations and based on the findings presented throughout this manuscript on responsible transnational and interregional theorising and practice, a new planning cannon may be established in which the world is equally represented, localised work is valued and contextual relevance guides the manner in which planning ideas are generated, imported, exported, accepted and institutionalised. In closing it is perhaps most fitting to quote David Harvey (2003:941) who states: 'If our urban world has been imagined and made then it can be re-imagined and re-made', and perhaps in this reshaping it may come to reflect more of both sides of the equator.

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CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH ARTICLES

RESEARCH ARTICLE ONE

TOWARDS MORE COMPACT SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS THROUGH INFORMAL HOUSING: THE CASE OF BACKYARD DENSIFICATION IN BRIDGTON AND BONGOLETHU, OUDTSHOORN

Research Article One was submitted to the DHET accredited journal, Town and Regional Planning, edited by Professor D. Steyn. The journal was selected based on its influential role as sole accredited Planning Journal in South Africa. Furthermore, the research focus of this article could also be aligned to that of the selected journal, further exemplified in the fact that the journal had previously published research on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in an earlier issue (Shapurjee et al., 2014). The level of local and international exposure provided by Town and Regional Planning was also a consideration, following the journal's open access policy based on the principle that research made freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge. The article was accepted for publication following peer review and revision in the journal's forthcoming Issue 68. A copy of author guidelines are provided as **Annexure J**, clarification on the main and co-author's contribution and permission to include the article in this study are provided as **Annexure N** and permission to include the article in this study by the journal editor is included under **Annexure O**. Research Article One is provided on the following page. Please note that the journal's preferred font and size are not used to safeguard thesis uniformity.

TOWARDS MORE COMPACT SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS THROUGH INFORMAL HOUSING: THE CASE OF BACKYARD DENSIFICATION IN BRIDGTON AND BONGOLETHU, OUDTSHOORN¹

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Abstract

This article engages the concepts of urban sprawl and density, as the foundations for a discussion on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector. This research attempts to relate some of the spatial impacts levied by the backyard sector in post-apartheid South Africa, based on case study research in the Western Cape Town of Oudtshoorn, the Rose Valley formalisation project and the Bridgton and Bongolethu townships. This article employs both qualitative and quantitative analyses and arrives at several key findings. Results show that informal backyard rentals increase dwelling unit and population densities substantially in the case study, accommodating households who would otherwise occupy land illegally on the urban periphery, contributing to urban sprawl. Findings also suggest that these backyard tenants enjoy excellent access to services, placing increased pressure on Oudtshoorn's already over capacitated infrastructure network. This article posits that informal backyarding has to be encouraged and supported based on the sector's contribution to urban compaction, but that related impacts on infrastructure be addressed in future planning interventions.

Key words: *Urban sprawl, density, low-cost housing, informal backyard rentals, South Africa*

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DIE WEG NA MEER KOMPakte SUID-AFRIKAANSE NEDERSETTINGS DEUR INFORMELE BEHUISING: DIE GEVAL VAN AGTERPLAAS VERDIGTING IN BRIDGTON EN BONGOLETHU, OUDTHSOORN

Abstrak

Hierdie artikel betrek konsepte soos stedelike randsprei en digtheid as die grondslag vir 'n bespreking oor Suid-Afrika se informele agterplaas verhuringsektor. Dië navorsing poog om die ruimtelike impak van die agterplaas sektor uit te lig in die era na apartheid in Suid-Afrika, gebaseer op veldwerk in Oudtshoorn in die Wes Kaap, die dorp se Rose Valley formaliseringsprojek en die Bridgton en Bongolethu nedersettings. Hierdie artikel maak gebruik van beide kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe analises om tot 'n gevolgtrekking te kom. Resultate toon aan dat informele agterplaas strukture wooneenheid- en bevolkingsdigthede merkwaardig verhoog in die gevallestudie, terwyl die sektor huishoudings huisves wat andersins onwettig op die stedelike periferie sou vestig en randsprei bevorder. Resultate wys ook dat agterplaashuurders goeie toegang tot dienste geniet, wat meer druk op Oudtshoorn se reeds oorlaaide infrastruktuur-netwerk teweeg bring. Hierdie artikel voer dus aan dat informele agterplaas verhuring aangemoedig en ondersteun word gebaseer op die sektor se bydra tot stedelike kompaktheid, maar dat verwante impakte op infrastruktuur in toekomstige beplanning aangespreek word.

Sleutelwoorde: *Stedelike randsprei, digthede, laekoste behuising, informele agterplaas verhuring, Suid-Afrika*

1. Introduction

The South African city is typified by a sprawling urban form, perpetuated by peripheral, low-density subsidised housing development and mass informal housing settlements, as shantytowns (Goebel, 2007: 292; Jay & Bowen, 2011: 575; Klug *et al.*, 2013: 668; Turok, 2013: 180; Cash, 2014: 127; du Plessis, 2014: 70). However, the low densities that characterise subsidised housing projects are augmented regularly by the addition of informal backyard rental accommodation (Gardner, 2009: 14; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013: 663; Tshangana, 2013: 12) that also absorb a large proportion of those households who would otherwise occupy sprawling informal settlements. The informal backyard rental sector has shown sustained growth in terms of new informal backyard dwellings (Bank, 2007: 206; Lemanski, 2009: 473; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014: 687), but has gone underreported in the national Census (Watson, 2009: 5), remains unrecognised in national policy and enjoys limited, piecemeal attention at provincial and local level (Carey, 2009: 7; Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 68), particularly in smaller, under capacitated municipalities that show a shortage of technical expertise to address it (Morange, 2002: 20). In fact, the sector has been described as *terra incognita* (Parnell & Hart, 1999: 367), hidden (Turok, 2012: 22) especially when its spatial implications are considered (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014: 21). In recognition of the above, this article is intended to shed light on the spatial impacts of informal backyard rental accommodation in the smaller local municipality of Oudtshoorn and an area in the Bridgton and Bongoletu townships. Accordingly, this research aims to quantify the level of backyard densification taking place, present the case for informal backyard infill as counter to urban sprawl and engage with consequences for bulk infrastructure and service delivery as issues to be recognised and addressed in future planning initiatives, but is not intended as a comprehensive discussion on all facets related to informal backyard renting in South Africa.

The article is initiated with a literature review intended to explore core concepts such as urban sprawl and density and familiarise the South African housing and informal backyard rental sectors, all of which are revisited in the empirical section. Empirical research is comprised of a case study of Oudtshoorn, focussing specifically on new low-cost housing development taking place in the Rose Valley extension and the established practice of informal backyard densification in Bridgton and Bongoletu.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The urban sprawl concept

Urban sprawl has received amplified attention in recent times, but the concept remains elusive, with no generally agreed upon definition or empirical measurement (Inostroza *et al.*, 2013:88). Yet, definitive principles seem recurrent in the literature and this article provides that: Urban sprawl entails a change in land use from the non-urban to the urban, often as new low-density, single-use urban expansion as residential or commercial strip development at or near the urban fringe, with land consumption exceeding population growth, producing a strung out and discontinuous urban form (Fulton *et al.*, 2001: 3; Ewing *et al.*, 2002: 3; Osman *et al.*, 2008: 40; Brunner, 2012: 1; Inostroza *et al.*, 2013: 88; Linard *et al.*, 2013: 23; Yue *et al.*, 2013: 358; Cash, 2014: 126). Sprawl is most related to housing demand, as cities will consume new areas if housing demand cannot be met within existing urban boundaries (Broitman & Koomen, 2015: 32). Expansion is inevitable. The challenge lies in deciding on what degree of sprawl is acceptable in maintaining compact and sustainable cities (Inostroza *et al.*, 2013: 96-97) whilst accommodating the effects of urbanisation and population growth. The definition also evidences the relationship between density and urban sprawl. Density is highly correlated with nearly all measures of urban sprawl (Brownstone & Golob, 2009: 91). Osman *et al.* (2008: 41) state: 'Density is the most important dimension of sprawl' and is the most widely used indicator to evaluate the phenomenon. Density is discussed accordingly and revisited in the case study to follow.

2.2 The density concept

Density continues to garner attention in the quest for a more sustainable urban form and this article accepts density as a principle element of sustainability. Density as an indicator of sprawl, is considered a proxy for access to employment, amenities and other destinations (Brownstone & Golob, 2009: 91) and even socio-economic features such as income (Forsyth *et al.*, 2007: 679). In this sense, density has become an important analytical tool, but also a multifaceted one vulnerable to ambiguity and misapprehension (Turok, 2011: 470).

Density can be measured and defined as dwelling units per land area; habitable rooms per land area, people or bed spaces per land area; or as stand ratios with floor area multiplied by the number of storeys/ area of the site, commonly referred to as the floor area ratio (FAR) (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005: 23; CABE, 2010; McGaffin *et al.*, 2015: 64; Turok, 2016a). Of these, population per land area or housing unit or number of dwelling units per land area seem most popular (SCANPH, 2004), with the latter commonly favoured. Furthermore, it is important to distinguish between gross and net densities. Gross density refers to the number of stands or area used for development including allowances for roads and other obligatory land allocations, which are excluded from net density calculations (Sivam & Karuppannan, 2012: 269). Net density is revisited in the case study research.

Densities influence urban form and function and present several positive and negative impacts. **Table 8** captures these effects, providing advantages and disadvantages for increased and low-density development synthesised from the literature.

Table 8: Advantages and disadvantages of both lower and increased densities

	Increased densities	Lower densities
Advantages	• Decreased land consumption per capita • Reduced land acquisition costs by reducing land area requirements • Reduced development costs through reduced servicing costs • Decreased infrastructure and servicing demands • Promotes non-motorised transport • More viable public infrastructure • Promotes efficient public transport • Encourages efficient natural resource consumption • Encourage efficient energy consumption • Reduce carbon emissions through decreased travel distances • Protect agricultural land from infringement • Protect ecosystems from infringement • Protect biodiversity from infringement • Increased access to amenities • More public open space due to reduced area required for top structures	• Increased privacy • More public open space • Reduced land acquisition costs through cheaper land on the periphery • More affordable for residents through decreased land costs • Greater appeal for residents • Reduces overcrowding
Disadvantages	• Traffic congestion through increased traffic in a reduced total area • Reduced privacy through proximity • Increased overcrowding through proximity • Escalated crime rates through intensification • Fewer public open spaces due to competition for land • Increased construction costs for top structures • Opposition by residents • Polluted ecosystems through intensification • Inflated property prices due to increased development costs and exclusivity • Increased number of cars parked on the street	• Traffic congestion through increased need for private vehicles • Increased commuting times through increased distances • Increased commuting costs through increased distances • Increased land consumption per capita • Increased land acquisition costs through increased land area requirements • Increased infrastructure and servicing demands • Increased development costs • Inflated property prices • Public transport inefficiency

Source: Own construction adapted from Churchman (1999); Carruthers & Ulfarsson (2003); Poulsen & Silverman (2005); Carey (2009); CABE (2010); McConnell & Wiley (2010); Boyko & Cooper (2011); Turok (2011); Sivam & Karuppannan (2012); Chhetri *et al.* (2013); Rubin & Gardner (2013); Rode *et al.* (2014); Brewer & Grant (2015); Glaeser & Sims (2015); Turok (2016a); Turok (2016b)

Densification is commonly pursued as a planning and sustainability goal (Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 19). However, for Turok (2016a: 238): ‘...urban density on its own is no panacea for prosperity’. Density is a valuable condition that supports resource efficiency and human interaction, but is not sufficient on its own. It does not guarantee positive outcomes such as more sustainable urban environments (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005: 24). It would thus be irresponsible to assume that increased densities are universally positive when compared to lower density arrangements. **Table 8** demonstrates that densities at any level may present challenges and opportunities and that density should be considered in a context sensitive manner to balance potential positives and negatives. Context may be regarded as the single most important factor in planning. As such, the following sections introduce the South African context in terms of informal housing, the low-cost subsidised housing sector and the informal backyard rental sub-sector.

2.3 Informal housing in South Africa and the post-Apartheid status quo

South Africa’s contemporary urban structure is a product of its apartheid past (du Plessis, 2014: 71). Apartheid planning established ‘shadow cities’, through which White settlements were accompanied by ‘locations’, or townships, for Black or coloured populations, located at some distance from them (Cash, 2014: 128), or separated by natural or artificial buffers (Jürgens *et al.*, 2013: 256) that provided a limited number of citizens with accommodation. By the end of apartheid, many of those who could not access urban areas legitimately, gained access to cities *via* informal housing, either in shantytowns or in the informal backyard structures erected in non-White townships (Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000: 3). Informal housing has traditionally been linked to a myriad of challenges, including geographically and environmentally hazardous locations that contravene planning regulations; poorly constructed and dilapidated informal structures that oppose building regulations; a lack of access to infrastructure, basic services and public amenities; with informal dwellers burdened by disease, violence, exclusion and tenure insecurity and informality perceived as indicative of instability and unsustainable futures (Cities Alliance, 2002; UN-Habitat, 2003: 4; Goebel, 2007: 295; Richards *et al.*, 2007: 2; Mehta & Dastur, 2008; Lombard & Huxley, 2011: 122; UN-Habitat, 2013; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016; UN-Habitat, 2014).

After apartheid the democratic government endeavoured to make sustainable development a leading objective. The commitment to sustainability, especially regarding urban development and housing, was encapsulated, *inter alia*, in commitments towards the UN's Sustainable Habitats Agenda (Goebel, 2007: 292) and publications such as the 2004 *Breaking New Ground Strategy* (RSA, 2004) and the 2013 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014; Nel, 2016). The democratic age brought a renewed focus on urban integration and compaction (Turok, 2016b: 9) and an emphasis on low-income subsidised housing as a vehicle to remedy past injustices (Turok, 2016a), promote spatial sustainability and address the informal housing issue. The approach to low-income housing was initiated in 1994 with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) based on eradicating informal housing and delivering home ownership opportunities to the disadvantaged *via* full housing subsidies (Morange, 2002: 3).

Low-income housing subsidies have been made available to households who earn less than R3500.00 per month, delivering homes for nuclear families as detached one- to two bedroom units of 40m² on fully serviced stands of approximately 250m² (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005: 21). Roughly 2.8 million subsidised units have now been delivered (Turok, 2016a: 235). New low-income subsidised housing projects, as discussed in the case study to follow, have had significant impacts on South Africa's urban landscape, but have generally not reversed apartheid's spatial legacy. Pressure to deliver large housing volumes within limited budgets together with a land intensive housing typology have precluded most low-income housing projects from securing well-located and more spatially integrated development sites (Massyn *et al.*, 2015: 413; McGaffin *et al.*, 2015: 62). And so, the poor are commonly established on the urban periphery (Goebel, 2007: 294; Turok, 2012: 14; Haferburg, 2013: 262; Jürgens *et al.*, 2013: 256; Turok, 2016b: 11), in suburbs that continue to contort settlement patterns and entrench fragmentation, segregation, inefficiency and urban sprawl (Brunner, 2012: 4; Chobokoane & Horn, 2015: 79; Nel, 2016: 81).

Sprawl is further intensified by the detached housing typology that requires substantial road-space and establishes configurations of 'very low density' (Van Rooyen, 2010: 47), generating densities of roughly 40 units and 160 persons per hectare (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005: 21). These densities are often augmented exponentially by the addition of backyard dwellings (Harrison & Todes, 2015: 157; McGaffin *et al.*, 2015: 65).

Sprawling low-income subsidised suburbs have housed about 10 million beneficiaries, increasing the proportion living in formal housing from 64% in 1996 to 78% in 2011 (Turok, 2016a: 235). The proportion of urban households residing informally might have fallen, but the absolute number has risen (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014: 688). Land invasions persist and informal housing has increasingly sheltered the poor. The country's informal settlements have expanded in both size and number since 1994, with approximately 2700 informal settlements now established nationally, housing nearly 1.2 million households (Turok, 2012: 21) as part of the escalating housing backlog. Progress has thus been significant, but insufficient as the current approach to housing cannot deliver to scale at a sustainable rate (Gardner, 2009: 6). Housing only these 1.2 million households in the full RDP-package, in 40m² units on 250m² stands, with a 30% allowance for roads and amenities, would require 39000 ha of Greenfield area.

It is worthy to note that informal settlements and to a limited extent the state's low-income housing projects with their backyard dwellings, establish relatively high population densities on the urban outskirts (Sukhai & Jones, 2014: 12). South African cities are among few globally that present a rise in average population density with distance from the centre (Turok, 2016b: 11). Yet, average population densities remain well below density standards in comparable middle and low-income, developing countries and almost half of standards in higher income, developed nations (Turok, 2011: 471). These densities are often still too low to establish the thresholds needed to supply city functions viably (Massyn *et al.*, 2015: 413). It is thus maintained that in South Africa, low-density expansion stands in the way of more sustainable human settlements (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005: 20).

‘There is a clear need to break not only the pattern but also the underpinning logics which drive the production of low-density and sprawling low-income settlements’(McGaffin *et al.*, 2015: 73) and to introduce a more compact urban form, in which increased densities may play a crucial part (Mammon & Ewing, 2009: 4).

2.4 Introducing the informal backyard rental sector

For Carey (2009: 12) a solution to the densification conundrum lays in existing stock, in the well-established practice of providing informal backyard rentals. The informal backyard rental sector was established during apartheid and now houses more than 756 000 households (StatsSA, 2014) in new low-cost housing settlements and more prolifically in older, well-located townships (Lemanski, 2009: 474). In lure of an officially accepted definition, this article defines an informal backyard rental unit as: ‘An informal structure erected by a property owner or tenant within the boundaries of a formally registered property that contains at least one formal dwelling unit. The materials and construction practices used do not comply with National Norms and Standards with the structure constructed attached or adjacent to an existing formal dwelling’. Backyard densification is attributed to infill development (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013: 305), referring to the use of land located within an already developed surrounding area (McConnell & Wiley, 2010: 9; Inostroza *et al.*, 2013: 88; McGaffin *et al.*, 2015: 70). Informal backyard rental infill does not refer to the use of relatively large consolidated open areas, but to the intensified use and densification of residential properties already deemed developed by authorities according to their zoning policies and official registers.

For Gardner (2009: 6) the informal backyard rental sector presents ‘the greatest latent human settlement potential in South Africa’, whilst Shapurjee and Charlton (2013: 655) contend that the sector can improve settlement-wide performance and Tshangana (2013: 11) confirms that informal backyard rentals may play a positive part in building sustainable human settlements.

As alluded to in **Section 2.3** of this article, informal backyard dwellings have contributed to intense horizontal densification nationally (McGaffin *et al.*, 2015: 62) and continue to provide shelter to vulnerable households, those more suited to rental accommodation or awaiting ownership of subsidy homes (Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 6; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014: 20) with intermediate access to basic services, often in more central locations (Morange, 2002: 10; Bank, 2007: 206; Carey, 2009: 17; Watson, 2009: 5). Fundamentally, the majority of backyard tenants would be housed in sprawling shantytowns, if they did not contribute to backyard densification.

The effects of backyard infill on future spatial and land-use planning and municipal infrastructure management cannot be ignored (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014: 20). Access to urban services is a main motivation for backyard renting (Morange, 2002: 19). For unlike those in informal shantytowns, backyard tenants may enjoy some access to sanitation, water and electricity (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014: 24) via services provided to their landlords in main dwellings. Electricity may be accessed via informal connections to the main house, whilst water and sanitation may be accessed through outside lavatories and taps on the stand, or access granted to facilities within the main house. When considering backyard infill and infrastructure, two main arguments have emerged (Tshangana, 2013: 7).

The first supports backyard densification to make improved use of existing infrastructure networks and capitalise on existing investments (See **Table 8**), by providing a more sustainable number of users (Solé-Ollé & Rico, 2008: 2-4; Carey, 2009: 3; Gardner, 2009: 5; McConnell & Wiley, 2010: 3; Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 9; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013: 633). The second argument cautions against excessive backyard infill as a strain on already over-capacitated infrastructure networks (Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 6; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014: 687). In South Africa's low-income suburbs infrastructure networks are generally designed to service the very low densities planned for in subsidised housing projects.

The intense densification introduced by informal backyard rentals may thus place immense pressure on networks and counter the potential of backyard rentals to introduce increased densities sustainably. As a result, the increased occupancy densities introduced by backyard infill have generally been viewed in a negative light

by local authorities given the burden placed on municipal infrastructure (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005: 22) and the difficulties with metering, service consumption metering and payment posed thereby (Tshangana, 2013: 10).

Municipalities cannot generate an additional income through rates and taxes on informal backyard rentals and thus profit-driven authorities, or indeed smaller, underfunded municipalities, may be reluctant or unable to commit resources to the backyard sector (Carey, 2009: 12). As such, most municipalities have not extended basic services to backyard residents (Bank, 2007: 206) and financing basic urban services remains a formidable challenge to sustainable urban development in South Africa (Goebel, 2007: 269).

Infrastructure upgrades or retrofits to service backyard tenants may not be unilaterally required in all low-income suburbs that present backyard densification. Some infrastructure networks are indeed buckling under the pressure, whilst others continue to cope with the added stress (Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 22). These networks may manage demand due to the capacity for which infrastructure networks were initially planned and installed. There are examples in which original infrastructure was over specified and thus cope with increased densities (Tshangana, 2013: 7). Though, in the majority of cases only minimum capacities can be sustainably serviced, as most formal low-income settlements continue to discount the potential demands of their informal tenants (Lemanski, 2009: 477).

Secondly, networks may cope due to a national decrease in average household size (Turok, 2012: 29) of 25% between 2001 and 2011 (Tshangana, 2013: 7). A trend expected to continue. It is argued that reduced average household sizes and smaller household sizes conventionally attributed to informal backyard dwellings, indicate that the additional load imposed by backyarding is not proportional in service capacity to the number of households added to an area (Gardner, 2009: 16; Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 22) or for which services were initially planned. However, this is highly contingent on the number of backyard households presented and their and main households' specific demographic profiles. Generalisations should be avoided and cases evaluated on a context related basis, as backyard populations are not uniform (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014: 20).

The following section, as the empirical research component, explores the town of Oudtshoorn and the new Rose Valley extension and delves into the spatial impacts of the informal backyard rental sector in a section of the Bridgton and Bongoletu townships in keeping with the focus on contextualised research.

3. Empirical Investigation

3.1 Research methodology

The town of Oudtshoorn was identified as case study as a fitting alternative to the abundance of planning research in South Africa focussed on metropolitan areas and large cities (Zwaig, 2015: 2). Initially this research was sparked by the sudden establishment of an informal settlement on the outskirts of Oudtshoorn, as the Rose Valley informal settlement. This article references a survey conducted in Rose Valley in 2012, a survey conducted in Oudtshoorn's Bridgton and Bongoletu townships in 2013 and a more intensive survey conducted in the same area of Bridgton and Bongoletu in 2015.

3.1.1 Sampling methods, sample sizes and data collection

The 2012 Rose Valley survey involved the distribution of 100 surveys on a door to door basis in the Rose Valley informal settlement. Respondents were selected based on convenience sampling and included on the grounds of their willingness to participate. Questions were fairly rudimentary, with the aim of exploring where settlers came from, what their opinion regarding housing, increased densities, backyard renting and future housing aspirations were. The Rose Valley survey revealed that the majority of respondent settlers originated from informal backyard dwellings in Oudtshoorn's Bridgton and Bongoletu townships. It is from there that the area of Bridgton and adjacent Bongoletu was identified as study area when the 2013 survey was considered.

The specific study area within the township (See **Figure 6**) was targeted given the then recent refurbishment of the Bridgton Pavilion and the aim of that research to investigate the use of public green space in low-income housing areas and to determine the effects of informal backyard renting thereupon (Lategan & Cilliers, 2014: 430). The 2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey concentrated on 101 properties immediately surrounding the Bridgton Pavilion, regardless if they contained informal backyard dwellings or not.

The area in Bongolethu was included, as the Bridgton Pavilion is in fact located outside, but on the boundary of the Bridgton Township, within Bongolethu. As a result, properties surrounding the Bridgton Pavilion are located in both Bridgton and Bongolethu (See **Figure 6**). Participating households were selected with convenience sampling when home owners were willing to take part. However, 2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey data revealed certain shortcomings such as the omission of residential addresses to record stand sizes and targeted questions for backyard renters themselves. With the 2015 survey, these deficiencies were addressed. The 2015 survey focussed on the same broad area as the 2013 survey, because of the high number of backyard dwellings identified there in 2013, the level of familiarity the research team now enjoyed in the community and the opportunity to compare certain findings in both data sets. The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey extended beyond properties immediately bordering the Bridgton Pavilion, thus penetrating both Bridgton and Bongolethu, and included only properties that presented informal backyard components, selected on the basis of convenience sampling, with willing landlord and backyard tenant respondents. A total of 103 properties were included in the survey, with different, targeted questionnaires distributed to landlords and backyard tenants respectively.

3.1.2 Response rate and limitations

Out of the 141 informal backyard rental structures recorded in the 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey, only 120 backyard households were represented in questionnaires, representing a sufficient sample size (Hashim, 2010). Additionally, the stand numbers of only 81 of the 103 properties included in the survey could be retrieved on the municipal valuation roll and be allocated stand sizes by the time statistical analysis took place. The intention of the 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey was to probe the informal backyard rental phenomenon with regards to spatial, demographic, economic and social trends, though only spatial aspects are reported on in this article.

3.1.3 Data analysis and interpretation of findings

Both 2013 and 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu questionnaires were drafted in collaboration with the North-West University's Statistical Consultancy Services, who also captured data and helped with statistical analysis and interpretation. Statistical analysis was conducted using IBM's SPSS software. It must be noted that as convenience sampling instead of random sampling was used, p-values are reported in this article for completeness sake but not interpreted.

Case study research was further supplemented by semi-structured interviews with municipal officials in selected departments of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality and other stakeholders who filled gaps in the literature and provided a more nuanced perspective, as referenced throughout. Please note that pseudonyms are used to cite these interviewees.

3.2 The case of Oudtshoorn

The town of Oudtshoorn, is located in South Africa's Western Cape Province, within the Eden District Municipality. Oudtshoorn is the main centre of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (OLM), which also includes scattered rural settlements (OLM, 2015a) (See **Figure 4**). The OLM covers an area of 353755 ha and is occupied by 95933 residents in 21910 households, according to the 2011 Census, whilst Oudtshoorn comprises 3696 ha (OLM, 2015b: 16) with a total population of roughly 61500 residents, classifying it as a small to medium sized town (OLM, 2015a: 15). Nearly 80% of the White population still resides in the original town of Oudtshoorn, with other racial groups mostly remaining in apartheid era townships such as Bridgton and Bongoletu (See **Figure 5**) and dispersed rural settlements (Wisner *et al.*, 2015: 174). Consequently the poorest citizens are still denied equitable access to the socio-economic opportunities pledged under the promise of democracy (OLM, 2015b: 40).

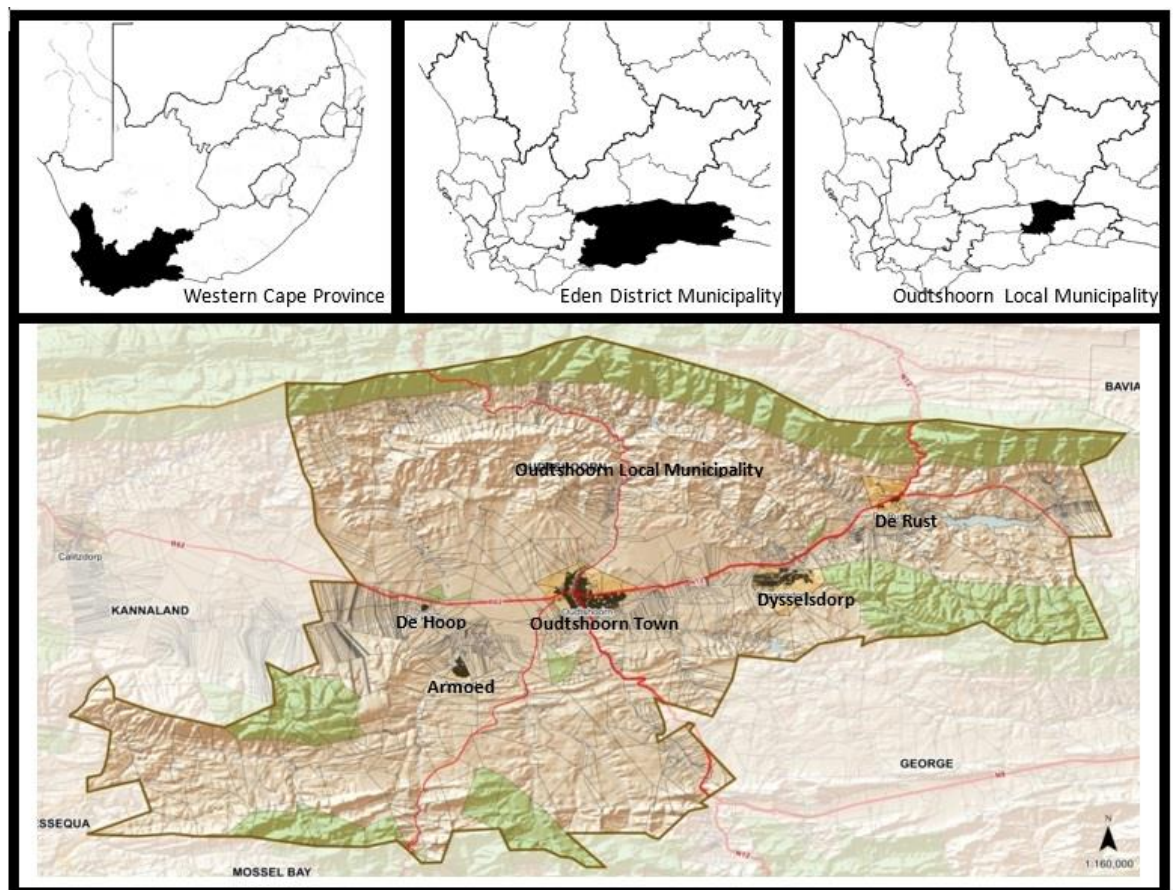


Figure 4: The OLM within South Africa



Figure 5: The spatial layout of Oudtshoorn town

The democratic age brought political emancipation, yet the OLM has struggled to establish political consistency. Two main political parties have competed for power, resulting in the OLM being placed under administration by the Provincial authority to address issues such as soaring municipal debt and service delivery failures. Infrastructure is a particularly sensitive topic in the OLM as Oudtshoorn's bulk infrastructural capacity, related to ultimate service delivery, is under stress. In this regard, both water and sewer reticulation networks are at capacity and no new development can be approved without updated master plans. The existing waste water treatment works is under stress, presenting spare hydraulic capacity, but with biological capacity exceeded. The electricity network is also at full capacity. Master plans are outdated and exclude recent developments and exact loading on electrical infrastructure and spare capacity cannot be determined accurately. Development decisions are thus made without a clear long term strategy on network expansion or capacity and urgent upgrades are needed. Furthermore, the town's time worn subterranean infrastructure has eroded road surfaces and potholes are common, with dirt roads servicing much of Oudtshoorn's township areas (WCPT, 2014; OLM, 2015a: 13). Inadequate infrastructure capacity will influence future residential, commercial and industrial development severely.

Of these, residential development is of particular concern when the housing demand for the OLM and subsequent servicing demands are considered. The following section reflects on housing demand in the OLM.

3.3 Housing demand in the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality

Determining Oudtshoorn's housing demand was somewhat challenging. The municipal housing waiting list reflected 14517 names in 2015 (WCHS, 2015: 4), whilst Gold (2015: interview) estimated that housing demand was closer to 16000. The total number of inadequately housed households (as those in informal dwellings, informal backyard structures and overcrowded dwellings) was recorded as 3942 (WCHS, 2015: 7). Seemingly based more on this figure, the Oudtshoorn Spatial Development Framework (OSDF) 2015 states that there is a need to make land available to accommodate a potential demand of 6000 new housing units, as 3000 low-income and 3000 middle income dwellings by 2020 (OSDF, 2015: 54).

In spite of recognising a demand of only 6000 units, the OSDF provides spatial planning for an additional 16000 new housing opportunities without referencing the housing waiting list or motivating why such vast areas are set aside for future housing development (OLM, 2015a). For the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements, the discrepancy between numbers recorded for inadequate housing and Housing Demand Database figures may be attributed to an overestimate on the database, significant growth since the Census, or errors in the interpretation and manipulation of Census figures to calculate housing status. Most worrying perhaps is that the Department states that, regardless of the large contradiction in figures: 'these two figures provide useful ranges for the planning of human settlement interventions' (WCHS, 2015: 24). This article accepts housing demand as the number of persons registered on the official housing database, as these names constitute demand regardless of the number of households currently residing informally or inadequately. Municipal officials (Christian, 2012: interview; Gold, 2015: interview) also provided figures corresponding more closely with database figures. The collective capacity of areas demarcated for housing in the future by the OSDF further seem to support housing database figures despite other contentions held therein.

The OLM currently delivers between 250 (Christian, 2012: interview) and 300 (Gold, 2015: interview) new subsidy units per annum. Accepting an average of 275 units per year and a subsidised housing demand of approximately 14517 units, it would take more than 52 years to comply with demand; discounting an annual increase in demand of 6% to 7% per annum (Gold, 2015: interview). Housing demand has been expressed most urgently in recent times by the establishment of a substantial informal settlement on Oudtshoorn's periphery, as discussed accordingly.

3.4 Informal settlement in Oudtshoorn – from Riemvasmaak to Rose Valley

Oudtshoorn's housing demand reached breaking point in 2010, when a major informal settlement was established following a land invasion on Oudtshoorn's south eastern boundary (See **Figure 5**). The informal settlement was initially known as Riemvasmaak, but has now been baptised Rose Valley (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013: 306). The Rose Valley site was incorporated into Oudtshoorn's urban edge in the apartheid decade of the 1980's (Lee, 2012: interview; Westen, 2013: interview), then intended for low-income housing. By founding a new settlement here, settlers effectively supported apartheid era spatial planning that banished Oudtshoorn's non-White residents to an expanding urban periphery on the town's eastern boundary. The actions of informal settlers could be excused as ignorant, perpetrated out of desperation to access housing and claim their Lefebvrian right to the city. Rose Valley was certainly established from such motivations, but another more obscure force was also at play. Many Rose Valley settlers were reportedly lured by politicians who promised housing in exchange for political support (Westen, 2013: interview). These promises were not left unfulfilled. By 2015, the first stage of the Rose Valley housing project was under way, perpetuating apartheid development under the banner of post-apartheid housing and service delivery. The project was justified by South Africa's informal settlement upgrading programme (ISUP) and the incremental upgrade of informal settlements in accordance (OLM, 2015a: 54).

Rose Valley is developed by ASLA following what is best described as RDP principles (Lee, 2012: interview). The project delivers detached housing units in a layout that provides 966 residential stands, a large school, library, police station, two crèches, three churches, six public open space stands and two business use stands. In addition, Rose Valley is linked to Oudtshoorn and its commercial and employment opportunities by an added entrance on the N12 motorway and a public transport route to be operated by minibus taxis (Westen, 2013: interview). Phase one of the Rose Valley extension has now been completed, delivering 299 units. Phase two will provide 335 units, whilst phase three is planned to deliver 332 units and enhanced service sites (Dickens, 2016: interview). Residential stands are delivered at an average 150m² (Dickens, 2016: interview) with dwellings constituting 40m², consisting of two bedrooms, one bathroom and an open plan living-kitchen area (Daughters, 2015: interview). Despite claims in the OSDF, Dickens (2016: interview) maintains that Oudtshoorn's bulk infrastructure has sufficient capacity to cope with phases one to three of the Rose Valley extension.

Rose Valley is of value to this article, not only because it perpetuates urban sprawl, but also considering where the majority of Rose Valley's settlers migrated from. The 2012 Rose Valley survey found that 61% of respondents relocated to Rose Valley from the backyards of formal dwellings elsewhere in Oudtshoorn, with the majority of those (68.85%) coming from the townships of Bridgton (52.46%) and Bongoletu (16.39%). On its part, the Rose Valley extension may remain exclusively formal with some difficulty, as new RDP settlements provide new locations for backyard tenancy (Lemanski, 2009: 474; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013: 663) instigating the 're-informalisation' of formal housing and the overburdening of service networks (Tshangana, 2013: 11). Robins (2002: 516) likens the way informal backyard rentals emerge from the settling dust in new housing schemes to the fortitude of the mythical phoenix. In the 2012 Rose Valley survey 39% of respondents foresaw that informal backyard rentals would be included in their survival strategies once they received their subsidised homes. Backyard densification has in fact already started, with Dickens (2016: interview) stating that new shacks were being erected in Rose Valley as the first construction phase was under way. These shacks were addressed by the OLM's legal department and removed as they lacked municipal approval (Daughters, 2015: interview).

The succeeding section investigates the case study area, as the origin of many Rose Valley settlers and an area still accommodating a significant backyard tenant population.

3.5 The Bridgton and Bongoletu study area

The study area (See **Figure 6**) was selected based on Rose Valley findings on the origin of settlers and concentrated in a central part of both the Bridgton and Bongoletu townships, well-known as a community hub owing to landmark features such as the Bridgton Pavilion, Bridgton Post Office and Bongoletu Public Library with a high concentration of informal backyard dwellings. Morange (2002: 10) found that in Port Elizabeth's Walmer township '...most backyard shacks concentrate in the 'old location', around the heart of the township: the community centre...', as also reflected in the study area. The following section mainly reports on the findings of the 2015 Bridgton/Bongoletu survey in terms of number of respondents reached, the size of main and backyard dwellings, dwelling unit and population densities and service access, with other surveys and interviews cited where appropriate.

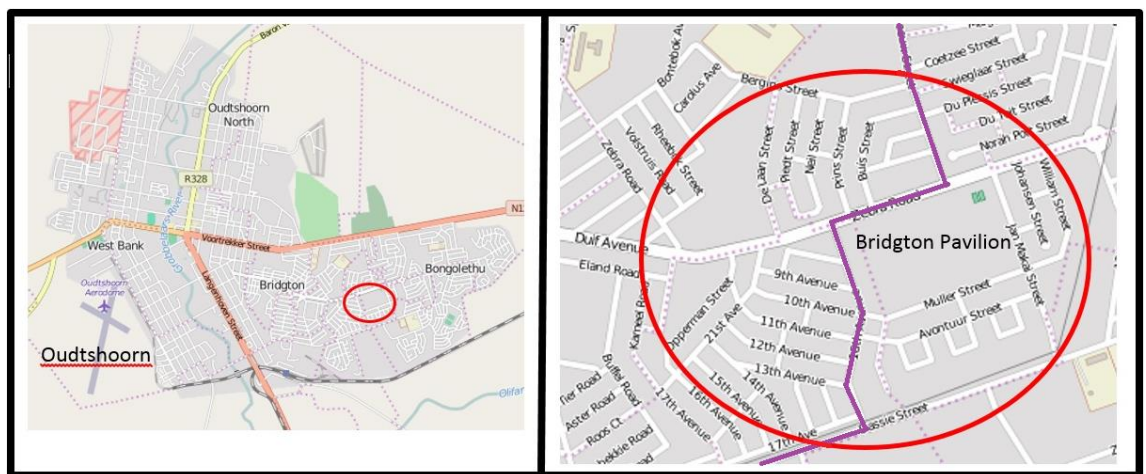


Figure 6: The Bridgton/Bongolethu case study area

3.5.1 Results and discussion based on Bridgton/Bongolethu case study findings

3.5.1.i Introduction and demographic findings

The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey reached 244 households, as 103 (42.21%) main households and 141 (57.79%) informal backyard households. Of these, 223 were represented in questionnaires, as 103 (46.19%) main households and 120 (53.81%) informal backyard households. The 223 households included accommodated 1023 persons, 577 (56.40%) in main dwellings and 446 (43.60%) in informal backyard structures. An average of 5.60 people ($s=2.928$) were housed in main dwellings, whilst a mean of 3.72 ($s=1.74$) were accommodated in each informal backyard structure.

If we accepted Census 2011 data indicating a total of 990 informal backyard dwellings in the OLM (WCHS, 2015), then this study reached 14.24% ($n=141$) of all backyard households. However, accepting this is problematic as this figure discounts growth in the sector post 2011 and would imply that 14.24% of backyard dwellings were located in the backyards of 0.47% ($n=103$) of the OLM's 21910 households. This seems unlikely given the proliferation of informal backyard dwellings throughout the town's low-income suburbs, evident in satellite imagery and site visits.

The Census figure is further queried considering the extent of the OLM's housing waiting list and that the database does not include all backyard dwellers. It is common nationally for many informal backyard tenants not to be registered on the housing waiting list (Carey, 2009: 11). In the 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey only 70.8% of backyard households were represented on the housing waiting list. This article thus concurs with others who relayed that informal backyard rentals have been underreported in official surveys and the national Census (Carey, 2009: 12; Watson, 2009: 5; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014: 22).

Underrepresentation on the housing waiting list and underreporting in the national Census suggest that the total number of informal backyard structures and tenants in Oudtshoorn might be considerably higher than reflected on municipal spreadsheets and that real numbers remain unclear (Daughters, 2015: interview). Regardless of numbers, backyard structures tend to display some general characteristics.

3.5.1.ii The Structures Themselves

The majority of informal backyard structures in Oudtshoorn consist of one to two rooms (Daughters, 2015: interview), with the informal dwellings surveyed presenting an average of 1.87 ($s=1.053$) rooms per structure. Of backyard dwellings, 46.7% of structures presented one room, followed by two rooms at 30.8% and three rooms at 14.2%. Only 15.5% of backyard structures presented more than four rooms, with one showing seven rooms. In total, informal backyard dwellings provided 224 rooms, with an average of two persons per backyard room. Cramer's V test provided an effect size of 0.374 ($p=0$), indicating a practical visible significant association and medium effect between number of people and rooms per backyard structure. Thus more rooms generally equalled more people.

Landlord dwellings presented an average of 4.87 rooms per structure, including bathrooms, providing 502 rooms in total and an average of 1.5 persons per room. For main dwellings, Cramer's V test provided an effect size of 0.277 ($p=0.199$), indicating small to medium effect between number of people residing in the main house and number of rooms provided. The mean of all households included ($n=223$) produced an average of 1.82 persons per room ($s=1.27$). Comparing the results of Cramer's V test for main and tenant households for number of people residing and number of rooms provided, a relatively small difference in effect size was observed, with backyard structures displaying a larger effect size. This is expected, given that backyard dwellings are constructed around the needs of tenants, whilst main homes are fairly uniform housing products that in the majority of cases had not been extended.

3.5.1.iii Findings related to Dwelling unit and Population Densities

The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey revealed that respondent properties showed a mean of 1.37 ($s=0.7$) informal backyard rental structures per stand. The majority (73.8%) of properties presented one informal backyard structure, whilst 8.7% showed three or more backyard structures. No respondents reported more than four informal backyard structures. Net residential density (See **Section 2.2** of this article) was employed to calculate dwelling units and population per hectare by dividing the total number of units and occupants presented by the total area of the stands included, following Brewer and Grant (2015). Stand sizes in the 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey showed a mean of 315.11m^2 ($s=44.096$) and ranged from 214m^2 to 513m^2 (Based on the 81 properties for which this data was available). Extrapolating a mean stand size of 315.11m^2 to all 103 properties yielded a total area estimated at 32456m^2 , or 3.25 ha. Density as total number of dwellings per land area could then be expressed as 244 dwellings per 3.25 ha or 75 dwellings per ha. Without informal backyard dwellings, density would be 103 dwellings per 3.25 ha, or 32 dwellings per ha. Thus, informal backyard dwellings more than doubled dwelling unit densities. Considering population density for the 223 households represented in the 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey, a total population of 1023 persons in both main and tenant households related to 1023 people per 3.25 ha, or 315 people per ha. If figures were extrapolated to the 21 backyard dwellings unrepresented in questionnaires, this figure could increase to an estimated 339 people per ha, based on a mean population of 3.72 persons per backyard dwelling synthesised from the data. Without backyard tenants, total population density would be 178 people per ha. These findings are significant, yet inaccurate in capturing the true extent of backyard densification.

The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey included only properties that presented backyard dwellings and thus logically provided that dwelling unit densities were doubled and population densities increased substantially. To overcome this bias, the 2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey may be of value. The 2013 survey included 101 properties surrounding the Bridgton Pavilion whether properties accommodated backyard tenants or not. Data showed that 53% of respondent properties presented informal backyard rental structures.

Of the 172 households included, 101 (58.72%) were main dwellings and 71 (41.28%) were informal backyard structures. The 2013 survey excluded stand numbers, thus stand sizes could not be retrieved. However, assuming an average of 315.11m² (as provided above), the 2013 survey provided a dwelling unit density of 172 dwelling units per 3.18 ha or 54 dwelling units per ha. Without informal backyard structures, density would be 101 dwelling units per 3.15 ha, or 32 dwellings per ha. The 2013 survey included 510 people in main dwellings and 198 people in backyard accommodation. As a result, a total population density of 223 people per ha was recorded, which without informal backyard tenancy would be 160 people per ha. Surveys are synthesised in **Table 9** for ease of comparison.

Table 9: Summary of density findings for 2013 and 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu Surveys

	2013 Bridgton/Bongolethu Survey	2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu Survey
Total dwelling units	172 dwelling units	244 dwelling units
Total main dwelling units	101 dwelling units	103 dwelling units
Total backyard dwellings	71 dwelling units	141 dwelling units
Total area	3.18 ha	3.25 ha
Du/ha total	54 dwelling units per ha	75 dwelling units per ha
Dwelling units per ha without backyard dwellings	32 dwelling units per ha	32 dwelling units per ha
Total population per ha	223 people per ha	315-339 people per ha
Population per ha without backyard tenants	160 people per ha	178 people per ha

According to **Table 9** informal backyard rentals increased both dwelling unit and population per ha considerably in both surveys. Without backyard dwellings the area would display dwelling unit densities below that of new low-income housing projects developed under state subsidies of approximately 40 dwelling units per ha. The following segment is dedicated to the impacts of the case study's backyard densification on issues related to urban sprawl, as discussed in **Section 2.1** of this article.

3.5.1.iv Reflections on Sprawl Issues

The value of backyard densification in counteracting urban sprawl is further highlighted by the socio-economic characteristics of those in low-income housing. The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey found that the majority of landlord and tenant households reported a monthly household income between R1001.00 and R1500.00. Consequently, private vehicle ownership was extremely low, with 10.7% of main households and 5.8% of backyard households reporting private vehicle ownership. The vast majority of respondents thus relied on the goodwill of others, walking or expensive minibus taxis to reach destinations. In South Africa, commuters who use minibus taxis may spend an average 26% of their income on commuting (Kerr, 2015: 16). Given the low levels of private vehicle ownership, especially in the informal backyard rental sector, the effects of relocating tenants to new low-income housing projects on the periphery, such as Rose Valley, were again stressed.

The 2015 survey further showed that backyard tenure was stable and secure. Backyard tenants reported occupying their structures for a mean of six and a half years, echoing findings in other studies (Morange, 2002; Carey, 2009; Lemanski, 2009; Watson, 2009). As such, the sudden settlement of Rose Valley underscores the real influence of political persuasion and the allure of home ownership. The 2015 survey found that 75.8% of backyard respondents would only leave current accommodation in favour of homeownership. The Rose Valley invasion thus further evidences the challenges related to backyarding as a popular but unideal form of accommodation. Here the negatives of increased densities (See **Table 8**) may come into play and be intensified under low-income, mainly unemployed populations (Cameron, 2015: interview).

Of these negatives, over capacitating infrastructure networks is a main concern, especially where existing bulk infrastructure is already under stress, as experienced in Oudtshoorn (See **Section 3.2** of this article). The following section examines infrastructure access for backyard tenants in the case study to underscore the potential impacts informal backyard tenants may have on bulk capacity.

3.5.1.v Infrastructure Considerations and Service Access

The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey revealed high levels of service access for backyard households. As such, 80.8% of backyard respondents had access to electricity, with 77.5% accessing power *via* informal connections from the main home. The remaining 4.3% were serviced by a formal connection. Almost all (98.3%) backyard respondents claimed access to basic sanitation, 6.7% *via* an external, communal lavatory, reflecting practice in older apartheid and some RDP developments to provide ablution facilities outside the house (Gardner, 2009: 22). The majority (89.2%) accessed a lavatory within the main house. For refuse removal, 96.7% of backyard respondents relied on municipal waste removal. Data showed that 97.5% of backyard respondents had access to water, 59.2% through a communal tap on the property and 40% through a tap in the main dwelling. **Table 10** synthesises levels of service access from the 2015 survey versus average levels of service access for the OLM.

Table 10: Service access for backyard respondents in study area vs average access in the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality

	2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu Survey	Average for Oudtshoorn Local Municipality	% Difference
Electricity	80.8%	85.3%	-4.5%
Sanitation	98.3%	77.2%	21.1%
Refuse removal	96.7%	78%	18.7%
Piped Water	97.5%	74.5%	23%
Aggregate %			14.56%

Source: Own construction based on OLM (2015b)

Table 10 shows that the informal backyard households surveyed enjoyed improved service access, at an aggregate of 14.56%, compared to averages for the OLM, with the exception of access to electricity. In a broader sense, only 4.6% of informal backyard households go completely unserved in the OLM when access to water, electricity and sanitation are combined as a single indicator (WCHS, 2015:21).

Other studies have confirmed that backyard tenants generally enjoy excellent access to basic services (Gardner, 2009: 27; Lemanski, 2009: 477; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013: 660). Note that these levels of service access are not guaranteed, with examples from around South Africa where some backyard dwellings are unable to access formal ablutions and potable water consistently (Rubin & Gardner, 2013: 21).

4. Conclusion

This article has added to the pool of established literature on core planning concepts such as urban sprawl and density, accepting that low residential densities contribute to urban sprawl at the cost of urban compaction and sustainability. The review of post-apartheid South Africa and related planning literature showed that the country has failed to deliver integrated human settlements, instead producing sprawling, low-density settlements that replicate an apartheid geography, conflicting with sustainable development aspirations (Turok, 2016b: 11). Literature findings were reflected in the case study of Oudtshoorn. Here a new low-density low-cost housing project has been located on the fringe of an apartheid era township, as the Rose Valley extension, in response to a crippling housing demand of more than 14500 units. Rose Valley and its upgrade into a standard low-cost housing project represents a microcosm of South Africa's low-cost housing sector; encapsulating aspects such as extreme housing demand, informal land invasion, formalisation, limited delivery capacity, low-density housing development, urban sprawl, and importantly, issues related to informal backyard accommodation. The last related to Rose Valley in the number of settlers who previously occupied informal backyard rentals, particularly in the more centrally located Bridgton and Bongoletu townships, and the renewed opportunities for backyard densification the extension will present, even as more aggressive action in prevention of illegal construction and small stand sizes seem to signify a more restrictive attitude towards future informal backyard infill.

The literature emphasised the value of informal backyard accommodation in densifying otherwise very low-density townships, tested in the empirical section of this article through an analysis of data from 2013 and 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu surveys. Quantifying the level of densification in the case study showed that informal backyard dwellings had increased dwelling unit density by at least 68.75% and augmented population density by at least 39.38%. Consequently, housing a considerable number of tenants who would otherwise occupy land informally on a sprawling urban periphery, such as Rose Valley, within the existing urban footprint where they use existing services.

However, as shown in the literature, the shared use of infrastructure is cause for concern when infrastructural capacity is considered for most low-income subsidised housing suburbs. In the Bridgton/Bongolethu case and shown for Oudtshoorn in general, backyard tenants enjoy excellent access to services, thus placing substantial pressure on Oudtshoorn's infrastructure in a context where all bulk services are functioning at full capacity and may already be overextended; exacerbated in circumstances of high municipal debt and existing service delivery failures.

In addition to excellent service access, research revealed that informal backyard tenants in the case study generally enjoy security of tenure. As such, the mass exodus to Rose Valley indicates that backyard structures are far from ideal, that homeownership is a significant draw and that backyarders are vulnerable to political manipulation. Rose Valley testifies to the importance of supporting and sustaining the informal backyard rental sector, if only to thwart urban sprawl by similar schemes in the future. Such initiatives will depend on accurate data regarding backyard housing numbers for which this article has shown Census data may be inadequate.

Accordingly, it is recommended that local authorities specifically, undertake informal backyard sector surveys and infrastructural evaluations to determine the status quo and take appropriate action based there upon - Ultimately, bringing backyard dwellings out of the shadows of obscurity, as *terra incognita*, and placing them at the centre of future planning initiatives.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE TWO

HOW INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTALS REALISE THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL ASSET VALUE OF SUBSIDISED HOMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Research Article Two was prepared for submission to the DHET accredited journal, Housing Studies, published by Taylor and Francis and approved by ISI, IBSS and Scopus. The journal was selected based on its impact factor of 1.309 in 2015, placing it 14/39 for Urban Studies; as well as the journal's intention to explore the linkages between housing and other areas of social and economic policy; the economics of housing consumption and housing finance; demographic and social trends; the changing role of housing tenures; and issues of sustainability and housing development, amongst others. A copy of author guidelines are provided as **Annexure K**, clarification on the main and co-author's contribution and permission to include the article in this study are provided as **Annexure N**. Please note that the article, as presented on the following page, is not provided in the journal's preferred font or size to maintain the uniformity of this thesis.

HOW INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTALS REALISE THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL ASSET VALUE OF SUBSIDISED HOMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Abstract

This article engages with the concept of subsidised housing as an asset in South Africa by surpassing the one-dimensional view of homes as financial assets favoured by the state, based on the value of formal property rights, Hernando de Soto's notions on titling and concepts such as a scalable property ladder. This research surpasses the onus on the financial in favour of an asset trinity, in which low-income homes are recognised as multidimensional assets in terms of financial *and* economic *and* social value. The article states that financial asset value may be weakest in the trinity and that poverty-stricken home owners rely specifically on the economic asset value of their homes to survive as homeowners, specifically by accommodating informal backyard tenants. Findings are evidenced in the case study of Bridgton and Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, and a selection of low-income households that provide informal backyard accommodation there. This article is presented in support of the informal backyard rental sector as a vital component of South Africa's low-income housing sector in need of targeted and contextualised policy intervention by urban planners who are sensitised to the multidimensional asset value of subsidised housing as supported by informal backyard rentals.

Key words: *Housing assets; subsidised housing; South Africa; informal backyard rentals; asset trinity*

1. Introduction

Providing housing is on the agenda in most cities of the world (Gunter, 2013:278; Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015:340; Ball, 2016:182) as part of urban development, social and economic policies (Zhang & Ball, 2016:161), enthused by the call for sustainable development (Ciegis *et al.*, 2009:34; Brunner, 2012:5; Claes *et al.*, 2012:10; McCormick *et al.*, 2013:4; Childers *et al.*, 2014). Housing has become particularly critical in the developing world, especially in regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa (Croese *et al.*, 2016:237; Rizvi, 2016) where the majority of low-income households in need of housing, are accommodated in informal settlements (Zhang & Ball, 2016:161). Post-apartheid South Africa is no different, except perhaps when its resources to address its housing needs are compared with others in the developing world (Rust, 2008:11). As such, South Africa has delivered more than three million subsidised homes to qualifying beneficiaries since 1994 (Croese *et al.*, 2016:240). These subsidised homes are intended to provide those previously disadvantaged by the inequalities of apartheid and still trapped in poverty in democratic South Africa with adequate and affordable housing (SERI, 2013:1). (For more on the concept of affordable housing, see Andrews (1998); (2011:85); UN-Habitat (2011:9); Kropczynski and Dyk (2012); Brueckner and Lall (2015:49); Ball (2016:185).

Housing is commonly regarded as the main asset held by households, representing the potential to accumulate wealth (Quigley & Raphael, 2004; Arku & Harris, 2005:895; Alaghbari *et al.*, 2011:85; Brueckner & Lall, 2015:1). Such assertions have become main motivations in South African housing policy; providing homeownership to help the poor out of poverty through the conferral of housing assets. Yet, the concept of housing as an asset is multifaceted and many argue more complex than generally understood by South African policy. As such it is important to clarify what 'housing as an asset' entails.

To become an asset, housing has to meet three criteria, captured by Rust (2007:43) as housing as a financial asset by proving an inheritance, equity potential and the opportunity to accumulate wealth and access finance; housing as an economic asset through which it promotes sustainable livelihoods through income generating opportunities such as home-based enterprises and rentals; and finally housing as a social asset in the form of a family safety net and an instrument of citizenship building and neighbourhood consolidation (Rust, 2007; Rust *et al.*, 2009).

This article accepts the concept of housing as an asset based on this trinity, but focuses primarily on financial and economic aspects in South Africa's subsidised housing context through the lens of the country's informal backyard rental sector and from the purview of urban planning. Informal rental options are popular throughout the global South, in Asia, Latin America and Africa, (Rakodi, 1995; Kumar, 1996; Watson, 2009b) and South Africa now accommodates in excess of 756000 of these types of structures (StatsSA, 2014). Yet the country's informal backyard rental sector has remained without targeted policy guidance and an official definition is yet to be agreed on. Accordingly, this article defines an informal backyard rental as: 'An informal structure erected by a recognised property owner or tenant within the boundaries of a formally registered property that contains at least one formal dwelling unit. The materials and construction practices used do not comply with National Norms and Standards with the structure constructed attached or adjacent to an existing formal dwelling'.

The article is initiated with a literature review that covers core concepts and theories related to housing as an asset. The first of these, as the concept of 'property rights', is intended to provide background on the idea of property as central to traditional perspectives on economic development through trade and to introduce the notion of informality in opposition, or indeed support, of such systems. After this, the article turns to the work of Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto and his views on the role of formal title and the value of informal property in raising capital in the developing world. The de Soto thread is pulled through to a discussion on post-apartheid South Africa's focus on subsidized homes as assets intended to alleviate poverty on large scale, following the metaphor of the housing ladder; a metaphor proven untenable.

The contributions made by the informal backyard rental sector in realising the asset value of housing is approached in the empirical section of this article, based on case study research in the Bridgton and Bongoletu townships, Oudtshoorn. The methodology followed for this empirical research is discussed in the empirical section.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Reviewing the concept of property rights

Apartheid left a legacy of deep seeded weak and insecure property rights for Black South Africans (Kingwill *et al.*, 2006:57) perpetuated in a lasting culture of informal settlement and a lingering sense of dispossession in post-apartheid townships (Gunter, 2013:279). Property is thus fundamental to planning and development (Porter *et al.*, 2011:115) in post-apartheid South Africa and it is from this assertion that the proceeding section delves into the concepts of property rights and informality in general.

A property right refers to the authority to determine how a resource is used (Alchain, 1987), who benefits from said resource, who is excluded and how such rights may be transferred (Segal & Whinston, 2010:2), delineated by societal rules and encapsulated by the idea of possession as ownership. Well-defined property rights are regarded as a vital component of economic development (Aragón, 2015:43), following the role of possession in the exchange of goods and services (Slaev, 2016:31). The emphasis on property ownership finds its foundation in the liberal-economistic model, in which land ownership is unitary and stable with one identifiable owner with consistent rights, traditionally delineated between land owned and controlled by the state, in reference to public property rights, and individually owned land in reference to private property rights (Porter *et al.*, 2011:115). This sort of rigid demarcation with regards to ownership supports the concept of 'parcellisation' which in turn supports a formal land management system in which properties are formally registered.

Such registration and land management systems result from several specialised technical and administrative processes, including planning, surveying and conveyancing to prepare property for registration and uphold legal and technical integrity (Kingwill *et al.*, 2006:58) and limit the use of said parcels through zoning regulations, for example.

However, not all property is held within a formal registry system, especially in, but not limited to, the developing world. In this regard, urbanisation in much of the developing world is driven by settlers who hold informal or illegal rights to the land they occupy (Munshifwa & Mooya, 2016:133). These informal occupiers function within a frequently contested network of *de facto* property rights, regularly faced by antagonism from those who oppose their claims to the land they occupy, use and even exchange (Watson, 2011:152). Much of this contestation stems from planning systems that acknowledge formal ownership and exchange rights, but not the more vague use rights exercised by others in more communal or customary arrangements (Porter *et al.*, 2011:117). As such, property rights that exist beyond the rights of the individual and the formal are often regarded as part of an anarchistic system. Yet, communal, informal and customary norms may provide their own systems of order and exchange (Musembi, 2007; Joireman, 2008; Kiddle, 2010; Goldfinch, 2015:88) more suited to the contexts of the developing world and the needs of its people.

In realization of more contextualised approaches, more pragmatic planners have debated ownership as a right of exchange as opposed to use in the normative quest to establish a just society (Porter *et al.*, 2011:117). With this, comes the insight that property rights and usage rights do not always refer to exclusive, individual, private rights. Various forms of traditional, communal, state owned or usage rights can coexist and overlap and do not necessarily exist outside the formal and legal framework, nor do these types of arrangements necessarily oppose capitalism or economic development (Goldfinch, 2015:89-90). From a perspective that accepts common ground between the formal and informal (McFarlane & Waibel, 2012:2), a different view to the informal as illegal and disorderly may be achieved in which informality may be acknowledged as real property (Porter *et al.*, 2011:117).

Recognising informal property is closely associated with the work of Peruvian economist, Hernando de Soto and his views on extra-legal property and building on established initiatives (Schirmer, 2006:68; Pillay, 2008:101; Sjaastad & Cousins, 2009:6).

2.2 Hernando de Soto's dead capital debate

De Soto hypothesised that poverty in the developing world is perpetuated by the inability of those in the informal economy to utilise capital goods optimally, due to regulatory and political inefficiencies, giving way to dysfunctional property, information and financial markets that represent 'dead capital' (Geyer, 2014:36). For de Soto, the poor already have access to all the material resources/capital, needed to secure prosperity (Schirmer, 2006:68), in the form of homes in slums, favelas, squatter and/or customary land ownership arrangements (Goldfinch, 2015:87). Such resources however remain 'dead', because their possessors lack formal and officially registered ownership rights over their assets (Pillay, 2008:97; Marais *et al.*, 2014:60). Following de Soto, these dead material resources, as agglomerated assets, may be transformed into 'live' capital goods when market inefficiencies are overcome through entitlement and assigning de jure property rights to the property in which de facto rights are already established (Geyer, 2014:36). As an outcome, dead capital may be mobilised and tenure security bestowed, access to credit secured and economic activity encouraged, investment in the home incentivised, municipal revenues increased, land administration improved and land markets made more efficient (Payne, 2008; Shipton, 2009; Barry & Roux, 2014:30; Webster *et al.*, 2016:462). As suggested in the previous section, the value of de Soto's proposals in the context of this article, lies not in his call for formalisation, but in his support for development that builds on existing initiatives, energies and assets (Schirmer, 2006:68). De Soto's dead capital debate is not based on the complete integration of the informal into the formal, but rather on a paced and incremental process of establishing innovative avenues that lead to eventual integration from a less than perfect status quo. As such, an intermediate approach to tenure and land administration is advocated in which a mid-point is found between formal and informal systems (Pillay, 2008:101).

The de Soto thesis has not escaped criticism. De Soto is critiqued for his solicitation of modernist theory (Pillay, 2008:99) that supports an increasingly contested historical model of evolution in which the course to development is set in the global North and forced on the global South (See for example Harrison (2006); Blanco *et al.* (2009); Watson (2009a); Healey (2012); Visser (2013); Campbell *et al.* (2014); Watson (2014a)). De Soto is further criticised for his oversimplification of the informal economy and of poverty as a symptom of a lack of formal title, his inaccuracies on title deeds as adequate security for loans, his indifference to the failures of numerous titling programmes attempted around the global South and an overall lack of empirical substantiation (Pillay, 2008:101; Lemanski, 2011:58; Campbell, 2013; Goldfinch, 2015:91; Barry & Roux, 2016:48; Croese *et al.*, 2016:239). Barry and Roux (2014:28) state: 'Titling does bring about social and economic benefits under the right conditions, but it is not a panacea for economic development'. De jure rights are no guarantee of tenure security, access to credit, home improvements or service access, nor do the absence of these rights preclude the accrual of these benefits (Payne, 2002). And so, title deeds do not 'automatically make capitalism work for the poor' (Lemanski, 2011:73). For more critiques on de Soto's work, see Bunting (2000); Bourbeau (2001); Granér *et al.* (2007); Ahiakpor (2008); Geyer (2014); Goldfinch (2015).

Despite these critiques and failings, many have been seduced by the promise of formalisation through legal land title to revive dead capital (Goldfinch, 2015:87; Tiple, 2015:416). There have been countless supporters of the virtues of home ownership and titling (Barry & Roux, 2014:28; Croese *et al.*, 2016:239). Important international role players have joined the crusade. The World Bank for example, advocates land titling as a mechanism to increase private investment in the global South (Briggs, 2011:131) and de Soto's notions on formalisation have been no less influential in South African policy making (RSA, 2004; P&DM, 2006:7; Pillay, 2008:99; McFarlane, 2012:92; Cirolia, 2014a). The de Soto influence is especially pronounced in South Africa in references to the country's first and second economies, an analogy famously introduced by former president Thabo Mbeki (Pillay, 2008:99). The first economy references the characteristics of economic systems in the developed world, advanced, sophisticated, based on globally competitive skilled labour and representing wealth and resources.

The second economy references the characteristics of an informal, relegated and unskilled economy, maintained by the formally unemployed and typified by poverty and disadvantage (Hassen, 2006; Kingwill *et al.*, 2006:81).

These two sectors represent the breadth of South Africa's economy and its structural disconnection; with policy tasked with bridging the divide (Royston, 2006:34; Rust *et al.*, 2009). In this regard, the de Soto influence is unmistakable in economic policies and strategies such as the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (AsgiSA) of 2007, that supports the formalisation of land tenure as an intervention to be introduced into the second economy (Royston, 2006:34). In terms of spatial planning, the second economy metaphor is used to focus policy attention on persistent inequality, disadvantage and forms of marginalisation and how these lingering elements limit economic opportunities and lock many people into poverty. In fact, South Africa's contemporary spatial planning framework is entrenched in the need to coordinate and integrate development and alter the distorted spatial patterns of the past, aimed at promoting growth and equity, support sustainable development (Goebel, 2007:292; Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:361), improve household welfare and address poverty (Bhorat *et al.*, 2012:77; Cirolia, 2014a). South African housing policy has been particularly, yet controversially instrumental in this regard, as elaborated on below.

2.3 Subsidised housing against poverty in post-apartheid South Africa

The 'National Housing Subsidy Scheme' has been based on delivering home ownership rights to the previously disadvantaged (Kingwill *et al.*, 2007:57) in an attempt to address poverty progressively (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:653). The post-apartheid drive for low-cost housing was initiated in 1994 with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), with a definitive shift towards housing as assets following the neoliberal Breaking New Ground (BNG) housing policy of 2004 (Royston, 2006:34; Cross, 2008; Rust *et al.*, 2009). BNG initiated this shift by introducing terms such as 'housing assets', 'a secondary housing market' and 'climbing the housing ladder', *inter alia* (Marais & Cloete, 2015:263).

Following this shift, the housing, or property ladder concept, strongly rooted in de Soto's work (Charlton, 2010:6), has remained as a main motivator in the housing programme. Through the property ladder the state assumes that new subsidised housing beneficiaries gain shelter, as well as a stake in the capitalist property market, with the security and upward mobility generally related to homeownership (Lemanski, 2011:58). Accordingly, ascent up the property ladder is instigated by the conferral of a new subsidised home accompanied by a title deed as proof of ownership of a home that can be improved and sold over time. Once sold, beneficiaries are expected to use proceeds as a deposit, secure mortgage finance and purchase an improved home situated on a higher rung on the symbolic property ladder. The ladder is climbed further by repeating the process several times (P&DM, 2006:10). The entry-level property sold, is now available again for purchase by the next low-income household, thereby incorporating subsidised housing into the housing supply chain and extending the tax base (Charlton, 2010:6). The property ladder envisioned for subsidised housing beneficiaries is illustrated by **Figure 7**:

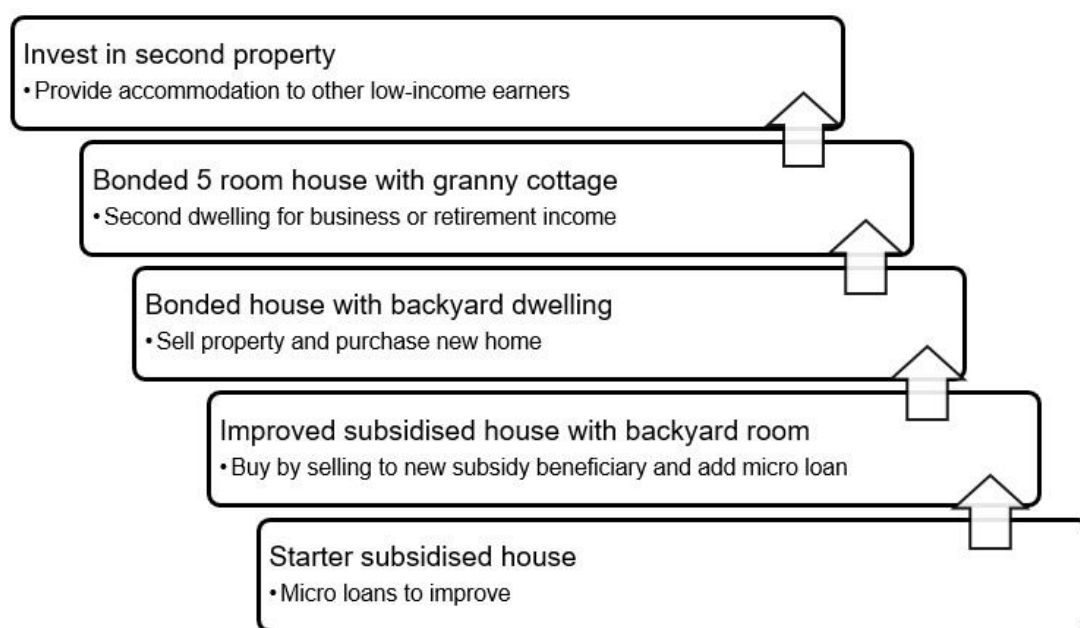


Figure 7: A simplistic view of South Africa's property ladder in the low-income housing market

Source: Adapted from Rust (2007:51)

The property ladder metaphor is idealistic at best; based on assumptions that simply do not hold in South Africa's subsidised housing market, discussed accordingly. The idea of scalability is primarily flawed due to an overestimate on the financial capacities of those who qualify for and benefit from housing subsidies. South Africa now presents several targeted housing subsidy interventions based on different household income brackets.

The lower-income tier, as those households earning below R3500 per month qualify for a fully subsidised home. Those earning between R3500 and R15000 per month, as the 'gap market' qualify for Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme (FLISP) assistance to reduce the loan amount required to secure mortgage funding (Rust, 2012; Crighton, 2014). The latter with limited success (Steedley, 2014:4). Research suggests that households who earn less than R3500 per month are unable to meet their families' basic needs (Tomlinson, 2006a:23) and that it is generally impossible for them to service a mortgage bond or even micro loans. Subsidised housing beneficiaries may thus be regarded as cash poor and asset rich (Lemanski, 2009:474), if subsidised homes can be classified as such. Homeownership demands certain expenses such as service charges, taxes and maintenance obligations that many low-income beneficiaries simply cannot meet (Goebel, 2007:292; Cross, 2008; Rust *et al.*, 2009:52; Barry & Roux, 2016:49). For such households, home improvements and formal extensions are plainly not realistically achievable goals. Furthermore, it seems as though even those who could afford such improvements rarely save enough money to do so, as they yield to the pressure to enter formal suburban life with the purchase of electrical appliances, costly modern furniture and other household goods (Robins, 2002:535; Lemanski, 2009:479).

The validity of the property ladder concept is further called into question when the local low-cost housing market is considered. The housing market is comprised of the primary market, referring to new housing stock established following a township establishment (cadastral) process that spans from initial land identification to the transfer of titles, and the secondary housing market, referring to the sale and transfer of previously built and owned housing stock with willing sellers, buyers and finance (Tomlinson, 2006a:25).

Despite the critical role played by title deeds in securing loans or selling a home, held as central in the conferral of property rights according to the property register and in the property ladder elucidation, a substantial proportion of subsidised housing has not been transferred to the names of entitled individuals in post-apartheid South Africa, and thus provide tenure that is not legally supported (Rust *et al.*, 2009:54). Consequently, residents cannot engage formally in the secondary housing market, undermining household mobility and the asset value of state housing investments (Pillay, 2008:102).

Yet, a lack of title deed has not prevented those who are not officially registered as owners from trading their properties (Rust *et al.*, 2009:54; Ashton, 2012) and partaking in an active residential property market in the low-income segment (Lall *et al.*, 2007:28; Barry & Roux, 2014; Geyer, 2014:46). As such, it is not uncommon for housing beneficiaries to sell their subsidy homes (Robins, 2002:518; Poulsen & Silverman, 2005).

Various studies have reported on the substantial number of properties being sold or inherited *sans* the registration of transactions (Robins, 2002; Smit, 2008; Vorster & Tolkien, 2008; Payne *et al.*, 2009; SERI, 2013; Barry & Roux, 2014; Marais *et al.*, 2014; Barry & Roux, 2016), either because owners have not yet received title deeds or formal transaction costs are too high, complex and inaccessible for the low-income segment (Pillay, 2008:98; Barry & Roux, 2014:28). As these types of transactions go undocumented and therefore untraceable, countless subsidy homes are sold before new beneficiaries have even set foot in them (Robins, 2002:541), or after a very short period of occupancy, thus ignoring the time embargos on sales set by the state (Ashton, 2012; Geyer, 2014:45). Off-register transactions further incite tenure insecurity and render properties ineligible for mortgage funding as ownership is contested from a legal perspective (Barry & Roux, 2016), resulting in the re-informalisation of a housing process intended to formalise the country's housing stock (Marais *et al.*, 2014:64).

The pervasiveness of these types of transactions have continued to underscore the misalignment between the needs and capacities of those in low-income subsidised housing and the prescripts of the formal property market, as these sorts of informal transactions may facilitate the ‘hyper-mobility and domestic fluidity’ poorer households require without restrictive costs and documentation (Robins, 2002:519).

The third failing in the property ladder vision is based on the notion of mobility itself. Regardless of the nature of transactions, on or off the register, the leading concern has to be where newly sold up homeowners relocate to once they hand over the keys of their subsidised assets. Subsidised housing may provide a financially tradable asset, but the question has to be asked: ‘Traded for what?’ Subsidised homes generally realise low prices in the secondary market that do not allow sellers to secure property on the next rung of the property ladder. Low prices are the result of a myriad of factors, including large supply, small sizes, inferior build quality and generally poor locations (Rust *et al.*, 2009:54; Jay & Bowen, 2011:575; Lemanski, 2011:72). The peripheral locations of most subsidised housing projects (Lall *et al.*, 2007:5; Croese *et al.*, 2016:240) not only detract from their financial asset value, but increase the cost and time of travel for the poor (Cross, 2008:6). Numerous authors have commented on the significance of accessible spatial location for the poor (Huchzermeyer, 2004; Charlton, 2006; Lall *et al.*, 2007) as a planning issue.

As a result of low market value, those who sell their properties are mainly faced with two choices. They could either relocate to formerly White suburbs where properties may be up to five times as expensive as the homes they have sold, or to more upmarket areas in former townships, where properties may be more than three times as expensive (Marais *et al.*, 2014). The majority of homeowners are thus deterred from selling their homes, in realisation that low home values and low household incomes would disallow advancement beyond their subsidised neighbourhoods (Kingwill *et al.*, 2006:60).

As such, households are confined to their current properties/communities (Rust, 2008; Marais *et al.*, 2014), or destined to slide down the rungs back to life in an informal settlement or backyard shack regardless of whatever financial value may be presented by their homes (Rust *et al.*, 2009:55). Some households do indeed decide to sell their subsidy homes in favour of a return to informal residences (Gardner, 2009:14; SERI, 2013:1), mostly related to a preference for the flexibility and affordability associated with the informal sector. Accordingly, Royston (2006:41) goes as far as to equate the property ladder to a game of snakes and ladders, in which formal housing can just as easily result in a downward slide with dire consequences for future aspirations.

Mirroring critique on de Soto's work internationally, the link between subsidised homeownership, with or without title, and access to credit is yet another chink in the property ladder armour in South Africa. Access to credit in any formal banking system, is generally dependant on a secure stream of adequate income (Bromley, 2009:22). As such, unemployment, erratic employment and low incomes, as characteristic of much of the low-income housing sector, present obstacles to maintaining credit and a mortgage (Marais & Cloete, 2015:266). Commercial banks remain reluctant to extend loans in the low-income housing market (Pillay & Naudé, 2006:874; Royston, 2006:34). Such institutions prefer to lend to lower risk households with steady income streams and better paid, secure employment (Gilbert, 2002; Musembi, 2007; Goldfinch, 2015). Low incomes equal high risk, as poorer households are more vulnerable to the ebb and flow of the economy and shocks such as interest rate hikes or retrenchment. As a result of such shocks, weak financial planning and limited savings, post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed the loss of substantial numbers of mortgaged properties acquired by new Black homeowners (P&DM, 2006:9). The lower-income segment has been especially rife with examples of repossession (Pillay, 2008:101). Such incidences continue to mirror experiences in late apartheid South Africa in the early 1990s.

By the mid-1980's the weakening of the apartheid state introduced the opportunity for freehold tenure and finance-linked development and mortgage applications in Black townships. However, by the end of the decade political pressure and rising interest rates constrained the affordability of these mortgaged properties severely (Marais & Cloete, 2015:263). Many were unable to meet their bond obligations, resulting in repossessions on large scale (Tomlinson, 2006a:18). These experiences form part of collective memory, with recent economic shocks and prevailing hardships further discouraging loans and mortgage transactions. South Africa's contemporary economic climate has been somewhat unsteady, with economic growth declining, unemployment on the rise, interest rate hikes and deepening inequality (Hassen, 2006:82; Pillay, 2008:100; Jay & Bowen, 2011:575) deterring many low-income households from freeing up equity on their homes through mortgage finance (Lemanski, 2011). These effects are reflected in research findings by Marais and Cloete (2015:267) who found that in 2008 roughly 25% of mortgage owners in South Africa reported that they had previously benefited from a state subsidy. In 2010, the figure dropped to 22% and radically declined in 2012 to only 5.9%. The overall reluctance shown by subsidised home owners to use their properties as collateral for credit, combined with hesitancy by financial institutions to extend such loans, has seen the value of subsidised housing as financial asset reduced significantly (Lemanski, 2011), keeping beneficiaries on the bottom rung of the property ladder (Geyer, 2014:38).

As a result of the diminished role of housing as a financial asset, the country's past inheritance of Black marginalisation and restricted ownership (du Plessis, 2011:61) and the long wait on a 'housing waiting list' (Rust, 2012:3), the very legitimacy of which has been questioned (SERI, 2013); low-income homeowners tend to regard the value of their homes in social terms and not according to financial or market value. As such, homes become familial assets rather than the property of any one individual to use or sell. There seems to be some connection to a home as symbol of family life and refuge, an obligation to maintain a link to socio-cultural ties within a community and respect the struggles of parents or grandparents who may have gained ownership in the past (Tomlinson, 2006a:26). The transgenerational value of housing as a familial asset was echoed in research by Barry and Roux (2014), in which homeowners viewed their homes primarily as their children's birth right.

As previously noted, the focus of this article remains on the financial and economic as related to the field of urban planning, and social asset value will not be elaborated on further here. The following section, as the empirical component of this article provides some support in this regard, with a particular focus on the informal backyard rental sector.

3. Empirical Investigation

3.1 Oudtshoorn and the Bridgton and Bongolethu townships

As alluded to in the introduction of this article, the empirical component of this research played out in Oudtshoorn. The town of Oudtshoorn (33.6007° S, 22.2026° E) is the main seat of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (OLM), located within the Eden District Municipality (EDM) in South Africa's Western Cape Province. Oudtshoorn town covers an area of roughly 3696 ha (OLM, 2015:16) with a total population of 61500 residents. The town continues to display a typical apartheid city layout. Apartheid's two main non-White zones were the townships of Bridgton and Bongolethu, in which most Coloured and Black residents are still housed (Wisner *et al.*, 2015:174). The focus of this article falls on a predominantly Coloured area in the Bridgton and Bongolethu townships (See **Figure 8**).

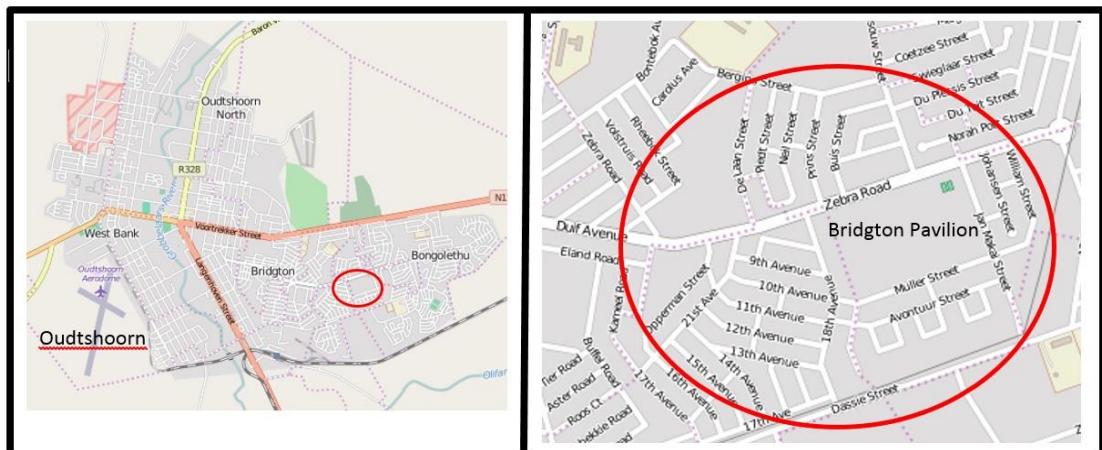


Figure 8: The Bridgton and Bongolethu study are within the town of Oudtshoorn

Empirical research included two main branches. Firstly, semi-structured interviews conducted with selected officials in the OLM to supplement shortcomings in the literature and provide a more nuanced and current understanding of the study area and its broader context, as referenced throughout. Secondly, as the main empirical component of this research, a quantitative survey distributed in Bridgton and Bongoletu in May 2015. Participants were selected based on convenience sampling when a property contained at least one informal backyard structure and both landlords in main dwellings and their backyard tenants were willing to partake. Separate questionnaires were distributed to landlords and backyard tenants, containing targeted questions. Prospective respondents were approached, informed of general instructions to clarify the purpose of the research study and provide a general orientation of the topic of the questionnaire. Informed consent was described in terms of the requirements of participation, along with confidentiality statements and statements of voluntary participation. The survey ultimately reached 103 landlord households in main dwellings and 120 informal backyard tenant households. Survey questionnaires were prepared in partnership with the North-West University's Statistical Consultancy Services, who also captured data, conducted statistical analyses and assisted in the interpretation of results. Statistical analyses were performed with IBM's SPSS software. Note that as a convenience sample instead of a random sample was used, p-values are reported in this article for completeness sake but not interpreted.

The following section reports on survey findings and cites other studies in support of, or contradiction of results, based on a discussion on the realisation of subsidised housing as financial and economic assets and the establishment of informal backyard components for commercial or rental purposes in support thereof.

3.2 Housing as a financial asset – The Bridgton and Bongoletu case

As provided in the preceding section's discussion, South Africa's subsidised homes rarely realise value as tradable assets (P&DM, 2006:10). In the Bridgton and Bongoletu case study, findings seemed to reinforce this notion as municipal valuations for respondent properties were exceedingly low.

Properties in the case study (n=80) displayed a mean municipal valuation of R87 875 (s= R27 601.3), ranging between R52 000 and R187 000 (based on valuations on 1 July 2011, as the date of the last municipal valuation). Such low property values are extremely restrictive to upward mobility in terms of the property ladder when Oudtshoorn's property market is considered. If home owners deliberated moving to more prosperous areas they would face comparatively high property values. Oudtshoorn's Noord area, as a lower-income White area under apartheid, shows a mean property value of R600 000. In the former coloured designated, more upmarket areas of Toekomsrus and Colridge View, properties are valued at a mean of R400 000 to R500 000. The previously White middle- to higher income area of Wesbank shows a mean property value of around R95 000 (Coat, 2015). Such values thus prohibit low-income homeowners from perusing properties there. It could be argued that case study households should relocate to more affordable improved properties within their immediate areas, in Bridgton and Bongolethu. However, based on case study findings, households with properties valued at approximately R90 000 (just above the mean of R 87 875) would still need to secure funding for double the value of their homes to access higher end properties valued at around R180 000. In addition, it must be kept in mind that the property market depends on a willing seller and willing buyer model. However, 97.1% of survey respondents stated that they would not consider selling their homes at any time. It is also important to note that only three respondents (2.9%) purchased their properties in the secondary market, of which only two used a bond to finance the purchase. With regards to arguments that ownership facilitates access to credit, it is important to note that only 1% of respondent home owners reported ever taking out loans with their homes as security.

It is important for the purpose of this research to provide some clarity on property values and the occurrence of informal backyard structures considering the theoretical role of property value in realising financial asset value. In this regard, municipal valuations may be useful. According to Coat (2015) the presence of informal backyard structures may have an adverse effect on property valuation, mostly due to a negative impact on aesthetic appeal not only at property level, but also at neighbourhood scale. This will then be reflected in market value and municipal valuation.

However, for Coat (2015) in areas where the informal backyard structure phenomenon is already well established, such as the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study, informal backyard structures may not exert substantial influence at individual property level. This statement was tested accordingly. Survey data analysis using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (ρ) for municipal valuation and number of informal backyard structures yielded a correlation coefficient of -0.167 ($p=0.138$), indicating a small, no practically significant relationship. Results captured visually in **Figure 9**, provide that the highest valuations were attached to properties with fewer backyard structures, but also that some properties with fewer backyard structures similarly presented municipal valuations at the lower end of the spectrum.

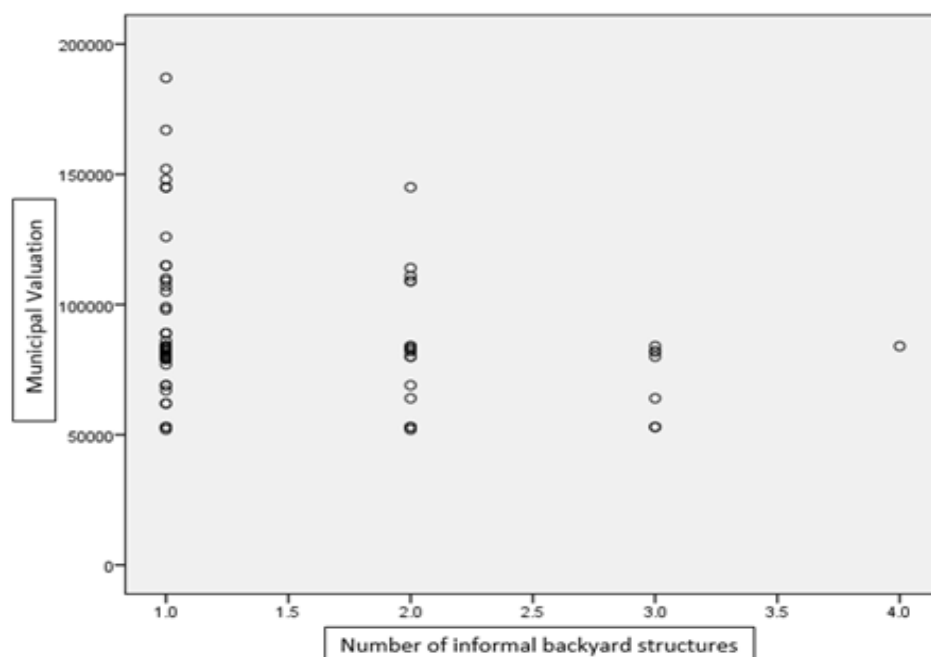


Figure 9: Correlation coefficient graph for property valuation versus number of backyard structures

Accepting that an increased number of backyard shacks is related to reduced municipal valuation and ultimately market value would discount the myriad of other elements that influence property value regardless of the presence of informal structures, such as stand size, extensions or household income.

Accordingly, Spearman's rho test for municipal valuation and stand size delivered a correlation coefficient of 0.316 ($p=0.004$) denoting a medium practically visible relationship that indicates an expected co-dependency, but a lower correlation than anticipated. Qualitative analysis indicated that household extensions showed some influence on valuation. As such, the only fourteen properties represented in the survey that had been extended showed a mean valuation of R107461, well above the average valuation of R87 875 shown for the study. Accordingly, this article posits that some properties with more informal backyard structures show lower municipal valuations, but that such valuations cannot be ascribed to informal backyard structures alone, rather reflecting a broader range of attributes that in turn reflect household needs and capacities.

Properties with lower market values, based on municipal valuation, present reduced (financial) asset value. However, where such households provide informal backyard accommodation housing beneficiaries become landlords who recognise the income earning potential of their properties (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:2) as active producers who do not remain static (Lemanski, 2009:480) and resigned to their circumstances. Through informal backyard structures such homeowners seize the opportunity to utilise their assets productively. The proceeding section discusses the significance of these informal structures in accruing economic asset value and related issues to be considered when planning for the informal backyard rental sector.

3.3 Housing as an economic asset – The Bridgton and Bongolethu case

Informal backyard structures may play a key part in alleviating poverty where homeowners use space for commercial or rental purposes (Robins, 2002:518; Tomlinson, 2006a:18; Rust, 2007:48; Rust *et al.*, 2009:53; Geyer, 2014:46). In recognition, this section is divided into two subsections. The first discusses the use of some informal backyard structures to accommodate commercial uses, or industries, whilst the second elaborates on the more commonly encountered informal backyard structure used for rental purposes.

3.3.1 Informal backyard industries in Bridgton and Bongolethu

In South Africa, commercial backyard uses may comprise of small-scale retail, service and/or manufacturing enterprises that may include minor retail activities such as ‘spaza’ shops, taverns/shebeens, food production, childcare, salons, appliance or car repair and manufacturing industries for metalwork, welding or woodworking (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:15) with poverty reduction possibilities (Rust *et al.*, 2009:55) as essential components of survivalist strategies (P&DM, 2006:10). In the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study only 3% of respondent properties reported the use of an informal backyard structure for commercial use. In all these cases structures were occupied by minor retail uses. All remaining backyard structures were used for residential purposes, as informal backyard rentals, discussed below.

3.3.2 Informal backyard rentals in Bridgton and Bongolethu

Nationally, few landlords construct informal rental accommodation themselves, with the majority offering space to tenants to construct their own structures (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:133). Most informal backyard rental tenants thus pay for the use of land and services but build their own shelters (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:16). Accordingly, tenants own the structures and materials can be removed and assembled elsewhere if necessary (Morange, 2002:4); resulting in some flexibility and mobility. Tenants who provide their own structures on rented spaces, may be considered as suppliers of rental accommodation themselves (Watson, 2009b:10) and it may be that this form of

rental accommodation co-production (Ostrom, 1996; Mitlin, 2008; McFarlane & Waibel, 2012; Watson, 2014b), through which tenants construct their own shelters, is the only reason why letting space is worthwhile for landlords at all (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:141). The Bridgton/Bongolethu survey revealed that 22.5% of informal backyard shelters were erected by landlords, whilst 75.8% of backyard respondents claimed that they constructed their own structures. The following subsections provide clarity on the informal backyard landlords and tenants encountered in the case study.

3.3.2.1 Informal backyard rental landlord profiles in the Bridgton and Bongolethu case

The Bridgton/Bongolethu study illustrated that the majority of informal backyard rental landlords (as head of the household) were female (78.4%), their average age was 55.62 years ($s=13.02$) and 30.1% were single, 29.1% married and 29.1% widowed. This article is less concerned with demographic profiles and more interested in economic features and therefore the economic traits of landlords reached in the survey are reported here. In Bridgton and Bongolethu, almost all landlord households (93.2%) displayed an average monthly income below R3500. The largest proportion (40.8%) of all landlord households earned between R1001 and R1500 (mirroring Lemanski (2009)). It is interesting to note that Lall *et al.* (2007) classify households with monthly expenditure below R1500 as 'very poor' and those with monthly expenditure between R1500 and R3500 as 'poor'. As a further indication of poverty and severely low incomes, only 4% declared a total monthly income above R5001, with R8000 per month reported as the top of the income range. Low incomes are attributed to a small economically active population. As such, only 29 households reported earning main income *via* formal or informal employment. Of those who claimed permanent formal employment ($n=16$) as main source of income, 93.8% earned above the average household income of between R1001 and R1500, and one quarter earned more than R3500 per month.

As an indicator of both economic and demographic characteristics, 70% of landlords indicated that pension dispensations provided their household's main income. The number of pensioners may be credited to the fact that during apartheid only the employed could access the state's rental housing and that the study area contained a large number of apartheid era housing that still accommodates original beneficiaries. Many of these beneficiaries have reached retirement age and either receive pensions from their working years or benefit from state pension (Marais *et al.*, 2014:66), for which the qualifying age has been extended to 60 for both males and females (Bhorat *et al.*, 2012:81). In the Bridgton/Bongolethu study, 36.9% of landlords were aged above 60 years. Of those landlords declaring pension dispensations as main income stream (n=70), 57.1% earned between R1001 and R1500 per month. Cramer's V test for association between main source of income and average household income for landlords provided an effect size of 0.507 ($p=0$), indicating a practically significant association and large effect. As a result, source of main income was predictably related to how much a household earned per month.

Of specific interest to this article is that none of the landlords surveyed cited informal backyard rental income as main source of household income, despite Morange (2002:14); Gardner (2009:14); Lemanski (2009:479) suggesting that for some households in South Africa, backyard rental income may be the only regular source of earnings. This result supports existing findings by other researchers that most informal landlords are not profit-maximisers, but provide rental accommodation to generate supplementary income (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:136; Watson, 2009b:6), with very few providing rentals with a financial motivation (Morange, 2002:15). Most landlords are thus regarded as small-scale subsistence landlords (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:655) who charge minimal, non-exploitative rents (Lemanski, 2009:474) or expect services in kind in the form of domestic help from their tenants (Watson, 2009b:6). Tenant profiles are discussed in the following subsection.

3.3.2.2 Informal backyard rental tenant profiles in the Bridgton and Bongolethu case

The Bridgton/Bongolethu study revealed that the majority of informal backyard rental tenants (as head of the household, or main tenant) were male (66.7%), on average aged 39.76 years ($s=9.58$) and single (47.5%). As with landlords, these findings are provided only to serve as background for the economic profiles uncovered. In Bridgton and Bongolethu, 80.6% of backyard households reported a total monthly income below R3500 and the largest proportion (22.7%) earned between R1001 and R1500 per month. In addition, 7.5% of backyard households declared a monthly income above R4500, with 2.5% reporting a monthly income exceeding R10000 per month. The latter may seem insignificant, but gains importance when considering that no landlord households reported such high incomes. (Other studies have also found tenants to be slightly better off than landlords, see (Bank, 2007)). In 46.8% of cases backyard households reported permanent formal employment, in 26.1% state subsidies, as grants and in 23.4% formal, but temporary employment as main sources of income. It is important to note that only two backyard households declared pension dispensations as main income source. Of those backyard households who claimed permanent formal employment ($n=52$) as main source of income, 56.9% earned above the average backyard household income of between R1001 and R1500, and 23.5% earned more than R3500 per month. Cramer's V test for association between main source of tenant household income and average household income provided an effect size of 0.356 ($p=0$), indicating a medium effect and practically visible significant association; indicating that source of income was distributed relatively evenly.

The previous sections provided that landlords and tenants in the study area presented comparatively similar economic characteristics, echoed in research elsewhere (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997; Morange, 2002:14; Lemanski, 2009:474), but that tenants seemed to be marginally more well-off (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:658). This was statistically substantiated in a Phi test for association between landlord and tenant incomes that provided an effect size of 0.252 ($p=0.003$), indicating a practical non-significant to practical visible association, or a small to medium effect, with tenants slightly more well-off.

These shared elements, underscore the co-dependence of the landlord-tenant relationship, similar to features found in low-income rental markets in Bogota, Columbia, Valencia in Venezuela, Mexico City, Mexico (Gilbert, 1983), India and Bangalore (Kumar, 2005). This co-dependence builds a relationship based on mutual support, in a manner of symbiosis (Watson, 2009b:6), with both landlords and tenants presented as comrades in an every-day struggle for survival (Morange, 2002).

Given their similar circumstances, landlords are rarely dominant figures wielding their power over subservient and dependent tenants. In fact, both actors enter into the rental agreement with some power. Tenants are rarely as vulnerable to landlord oppression as commonly perceived in public imagination (Watson, 2009b) as tenants themselves may present some influence through their contributions to landlord survival (Lemanski, 2009:474). Yet, tenants' financial muscle may be equally limited to their dependence on the affordable accommodation provided by their landlords (Lemanski, 2009:481). And so, landlords and tenants may be connected by 'a strong and exceptional feeling of mutual confidence' (Morange, 2002:11) in recognition of the part played by each in their chosen form of coexistence. Such statements compel us to document rental charges or contributions expected from tenants.

3.3.3.3 Informal backyard rental contributions in the Bridgton and Bongolethu case

Bridgton/Bongolethu survey data showed that only 55.8% (n=67) of backyard respondents payed cash rents. These rents varied from R50 (1.5%) to R800 (1.5%) per month, averaging R253.43 (s=R166.65). **Table 11** captures average backyard rents recorded in other studies.

Table 11: Average backyard rental charges per month, per informal backyard structure

Year	Backyard rent	Location	Source
1989	R43 average, up to R100	Gauteng Township	Saphire, 1992
1997	R40-R100	Johannesburg and Cape Town townships	Guillaume & Houssay Holzschuch, 2002
1997	R20 average	Gugulethu Township in Cape Town	Gilbert et al., 1997
1997	R51 average	Tamboville in Johannesburg	Gilbert et al., 1997
1997	R69 average	Soweto in Johannesburg	Crankshaw et al, 2000
1998	R50-R100	Diepsloot in Johannesburg	Benit, 2002
1999	R52 average	Helenvale Township in Port Elizabeth	Morange, 2002
1999	R17 average	Walmer Location in Port Elizabeth	Morange, 2002
1999	R40 average	Red Location in Port Elizabeth	Morange, 2002
2000	R69, average	Soweto, Gauteng	Crankshaw et al., 2000
2005	R150, including electricity	Duncan Village in East London	Bank, 2007
2006	R150	Gauteng townships	Gordon & Nell, 2006
2006	R240 average, excluding services	Westlake Village in Cape Town	Lemanski, 2009
2007	R150 excluding services	Cape Town Townships	Skuse & Cousins, 2007
2008	R147 average	National survey	SHF, 2008
2010	R216 average	Alexandra, Johannesburg	Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013
2015	R253 average	Bridgton and Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn	This research

Source: Saphire (1992); Crankshaw *et al.* (2000); Benit (2002); Morange (2002); Gordon and Nell (2006); Bank (2007); Skuse and Cousins (2007); SHF (2008b); Lemanski (2009); Shapurjee and Charlton (2013)

As evidenced by Bridgton/Bongoletu findings and shown in **Table 11**, cash rents are generally only sufficient to cover direct costs to the landlord and do not constitute a significant income stream (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997; Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000; Morange, 2002), emphasising that landlords incur no or very low capital costs when tenants build their own structures. In their study, Gilbert *et al.* (1997) further found that once

rents were established, rents were rarely raised. In the case study, 96.7% of backyard tenants declared that their rents had never been raised and that there was no expectation thereof in the future. Landlords are often constrained from raising rents given the somewhat fragile power balance between landlords and tenants, where the potential to increase rent is negated by a dependency on backyard rental contributions (Lemanski, 2009:481). In other cases rental offerings are less stationary, as those who do not pay in cash generally contribute towards monthly service charges that vary from month to month. In Bridgton and Bongoletu, those who did not pay rent generally reported contributing towards water and electricity costs (27.3%) based on the landlord's monthly bills, home maintenance (9.9%) or domestic help to landlords (4.1%). Where cash rents were payed, the majority (60.8%) of landlords used rental income to cover monthly water and electricity levies, underscoring the burden service levies place on housing beneficiaries. In further support, 72.8% of landlord home owners found water and electricity charges unaffordable and 71.8% reported that regular home maintenance was beyond their financial reach. A further 31.4% of landlords used backyard rental income to meet household expenses such as food and clothing. The following section provides a brief perspective on informal backyard rentals in support of social asset value.

3.4 Housing as a social asset – The Bridgton and Bongoletu case

There are cases where tenants are regarded as renters only and have minimal ties with their landlords. However it seems very common for tenants and landlords to be well-acquainted or related (Morange, 2002:6; Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:4; Lemanski, 2009:479; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:16). There has also been some evidence that informal backyard rentals in coloured townships are more likely to accommodate family members than paying tenants (Saphire, 1992:675; Beall *et al.*, 2002:163; Lemanski, 2009:474), providing accommodation as a kind of social welfare (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:16). The Bridgton/Bongoletu survey revealed that only 2% of landlords admitted to providing informal backyard rentals out of financial need. For 93.1% providing backyard rentals was motivated by some sort of social obligation or compassion. The contribution made by informal backyard rentals towards accruing social asset value and supporting social sustainability provide excellent opportunities for future research.

4. Conclusion

This article stated that South African housing policy has tended to regard the asset value of homes as one-dimensional (Rust et al., 2009:54), with an overemphasis on the financial asset value low-cost subsidised housing is assumed to present; bolstered by traditional views on formal property rights, the need to redress past imbalances, the work of Hernando de Soto and conceptions around a scalable property ladder. The one-dimensional perspective was proved insufficient, in both the literature and empirical components of this article, especially when the value accrued *via* a thriving informal backyard rental sector is considered in surpassing an emphasis on the financial and accepting the trinity of housing as a financial *and* economic *and* social asset. This research posits, that of the three, financial value was the weakest. In Bridgton and Bongoletu, property values were too low for homeowners to scale the ladder and almost all respondents were uninterested in selling their properties. Furthermore, a trivial number had bought their properties in the secondary market and even fewer had ever accessed credit using their properties as collateral. All of the aforementioned were generally the result of extremely low household incomes. An additional outcome of low incomes, was the pervasiveness of informal backyard rental structures in the study area. Research provided that many of the properties with an increased number of informal backyard structures showed reduced property values and therefore reduced financial asset values. However, also that these backyard structures, predominantly used for rental purposes, contributed to economic value through the rental contributions, in cash, kind or in relation to service charges paid to landlords by tenants.

The supportive value of these contributions in allowing landlord households to meet their obligations as homeowners was emphasised and that such arrangements functioned in support of both landlord and backyard tenant survival. In this regard validating the need to defend, maintain and encourage the sector as both a part of the affordable housing sector and a component that makes homeownership feasible for the poor.

However, supporting the informal backyard rental sector would require some divergent thinking. As such, overcoming notions that the re-informalisation of subsidised housing estates represent a flaw in the system of capitalisation, if that capital dies again because of the reinstitution of informality (Rust, 2004). Instead, recognising that the hybridity introduced by backyarding as the merging of both live and dead capital, produce only live capital outcomes (Geyer & Geyer, 2014:47) that make low-cost housing work for South Africa's poor. In this regard, adopting policy interventions and strategies that are more accurately targeted, capable of crossing the divide between both the first and second economies and the formal and informal in general (Royston, 2007:43), that build on local knowledge and initiatives and remove, where possible, any obstacles to participation in the broader economic system (Schirmer, 2007:74). Where planning is concerned, this involves remedying limitations in systems and regulations, such as zoning, that constrain authorities from supporting and encouraging economic asset realising activities, such as informal backyard undertakings and revising instruments that do nothing but curtail such ventures (Rust et al., 2009:56). It is critical in terms of future sustainability and urban resilience that the informal backyard rental sector be addressed as a priority in town planning schemes, spatial development frameworks and other infrastructural master plans by planners who are sensitive to the multidimensional asset value of housing and the role of informal backyard rentals in realising this value. In addition to revising zoning in favour of mixed-use and increased density development, new township layouts must allow space for backyard structures to be used for either rental or commercial purposes by allowing adequate backyard space and access by providing sufficiently sized stands, strategic placement of the main dwelling top structure and introducing effective building lines.

In established areas infrastructure retrofits and reconfiguring the position of informal backyard dwellings in collaboration with local building inspector directorates may be considered to advance the functioning of the sector in spatial and ultimately economic terms and improve the wellbeing of those involved. Collaboration may prove important as planners accept the multifaceted role of the informal backyard rental sector and engage with other stakeholders on issues such as local economic development (LED) and target their planning activities accordingly.

With regards to adopting more accurately targeted strategies, it is important that context-specific characteristics and sub-markets be well researched and understood if effective, responsive and appropriate interventions are to be introduced (Watson, 2009b; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014). This article for example, showed that in the area of Bridgton and Bongolethu surveyed, cash rents were very low, if paid in cash to landlords at all and that no landlords earned their main income from backyard rentals. Strategies based on turning backyard rentals into profit maximising businesses, as attempted in Johannesburg for example (Carey, 2009; Lemanski, 2009; Rubin & Gardner, 2013), would disturb the fragile balance that allows the sector to function as a form of social support that also provides economic, if not financial benefits in Bridgton and Bongolethu, and how the informal backyard rental sector realises the multidimensional asset value of homes in the hand of the poor around South Africa.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE THREE

SOUTH AFRICA'S INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTAL SECTOR THROUGH THE LENS OF SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY: A CASE STUDY OF BRIDGTON AND BONGOLETHU, OUDTSHOORN

Research Article Three was prepared for submission to the Community Development Journal, published by Oxford University, which presents an impact factor of 1.10 (2015) and is approved by ISI, IBSS and Scopus. The journal was selected as it is heralded as a leading publication platform in the field of community development, focused on challenging conventional wisdom and engaging with issues such as social justice, diversity and environmental sustainability. Furthermore, the journal produces four issues per annum, circulated in more than eighty countries, thus providing excellent exposure. A copy of author guidelines are provided as **Annexure L**, clarification on the main and co-author's contribution and permission to include the article in this study are provided as **Annexure N**. Please note that the article, as presented on the following page, is not provided in the journal's preferred font or size to maintain the uniformity of this thesis.

SOUTH AFRICA'S INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTAL SECTOR THROUGH THE LENS OF SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY: A CASE STUDY OF BRIDGTON AND BONGOLETHU, OUDTSHOORN

Abstract

Social sustainability is an especially pertinent field of research in post-apartheid South Africa in recognition of the challenges and inequalities faced by South African society, aptly exhibited in urban landscapes where millions reside in shantytowns and informal backyard rental accommodation. This article explores the under-researched informal backyard rental phenomenon in terms of social sustainability as evident in the Bridgton and Bongolethu townships of Oudtshoorn, South Africa. Qualitative and quantitative investigations reveal several aspects in support of social sustainability, based on demographic data, landlord-tenant relationships and tangent issues such as conflict. These aspects include bonded and supportive landlord-tenant relationships based on familial connections; low levels of conflict, significant access to basic services; mixed tenure; tenure security; low residential turnover; multigenerational residency; and perceptions of safety in backyard dwellings. The article also addresses certain challenges levied by the informal backyard rental sector against social sustainability, most notably fire risks and health issues. Ultimately, this article provides a contextualised perspective on social sustainability in the informal backyard rental sector and provides planners and other decision makers with a more nuanced understanding of the sector's social complexities and value.

Key words: *Social sustainability, urban planning, low-income housing; informal backyard rentals*

1. Introduction

Sustainable development has become an axiom globally, following the Brundtland Commission's definition (Basiago, 1999:148; Blewitt, 2008:9; Claes *et al.*, 2012:10; Barkemeyer *et al.*, 2014:16; Imran *et al.*, 2014:134) that produced the conceptualisation of sustainable development as a concentric model consisting of a compromise between economic, social and environmental spheres to establish wellbeing for present and future generations (Ciegis *et al.*, 2009:34; Claes *et al.*, 2012:10; McCormick *et al.*, 2013:4). Despite its broad recognition, Brundtland-based conceptualisations have been criticised for overemphasising the economic (Dixon & Woodcraft, 2013) in terms of promoting industrialised modernisation to the detriment of social and environmental elements (Blewitt, 2008:9). Social aspects have been especially neglected in literature, policy and practice (Mak & Peacock, 2011:2; Woodcraft, 2012:30) in planning.

In recognition of such deficiencies, the first section of this article's literature review engages the notion of social sustainability, and related concepts such as social cohesion and social capital, within the paradigm of urban planning, recognising the links between the urban environment, housing and socially sustainable communities. Broadly speaking, post-apartheid South Africa presents unique research opportunities in terms of social sustainability, urban planning and housing, as discussed in **Section 1.2** of the article. This article identifies a specific subsection of the South African housing market as a relatively under-researched component (Marais & Cloete, 2014:50) in the saturated field of post-apartheid housing scholarship (Visser, 2013:82). South Africa's informal backyard rental sector is expanding rapidly (Lemanski, 2009:473; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20), yet relatively few studies have probed the phenomenon. A lack of understanding on the social dynamics that anchor the sector within South Africa's low-income communities have had negligent effects in past pilot projects that focussed on establishing rental enterprises and discounted supportive land-lord tenant relationships and kinship networks (Carey, 2009; Lemanski, 2009; Rubin & Gardner, 2013). Research gaps on the informal backyard rental sector are further evidenced by a lack of research on informal backyard rentals in communities located in smaller towns and settlements, with research skewed towards larger cities and metropolitan areas (Zwaig, 2015:2).

Section 2 of the article's literature review unpacks existing research on the informal backyard rental sector focussing largely on generalised landlord-tenant characteristics and the evolution of the relationship uncovered in other studies, laying the groundwork for the empirical research findings detailed in the next Section.

The empirical segment of the article is based on a case study in the town of Oudtshoorn's Bridgton and Bongoletu townships, revolving primarily around demographic findings, the landlord-tenant relationship and tangent issues such as conflict. In relation to the broader context of social sustainability, other impacts levied by informal backyard rentals such as alcohol and substance abuse, fire risks and health considerations are also explored. Ultimately, this article aims to provide a contextualised take on social sustainability in the informal backyard rental sector to provide urban planners and other decision makers with a more nuanced understanding of the social value, complexities and challenges related to informal backyard rentals.

1.1 Coming to terms with social sustainability and planning for socially sustainable communities

Social sustainability as a concept remains elusive and hard to pin down (Kavanagh, 2009:4). This article defines social sustainability in terms of key elements drawn from the literature and in terms of a sustainable community, owing to the overlaps identified by Bramley *et al.* (2006) and Dempsey *et al.* (2011). Socially sustainable communities provide a diversity of current and future residents with just and equitable access to basic services in stable, safe and secure environments conducive to good health where they may live out their entire lives and continue to find support in cohesive networks that promote civic and political engagement and enjoy a shared sense of place, quality of life and wellbeing. (Chiu, 2003; McKenzie, 2004; Chan & Lee, 2008; Colantonio, 2008a; Colantonio, 2008b; Davidson & Wilson, 2009; Glasson & Wood, 2009; Kavanagh, 2009; Dempsey *et al.*, 2011; Mak & Peacock, 2011; Woodcraft, 2012; Dixon & Woodcraft, 2013). Social sustainability is often encapsulated in the concepts of social cohesion and social capital (Dixon & Woodcraft, 2013), as two interrelated ideas (Carrasco & Bilal, 2016:127).

Various authors have engaged the concepts of social cohesion and social capital, yet definitions have remained ambiguous and contested (Cloete, 2014:6; Spicker, 2014:99; Bwalya & Seethal, 2016:41). Based on a general review of existing definitions, this article defines social cohesion as the extent to which a society is socially just, coherent, united and functional, providing positive social relationships within a bonded network and environment that allows its members to flourish in solidarity, resulting in social capital (Cloete & Kotze, 2009:4; Cortese *et al.*, 2014:2052; Bwalya & Seethal, 2016:41; Carrasco & Bilal, 2016:128). Social capital is defined in the context of this article as a resource produced by participating in social networks and civic institutions, supported by trust that accommodates reciprocal exchanges, mutual support and collective action to achieve communal objectives (Moser, 1998; Kawachi, 1999:121; Putnam, 2000:21; Cockerham, 2007:181; Cloete & Kotze, 2009:13; Matthews & Besemer, 2015:189; Carrasco & Bilal, 2016:128).

From the definition of social sustainability and links to socially sustainable communities the connections between social sustainability and the opportunities provided by the physical environment become apparent, as social activity is interconnected with the physical context in which it transpires (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:7). In recognition of such connections, social sustainability has emerged as an area of planning research, policy and practice in urban and rural development, emphasizing the social outcomes of aspects such as housing (Dixon & Woodcraft, 2013) in both the developing and developed world (Woodcraft, 2012:29).

In terms of planning for physical attributes in aid of social sustainability, adequate housing, mixed land use, integrated layout, increased density and other elements captured in **Table 12** below, may to be considered by planners, as further related to community participation, activity (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:8) and other non-physical manifestations of social sustainability. In addition, particularly in relation to layout choices, and urban management and maintenance decisions, nurturing a sense of safety is fundamental (Barton, 2000; Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:10) as an influence on community interaction and participation.

Where the built environment displays poor condition and maintenance, people are physiologically affected and their sense of safety disturbed (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:10), commonly related to the so called 'broken window syndrome' in which cosmetic damage may incite anti-social or criminal behaviour (Nash & Christie, 2003:47; Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:10). Urban development decisions further contribute to inter-generational equity, as related both to the manner in which future generations will not suffer under the repercussions of the actions of the current generation (Mak & Peacock, 2011:3) and the likelihood of cultivating long-term residents to foster community stability through lower residential mobility and turnover (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Power, 2004; Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:9). Long-term residency decisions are influenced directly by social equity, as referenced above, rooted in social justice, distributive justice, equality of condition and objectivity in the appointment of resources, (Burton, 2000:1970; Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:5). A society is accepted as equitable when no exclusionary or discriminatory practices prevent individuals from partaking economically, socially or politically in that society. Exclusionary or discriminatory practices may include racism and ageism (Kellaher *et al.*, 2004), with social equity often measured by accessibility (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:5; Mak & Peacock, 2011:4) to adequate housing, education, basic services, social infrastructure, green, cultural and recreational spaces (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:6), embedded in planning decisions. The majority of these elements are captured in **Table 12**, as a synthesis of social sustainability based on physical and non-physical forms provided in the literature.

Table 12: Urban social sustainability related to non-physical and physical forms

NON-PHYSICAL ELEMENTS	PHYSICAL ELEMENTS
Health, quality of life and well-being	Urbanity
Social inclusion and the eradication of social exclusion	Attractive public realm
Social capital	Adequate housing
Sense of safety	Quality local environment and amenity
Fair income distribution	Accessibility to services/facilities/green space/employment
Social order	Sustainable urban design
Social cohesion	Neighbourhood
Community cohesion	Pedestrian friendly and walkable neighbourhoods
Social networks	Adequate lighting
Social interaction	Enclosure
Sense of community and belonging	Mixed tenure
Employment	Appropriate density
Residential stability	Sustainable transport systems
Active community organisations	Mixed land use
Cultural traditions	
Low residential turnover	

Source: Adapted from Dempsey *et al.* (2011); Woodcraft (2012); Dixon and Woodcraft (2013)

Table 12 includes the elements contained in the definition for social sustainability constructed for this article and provides a physical manifestation of social sustainability indicators related to urban planning. As such, it is accepted that these physical elements, as planning considerations, are conducive to the non-physical elements listed in **Table 12**, ultimately producing social sustainability.

However, social sustainability premised solely on the above definition and **Table 12** would indicate that only idyllic places, free of the burdens of poverty, poor service access and poor environmental quality may produce socially sustainability environments and communities. Whilst consensus holds that positive social activity and social order are more likely to occur in physical environments of high quality (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:5) social sustainability is not dependant on high environmental quality alone. As such, the inequities and struggles often centralised in places of poor environmental quality, may act as catalysts for social cohesion (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:5), unifying communities to analyse, articulate and demand their entitlements (Carrasco & Bilal, 2016:128). Where communities unite, mobilise and lobby around such issues and make their collective voices heard, they build social capital in their efforts to address inequalities (Kwon & Adler, 2014:417) and improve their everyday environments and quality of life. When communities unite against issues such as limited access to services for example, territorial justice may be served when access to services are reciprocally equalised (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011:5). Examples of such enhanced social cohesion have manifested almost daily in post-apartheid South Africa, as the disadvantaged and marginalised continue to unite in solidarity in the service delivery protests that have become commonplace expressions of dissatisfaction with the status quo (Managa, 2012; Narsai *et al.*, 2013:396; Meyer, 2014; Kotze & Prevost, 2015:143).

1.2 Social sustainability challenges in the South African context

South Africa's contemporary social context is the result of its colonial and apartheid histories. Whilst the country's post-apartheid democracy stands as a triumph over racially based oppression and the promise of 'a better life for all' (Twala, 2014:159), within a policy context focussed on sustainable development (Goebel, 2007:292; Ross *et al.*, 2010:292), past challenges remain and some have intensified. In terms of the broader social context, redress and sustainability are obstructed as the country suffers under poverty and unemployment, especially under the youth (Dawson, 2014:864; Kotze & Prevost, 2015:143); low levels of education (Ataguba & Alaba, 2012:758); HIV/aids (Schatz *et al.*, 2011:599; Schneider *et al.*, 2014:1; Mavhandu-Mudzusi & Sandy, 2015:196; Meade *et al.*, 2015:80) and tuberculosis (TB) pandemics

(Govender *et al.*, 2011a:341; Narsai *et al.*, 2013:369); one of the highest levels of violent crime in world (DSD, 2012:3; Pecenka & Kundhlande, 2013:737; Klaaren, 2015:552), especially against women and children (Meth, 2013:547; Snodgrass & Bodisch, 2015:68); a patriarchal society that entrenches gender inequality (Mathews *et al.*, 2012:84; Jonck *et al.*, 2015:141); severe alcohol and substance abuse (Peltzer *et al.*, 2010:2237; DSD, 2013:40; Schneider *et al.*, 2014:1; Sorsdahl *et al.*, 2014:122); a dependence on harmful fossil fuels (Goebel, 2007:297; Schwebel *et al.*, 2009:700; Narsai *et al.*, 2013:378; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:677); xenophobic attacks against African migrants (Chikulo, 2013:50; Tella & Ogunnubi, 2014:146; Twala, 2014:164; Okem *et al.*, 2015:79; Debrosse *et al.*, 2016:2); and importantly, inequality as one of the most unequal societies in the world ((Wilson, 2011:3; DSD, 2012; Pecenka & Kundhlande, 2013:737; Stellenberg, 2015:2).

Inequalities are evidenced when gauged according to official measures such as the Gini-coefficient (Wilson, 2011:2; Chikulo, 2013:38; Roberts, 2014:1169; Zoch, 2015:57), but also demonstrated in terms of the country's human settlements. Despite the rigorous development of policy and legislation aimed at redressing the apartheid city's spatial patterns, very little has been achieved (Watson, 2009a:160; Tissington, 2011:6; Coetzee *et al.*, 2014:1; du Plessis, 2014:85; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:688). The state's subsidised housing projects, initiated under the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and later directed towards more sustainable outcomes by the Breaking New Ground (BNG) strategy have been largely to blame, as discussed accordingly. Inequalities have been enforced by the peripheral locations sourced for low-income subsidised housing (Lall *et al.*, 2007:5; Klug *et al.*, 2013:668; Croese *et al.*, 2016:240) often reminiscent of the housing sites secured for non-White South Africans under apartheid planning (Goebel, 2007:294; Turok, 2012:14; Jürgens *et al.*, 2013:256; Turok, 2016:5) and the size and quality of the houses provided (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:29; Tomlinson, 2006b:87; Hopkins, 2007:5; Freund, 2010:287; Lizarralde, 2011:176; Lorraine & Molapo, 2014:905). Whilst post-apartheid initiatives have delivered around 2.8 million subsidised homes (Turok, 2016:5) improved access to basic services for many, especially in larger cities (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:688) and continue to provide a social welfare programme (Ataguba & Alaba, 2012:758) accessed by 28% of the population (Kotze & Prevost, 2015:145), poverty endures.

Millions are still left destitute, accommodated in a growing number of informal settlements (Turok, 2012:21), as shantytowns, or increasingly (Lemanski, 2009:473; Tshangana, 2013:4), in informal backyard rental accommodation. The following section reviews South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in the context of social sustainability.

2. The informal backyard rental sector and issues of social sustainability

The term 'informal backyard rental structure', provides a relatively apparent explanation for the typology. As such, these dwellings, normally as one or two-roomed informal structures erected of corrugated iron, metal sheets, wooden planks and plastic (Morange, 2002:6; Robins, 2002:512; Lemanski, 2009:473), are located adjacent to formal dwellings, generally in the backyards of low-income homes (Cirolia, 2014b:398), and occupied by a range of rental tenants (Bank, 2007:209; Watson, 2009b:5). Given the informal nature of these dwellings, tenants often face poor quality structures that are small, confining, uncomfortable, dark, damp, permeable and inadequately ventilated with poor thermal performance, described as both unhealthy and unsafe, (Morange, 2002:4; Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:30; Lemanski, 2009:473; Jay & Bowen, 2011:581; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:662). Informal backyard renters cope with such conditions to access the range of benefits backyard tenancy may present when compared to settling in a shantytown. Such benefits extend far beyond the need for basic affordable accommodation. These benefits, and subsequent issues related to social sustainability are discussed accordingly.

2.1 The access, safety and security provided by backyard locations

With regards to location, backyarders often prefer the more central locations and access especially older townships afford them (Morange, 2002:10; Bank, 2007:206; Watson, 2009b:5). Many are further drawn to such backyard dwellings to escape the violence they associate with other peripheral informal settlements (Morange, 2002:10), perceived as more crime-ridden and dangerous (Zwaig, 2015:5) than the pacified formal townships that provide them with refuge. Such motivations stem from an apartheid mind-set concerning a safer centre and violent periphery as metaphor for the legitimate and that which opposes it (Morange, 2002:11). In the 'safer' core backyard dwellings provide security (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:139) in a physically and socially stable environment (Morange, 2002:11). There stability is encouraged by the presence of an increased number of residents per yard, accepted as reducing theft and violence, in a sort of 'eyes-on-my-yard' approach (Carey, 2009:11) in which vigilance is increased and responsibilities shared amongst landlords and tenants (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013). For tenants, the proximity and connectedness to long-urbanised landlords may further reinforce their sense of moral and physical security (Morange, 2002:11) under the protection of landlords (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:661) as legitimate members of the community. Yet, backyard tenants may be lulled into a false sense of sanctuary. Crime is an ever-present reality in South Africa (Pecenka & Kundhlande, 2013:737; Klaaren, 2015:552) and the low-income areas where informal backyard rentals are most commonly found are no misnomer (Carey, 2009:11). As such, Narsai *et al.* (2013:380) for example found that crime was as much a problem in RDP townships as informal settlements, whilst others have proclaimed that the structural informality of most informal backyard rental dwellings make them more vulnerable to home burglaries and attacks (Meth, 2013:547), and may make an entire neighbourhood more susceptible, perhaps related to the 'broken window syndrome' cited in the previous section. In addition to location advantages and perceptions on safety and stability, informal backyard tenancy is significantly motivated by the probability of access to basic services, elaborated on below.

2.2 Opportunities to access basic services

The majority of informal backyard renters generally enjoy service access (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:139; Gunter, 2014:97) as tenants commonly use ablution facilities and water in the main dwelling (Govender *et al.*, 2011b:29), access electricity through informal and illegal connections (Lemanski, 2009:477) and make use of the refuse bins provided to their landlords (Govender *et al.*, 2011a:339). Although service access is common in the informal backyard rental sector, it is not universal and cases exist where backyard tenants fail to access services consistently (Tshangana, 2013:7), presenting a contrast between benefits accrued *via* full service access, such as increased comfort, health, safety and wellbeing (Goebel *et al.*, 2010:577; Govender *et al.*, 2011b:32; Marais & Cloete, 2014:59) and related detriments when access is less forthcoming. In cases of the latter pertaining to ablutions and portable water, access is often denied because backyard tenants are constrained from using facilities at night or when the landlord is absent and the house locked, forcing tenants to collect water from the main dwelling when possible to store in containers in their shacks, and to dispose of human waste and waste water in the yard or street, especially when there are no drains in the yard (Lemanski, 2009:477; Govender *et al.*, 2011a:339; Zwaig, 2015:6). In addition, the sheer number of main and backyard occupants who often share sanitation facilities intended for single households, may lead to regular blocks and surcharges (Lemanski, 2009:477). In such situations occupants of main and backyard dwellings may build their own pit latrines or empty buckets elsewhere (Goebel *et al.*, 2010:576). Through all of the aforementioned, the risk of water contamination is increased (Govender *et al.*, 2011a:341), hygiene is compromised and both landlord and tenant health placed at risk (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31). Electricity accessed through informal connections present an equally challenging dichotomy. Electricity access reduces indoor air pollution from fossil fuels otherwise used for cooking and heating, allows people to study at night, keep food fresh for longer, power cell phones, televisions and computers and run small businesses (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:685). Yet, on the other side of the spectrum, informal electricity connections may lead to regular outages due to over-consumption, total dependence on landlords for electricity, and of course fires with destruction of property, injury and loss of life as consequence for both landlords and tenants (Lemanski, 2009:477).

The following subsections provide an overview on the demographic characteristics of these landlords and tenants and the connections and relationships between stakeholders in keeping with the discussion on the benefits of backyarding and related impacts on social sustainability.

2.3 Demographic trends for landlords and their backyard tenants

Landlords and tenants in the informal backyard rental sector are not homogenous groups, yet certain general patterns may be observed (Watson, 2009b:5). Studies have shown that, although a range of age groups occupy informal backyard dwellings (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:135; Lemanski, 2009:476; Zwaig, 2015:5), backyard tenants are generally younger than their landlords (Gilbert, 1983; Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:135; Gordon & Nell, 2006; Bank, 2007:213; Watson, 2009b:5; Rubin & Gardner, 2013; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:658; Gunter, 2014:99; Zwaig, 2015:5) who, especially in older townships, may be well established in the area as long-term urban residents who are retired or close to retirement age (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31). Both tenants and their landlords are often single females (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:139; Bank, 2007:213; Gunter, 2014:99), indicating that the backyard rental sector has adopted a gendered angle on both supply and demand sides (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31), reflecting that almost half of all South African households are headed by females (Goebel *et al.*, 2010:578; Schatz *et al.*, 2011:598) and echoing the feminisation of poverty throughout the global South (Appleton, 1996:1811; Bongaarts, 2001; Schatz *et al.*, 2011; Narsai *et al.*, 2013:379). Numerous studies have also found that backyard tenant households are smaller than those of landlords (Gilbert, 1983; Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:135; Gordon & Nell, 2006; Lemanski, 2009:476; Watson, 2009b:5; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:658).

Landlord and tenant households often have certain characteristics in common. Landlords and their backyard tenants regularly display similarly low income levels (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:139; Morange, 2002:14; Bank, 2007:214; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:658), with poor tenants most likely renting from poor landlords (Lemanski, 2009:473).

Yet, in many cases tenants present greater income security with permanent employment and slightly higher incomes when compared to their landlords (Watson, 2009b:5; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:658). Informal backyard tenants are comforted by the socio-economic characteristics shared with landlords, the level of physical security and service access granted by their proximity to those in main dwellings and the supportive qualities the landlord-tenant relationship may adopt along the range of connections that may outline the relationship between them.

2.3.1 Connections between landlords and backyard tenants: family, friends or strangers?

Landlords and their backyard tenants generally present two distinct forms of association, as either family members or unrelated tenants, who in cases of the last are often migrants (Reader, 1961:54; Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:136; Robins, 2002:517; Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:31; Bank, 2007:209; Carey, 2009:18; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:18; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:655).

During apartheid, landlords, as tenants in homes owned by the local authority themselves, started to accommodate extended family members and friends in their backyards (Morange, 2002:6; Lemanski, 2009:473). In the present day, additional space is often still required to accommodate large families within that established culture of housing extended family (Lemanski, 2009:479) and supporting kinship networks (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:31). In such cases kinship connections provide access to rental options that may not be available otherwise (Zwaig, 2015:5). Tenants and landlords seem to be related more frequently in Coloured than African communities (Saphire, 1992:675; Beall *et al.*, 2002:163; Morange, 2002:13; Lemanski, 2009:474) with such tenants remunerating landlords in kind and not cash (Lemanski, 2009:473; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:661), or paying only for the services they use (Carey, 2009:18). Zwaig (2015) found that where landlords and tenants were related, backyard dwellings were more likely to be of improved construction, prefabricated or even formal second dwellings. As such, the condition of backyard structures could indicate the nature of the landlord-tenant connection.

In the main though, South Africa's informal backyard tenants are unrelated to their landlords, and remain paying renters (Reader, 1961:54; Morange, 2002:13; Bank, 2007:209; Lemanski, 2009:476). Some landlords and tenants are not even previously acquainted before they enter into an agreement (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:140). In such cases, tenants are selected on face-value, considered on characteristics including gender, age, ethnic background and perceived levels of upbringing and discipline (Carey, 2009:18). The succeeding section reports on literature related to the nature of the landlord-tenant relationship.

2.3.2 The evolving supportive nature of the landlord-tenant relationship

Historically, the relationship between landlords and their backyard tenants, even amongst family members and friends, was regarded as strictly patron-client and deeply exploitative, involving better-off landlords with a focus on generating profit (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:17) from particularly vulnerable and poor tenants (Skuse & Cousins, 2007:983) who found themselves in a crowded market (Gunter, 2014:98).

Literature on the subject dated before the late 1990s showed that, although being relatively wealthier and better serviced than those in informal settlements, backyard tenants regularly left their backyard accommodation to resettle in shantytowns. These migrations were typically ascribed to the appalling conditions, including overcrowding, a lack of privacy and restricted service access suffered under unfair landlords who raised rents and enforced curfews, visitor and noise restrictions (Saphire, 1992:680; Crankshaw, 1993:44; Guillaume & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2002:94; Lemanski, 2009:474; Lategan & Cilliers, 2015:851).

The landlord-tenant relationship has remained largely unregulated (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:31), mostly without formal agreements to guide rental terms (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:140; Carey, 2009:18; Watson, 2009b:9). Whilst incidences of exploitation in terms of arbitrary evictions and restricting service access may exist in selected cases (Morange, 2002:16; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:17) more recent research has revealed a significant shift. Negative stereotypes have remained ingrained in public imagination, but such preconceptions are now rarely confirmed (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:135; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:17).

From the late 1990s new trends have emerged, as backyard rentals have increasingly provided affordable accommodation, with tenure security and good access to services in conditions not very more crowded than experienced in informal settlements (Lemanski, 2009). Relationships have been described in more optimistic terms as part of supportive social networks, as generally positive, fair, amiable, tolerate, content and non-exploitative, based on mutual confidence and united consciousness in solidarity with very little conflict (Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000; Beall *et al.*, 2002:170; Morange, 2002:11; Gordon & Nell, 2006; Bank, 2007:214; Carey, 2009:11; Lemanski, 2009:481; Watson, 2009b:6; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:18; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663; Dawson, 2014:871). Such social networks are especially significant considering the inherent vulnerabilities of backyard tenants (Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000; Morange, 2002; Bank, 2007; Skuse & Cousins, 2007; Carey, 2009; Lemanski, 2009; Watson, 2009b; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013; Gunter, 2014; Zwaig, 2015), who are often viewed as illegitimate members of the community (Lategan & Cilliers, 2015:851) and stigmatised by a lower social status than those in formal housing (Zwaig, 2015:5). Such feelings are intensified where backyard dwellers have a weak political voice and local community groups and the state engage exclusively with registered property owners and rate payers (Beall *et al.*, 2002:171).

The informal backyard rental sector is often further marginalised by a lack of strong representation, capacity, leadership and organisation (Lemanski, 2009:479) that would provide backyard tenants with adequate lobbying ability (Morange, 2002:3). Yet, whilst weak representation is common, not all backyard tenants have been left voiceless. In Cape Town for instance, organised tenant associations have direct contact with government officials and attempt to improve tenant circumstances (Carey, 2009:21). Similar associations have also been established in Gauteng following displacement as the consequence of backyard pilot programmes and landlord subsidies there (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:53). In other examples of mobilisation backyard dwellers have joined the chorus of South Africans rallying in service delivery protests (Bank, 2007:205). In a study on the role of the youth in service delivery protest for example, Dawson (2014:871) found that a substantial number of protestors lived in informal backyard rental accommodation.

There are furthermore numerous causes for dissent within the boundaries of each yard. Despite the euphoric descriptions commonly attached to the landlord-tenant relationship in recent literature, occasional clashes occur. When conflict inevitably rears its head (Bank, 2007:214; Lemanski, 2009:481), disagreements find their genesis in payment disputes, noise, water and electricity consumption disputes, maintenance problems, political tension, infringements against established rules on hygiene directions and the number of visitors allowed, personal issues, a lack of communication and rumours (Bank, 2007:214; Carey, 2009:19), often exacerbated by alcohol and substance abuse (Carey, 2009:19; Lemanski, 2009:481) and cohabitating in limited space (Morange, 2002:11). Such disagreements are habitually resolved internally without legal counsel and outside the official avenues provided in terms of rental legislation (Watson, 2009b:6; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:18). The Rental Housing Act of 1999 and the Rental Housing Amendment Bill of 2007 have provided all landlords and tenants in the formal and informal rental sectors with increased rights, protection and recourse (Lemanski, 2009:475; Mohamed, 2010:2; Tissington, 2011:38). The 2007 Rental Housing Amendment Bill provided such measures through the introduction of rental housing tribunals (RHTs) to resolve landlord tenant disputes (Mohamed, 2010:2). However these instruments have shown limited success (especially outside the metros), as most stakeholders in the informal sector remain unaware of their rights and continue oblivious to the existence of bodies like Tribunals (Watson, 2009b; Gunter, 2014:102).

The literature review has unearthed a range of characteristics attributed to socially sustainable communities and provided a review of social issues in South Africa's informal backyard rental sector. The succeeding empirical section aims to explore the links between social sustainability and the informal backyard rental sector within a previously neglected context, drawing the magnifying glass to the smaller town of Oudtshoorn and the prospects for social sustainability in the backyards of its Bridgton and Bongolethu townships.

3. Empirical Investigation

The town of Oudtshoorn is the capital of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (OLM), within the Western Cape Province's Eden District Municipality (EDM). Around 95933 residents call the OLM home, of which the majority (77.35%) are Coloured, 12.49% are White and 9.11% are Black, as per the 2011 Census. Reflecting national trends, the bulk of Oudtshoorn's White residents have remained in their privileged enclaves whilst most other racial groups still occupy generally impoverished apartheid era townships such as Bridgton and Bongolethu, outlying rural hamlets (Wisner *et al.*, 2015:174) and informal settlements like Rose Valley (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013b:306).

As the two most prominent apartheid-era townships, Bridgton and Bongolethu accommodate 32364 people, or 33.73% of the OLM's total population, predominantly in housing provided by the state during and after apartheid. In accordance with national trends, these townships accommodate a large number of informal backyard dwellers, with the exact number remaining elusive (Daughters, 2015). This article draws on research conducted on informal backyard renting in 2015, in both Bridgton and Bongolethu.

3.1.1 Methodology

Empirical evidence was collected *via* a survey conducted on 103 properties surrounding the Bridgton Pavilion in May 2015, elaborating on research on the informal backyard rental sector conducted in the same area in 2013 (Lategan & Cilliers, 2014). When a suitable case study within the Bridgton/Bongolethu area was sought in 2013, an analysis of satellite imagery immediately drew focus to the green oblong shape of the Bridgton Pavilion amongst its bleak township surroundings. Further analysis revealed a high number of informal backyard structures in the broader area and from there the Bridgton Pavilion was selected as a fitting centrepiece around which to mobilise research activities.

The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey included only properties that presented informal backyard rental components, with willing landlord and backyard tenant respondents, selected by means of convenience sampling. Respondents were made aware of research objectives and informed of general instructions. Informed consent was described in terms of the requirements of respondents' voluntary participation and confidentiality ensured. Survey questions probed spatial, economic and social issues, with this article limited to conveying data and findings in the social sphere, given the focus on social sustainability. After questionnaires were distributed, data were captured and analysed by the North-West University's Statistical Consultancy Services using IBM's SPSS software. As a convenience sample instead of a random sample was used, p-values are reported for completeness sake but not interpreted in this article.

The research makes further use of semi-structured interviews conducted with selected officials in the OLM, as well as other relevant stakeholders, referenced with pseudonyms throughout, who provided information and insight on matters less forthcoming in literature and existing statistics. Research findings are conveyed in the subsequent section, based on demographic results; the nature of landlord and tenant connections; the relationship between these landlords and tenants; findings on conflict resolution and recourse; and other challenges related to social sustainability with regards to informal backyard rentals in the case study.

3.1.2 Demographic findings

The 2015 Bridgton/Bongolethu survey reached 244 households, constituted predominantly by Coloured, Afrikaans speaking members. The sample included 103 individual properties that accommodated 103 main (42.21%) and 141 (57.79%) informal backyard households. Of these, 103 main and 120 informal backyard rental questionnaires were retrieved. The 223 households represented in the survey accommodated 1023 occupants, with 577 (56.40%) people in main dwellings and 446 (43.60%) people in informal backyard structures.

Main dwellings housed a mean of 5.60 people ($s=2.928$), whilst informal backyard lodgings accommodated an average 3.72 ($s=1.74$) occupants, thus confirming trends uncovered by other researchers on smaller household sizes in backyard dwellings (Gilbert, 1983; Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:135; Gordon & Nell, 2006; Lemanski, 2009:476; Watson, 2009b:5; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:658). The survey further established that 74.8% of landlords (as the head of the household) were female and 25.2% were male, whilst 66.7% of informal backyard tenants (as the head of the household) were male and 33.3% were female. Findings thus confirmed previous research on the dominance of female landlords (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:139; Bank, 2007:213; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31; Gunter, 2014:99) and male tenants (Zwaig, 2015:5). Accordingly, revealing a clear gender disparity between landlords and backyard tenants in the case study, with a Phi test for landlord and tenant sex providing an effect size of -0.414 ($p=0$), indicating a medium to large inverse effect and a practical visible significant association shown in the predominance of females as landlords and males as tenants. In addition to gender disparities, data further revealed discernible differences in landlord and tenant age. **Figure 10** below captures mean ages for females and males in the total population and for the landlords and informal backyard tenants reached.

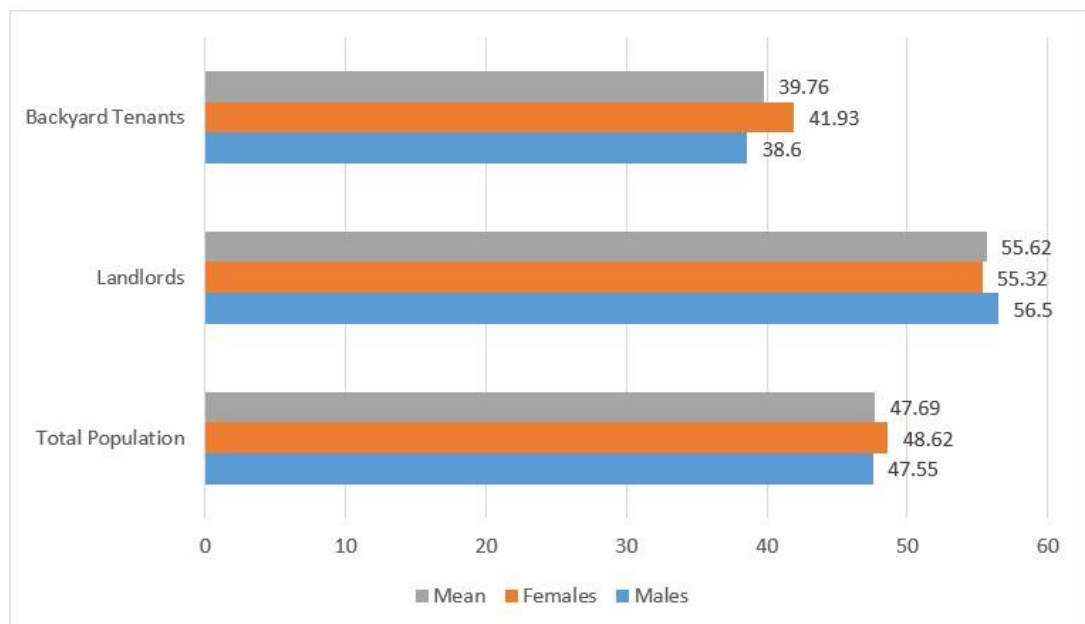


Figure 10: Mean ages backyard tenants and landlords for both sexes in years

The results presented in **Figure 10** confirm findings in other local studies, that landlords are generally older than their backyard tenants (Gilbert, 1983; Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:135; Gordon & Nell, 2006; Bank, 2007:213; Watson, 2009b:5; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:658; Gunter, 2014:99; Zwaig, 2015:5), in the case study by a mean of 15.86 years. A T-test for landlord and tenant age provided an effect size of 1.2, indicating a very strong practically significant difference, manifested in the wide age discrepancy between older landlords and younger backyard tenants.

With regards to marital status, data showed that 30.4% of all landlords were single, 29.4% married and 29.4% widowed. For informal backyard renters 47.5% were single, 29.2% were married and 16.7% were unwed, but cohabitating in civil union. Graphs 2 and 3 present marital status for the head of the household for landlord and backyard tenants, in actual numbers.

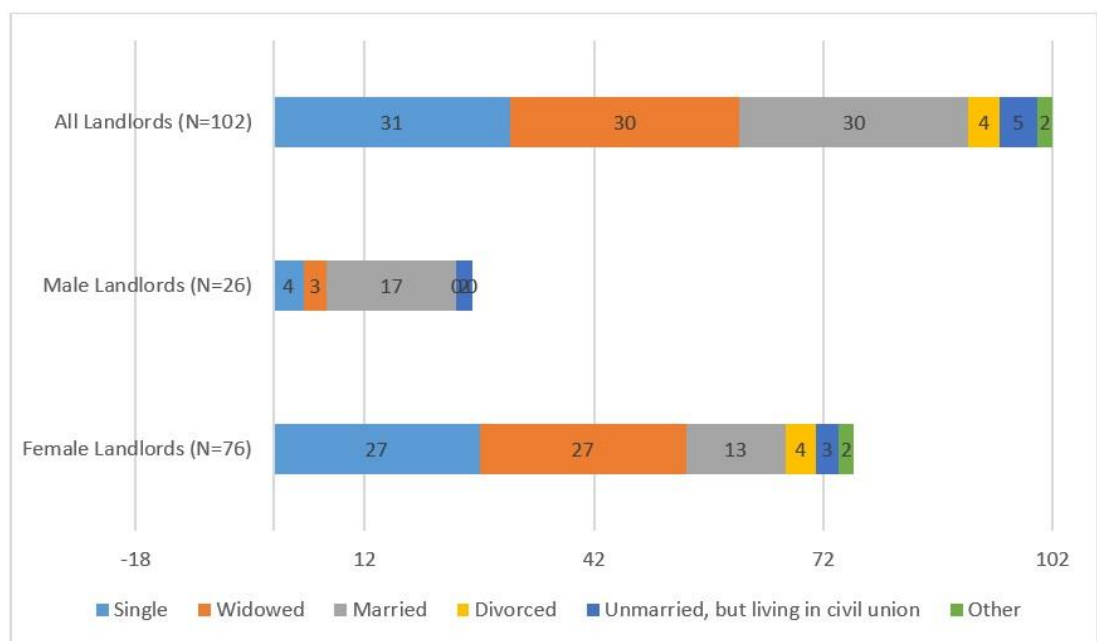


Figure 11: Landlord marital status in actual numbers

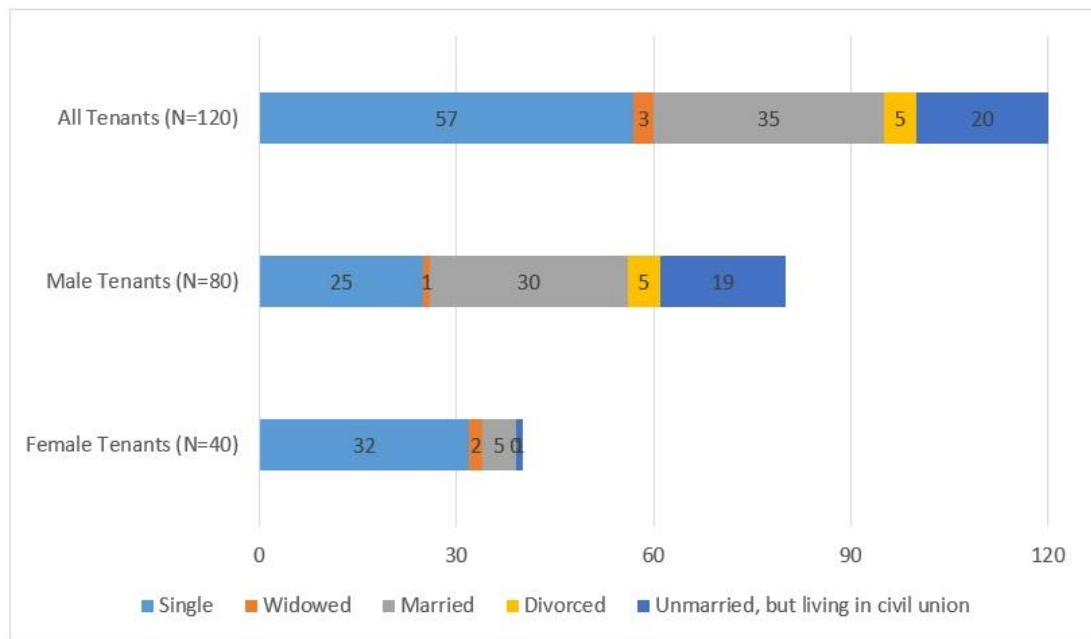


Figure 12: Backyard tenant marital status in actual numbers

In terms of Graphs 2 and 3 it is of particular interest to note that the majority of all respondents were single. Particularly, females, as the majority of landlords, were either single (35.5%) or widowed (35.5%) leaving them to face specific challenges and hardships when considering poverty, illness and care-giving abilities (Goebel *et al.*, 2010:579) and making them more dependant (Schatz *et al.*, 2011:598). Female backyard tenants, though in the minority, were also predominantly single (80%), sharing in the plight of most landlords. Male backyarders, as the majority of backyard tenants, were single (31.25%), married (37.5%) or living in civil union (23.8%) and in cases of the last two could draw on collective resources and support. Phi test results for landlord vs tenant marital status showed an effect size of 0.425 ($p=0$), indicating a strong medium effect and visible significant association, with single and married household heads prominent in both datasets. Ultimately, data showed that the typical landlord in the case study was a single female in her mid-to-late 50s who provided accommodation to an informal backyard tenant who was a married, or attached male in his late 30s. Findings thus confirmed trends established in the literature regarding older single female landlords and younger backyard tenants, but diverged with regards to tenant sex and marital status trends, established elsewhere in the literature (See **Section 2.3** of this article).

With regards to household incomes it is apt to recognise that the majority of landlord (93.2%) and backyard (86.6%) households reported a collective monthly income below R3500.00, with most earning between R1001.00 and R1500.00 per month, thus living in similar conditions of poverty, as in Gilbert *et al.* (1997:139); Morange (2002:14); Bank (2007:214); Lemanski (2009:473); Shapurjee and Charlton (2013:658). It is also interesting to note that 68% of landlord households reported pension dispensations as main source of monthly household income, whilst only 1.8% of backyard households declared the same source, as related to the discrepancy in landlord and tenant ages provided above. In this part of Bridgton and Bongoletu, the informal backyard rental sector is thus dominated by single female landlords who are already retired or, close to retirement age and continue to be breadwinners and caregivers. Other studies have reported that informal backyard landlordism is common amongst the elderly for two reasons. Firstly, rental contributions may make formal housing a viable option for many who would otherwise have to leave their historical neighbourhoods in search of more affordable, lower quality housing (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:41).

Secondly, even where rental contributions are minimal or non-existent, informal backyard rentals provide landlords with the opportunity to accommodate extended family members, often as older or married children (Zwaig, 2015:5), thus bringing families and relatives closer together (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31), fostering the opportunity for multigenerational living (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:661) and aging in a constant location (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:19), whilst providing landlords with a form of social support, providing 'care in the community' for the elderly (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:18). Such connections to a place of residence and community enforce a number of the characteristics that underpin social sustainability in terms of low residential turnover, enhanced social networks and a sense of belonging identified in the literature review under **Section 1.1** of this article. Within the vein of multigenerational living, familial connections, and the emphasis on the landlord-tenant relationship, it is further important to probe the links between landlords and tenants in the case study.

3.1.3 The nature of landlord-tenant connections in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study

In 80.8% of the backyard households included in the study, all household members were related to landlords. In 12.5% of cases, only some members shared a familial connection with landlords, whilst in only 6.7% of cases no such connection could be established. Furthermore, 45.8% of backyard respondents stated that they were tenants primarily to maintain family ties. The case study thus seems to confirm the trend that landlords and tenants in predominantly Coloured areas are more likely to be related (Morange, 2002:13; Carey, 2009:18; Lemanski, 2009:473). In Cape Town Lemanski (2009:479) theorised that as previous shack dwellers themselves, many landlords have sympathy for the plight of the destitute and provide rentals as part of a moral imperative to help the indigent, in what Gilbert *et al.* (1997:141) describes as the antithesis of 'classic landlord behaviour'. The 2015 survey showed that 93.1% of landlords provided informal backyard rentals motivated by a form of compassion and desire to help their fellow man, whilst only 2% cited financial need as main motivator. Cramer's V test for the nature of the landlord-tenant relationship, in terms of familial connection and motivation for engaging in the informal backyard rental sector yielded an effect size of 0.415 ($p=0$), as a strong medium effect and practical visible significant association.

Results showed that financial motivation was strongest where landlords and tenants were not related at all, yet also that compassion/social motivations dominated regardless of the nature of the landlord tenant connection. Accordingly, in this part of Bridgton and Bongolethu, as elsewhere, yards have become organic communities, representing harmony and co-operation, places of sharing and Ubuntu (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013b:309), as the expression of an emergent African socialism (Mayekiso, 1996 in Bank, 2007:220) in which significant social safety nets and social capital are built (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:31). These supportive networks are especially useful, and tested, in times of conflict. As discussed in the literature review, the informal backyard rental sector is less tormented by disagreement than often perceived from the outside. Such views were also evaluated in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study, as captured in the succeeding subsection.

3.1.4 Evaluating the relationship between landlords and their tenants in Bridgton and Bongolethu

Evaluating the nature of the landlord tenant relationship in terms of conflict, as proxy for a range of issues, yielded interesting results in the case study. As such, 86.4% of landlords reported that conflict between them and their backyard tenants was never an issue (or so rarely that it could not be accounted for), only 7.8 % reported conflict rearing its head once a month, whilst 5.8% were involved in landlord-tenant conflict more than once a month. For informal backyard tenants, 75.8% reported that conflict between them and their landlords was never an issue (or so rarely that it could not be accounted for), 10% reported conflict at least once a month, 7.5% registered conflict more than once a month, whilst 6.7% stated that landlord-tenant conflict was an almost daily reality. Landlords thus revealed lower levels of conflict, perhaps owing to their position as those in charge on the yard, whilst tenants, as the more vulnerable stakeholder in the rental arrangement, were more sensitive to conflict and thus registered the occurrence of strife more intuitively. Cramer's V test for the nature of the landlord-tenant relationship, in terms of familial connection and the prevalence of conflict noted by landlords provided an effect size of 0.082 ($p=0.847$) and for backyard tenants an effect size of 0.148 ($p=0.510$). In both cases effect sizes showed a practical non-significant association, indicating a low conflict relationship along the range of landlord-tenant connections.

Figure 13 captures the main causes for landlord-tenant strife for both landlords and backyard tenants, as well as the prevalence of each recorded

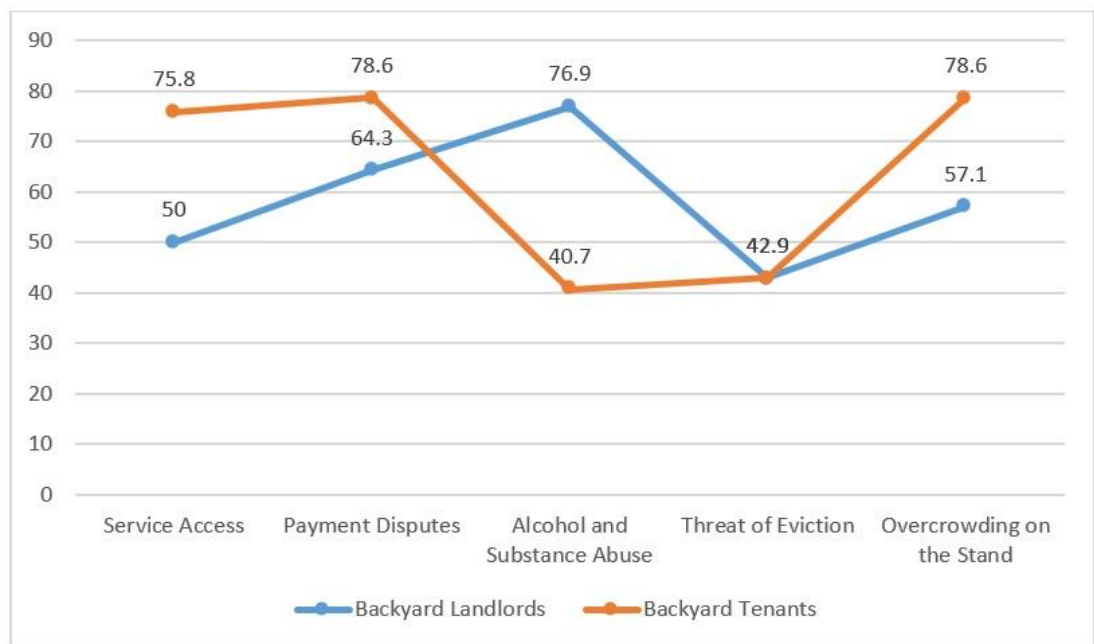


Figure 13: Comparing sources and prevalence of conflict for landlords and informal backyard tenants

Figure 13 shows that sources of conflict were rarely experienced similarly by landlords and tenants, with the exception of ‘threat of eviction’, as a low source of conflict. For all variables, with the exception of ‘alcohol and substance abuse’, backyard tenants reported higher levels of related conflict than their landlords. From the graph data above it is surmised that backyard tenants may register increased levels of conflict in relation to service access, because tenants are reliant and vulnerable to the level of access granted to services by landlords and are more disadvantaged by differences in regards thereto; are more sensitive to payment disputes as tenants are responsible for apt payment and held accountable; and overcrowding, because of the small size of most informal backyard rental structures and the need to venture outside the backyard dwelling into a yard shared with other tenants and members of the landlord household. With regards to the latter, 38.8% of landlords and 60.8% of tenants indicated feelings of limitations in private space on the yard as a result of informal backyard rentals.

A Phi test comparing feelings of limitations on private space on the yard as a result of informal backyard rentals for both landlords and backyard tenants yielded an effect size of -0.219 ($p=0.001$), with backyard tenants slightly more inclined to experience a lack of personal space in the yard. As identified in the literature (Watson, 2009b:6; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:18), where disagreements caused strife, regardless of reason, neither case study landlords nor tenants seemed to turn to formal channels of arbitration, discussed accordingly.

3.1.5 Conflict resolution and recourse in the Bridgton and Bongolethu case

Data revealed that 66% of landlords had never sought outside mediation in terms of Rental Housing Tribunals to resolve landlord-tenant conflict, whilst 14.6% stated that they were unaware of the rental tribunal concept. For backyard tenants, 87.5% had never approached a Rental Tribunal, though some had sought mediation in aid of conflict resolution. Anecdotally, the majority of respondents seemed to confuse Tribunals with other unofficial mediators such as religious leaders or even the police, leading this article to posit that the number of respondents who had not used Tribunals explicitly may be much higher, especially for landlords, as a result of this misinterpretation. Results are not surprising, given that Oudtshoorn currently has no local Rental Housing Tribunal or direct links to any such body. Serious cases are generally referred to the adjacent town of George, 59km away, where a rental office and information centre has been established where complaints can be lodged (Gold, 2015). Furthermore, no representative body, as a backyard dwellers association or similar advocacy group, could be identified in Oudtshoorn to lobby on the behalf of disgruntled landlords and tenants or intervene in disputes. As a result, the local housing department acts as mediator, as officials arbiter in pursuit of conflict resolution. The housing department has taken it upon itself to draft a rental agreement template, made available to the local backyard landlords and tenants upon request, in the hopes of avoiding future conflicts by capturing rental terms in writing. This service, though applied in small scale, may provide significant guidance in mitigating a fragile landlord-tenant relationship that adheres to unwritten, yet established rules (Carey, 2009:19).

Following trends nationally, respondents rarely entered into the rental agreement with a written contract. Only 4.2% of rental agreements in the case study were formalised on paper, in 82.5% of cases rental terms were negotiated orally, whilst in 13.3% of cases no rental terms were discussed before backyard renters took tenancy. Though it must be noted that the prevalence of oral- and the complete absence of agreements in some cases may be ascribed to the kinship bonds between landlords and backyard tenants that dominate the area's informal backyard rental sector, indicating a certain complacency and trust that make a negotiated agreement obsolete. Despite the general absence of rental agreements, data revealed that backyard tenants in the case study had occupied their dwellings for a mean of six and a half years. Where agreements had been negotiated, the terms included and the occurrence of such terms are captured in **Figure 14**.

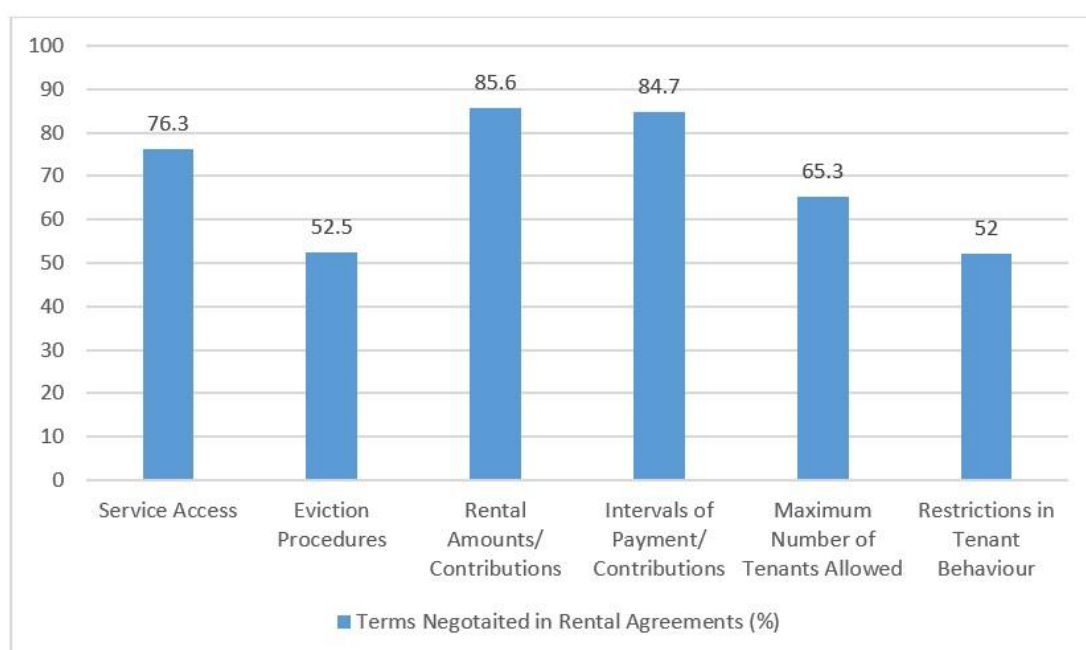


Figure 14: Terms negotiated in Rental Agreements (%)

Figure 14 indicates that terms regarding rental remuneration took precedence when rental agreements were reached, followed by conditions of service access. Here it is apt to recognise that an aggregate 93.33% of backyard respondents claimed access to electricity, sanitation, piped water and refuse removal.

Surprisingly perhaps, restrictions in tenure behaviour and eviction procedures were covered by little more than half of negotiated agreements; leaving room for ambiguity and conflict, as depicted in **Figure 13**. Conflict is commonly attributed to poor communication between landlords and tenants (Captain, 2013), in addition to the impacts of remaining social pathologies still associated with the informal backyard rental sector, considered below.

3.2 Other challenges to social sustainability uncovered in Bridgton and Bongolethu

3.2.1 Alcohol and substance abuse, crime and safety

As established in the literature, alcohol and substance abuse is recognised as a major social challenge in South Africa. In Bridgton and Bongolethu, such abuses are common, for both those in formal dwellings and backyard shacks. Alcohol and substance abuse may be emblematic of life in poverty or as part of a socially imbedded predisposition (Hendricks *et al.*, 2015:100; Meade *et al.*, 2015:83; Zwaig, 2015:7). It has been reported that problem-drinking, for example, is highest under South Africa's low-income Coloured male population (Lesch & Adams, 2016:167). Given the homogenous racial composition of respondents, general familial ties and comparable household incomes established amongst landlords and their informal backyard tenants in the 2015 survey, this article posits that there is little discernible difference in the levels of alcohol and substance abuse amongst landlords and informal backyard renters, confirming views that backyarders are not necessarily more prone to such vices because of their housing conditions (Captain, 2013). It is however, conceded that challenges related to alcohol and substance abuse may be concentrated where a larger number of low-income individuals congregate, as facilitated by the increased population densities introduced by the addition of informal backyard tenants (Cameron, 2015), contributing to a more risk-prone environment (Zwaig, 2015:1). In addition, it is recognised that informal backyard structures are regularly occupied by illegal alcohol vendors, or 'smokkelhuise', who supply communities and contribute to the problem-drinking crisis (Lesch & Adams, 2016:169), although no such vendors were identified in the 2015 sample.

As captured in **Figure 13**, alcohol and substance abuse were cited as a major cause of landlord-tenant conflict, more so for landlords than their informal backyard tenants. Such findings do not necessarily indicate that backyarders abuse alcohol more, simply that when either party are under the influence landlords are more likely to encounter, or register, conflict. Here this article echoes Bank (2007:17) who found that a culture of drinking in a specific yard was often set by the landlord and where a landlord drank, backyard tenants were generally permitted to do the same.

Where alcohol and substance abuse are issues, the proximity in which both unrelated and related backyarders live, often increases tension, as per **Figure 13**, and the probability of both violent and non-violent crimes (Captain, 2013). Yet, as shown in the preceding literature review, many of South Africa's informal backyard renters choose their accommodation for safety reasons. In the case study for example, 76.7% of backyard renters reported that they felt secure in their backyard dwellings with regards to personal safety and the safety of their possessions when they were not home. Such perceptions are significant considering that 43.7% of informal backyard tenants also rated crime as a daily concern in the area. (For landlords data showed the figure at 31.4%). A Phi test for backyard tenants' perceptions on feeling safe in their dwellings and respondents claiming crime as a daily concern provided an effect size of -0.230 ($p=0.012$), as a small inverse effect, with those feeling safe in their backyard lodgings slightly more inclined to report that crime was not a daily concern and vice versa. A Phi test for alcohol and substance abuse as source of conflict under backyard tenants and crime as issue of daily concern showed an effect size of 0.320 ($P=0.096$), as a practical visible significant association or medium effect, indicating that where alcohol and substance abuse were problematic on the yard, backyard tenants also tended to report that crime was a daily concern.

Alcohol and substance abuse may have further consequences for safety and security at yard scale. Backyard dwellings have often been described as hidden (Parnell & Hart, 1999:367; Turok, 2012:22) and obscure and it is in such unseen spaces that the most vulnerable of tenants fall prey to injustice. The victims in the shadows of backyard shacks are invariably women and children (Bank, 2007:226).

In the case study area, alcohol and substance abuse have been linked to social pathologies such as child sexual abuse, as inhibitions are lowered and abusers provided with ample opportunity (Captain, 2013). Abuse conducive conditions are fostered in backyard shacks where multiple tenants of both sexes and all ages cohabitate in small, cramped dwellings (Meth, 2013:547) that provide little privacy. Informal backyard dwellings included in the 2015 survey presented a mean of 1.87 ($s=1.053$) rooms per dwelling. Where multiple rooms were provided spaces were generally divided only by curtains or furniture.

Backyard children are further more vulnerable to the threat of electrical shocks and fire-related injury or death (Meth, 2013:546-549; Wire, 2015), although such threats do not discriminate and all backyard lodgers remain at risk.

3.2.2 Fires threats and related backyarding risks

As provided in the literature review, informal backyard households generally access electricity *via* informal electricity connections. Survey findings suggest that 80.8% of backyard respondents had access to electricity, with 77.5% of all backyard tenants serviced *via* informal connections from the main dwelling. Such connections may take two forms, in neither case installed by qualified electricians. Wires are either placed under ground or alternatively, suspended from one structure to the other (Govender *et al.*, 2011b:32; Meth, 2013:549), leading to a 'multiplug' that powers a variety of appliances (Lemanski, 2009:477; Zwaig, 2015:6).

Such informal connections come at a price, as electrical fires are common in Bridgton and Bongolethu. Fires are also attributed to other sources such as candles, gas stoves, cigarettes and impromptu heating devices, with fires regularly the result of and exacerbated by a lack of knowledge on responsible fire ignition and extinction and negligence under the influence of drugs and alcohol (Case, 2015; Wire, 2015).

Many of these fires are further linked to a continued dependence on fuels such as paraffin and wood for cooking and lighting as inexpensive alternatives to electricity (Goebel, 2007:297) that also hold other dangers such as poisoning, indoor air pollution and mortality, in which children are again especially vulnerable (Schwebel *et al.*, 2009:700; Narsai *et al.*, 2013:381; Marais & Cloete, 2014:49; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:677). Irrespective of the source, informal backyard dwellings fuel fires when constructed from flammable materials, as most are (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:30; Schwebel *et al.*, 2009:700; Meth, 2013:546; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:662). As such, timber construction is especially dangerous. Survey results showed that 97.5% of backyard structures included in the 2015 survey used timber as construction material, either as support beams and/or to clad walls, 16.7% also incorporated cardboard as insulation material. Of the informal backyard households surveyed, only 8.3% had experienced problems with fires in the past. The relatively low occurrence of past fires recorded in the 2015 survey, considered against the significant potential for fires due to flammable construction materials, informal electricity connections, unsafe fire practices and the number of years respondents had occupied informal rental structures, should not downplay the severity of fires in backyard shacks in Bridgton and Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, or nationally.

According to Case (2015) Oudtshoorn suffers approximately sixty house fires in both formal and informal dwellings annually, of which roughly forty fires (66.7%) are attributed to blazes initiated in informal backyard rental structures. Fatalities resulting from informal backyard rental fires average roughly eight persons per annum in Oudtshoorn, with many more treated for fire related injuries such as burns and smoke inhalation. In one case in 2010, seven people perished in a single backyard fire (Case, 2015). In addition, roughly four patients are transferred to burn units in George and Cape Town because of third degree burns annually (Wire, 2015). Fatality rates may rise rapidly from a single blaze as the location of structures behind main homes may allow fires to develop to an advanced stage before they are noticed (Zwaig, 2015:6) and spread quickly given the close proximity in which structures may be packed in dense configurations (Narsai *et al.*, 2013:379). The latter is of increasing concern in Oudtshoorn, Bridgton and Bongoletu, as informal backyard structures are increasingly constructed attached to main dwellings (Case, 2015).

Backyard fires have serious repercussions for fire services and health care (Govender *et al.*, 2011b:32), with the latter placed under further pressure by the ill-health that informal backyard renting may bring about.

3.2.3 Health impacts as a result of informal backyarding

Those in the low-income segment in the OLM are serviced by three mobile clinics, and six health clinics that feed into the Oudtshoorn District Hospital, which in turn feeds into the Provincial Hospital in George. These facilities provide vital and efficient health services, but also struggle to keep pace with growing demand given restricted capacities (Wire, 2015). Expressing the connection between health issues and informal backyard rentals in Oudtshoorn and the case study proved somewhat challenging. In most cases, patients who visit local clinics and the District Hospital do not divulge their residential circumstances and distinctions between landlord and tenant households cannot be drawn from records (Douwse, 2013). With regards to perception at least, the 2015 survey found that 61.2% of landlords and 50.8% of informal backyard renters believed that backyard tenants became ill more often than members of the landlord household.

Anecdotally, it seemed as though respondents regarded the word 'ill' as referring only to serious and terminal conditions. In support of such claims Wire (2015) confirmed that those in Oudtshoorn's low-income groups tend to downplay more 'trivial' illnesses such as colds and flu, evidenced in the low number of such cases treated by local health care facilities. Those in the low income segment seem to leave such ailments to evolve into more serious conditions before seeking medical help, perhaps because very few to none are covered by medical aid (Narsai *et al.*, 2013:373).

Yet, it is argued that the structures in which many informal backyard tenants live, have health impacts in terms of 'trivial' and everyday qualms as well as on more chronic and serious illnesses. In this regard, damp and drafty shelter presents adverse impacts on especially respiratory ailments such as TB (Douwse, 2013), of which the District Hospital treats upwards of 1100 cases annually (Wire, 2015).

With regards to such housing conditions, the 2015 survey found that 62.5% of backyard tenants reported that their structures were not watertight and 35% that dwellings were not ventilated.

A Phi test for structures that were reported to be watertight and structures reported to be ventilated, provided an effect size of 0.244 ($p=0.008$), as a lower medium effect, and that structures that were reported watertight showed a small likelihood of also being reported as ventilated. Furthermore data showed that structures that were not watertight were more often ventilated than structures that were not ventilated were watertight. A Phi test for backyard tenants who reported that backyard dwellings were watertight and backyard tenants reporting getting ill more regularly than their landlords, delivered an effect size of -0.237 ($p=0.10$), as a lower medium effect, indicating that where tenants were reportedly more ill than landlords, there was some likelihood that structures were not watertight. Contagious diseases are further spread by the close proximity in which backyarders live within the yard and within their structures, potentially exacerbated by the lack of internal walls that characterise informal backyard dwellings in the case study as elsewhere (Meth, 2013:549). Should other diseases such as meningitis break out, such conditions could have epidemic consequences (Zandrews, 2013; Wire, 2015).

When illness affects backyard tenants to such an extent that they seek medical help, health care practitioners have witnessed the strong bonds that may exist between landlords and tenants in Oudtshoorn, even when not related to one another. These supportive connections are evidenced most clearly where tenants are foreign migrants who fall ill. In such cases, landlords often act as interpreters on their behalf (Wire, 2015), emphasising a supportive relationship.

4. Conclusion

This article has provided several aspects of informal backyard renting in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study to be considered under the umbrella of social sustainability and related concepts such as social cohesion and social capital captured in the literature review. Following research findings provided in the empirical section of the article, aspects identified in support of social sustainability in the case study include the close ties between landlords and their backyard tenants; the mutual support and relative lack of conflict that characterise the landlord-tenant relationship; tenure mix secured; the sanctuary provided to backyard tenants in accommodation that also provides excellent access to basic services with tenure security; the low residential turnover and the multigenerational bonds presented.

In the Bridgton/Bongolethu case such contributions were intensified by the familial links between landlords and their backyard tenants. Whilst other scholars have reported similarly positive findings, even where landlords and tenants were not related, this article posits that familial ties embed positives more deeply within the community. Such deeply rooted connections enshrine a sense of solidarity, builds social cohesion and social capital and enhances overall resilience. In recognition of such relationships, it is important that future interventions in the informal backyard rental sector account for connections that extend beyond the traditional roles ascribed to landlords and tenants in more conventional rental arrangements in the formal sector. As such, intrusive and disruptive interventions must be avoided in favour of nuanced approaches sensitive to the functioning of certain informal backyard rental markets as social/family based institutions and not market-led enterprises.

Yet, the ultimate efficacy of formal interventions in such markets may also be queried, considering the lack of formal rental agreements and official avenues of mediation sought in the case study and the low levels of conflict and tenure security still produced in such an informal system. Despite these social successes and contributions to social sustainability such as densification and mixed tenure introduced within an autonomous informal backyard rental sector, this article also uncovered other, less positive impacts related to this independence.

The most notable detriments include the fire and health risks discussed in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case to be considered in contexts of informal backyard renting nationally. It is in addressing such risks and improving the urban environment in future low-income communities that urban planning interventions specifically, may make considerable headway to further capitalise on the informal backyard rental sector's innate social value.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE FOUR

REVISITING THE COMPENSATION HYPOTHESIS: PLANNING FOR URBAN GREEN SPACE AND INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Research Article Four was prepared for submission to the DHET accredited and ISI, IBSS, Norwegian and Scopus approved journal, Environment and Planning A. The journal is published by SAGE, boasting an impact factor of 1.460 (2015), ranking it 27/77 for Geography and 54/104 for Environmental Studies. Environment and Planning A was selected based on its focus on inquiries that intersect human geography, environmental studies, and urban and regional research, and to provide the article with international exposure based on SAGE Publishing's excellent reputation as a leading independent international academic publisher, implementing the latest digital search and discoverability technology. A copy of author guidelines are provided as **Annexure M**; and clarification on the main and co-author's contribution and permission to include the article in this study are provided as **Annexure N**. Please note that the article, as presented on the following page, is not provided in the journal's preferred font or size to maintain the uniformity of this thesis.

REVISITING THE COMPENSATION HYPOTHESIS: PLANNING FOR URBAN GREEN SPACE AND INFORMAL BACKYARD RENTALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Abstract

This article reflects on urban green space, accepted as providing valuable ecosystem services, in the context of planning for informal backyard rental accommodation in South Africa. This research is the first to explicitly address urban green space planning and use in terms of informal backyard rental densification, based on the 'compensation hypothesis', as the assumption that public green space will be used by households to compensate for private green space lost due to infill and densification practices. Qualitative and quantitative analyses in a case study of the Bridgton and Bongoletu townships in Oudtshoorn provide empirical substantiation, focussed on access to and use of public green space, domestic gardening trends and informal backyard rental particulars. Findings ultimately disprove the compensation hypothesis. In the case study, proximate public green spaces are used sporadically and not as part of daily or even weekly routines, children still play in both front and backyard spaces and domestic gardens continue to demonstrate relatively high levels of planting, despite the prevalence of informal backyard rental structures. In addition, number of backyard dwellings and perceptions of limited outside space show no association, whilst an increased number of backyard tenants affect feelings of limited outside space and privacy in the case study. Findings emphasise the need to promote the active use of public green space, redress barriers to access and manage potential ecosystem disservices in low-income communities where informal backyard rentals may be prevalent, but also the need for further research in the field.

Key words: *Urban green space; informal backyard rentals; ecosystem services; compensation hypothesis*

1. Introduction

Urban green space, as part of urban green infrastructure (Tzoulas *et al.*, 2007:139; Harrison *et al.*, 2014:67; Nolon, 2016:1) is an invaluable resource in any human settlement, delivering various life-sustaining services (MEA, 2005; Daily *et al.*, 2009:21; Cilliers & Cilliers, 2015:1; Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:9; Lindemann-Matthies & Brieger, 2016:33). As such, this article departs by defining urban green space and unpacking related services, invoking the ecosystem services and disservices concepts and exploring related environmental, economic and social benefits.

Whilst the significance of urban green space in terms of ecosystem services, environmental, economic and social benefits have been recognised for some time (Costanza *et al.*, 1997; Bolund & Hunhammar, 1999; Kabisch, 2015:557), urban green space remains an endangered resource, vulnerable to urbanisation pressures and attempts to densify and consolidate human settlements (Barbosa *et al.*, 2007:187; McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:245; Chen & Hu, 2015:33; Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:760; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26). This article explores this vulnerability in South Africa's low-income housing context, as the country is recognised as one of the most urbanised countries in Africa, with an estimated 73.3% of the population to be urbanised by 2030, in addition to a crippling housing demand, currently projected at 2.3 million units (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:5). As elaborated on in **Section 2.3** of this article, the result of such development pressures are varied, primarily delineated by the informal settlements established by the indigent, the peripherally located subsidised housing projects developed by the state that display relatively low levels of urban green space provision; and a hybrid submarket that exists in-between, as the informal backyard rental sector. The informal backyard rental sector, discussed in more detail in **Section 2.3** of this article, has become a prolific and growing component of South Africa's post-apartheid housing landscape (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:28; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20). Informal backyard rentals have increased both population and dwelling unit densities substantially across the country (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:5; Lategan & Cilliers, 2016), densifying backyard gardens in historic townships and new subsidised housing projects.

These unsanctioned densification practices have continued without policy guidance (Lemanski, 2009:475; Tshangana, 2013:10), and have gained relatively little traction from researchers (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:10). One aspect which has been especially neglected in relation to informal backyard rentals, is urban green space planning and use.

This research is the first, to the knowledge of the authors, to explicitly address urban green space planning and use with regard to informal backyard densification in South Africa. In particular, this article reflects on the 'compensation hypothesis' (Maat & de Vries, 2006) and relevance thereof within the local context. There is a general understanding that increased densities and any subsequent loss of private green space may be equalized by increasing access to public green space (Maat & de Vries, 2006; Lin *et al.*, 2015:953). Thus, in terms of the compensation hypothesis, it is understood that residents will compensate poor access, or in the context of this article, reduced area of private green space with access to public green space (Byrne & Sipe, 2010:4). The hypothesis is tested in this article, as it has not been proven consistently elsewhere (Syme *et al.*, 2001; Maat & de Vries, 2006; Grose, 2009; Byrne & Sipe, 2010) and may have significant effects in terms of future policy planning with informal backyard densification in mind. This article draws on research conducted in a case study of the Bridgton and Bongoletu townships in the town of Oudtshoorn. Here, households surrounding a large urban green space, as the Bridgton Pavilion, were subjected to a questionnaire that probed access to and use of public green space, domestic gardening trends and the impacts of informal backyard rentals. Results are discussed under **Section 4** of the article. These findings are used to test the compensation hypothesis and draw ultimate conclusions based thereupon.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Coming to terms with urban green space, related services and benefits

This article defines urban green space following Chen and Hu (2015:33) as all land covered by vegetation within the urban environment. This broad definition includes those green spaces classified as public green space, generally in reference to parks, playgrounds, botanical gardens, sporting fields, pockets and corridors of natural and semi-natural vegetation accessible to the public and owned by public authorities (Comber *et al.*, 2008:103; Houssay-Holzschuch & Teppo, 2009:353; Byrne & Sipe, 2010:10; You, 2016:176); private urban green space, in reference to domestic gardens and allotments where access is restricted by private ownership (Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:25; Mosina & Maroyi, 2016:181; You, 2016:176) as well as more liminal and generally unconsidered spaces such as vacant stands, railway sidings, utility easements, corridors between buildings and canal sides, often overgrown with spontaneous vegetation (Ward-Thompson, 2002; Rupprecht & Byrne, 2014:597). Whilst all three categorisations are recognised as components of an urban green space network, this article focuses specifically on those urban green spaces deliberately established by planners through urban design, layout and zoning categories to accommodate desired land uses. In this regard, this article engages those urban green spaces intended to provide amenity, or recreational uses (Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:12) in the case study, as public green spaces including the Bridgton Pavilion and local playgrounds; and the private green spaces constituted by domestic gardens.

Public and private green spaces provide both shared and unique functions within the urban environment, providing urbanites with primary contact with biodiversity and the natural environment (Jorgensen *et al.*, 2002; Barbosa *et al.*, 2007:187). The quality of such spaces may vary significantly, gauged according to the subjective ideals, expectations and perceptions of those who regularly use them. The quality of public green spaces is of specific concern to planners, as directly impacted by their design and policy decisions.

As minimum quality considerations, public green spaces may be expected to deliver on basic requirements on size, amenity, vegetation cover, safety, social opportunities, maintenance and appearance, as generally influenced by the public authorities who own them. Where expectations on such requirements are exceeded, perceptions on quality may increase in return. Quality is paramount as some argue that quality and not quantity of urban green space is most important (Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:766) in planning for such spaces. In addition, the level of access provided to prospective users of public green space is an essential consideration. Various standards have been developed globally to guide appropriate area of and distance to nearest public green space (Barbosa *et al.*, 2007:187; Byrne & Sipe, 2010:21; McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:247), but elaborating on details with regards to these standards falls beyond the scope of this article. It is important to acknowledge that such guidelines exist, but also that contextualized variances may make the extrapolation of such standards inappropriate. Furthermore, studies have shown that physical accessibility, as proximity, is often favored as an accessibility measure, whilst perceived access may in fact be more significant than geographic proximity (Wan & Shen, 2015:93). Perceptions on access to urban green space may depend on issues such as admission charges (Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:765), operating hours, social constraints or physical barriers as walls and fencing. Notwithstanding such obstacles, public green spaces are still regarded as public goods accessed more freely (You, 2016:176) by the community as a whole.

Public green spaces are often viewed through a social lens, as physical spaces in which diverse people meet and interact (Bernardini & Irvine, 2007; Houssay-Holzschuch & Teppo, 2009:353) in surroundings that provide facilities and services they could not access without public aid. Public green spaces may be especially valued by those who cannot access private green space (Bernardini & Irvine, 2007), with those public spaces that are more intimate and familiar and a part of daily routines, being most valued (Burgess *et al.*, 1988; Coolen & Meesters, 2012:52). Private green spaces, or domestic gardens, conversely hold several meanings related to escapism, identity and ownership (Bhatti & Church, 2000; Gross & Lane, 2007), regarded as places of control, retreat, creativity, privacy, relaxation and freedom (Francis, 1990; Coolen & Meesters, 2012:52).

Private green space depends on stand sizes conducive to the establishment and maintenance of aesthetically pleasing and productive domestic gardens (McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:244) that may provide homeowners and the broader community with certain services and benefits, also directly related to urban design and planning policies.

Urban green spaces are often considered part of urban green infrastructure (Lubbe *et al.*, 2010:2901; Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:10; Nolon, 2016:1), considered as 'all natural, semi-natural and artificial networks of multifunctional ecological systems within, around and between urban areas, at all spatial scales' (Tzoulas *et al.*, 2007:169), that provide specific functions, managed with the aim of conserving ecosystem values and those functions and providing associated benefits to human populations (Hector *et al.*, 2008:92). Accordingly, urban green spaces may play a significant part in supporting urban communities in ecological and social terms (Barbosa *et al.*, 2007:192; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26), substituting grey infrastructure services and expenses, effectively counteracting many of the negative environmental impacts levied by urbanisation (Chen & Hu, 2015:32) and advancing sustainability (Byrne & Sipe, 2010:7). Such services are often conceptualised around the 'ecosystem services' (ES) approach, with ecosystem services defined as ecosystem goods and services representing the benefits human populations derive, directly or indirectly, from ecosystem functions (Costanza *et al.*, 1997; Bolund & Hunhammar, 1999; Kremen & Cowling, 2005:468; Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:682; Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:760). Urban green space has been singled out as the most significant environmental resource available to planners through which green infrastructure and related ecosystem services and benefits may be accommodated via the range of planning instruments available to establish such spaces.

When this resource is mindfully designed and managed, inherent ecosystem services and related benefits may be harnessed and augmented (Byrne & Sipe, 2010:9; Lin *et al.*, 2015:952). In more detail, such ecosystem services may include environmental benefits such as climate mitigation, air and water filtration, improved carbon sequestration, energy conservation, wind and noise filtration, promoting biodiversity and providing natural habitat, stormwater attenuation and flood mitigation, enhancing water table catchment and erosion control (Byrne & Sipe, 2010:9; Ward *et al.*, 2010:49; Odindi & Mhangara, 2012:653; Chen & Hu, 2015:32; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26; Lin *et al.*, 2015:952; Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:17; Mosina & Maroyi, 2016:181; Nolon, 2016:1).

In addition to these environmental and social benefits, certain tangent economic/financial benefits may also be realised in relation to such ecosystem services. These benefits may include reducing services expenditure and maintenance costs, reducing health care expenses, generating income *via* tourism and related revenue streams, increased retail sales, improved marketability, increased production, augmented neighbourhood values and increased recoupable tax revenue. The last facilitated by the effects urban green spaces may have on property value, with increased real estate values generally attributed to properties located next to or within the proximity of urban green space (Byrne & Sipe, 2010:9; Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:684; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26; Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:16), affecting tax revenue and property sales (Nolon, 2016:1). It should also be noted that the association between increased real estate prices and proximate location to urban green space has not been proven consistently, for a South Africa example see Cilliers *et al.* (2013). In addition, urban green spaces may provide several social benefits (Tengberg *et al.*, 2012:16; Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:693; Chen & Hu, 2015:32; Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:760; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26), *inter alia*, providing locales for social interaction and a shared focus to diverse communities and neighbourhoods (Germann-Chiari & Seeland, 2004; Martin *et al.*, 2004; Barbosa *et al.*, 2007:187) in support of social integration (Odindi & Mhangara, 2012:653), social cohesion (Mosina & Maroyi, 2016:181) and assimilating values and moral attitudes (Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:17).

Social gains are accommodated as public green spaces attract users through the recreational opportunities provided (Ward *et al.*, 2010:49; Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:683; Mosina & Maroyi, 2016:181) or the prospect of access to nature (McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:244) and/or aesthetically pleasing surroundings where identity of space, sense of place and liveability are enhanced (Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016) and opportunities for reflection, access to cultural heritage and identity, spiritual enrichment; cognitive, emotional and social development provided (MEA, 2005; Tengberg *et al.*, 2012:16). As such, urbanites who access urban green space may improve both their mental and physical health (Barbosa *et al.*, 2007:187; Tzoulas *et al.*, 2007:168; Byrne & Sipe, 2010:9; Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:760; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26; Lin *et al.*, 2015:956; Wan & Shen, 2015:93), related to the potential to reduce health expenses noted previously. It is further important to recognise that many of the social and psychological advantages provided by urban green space are not necessarily dependent on direct physical access to such venues. Even viewing greenery may provide restorative opportunities and establish more stable domestic environments (Byrne & Sipe, 2010:22; Clark *et al.*, 2014).

When considering ecosystem services it is also apt to acknowledge certain damages on the other side of the spectrum, termed ecosystem disservices. Ecosystem disservices through which 'the same natural functions and structures that provide beneficial services in urban areas are also responsible for detrimental disservices' (von Döhren & Haase, 2015) may have negative effects on wellbeing (Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:683). Ecologically-speaking, ecosystem disservices may include the establishment of invasive species that overrun urban green space to the detriment of indigenous species and systems, influencing populations, community interactions, abiotic variables and ecosystem processes (Charles & Dukes, 2007:233; Lyytimäki & Sipilä, 2009:310) as well as the production of volatile organic compounds (VOCs) that decrease air quality (Escobedo *et al.*, 2011; von Döhren & Haase, 2015). Ecosystem disservices in the social realm may include safety and security concerns (Lyytimäki & Sipilä, 2009; Dobbs *et al.*, 2011; Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:696), for example when urban green spaces provide venues for illicit activity, discord, nuisance or health impacts like allergy attacks, safety hazards from tree falls, habitats for poisonous plants and pests and opportunities for littering (Lyytimäki *et al.*, 2008:165; von Döhren & Haase, 2015:491; Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:9).

Where the economic impacts of ecosystem disservices are considered, damage caused to infrastructure by tree roots, preventing more profitable uses for the sake of maintaining green space and constant maintenance costs, may be included (Lyytimäki *et al.*, 2008:166). Another tangent negative outcome may be considered as the risk of gentrification and dislocation. As provided above, access to urban green space may increase property value. Where urban greening projects are instituted and property prices in proximity to newly established or upgraded public green spaces increased, gentrification may take place (Dale & Newman, 2009:672) through which lower-income residents may be displaced.

Low-income communities require especially sensitive approaches to urban green space planning to address potential ecosystem disservices and general accessibility issues. Lower income groups are less likely to access distant urban green space given the cost of transportation, entrance fees and other expenses such visits may require (Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:765; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26). As such, lower income groups need improved access to urban green space within their immediate areas (Byrne & Sipe, 2010:4).

Despite such realisations, inequitable access to urban green space remains as a common feature of urban life across the globe, between different cities and within them (Broussard *et al.*, 2008; Byrne & Sipe, 2010:7; Wright Wendel *et al.*, 2012; Kabisch & Haase, 2014; Chen & Hu, 2015:32; Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:764; You, 2016:176), often based on socio-economic variables (Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:693; Lin *et al.*, 2015:953; You, 2016:178) such as wealth, education and race (McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:244). In South Africa, such variables are conflated as a result of the country's colonial and more recent apartheid past, with race continuing to represent a significant determinant of access to urban green space. The following section provides some insight on urban green space provisions in South Africa, highlighting persistent inequalities.

2.2 Urban green space and South Africa's low-income communities

During apartheid suburbs designated for the privileged White population were pleasant and green, resembling the well laid out, adequately serviced and maintained leafy suburbs found in the developed world. Impoverished African and Coloured urban and homeland townships on the other hand, were left bleak and poorly serviced with a high proportion living in informal settlements (shantytowns) and informal backyard lodgings (Houssay-Holzschuch & Teppo, 2009:351; McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:245). Such inequalities have remained ingrained in the post-apartheid era, despite concerted efforts to redress past injustices through low-cost housing projects. Subsidised low-cost housing units have been delivered in staggering volumes across the country (Robins, 2002:525; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20), following the Reconstruction and Development programme of 1994 (RDP) (RSA, 1994c) and the 2004 Breaking New Ground Strategy for Sustainable Human Settlements (BNG) (RSA, 2004). Green space planning in these low-income suburbs, as for the rest of South Africa, has been guided by Habitat and Local Agenda 21 initiatives, the Green Paper on Development Planning (1999), the National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) (Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:696), amongst other instruments and guidelines. Despite commitments to sustainable development and redressing past injustices and inequalities, disparities in access to urban green space have remained entrenched.

As such, former homeland towns, urban townships and RDP settlements continue to present fewer green spaces of lower quality and fewer street trees compared to more affluent urban areas (Gwedla & Shackleton, 2015:17). McConnachie and Shackleton (2010:247) for example, found that public green area per RDP household was nearly five times less than in older township areas and 15 times less than in more affluent suburbs. Public green space provisions are severely limited in low-income housing projects as green land uses compete against other land uses, constrained budgets and limited human resources prevent increased provisions of green spaces considered a luxury and not a priority (Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:694; Cilliers & Cilliers, 2016:22).

In addition to lower proportions of public green space, RDP settlements and especially older townships tend to display increased densities, further reducing the green space available to each household (McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:246). Densities are augmented exponentially by the addition of informal backyard rental accommodation (Gardner, 2009:14; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663; Tshangana, 2013:12).

The succeeding section explores informal accommodation in South Africa, in terms of both informal backyard rentals and informal settlements, in more detail in relation to urban green space planning and environmental considerations.

2.3 South African shantytowns, informal backyard rentals and environmental considerations

Post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed significant growth in informal settlements (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:134; Durand-Lasserve & Royston, 2002:3-4). As elsewhere, open green spaces (McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010:245; Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015) often, but not always on the urban periphery, have been besieged in these informal conquests (Odindi & Mhangara, 2012:653). Whilst, Huchzermeyer (2009:63) states that such land grabs are generally limited to areas where settlements may be less opposed and settlers regard themselves as least invasive, informal settlements inevitably exert severe environmental impacts due to their inappropriate locations.

These impacts may include air pollution, littering and dumping, surface and groundwater contamination, disturbing fragile ecosystems such as aquifers, forests, estuarine or wetland areas, deforestation and land degradation, removing natural defence systems against floodwaters and storms (Ferguson, 1996:171; Napier, 2002:16; Goebel, 2007:297; DEAT, 2015). Effects may be especially harsh where shantytowns are established on ecologically sensitive parcels (Morange, 2002:11) or land of agricultural value (Napier, 2002:20; Kilian *et al.*, 2005:4) where the loss of green space may be very invasive indeed. Yet, we should not regard the loss of fertile farm land and other green resources as penalties restricted to the informal housing sector alone.

Formal low-density residential developments may be equally, if not more, responsible for such losses in South Africa, especially when land of agricultural value is considered (Geyer *et al.*, 2011:41).

Given market dynamics the low-density, low-income housing projects noted in the previous section are habitually located on the urban periphery (Goebel, 2007:292; Lategan, 2012; Klug *et al.*, 2013:668; Turok, 2013:169; Chobokoane & Horn, 2015:3). Along with the unfavourable locations secured for these residential developments, additional impacts are levied once they have been established. The emergence of informal backyard rental dwellings are of particular concern in this regard. An informal backyard rental dwelling is defined as an informal structure erected by a property owner or tenant within the boundaries of a formally registered property that contains at least one formal dwelling unit. The materials and construction practices used do not comply with National Norms and Standards with the structure constructed attached or adjacent to an existing formal dwelling with partial or full access to the basic services provided to the main dwelling (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997:140; Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000:852; Morange, 2002:11; Gardner, 2009:5). Though 'there is a dearth of current, accurate data on backyarding in South Africa' (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:79) as census and statistical indicators vary (Carey, 2009:8; Watson, 2009b:4), it is generally agreed that informal backyard rentals have become a major housing submarket in South Africa (Tshangana, 2013:2), with the proportion of people accommodated in informal backyard dwellings growing faster than the proportion housed in shantytowns (Lemanski, 2009:473; Govender *et al.*, 2011a:336).

By 2014 in excess of 756 000 informal backyard rental households had been recorded (StatsSA, 2014), thus densifying low-income suburbs exponentially in terms of both dwelling unit and population densities (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:23; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663; McGaffin *et al.*, 2015:63).

Densification is generally revered as an instrument of sustainable urban development, bolstered by planning paradigms such as 'new urbanism' (McConnell & Wiley, 2010:3; Sivam & Karuppannan, 2012:6), 'the compact city' (Gardner, 2009:9) and 'smart growth' (Brunner, 2012:7; Sivam & Karuppannan, 2012:2; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:20).

In accordance with such shifts in planning thought official densification strategies have regularly been employed to convert open land to residential use, through infill development (Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26) generally focussed on available open space within the urban envelope.

Such spaces are habitually liminal areas covered by vegetation or more formal public green spaces regarded as underutilised. Informal backyard infill in contrast densifies private property through unsanctioned and illegal mechanisms in which authorities play no part. Informal densification practices hold several benefits closely related to the motivations that drive formal infill strategies, but also present certain challenges. In this regard, South African scholars have recognised the potential of informal backyard rentals in providing the necessary population thresholds to support well-located social amenities and effective infrastructure and service delivery whilst offering backyard tenants proximate access to basic services in affordable rental shelter (Morange, 2002:11; Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:20; Carey, 2009:17; Gardner, 2009:16; Lemanski, 2009:477; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:21; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663; Lategan & Cilliers, 2016). In contrast some challenges include additional pressure on often already stressed infrastructural capacity resulting in reduced connections and service access opportunities, increased fire and health risks as well as reduced private and backyard space (Lemanski, 2009:477; Govender *et al.*, 2011a:341; Govender *et al.*, 2011b:23; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:20; Tshangana, 2013:7).

The latter is of specific concern in the context of this article. Even formalized infill densification strategies rarely give any further consideration to green space development in compensation for the greenery lost (Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26). Unsurprisingly, the loss of domestic garden space due to informal backyard densification in South Africa suffers under the same negligence, propagated within a national policy vacuum that has discounted the entire informal backyard rental sector to date (Watson, 2009b:9; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:19). Within this laxity counteracting the loss of valuable vegetation and trees in private gardens as consequence of infill remains a dubious proposition (Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015:767).

As a result, inequitable access to urban green space may be exacerbated, living standards and local environmental quality potentially compromised, resource demands possibly increased and ecosystems services, related benefits and sustainability prospects negatively affected (Wilby & Perry, 2006; Byrne & Sipe, 2010:4; Ward *et al.*, 2010:49; Kabisch *et al.*, 2015:26; Lin *et al.*, 2015:953).

Various authors have commented on the need to upgrade, or retrofit, the capacity of basic services and infrastructure to cope with the increased demand produced by the addition of informal backyard rentals (Carey, 2009:17; Lemanski, 2009:482). Within such arguments, urban green spaces are rarely referenced explicitly, with authors like (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:81), for example, simply noting the need to retrofit 'social facilities'. Another strong theme in the literature on addressing informal backyard rentals is the need to plan proactively for the generally inevitable emergence of informal backyard rental units in new low-cost housing projects within the primary phases of settlement planning with regards to service capacity, layout and urban design (Carey, 2009:24; Gardner, 2009:21; Watson, 2009b:11; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:72; Tshangana, 2013:16; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20). In this regard calling for human settlement plans to integrate backyarding and make provision for environmental improvement initiatives and related investment opportunities, including provisions for 'social services' (Tshangana, 2013:16). Incurring extra capital cost will accommodate planned and desirable incremental backyard densification, without the need for modifications to service future capacity in established areas (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:23), where it may be impossible to add such services without significant redevelopment and evictions. The following section investigates issues related to informal backyard rentals and urban green space planning and use in such an established area, as a case study of the Bridgton and Bongolethu townships in the town of Oudtshoorn.

3. Empirical Investigation

3.1 Case Study: Introducing Oudtshoorn, Bridgton and Bongolethu

The town of Oudtshoorn is the main seat of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (OLM), located within the Eden District Municipality (EDM) in South Africa's scenic Western Cape Province. Oudtshoorn is known globally as the epicentre of the ostrich farming industry, being home to the highest concentration of ostriches in the world (Mambo, 2012:V; Wisner *et al.*, 2015:174). The area has more recently also become a major eco-tourism destination given its location within the picturesque Klein ('Little') Karoo valley, nestled between the often snow-capped Swartberg, Langeberg, Outeniqua, and Kammanassie Mountains (Wisner *et al.*, 2015:176), within the fynbos and succulent Karoo biomes with subsequently high levels of biodiversity and endemism (Hoffman *et al.*, 2009:54). Oudtshoorn is a place of dichotomy. Whilst neighbouring areas enjoy significant winter rainfalls, Oudtshoorn is located in a rain shadow, thus receiving markedly less precipitation. Yet, whilst the area has regularly battled extreme drought, torrential rains have also caused severe floods in the not too distant past. In addition, the climate is marked by extreme temperatures, ranging between - 2.1C and 46.6C (Mambo, 2012:36; Wisner *et al.*, 2015:176). Dualities are not confined to the natural environment and climate, with the human settlements of Oudtshoorn, De Rust, Dysseisdorop and the rural hamlets that constitute the OLM showing marked disparities. The approximately 61500 residents who reside in the town of Oudthoorn present significant divides and dualities, reflecting maintained apartheid inequalities. As such, the majority of Oudtshoorn's White residents, as 12.49% of the population, have remained in the areas designated for them under apartheid rule, whilst the bulk of Black and Coloured residents (86.46%) still call apartheid era townships such as Bridgton and Bongolethu (Wisner *et al.*, 2015:174) and the recently established informal settlement of Rose Valley (Lategan & Cilliers, 2013b:306) home (See **Figure 15**).

The sudden founding of the Rose Valley informal settlement on an environmentally sensitive parcel of land located on Oudtshoorn's eastern boundary in 2010 (Lee, 2012), provided several research opportunities. A 2012 survey in the settlement, indicated that 61% of respondents had relocated from informal backyard lodgings in the townships of Bridgton and Bongoletu (Lategan, 2012). Given the relatively under researched nature of South Africa's informal backyard rental sector (Lemanski, 2009:474; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:7), the dearth of research on the subject focussed on smaller municipalities (Zwaig, 2015:2) and the neglect of established studies to recognise the impacts of informal backyard rentals on planning for urban green space, a case study within Bridgton/Bongoletu was sought that could incorporate these elements. In a review of satellite imagery in 2013, one particular urban green space was accentuated, identified as the green heart of the community given both its size and location within the area, as the Bridgton Pavilion (See **Figure 15** and **Figure 16**), described in greater detail throughout the article. Closer inspection revealed a significant number of informal backyard structures in the properties surrounding the Pavilion, thus meeting the criteria of presenting both public green space and proximate informal backyard dwellings for analysis.

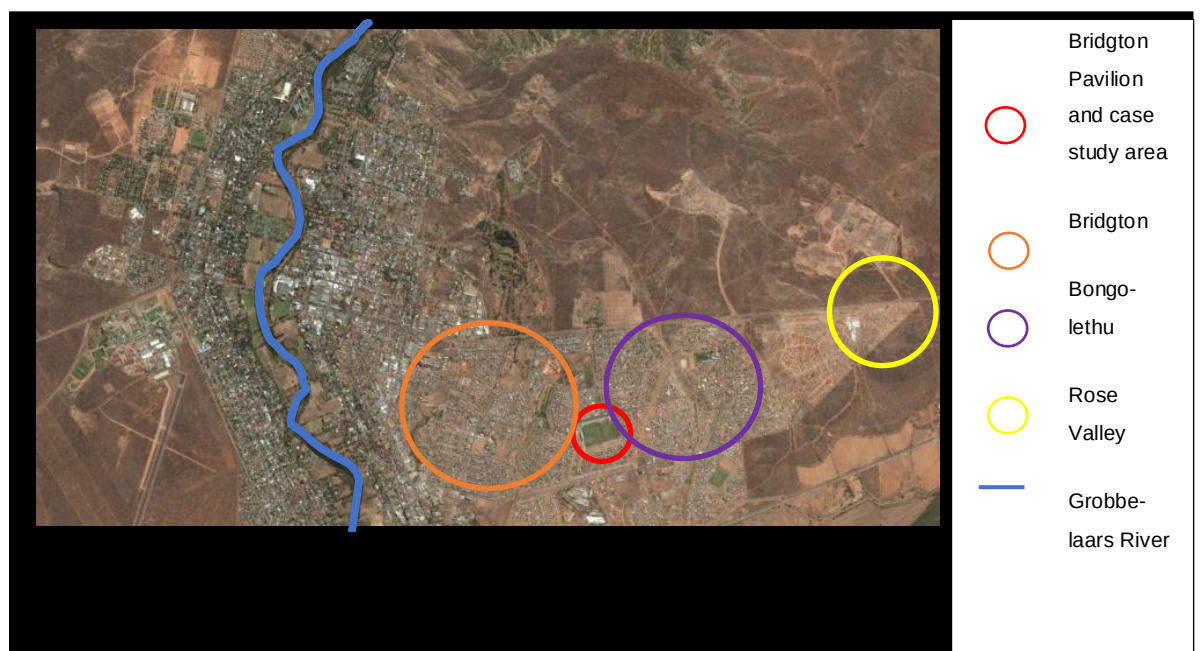


Figure 15: The town of Oudtshoorn and the Bridgton/Bongoletu case study



Figure 16: Aerial view of The Bridgton Pavilion and surrounding urban green space

3.2 Methodology

This research predominantly draws on two methods to inform the empirical investigation. The article references semi-structured interviews conducted with selected officials in the OLM and other relevant experts, cited with pseudonyms throughout, who provided more nuanced information and supplemented shortcomings in the literature with regards to the local context. Secondly, data retrieved from a quantitative research survey distributed in the study area in 2013 provides statistical evidence. The survey was conducted by dispensing 101 questionnaires to residents of properties immediately surrounding the Bridgton Pavilion. Properties were included when home owners, or adult representatives, were home at the time of the survey and willing to participate. Prospective respondents were approached, informed of the purpose of the study and provided with general instructions. Informed consent was described in terms of the requirements of participation with confidentiality statements and statements of voluntary participation also provided. Accordingly, the 101 questionnaires were distributed, based on convenience sampling, and a 100% return rate achieved. It should be noted that the presence or absence of informal backyard rental components were not a determinant in respondent selection.

Survey questions focussed on respondents' access to and use of public green space, domestic gardening trends and informal backyard rental particulars, where applicable. Questionnaires were drafted in collaboration with the North-West University's Statistical consultancy services, who also captured data and aided in statistical analyses and interpretation. As a convenience and not a random sample was used, p-values are reported for completeness sake, but not interpreted.

4. Findings and Discussion

This section discusses case study findings in two main subsections. The first reports on findings related to public green spaces, whilst the second subsection focusses on domestic gardens in Bridgton and Bongolethu.

4.1 Findings on public green spaces in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case

Respondent properties accommodated a total of 708 people, of which 510 (72%) were housed in formal dwellings and 198 (27.96%) called informal backyard rentals home. In total 53% of respondent properties accommodated informal backyard rental structures, with a total of 71 informal backyard dwellings recorded. A Spearman's rank-order correlation (r) was run to determine the relationship between number of informal backyard structures and number of informal backyard tenants. Results showed a strong positive and significant correlation ($r=0.867$, $p=0$). A weaker positive correlation ($r=0.221$, $p=0.035$) could also be established between number of informal backyard tenants and number of occupants in the main dwelling.

The intensity of backyard activities uncovered, increased both population and dwelling unit densities substantially (Lategan & Cilliers, 2016), presenting an increase of 38.82% in the number of people who accessed basic services and public green space in the area. The Bridgton Pavilion is the principal public green space in this part of town, followed by sporting fields attached to local schools and smaller playgrounds dispersed throughout the townships (See **Figure 16**).

The Bridgton Pavilion presents an especially pertinent centre around which to concentrate research on urban green space in low-income communities, owing to the extensive refurbishment of its facilities and amenities in the recent past. The refurbishment process was largely instigated in the hopes of providing a quality green recreational space within an impoverished community that could host events to draw people from all tiers of Oudtshoorn society (Westen, 2013). In relation to the use of the facility by those in direct proximity to the Bridgton Pavilion, survey findings suggest that 50.5% of respondents claimed that they made increased use of the facility following its refurbishment, 27.7% claimed no change in regularity of use and 21.8% reported using the facility less than before. It should also be noted that overall, 82.4% of respondents made active use of proximate public green spaces, accepted as including, but not limited to the Bridgton Pavilion. In terms of regularity of use, respondents claimed to access such public green spaces, as captured in **Figure 17**.

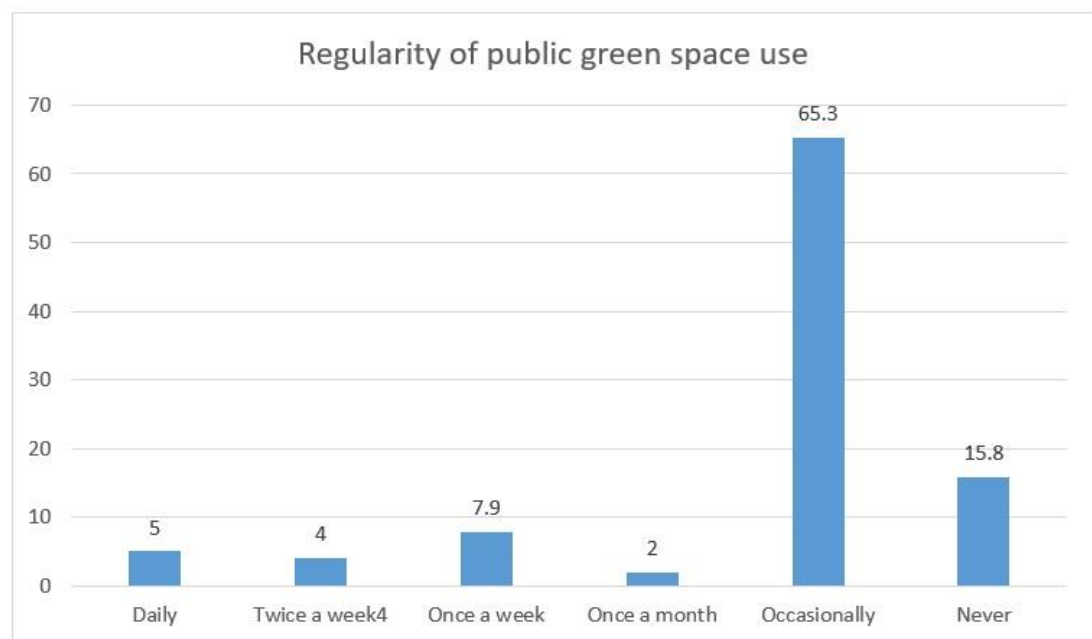


Figure 17: Regularity of public green space use

Figure 17 suggests that the majority of respondents did not make routine use of proximate public green spaces. The high proportion of respondents claiming only 'occasional' and no use ('never') could be related to the restricted access provided to playgrounds and the Bridgton Pavilion, as detailed in the succeeding paragraph.

In support, 68.3% of respondents claimed that they could only access their closest public green space when public events were hosted there, whilst a contrasting 28.7% of respondents claimed that proximate public green spaces were always accessible. Statistical analysis showed that those claiming access to public green spaces only when attending public events, accessed these spaces only occasionally, whilst those who reported open access at all times, only visited parks once a month.

This article posits that perceptions regarding perpetual access may be attributed more to the ingenuity and determination of users, than the real uninhibited access provided by these spaces. The Bridgton Pavilion is fenced with a corrugated metal wall, whilst most other playgrounds have also been closed off, fenced, gated and even aggressively topped with razor wire. Playgrounds were enclosed on community request, to protect facilities from salvagers scavenging for steel and timber to sell or use in the construction of informal dwellings and to prevent criminals from congregating there (Westen, 2013; Wire, 2015). When public green spaces were accessible at any time, these facilities often became venues for gang meetings and drug abuse, understandably of considerable concern to residents, especially when the youth are considered (Captain, 2013). Data showed that 63.4% of survey participants still rated substance abuse as a daily problem related to their nearest public green space. In response to such social concerns and the nuisance factor, 67% of respondents reported that they would ideally want to live within walking distance of a public green space, but not adjacent to it. In keeping with such disservices, only 2.6% of respondents further declared urban green spaces as the primary venues used by their children for play. Anecdotally though, it must be noted that many residents, especially children, are still regularly spotted scaling the jagged Pavilion perimeter and park fences to access the greenery and recreational opportunities inside.

As a further indication of the value placed on urban green spaces, data showed that 62.4% of respondents would be willing to pay more for a property, if that property had improved access to a quality public green space, possibly maintaining increased property valuations for properties located in the vicinity of such amenities (Coat, 2015). Furthermore, 60.4% of respondents were willing to walk 5km or more to access a quality public green space.

A Phi test for preference of living within walking distance of a park and willingness to pay more for a property because it is located closer to a park provided an effect size of 0.261 ($p=0.033$), as a small to medium effect and practical significant association. In terms of particular public green space features, respondents rated the elements captured in **Figure 18** as critical attributes expected from a quality public green space.

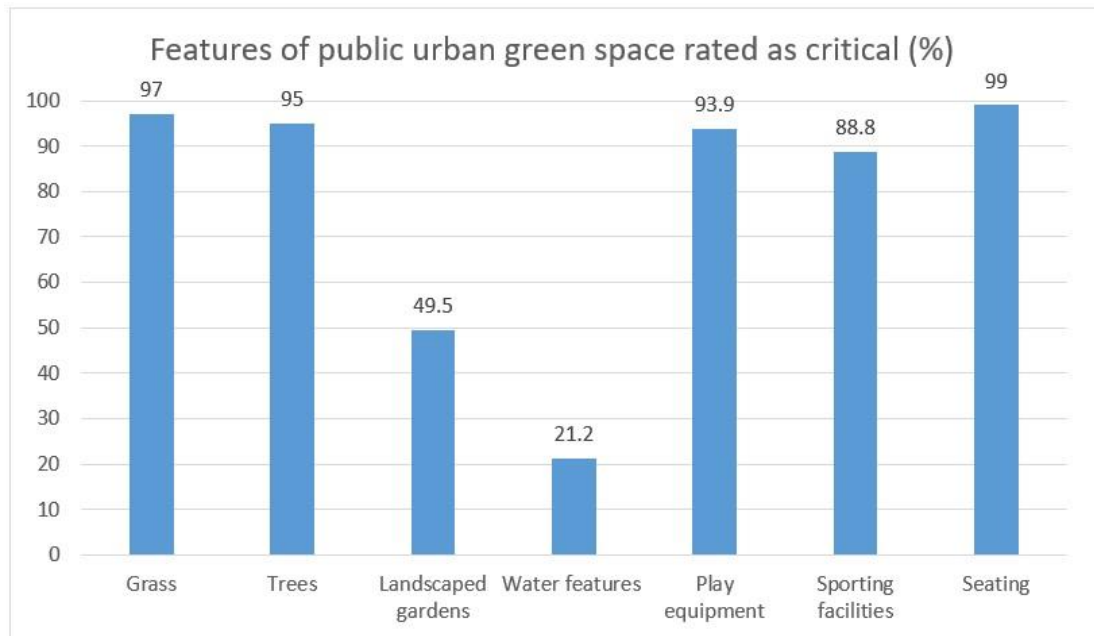


Figure 18: Features of a public green space rated as critical

Figure 18 demonstrates that almost all features listed were regarded as critical by the community, with both green attributes (grass and trees) as well as recreational elements (play equipment, sporting facilities and seating) regarded as critical by upwards of 88% of respondents each. Whilst recreational amenities predominantly require direct physical access to realise advantages, green elements may provide at least partial advantages through visual access alone (Wire, 2015), as also provided in the preceding literature.

Whilst the chain-link fencing around most playgrounds provide some visual access to the vegetation inside, the impermeable corrugated metal barrier encircling the Bridgton Pavilion obstructs virtually all views of the greenery within. These corrugated metal sheets, baptised by the community as 'die plate', were not replaced during the refurbishment process, as they have become intricately bound with the heritage and identity of the community (Westen, 2013).

Whilst the heritage and cultural benefits offered to the Bridgton Pavilion by the corrugated metal wall, is recognised as part of an important ecosystem service delivered by the facility as a whole, there are also other concerns. The approach gives practical expression to arguments for planning theory and practice to realign itself from the contexts of the global North towards the intricacies and demands of the global South (Harrison, 2006:322; Blanco *et al.*, 2009:240; Watson, 2014b:62) and to recognise the value of informality related to radical/insurgent planning (Miraftab, 2009:41-46; Aylett, 2010:103; Monno *et al.*, 2012:86). The preservation of the corrugated metal wall abides especially by Turner's work (Turner, 1963; Turner, 1968), in endorsing an appreciation of informality as the antitheses of soulless and monotonous modernity, described by terms such as 'vernacular, innocent and authentic'. However, such romanticised conceptualisations have also been condemned, notably for aestheticizing poverty (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004) and glazing over the often chaotic and violent characteristics of more informal features (Van Ballegooijen & Rocco, 2013:1795-1802). The landmark wall continues to create a harsh and uninviting obstruction, mirroring the informality found in the backyards of adjacent properties. Elsewhere, informal backyard rentals have been accused of 'blighting the visual landscape' by introducing the unwanted aesthetics of informal settlements into formal housing areas (Lemanski, 2009:475-476), being indicative of 'backward rural life' (Robins, 2002:541) and detracting from urban quality and dignity (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:663). The cumulative effect of the informal backyard dwellings that dot the landscape surrounding the Pavilion, often visible from the street, and 'die plate' may present adverse psychological effects, ultimately decreasing pride in the environment, further marginalising an already disadvantaged community and deterring wealthier patrons from attending events hosted at the Pavilion.

The local authority must be applauded for the manner in which the Bridgton Pavilion refurbishment was sensitised around both community heritage and the outcomes of stakeholder engagement processes that articulated a desire to maintain 'die plate', within a development context traditionally directed at eradicating all traces of informality (Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009:338; Lemanski, 2009:477; Bradlow *et al.*, 2011:272; Huchzermeyer, 2011:3; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:68; Huchzermeyer, 2014a:43). Yet, the ultimate effect cannot be denied in detracting from general neighbourhood aesthetics.

In the case study, aesthetics were furthermore severely affected by incidences of littering and dumping, identified as a sign of neighbourhood decline (Marais & Armitage, 2004:483). Littering and dumping have become common features of life in South Africa's lower-income communities (Marais *et al.*, 2000:5; Marais & Armitage, 2004:485; Goebel *et al.*, 2010:576), even as higher income groups tend to display a higher mean per capita waste generation rate than lower income groups (Napier, 2002:20; Nshimirimana, 2005:13; Oyekale, 2015:15888). Site visits revealed severe incidences of littering from pedestrians and piles of household waste dumped mainly on liminal green spaces. In relation, questionnaire results showed that 57.1% of respondents rated littering as a daily problem related to their nearest public green space. Gusts of wind spread litter around further and the fences surrounding public green spaces and the perimeters of some yards act as nets, catching scraps of paper and plastic, as also recognised in Dikgang *et al.* (2010). Waste levels are increased dramatically by the addition of consumers accommodated in informal backyard rental structures. Whilst household waste is removed by the local authority (Lategan & Cilliers, 2016) backyard dwellings are generally not provided with additional refuse bins or liners in Oudtshoorn. As a result it is deduced that informal backyard rentals exacerbate littering and dumping challenges, in keeping with Lemanski (2009:477); Govender (2011); Govender *et al.* (2011a:339); Govender *et al.* (2011b:29). In recognition of such challenges, the City of Cape Town for example distributes additional refuse bins to informal backyard tenants as part of its Backyard Essential Services Improvement Programme (Cameron, 2015).

The informal construction materials that constitute most informal backyard rental dwellings further levy impacts on tenants, the broader community and the environment. The timber used as construction material in the majority of informal backyard structures in the case study is generally sourced from the discarded stock of local timber yards, with most fragments being tarred, releasing fumes and rendering structures highly flammable (Daughters, 2015). Informal backyard rentals have been branded as fire risks in the literature (Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000:854; Bank, 2007:206; Carey, 2009:3; Watson, 2009b:11; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:43; Tshangana, 2013:12; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20) and structures in Bridgton/Bongolethu are no different (Case, 2015; Wire, 2015). Fires may spread from yard to yard with vengeance, causing fatalities, damage to property and air pollution. Public green spaces may fulfil an important function when such fires surge through a street block, providing a point of assembly and safe harbour from where collective action can be taken, provided that such spaces are open and accessible.

The following section turns the focus away from public green spaces towards the domestic scale, investigating findings on the private gardens encountered in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study.

4.2 Domestic gardens in Bridgton and Bongolethu

Domestic gardens deliver invaluable ecosystem services (Savard *et al.*, 2000; Barbosa *et al.*, 2007:187; Lubbe *et al.*, 2010:2900; Cilliers *et al.*, 2013:693; Mosina & Maroyi, 2016:189). However, the intensity of ecosystem services provided may depend heavily on the nature of the vegetation found in such spaces. Survey data showed that only 33.3% of respondents had planted and maintained a lawn. The majority of homeowners were conceivably deterred by the significant watering and maintenance requirements related to sustaining a lawn in addition to the backyard space occupied by informal structures where lawns could be planted. Statistical analysis showed that no significant relationship could be established between perceptions of limited outside space and privacy and number of informal backyard rental structures presented per stand.

However, analysis also revealed that respondents were more likely to feel that backyarding limited their outside space and privacy where five or more people were accommodated in main dwellings, or more than four backyard tenants were accommodated in the yard. Where less than three backyard tenants were housed, respondents were more likely to report that backyarding did not limit their outside space and privacy. Statistical testing revealed a significant difference between feelings of limited outside space and privacy and both number of occupants in the main dwelling and number of backyard tenants. As such, perceptions on reduced outside space and privacy were related to an increased number of people in both fields. Overall, 57.5% of respondents who accommodated informal backyard rentals felt that backyard structures on their properties limited privacy and outside space. Yet, 82.8% of all respondents revealed that their children still played in their backyards, of which 51.8% did so frequently. Data showed that 79.2% of children used front yards to play of which 27.5% did so frequently. Thus, domestic gardens continued to provide primary venues for play, even as small stand sizes, probable overcrowding and informal backyard densification reduced the space available for such activities.

The survey also showed that 60.6% of respondents had planted trees, whilst 76.2% had planted some sort of shrubbery. Trees may be especially valued to provide shade in the scorching heat of a Klein Karoo summer. The gardens of 42% of respondent properties also contained flower beds, realising aesthetic values, especially in front yards where they could be viewed and admired by passers-by. Furthermore, nearly two thirds (67%) of respondents had planted fruits and vegetables. Various authors have commented on the value of domestic gardens in producing food and income-generating opportunities, especially for vulnerable, low-income households through such cultivations (Lindemann-Matthies & Brieger, 2016:33; Mosina & Maroyi, 2016:181). It should be noted that although the study area displayed a diversity of plant species, it is permissible to suggest that the area remains less species rich than more affluent, generally White, parts of Oudtshoorn, as noted elsewhere by Lubbe *et al.* (2010:2907) and Cilliers *et al.* (2013:692). A glaring disparity is apparent in green area cover between apartheid era townships and traditionally White suburbs on the opposite side of the Grobbelaars River in Oudtshoorn (See **Figure 15**), further underlining differences in the number of species feasibly established.

5. Conclusion

Findings in the Bridgton/Bongoletu case study seem to disprove the so-called 'compensation hypothesis', as an assumed increase in the use of public green space in compensation for private green space lost. The case study presented fairly small stand sizes, with outside space decreased further by informal backyard densification in over half of respondent properties. Yet, whilst more than 80% of respondents claimed to make use of proximate public green spaces, the majority did so infrequently, not as part of their daily or even weekly routines. Statistical analysis revealed that even those respondents claiming that proximate public green spaces were always accessible, only visited these spaces about once a month. In addition, only an insubstantial number of respondents regarded public green spaces as their children's primary play locals, with the majority still playing in domestic gardens, in both front and backyard spaces. As such, this article concurs that public and private green space may have dissimilar functions and meanings and that generally public green space cannot be provided as a substitute for access to private green space (Coolen & Meesters, 2012; Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015).

The insignificant association established between number of informal backyard rental structures and perceptions of limited outside space and privacy, considered against the significant association proven between number of informal backyard tenants and perceptions of limited outside space and privacy, further seem to downplay the impacts of informal backyard rental structures on reducing available yard space and the need to venture to public green spaces in compensation in the case study. Such findings are further supported by the extent of cultivation still taking place in respondents' gardens, especially in terms of fruits and vegetables. Yet, the effects of increased population densities need to be considered and addressed and the value of accessible, quality public green spaces realised in providing places of escape from crowded yards. As such, the active use of public green spaces must be encouraged, potential ecosystem services, disservices and benefits managed and barriers to accessibility redressed. The last especially evident in the case study and its fenced playgrounds and heritage-sensitive, but 'informally' enclosed Pavilion, where disservices have impeded access and detract from aesthetic quality in conjunction with the effects of informal backyard structures.

Whilst this article has provided an important preliminary investigation into a previously neglected aspect of South Africa's informal backyard rental sector, there are still numerous aspects to consider in future research on urban green spaces in relation thereto. With adequate policy intervention in mind, future investigations may focus on other smaller towns and importantly on highly consolidated low-income suburbs in larger cities and metropolitan areas where extreme informal backyard densities may realise the compensation hypothesis and underscore the need to redress existing shortcomings and make adequate provision for quality public green spaces, that meet and exceed minimum requirements, in new developments in anticipation of informal backyard infill.

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CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSIONS

4.1 Introduction

The article format selected for this study lends itself to apt and succinct reporting. Thus, the majority of findings and contributions made by this research towards an understanding of South Africa's informal backyard rentals may be very apparent from the preceding contents of the study. Conclusions drawn from the chapters, review manuscripts and research articles independently may however be fragmented and incoherent. As a result, this penultimate chapter aims to emphasise the most significant conclusions and collective findings to be taken from this research, elaborating where necessary and linking individual components to underscore the interrelated nature of the issues and potentials identified in terms of sustainable informal backyard rentals. In achieving this objective, the chapter provides conclusions in the form of thirteen main themes. Returning to the sustainability guided constructs of spatial, economic, social and environmental elements, as well as policy and legislation and planning theory, these themes are then assimilated into **Table 15** to capture the existing generalisations confirmed and new contributions made by this study in broadening planning knowledge on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector in support of sustainable development.

4.2 Conclusions based on thirteen main themes

The thirteen main themes identified are captured by **Figure 19** and elaborated on in **Sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.13** immediately following the figure.

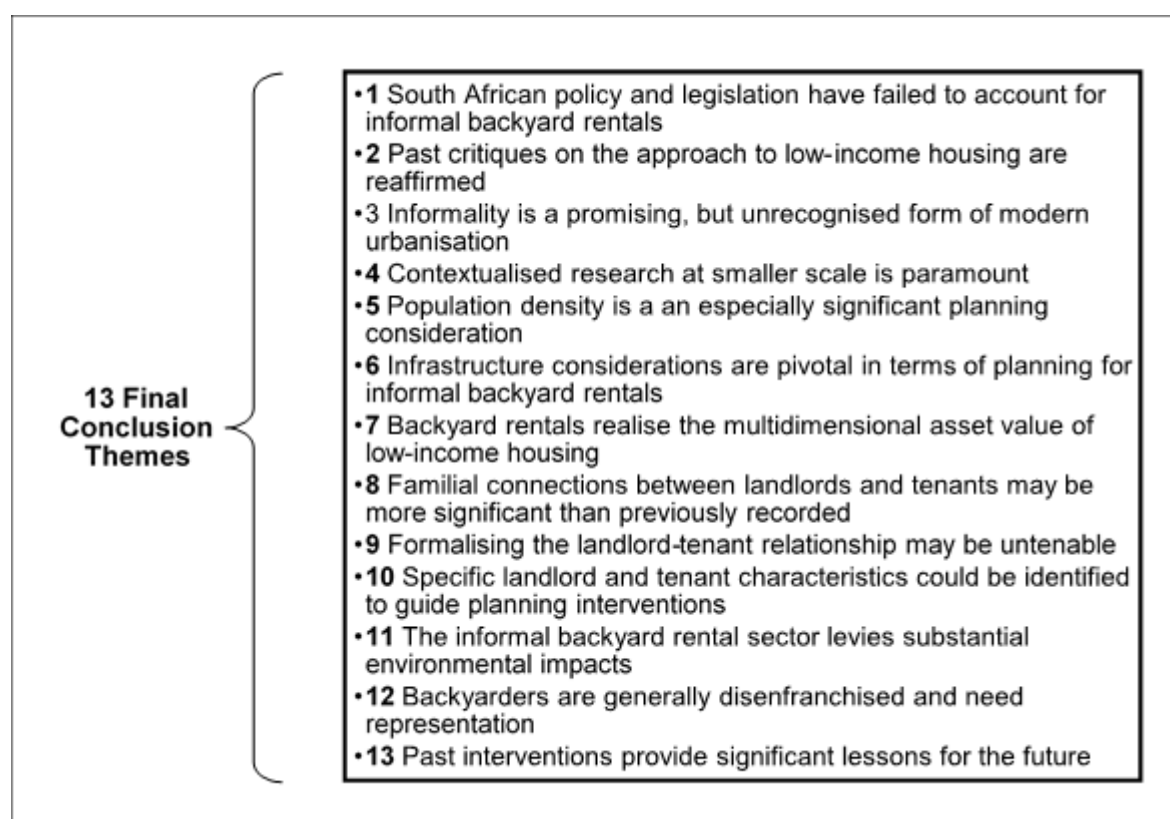


Figure 19: The thirteen main conclusions drawn for this study

4.2.1 South African policy and legislation have failed to account for informal backyard rentals

Contemporary South Africa is still weighed down by the yoke of apartheid, especially evident in post-apartheid housing and urban development trends. Despite concerted efforts to redress apartheid imbalances, demonstrated in extensive policy and legislative development in the democratic age, sustainable human settlements and equality remain elusive (Review Manuscript One). Although subsidised housing projects have delivered millions of homeownership opportunities, shantytowns continue to thrive and informal backyard renting endures in escalating numbers (Review Manuscript One, Section 3.4). In fact informal backyard rentals are recognised as the fastest growing housing subsector in the country, yet official surveys and the Census have not even captured the sector's entire scope (Review

Manuscript One, Section 3.4; and Research Article One, Section 3.5.1.i). Research findings in the Oudtshoorn case study confirm inaccuracies in Census data.

Although the importance of rental tenure has been recognised from the outset of the democratic era, also evidenced in the analysis of policy lexicon in Review Manuscript One, Section 4, and significant progress made in establishing bodies and programmes in support, formal rental programmes, as social housing, have not been effective (Review Manuscript One, Section 5). As a result those better suited to rental tenure are left with limited options outside the informal sector.

As cited throughout this study (Review Manuscript One, Section 3; Review Manuscript Two, Section 2.1; Research Article One, Section 1; Research Article Two, Section 1; Research Article Four, Section 1) national policies have paid limited attention to informal backyard rentals, failing to produce a policy capable of addressing backyard rental challenges and potentials (Review Manuscript One, Section 3). A textual analysis of housing policy in Review Manuscript One, Section 4 reveals that informal backyard rentals have been referenced negligibly in the past. A recognised definition for the informal backyard rental sector has not been established to date, further complicating the matter. In this regard, the definition provided for the informal backyard rental sector in this research (Review Manuscript One, Section 3.4) and cited throughout (Research Article One, Section 2.4; Research Article Two, Section 1; Research Article Four, Section 2.3), may provide several cues to be included in a future national delineation. If South Africa is ever to realise the rhetorically well-established, but unfulfilled intention to establish and maintain sustainable human settlements, the informal backyard rental sector should be included in its future policy directives.

Through its review of South African housing policy and legislation in Review Manuscript One, this study further evidences the compatibility of the informal backyard rental sector with existing policy objectives, *inter alia*, urban densification and compaction, supporting rental tenure, self-help housing, mixed tenure, tenure security, housing product responsiveness, inclusionary housing and demand responsiveness.

The disregard shown for the informal backyard rental sector thus far, except for piecemeal references in the past and an approach still in favour of eradicating the informal, further exposes a system unable to meet the challenges presented at local level, blinded by the desire to develop according to western ideals of modernity and progress (Review Manuscript Two, Section 2.1) Recognising the informal backyard rental sector would require its legitimisation, acknowledging post-apartheid failures to deliver on housing promises and opposing an agenda based on eradicating informality completely. Official recognition and support could prove unpopular under newly-empowered voters who still associate officially endorsed rental tenure with the apartheid state and its dispossession strategies (Review Manuscript One, Section 2.2; Review Manuscript One, Section 5). Thus, legitimisation could jeopardise the value of housing as a tool of political manipulation for the state (Review Manuscript One, Section 4.1; 4.2.6). The Rose valley case again emphasises the manner in which housing is traded for political support (Research Article One, Section 2.4; Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.4), in what may be construed part of, or at least tangent to the 'dark side of planning' (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.4).

Promising contributions by academia following the 2004 BNG threshold have increasingly emphasised the informal backyard rental sector within the housing debate, however uptake has been relatively low and much can still be done in exploring the informal backyard rental sector's complexities through dedicated scholarship. A significant contributor to existing literature is found in research commissioned by SALGA in 2013 (Review Manuscript One, Section 6.3), referenced as Rubin and Gardner (2013) throughout the study, resulting in a comprehensive draft policy that will impact future policy intervention directly through the 'toolkit' it provides.

The real-world implications of the interventions presented in the SALGA draft will require extensive empirical substantiation before targeted proposals may be included in the future Human Settlements White Paper currently being drafted (See Review Manuscript One). Recommendations based on research findings, reconcilable with recommendations provided in the SALGA draft will be noted in the following chapter. Furthermore, questions still linger around the extent to which LUMS revised to meet SPLUMA compliance (Review Manuscript One, Section 6.3) in the quest for all spatial planning mechanisms to redress issues related to access to land, security of tenure

and the incremental upgrade of informal areas in pursuit of spatial justice and sustainability, have recognised informal backyard rentals

The following subsection emphasises the detriments related to the current approach to low-income housing in South Africa, widely saturated in the literature and confirmed in the Oudtshoorn case study.

4.2.2 Past critiques on the approach to low-income housing are reaffirmed

Research Article One concurs with reports in Review Manuscript One that urban development in post-apartheid South Africa has produced less than desirable results, showcased in the case of Rose Valley, Oudtshoorn. Rose Valley is framed as a microcosm of the low-cost housing sector in South Africa, capturing elements such as an ever-expanding housing demand (Research Article One, Section 3.3); informal land invasion (Research Article One, Section 3.4) on environmentally sensitive land (Research Article Four, Section 3.1); the eradication and formalisation agenda (Research Article One, Section 3.4); limited delivery capacity (Research Article One, Section 3.3); low-density housing development; urban sprawl (Research Article One, Section 3.4) and informal backyard renting (Research Article One; Article). Accordingly, the Rose Valley case substantiates several critiques levied against South Africa's approach to low-income housing (Research Article One, Section 2.3; Research Article Two, Section 2.3; Research Article Three, Section 1.2).

With regards to informal backyard rentals, Rose Valley was settled by a number of previous informal backyard tenants and once formalised, will provide new opportunities for backyarding to take root. Despite attempts by the OLM's legal department to remove such structures and restricted space provided by new stand sizes of 150m², informal backyard rentals have been established incrementally in new Rose Valley (See **Annexure P**). Furthermore, the low incomes uncovered in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study (Research Article Two, Section 3.3.2.1; 3.3.2.2) indicate that many new housing beneficiaries in Rose Valley, as citizens of comparable socio-economic standing and previous backyard renters, will remain unable to access a mortgage to advance up the property ladder or meet the expenses and responsibilities related to homeownership (Research Article Two, Section 2.3).

Backyarding is thus feasibly cemented as an unavoidable fixture in Rose Valley for the foreseeable future, particularly in response to a lack of appropriate alternative housing. Oudtshoorn showcases the national fixation on providing homeownership (Research Article Two, Section 2.2) instead of promoting rental tenure, as there is currently no social housing stock available in the OLM. The absence of such provisions in new Rose Valley is another striking example of the neglect shown for affordable rental typologies. Informal backyard rentals will continue to fill the affordable rental gap in the area and accommodate many of those who would otherwise settle in a shantytown.

4.2.3 Informality is a promising, but unrecognised form of modern urbanisation

South Africa has stood fast in its condemnation of the informal, bolstered by a myriad of challenges traditionally linked to informality, aptly captured in Research Article One, Section 2.3, and expressed in the removal of informality as part of modernist ideals (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.1). In contradiction to the South African approach, international and local scholarship has increasingly engaged with informality in a more enlightened and supportive manner. Review Manuscript Two reflects on such trends, questioning the often Northern-derived ideals that continue to shape urban agendas in the global South, including eliminating informality to reach goals such as 'slum free cities' in accordance with past MDG targets (Review Manuscript One, Section 4.2.6; Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.4).

Review Manuscript Two provides an important theoretical foundation for this study and captures the main theme aptly in recognising the value of the informal for those who live in the informal sector, the state and the planning community at large. Accordingly, through its literature reviews and contextualised empirical research, this study calls on authorities and planners as policymakers to accept multiple rationalities, acknowledge the existence of an alternative modernity and admit that justice and sustainability may be achieved beyond the limits of western prescripts on order based on the formal.

In endorsing the value of the informal for planning theorists around the globe, this study links South Africa's informal backyard rental sector to communicative and collaborative planning, insurgency, radical planning and co-production (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.5) to generate new theory making opportunities that may transverse the North-South divide. This study stands as a prime example of research emanating from such opportunities, addressing informality, in terms of the informal backyard rental sector, from the purview of promise and prospect for sustainable development in collaboration between the citizenry and the state. This research calls on all relevant stakeholders to engage with the informal backyard rental sector accordingly to address challenges and capitalise on the opportunities the sector may present as a grassroots response already assimilated in South African culture.

In advancing the cause for aptly targeted research and intervention, context should be regarded as a significant consideration, elaborated on accordingly.

4.2.4 Contextualised research at smaller scale is paramount

By focussing on the nonmetropolitan scale, this study makes valuable contributions towards an understanding of South Africa's informal backyard rental sector. Accordingly, this study questions the origin-narrative (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.5) attached to prevailing generalisations on the informal backyard rental sector and uncovers new features in a return to empiricism.

This study highlights features in the OLM context as political instability, outdated infrastructure master plans, over capacitated infrastructure networks, severe housing demand, political instability, weak service delivery, financial pressures (Research Article One, Section 3.2), unemployment and poverty, a relatively small population, racial heterogeneity, low-residential turnover (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.2), extreme temperature variations, droughts and floods (Research Article Four, Section 3.1) that frame the local context and will affect the future of informal backyard rentals in Oudtshoorn. Unlike larger cities and metropolitan areas where access to greater financial and human resources may mitigate similar challenges and allow authorities to capitalise on potential benefits more readily, resource constraints hamper comparable attempts at local municipal level.

Accordingly, this research illustrates that it is only through a more contextualised approach, accepting multiple rationalities, that future interventions adopted at national scale may be appropriate and sustainable in terms of providing an effective framework that will respond to eventualities in the informal backyard sectors of South African settlements at every planning scale.

4.2.5 Population density is a an especially significant planning consideration

This study ascribes to the connection between lower residential densities and urban sprawl to the detriment of urban compaction and ultimately sustainability, but also acknowledges that both lower and increased densities may present unique opportunities and challenges (Research Article One, Section 2.2; Research Article Four, Section 2.2.). From a spatial planning perspective, this research verifies the value of the informal backyard rental sector in densifying settlements through informal infill in keeping with the focus on densification as a desirable development tool (Research Article Four, Section 2.3). In substantiation, quantifying densification in Bridgton and Bongoletu indicates that informal backyard rentals increase dwelling unit densities by a minimum of 68.75%, whilst population density is augmented by at least 39.38% (Research Article One, Section 3.5.1.iii).

Whilst findings suggest that dwelling unit densities are increased more substantially than population densities in the case study, it is deduced that population density may merit special consideration, as an increased number of residents is indicative of increased service consumption levels and increased pressure on infrastructure networks.

This research also evidences that tangent effects such as feelings of reduced outside space and privacy are more related to population than dwelling unit densities (Research Article Four, Section 4.2) and that overcrowding is a main source of landlord-tenant conflict under tenants (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.4). Dwelling unit densities and number of dwellings per stand, are however an important concern when open area per stand and domestic garden space available to residents as a result of informal backyard infill (Research Article Four, Section 2.3) are considered. For more on the latter, see **Section 4.2.6** of this chapter.

Furthermore, number of informal backyard dwellings per stand, as indicative of dwelling unit destines, have a determining effect on the number of access points to services potentially required. The following section continues the discussion on infrastructure and service access.

4.2.6 Infrastructure considerations are pivotal in terms of planning for informal backyard rentals

Infrastructure access is a recurring theme in the literature on informal backyard renting in South Africa, based on arguments in support of and against informal backyard rentals (Research Article One, Section 2.4; Research Article Three, Section 2.2; Research Article Four, Section 2.3). This study raises both arguments as a result of case study findings. In favour of backyard renting, the study concludes that informal backyard renters in Bridgton and Bongolethu enjoy excellent access to basic services. Backyard tenants access electricity *via* informal connections (Research Article One, Section 3.5.1.v), potable water primarily through a communal tap in the yard, sanitation facilities in the main dwelling *sans* more communal provisions outside the main house (Research Article One, Section 3.5.1.v) and share in the municipal waste removal offered to landlords.

Given the low levels of conflict identified between landlords and tenants in Bridgton/Bongolethu (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.4), this study concludes that current arrangements seem to function fairly well for both landlords and tenants, but are not without risks and challenges for backyarders or the local authority.

The significant level of access to services enjoyed by backyard tenants raises a noteworthy argument against informal backyard rentals. Research Article One, Section 3.2 aptly captures the worrisome state of infrastructure capacity and reciprocal planning in Oudtshoorn, demonstrating that almost all service networks are at, or beyond capacity and that masterplans are in urgent need of revision.

The added service demands posed by the town's apparently substantial informal backyard rental sector, thus exacerbate pressures and the need for reactive as well as proactive measures to be included in future infrastructure master plans to increase capacity for existing and future demand, in the formal as well as the informal sectors, in the hope for a more sustainable future.

In referencing the informal backyard rental sector in this regard, certain key risks should be addressed to improve health and safety, as this study evidences that informal backyard tenants may experience poorer health than those in main dwellings (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.3) and present severe electrocution and fire risks (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.2; Research Article Four, Section 2.3; 4.1). Electrocution and fire risks are primarily related to informal electricity connections and their makeshift wiring (Research Article Three, Section 2.2; Research Article Four, Section 4.1). Fire risks are aggravated by the flammable construction materials used to fabricate backyard dwellings, in the Bridgton/Bongoletu case, specifically tarred timber (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.2), a lack of adequate alternatives to electrical cooking and heating and poor practice on fire prevention and extinction, especially as a result of alcohol and substance abuse (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.2). Fire risks are exacerbated where backyard rentals congregate in dense configurations (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.2) or informal structures are attached to main dwellings, as commonly identified in the case study. These hazards have seen informal backyard rentals become the major cause of house fires in Oudtshoorn (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.2). This study further concludes that infrastructure and service provision considerations should take household waste removal into account.

Informal backyard households in the case study are not provided with additional refuse bins or liners. Research Article Four, Section 4.1 references instances of littering and dumping identified in Bridgton/Bongoletu and deduces that an increased number of consumers in backyard tenements increase the problem. In keeping with the influence of an increased number of consumers, the study further draws attention to health concerns due to overcrowding as an obstacle to access water and sanitation *via* service points designed to cater to nuclear families, consistent with population density considerations raised previously.

In terms of infrastructure and service considerations, Research Article Four contributes urban green space as fifth category to be considered in planning for informal backyard rentals in addition to electricity, water, sanitation and refuse removal considerations, building on the first reference to urban green space made in Research Article Three, Section 1.1. In this regard, the study references potential ecosystem services, economic, social and environmental values attributed to urban green space as part of urban green infrastructure that may fulfil a role with, or in place of grey infrastructure (Research Article Four, Section 2.1) to highlight the potentials when including such spaces in planning considerations.

In reflecting on urban green space as an infrastructure consideration in terms of the informal backyard rental sector, this study makes some critical contributions. This research disproves the compensation hypothesis, in terms of a link between informal backyard rentals and an increased use of public green space to compensate for the private green space lost through backyarding, even as small stand sizes, probable overcrowding and informal backyard densification reduce the space available in domestic gardens (Research Article Four, Section 4.2). Evidence would suggest that increasing the number or area of public green space in reaction to informal backyard rental impacts may not be justified in greenfield projects or as a retrofit, as advocated for other forms of infrastructure. Whilst findings suggest that respondents make minimal use of public green spaces, paradoxically results also prove that they continue to value such spaces, showcased in the distance they are willing to walk to access a quality green space, that they are willing to pay more for a property in proximity to such a quality green space and the community-driven recourse to protect playparks by enclosing them.

The last related to the disservices associated with public green spaces in the area, as substance abuse, crime and dumping (Research Article Four, Section 4.1), indicative of pathologies commonly related to lower-income areas Research Article Three, Section 3.2.1).

With the informal backyard rental sector in mind, it is important that steps are taken to address disservices, encourage freer access and promote the active use of public green spaces to address the potential effects of backyard renting.

As such, mental and physical health considerations related to overcrowding, respiratory ailments such as TB produced as a result of poorly insulated, damp and permeable backyard structures (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.3, and poor aesthetic qualities (Research Article Four, Section 4.1) may be addressed. In addition, this study is the first to remark on the value of public green space in providing an assembly point and possible safe harbour when backyard fires engulf a neighbourhood. Whilst increasing the number and area of urban green space may not be justified solely by the use patterns of informal backyarders, increasing green cover should be prioritised to take advantage of green infrastructure services, related benefits and values at both neighbourhood and settlement-wide scale and to promote egalitarianism in access to urban space between lower and higher income groups in South Africa (Research Article Four, Section 2.2) in pursuit of social justice (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.2).

4.2.7 Backyard rentals realise the multidimensional asset value of low-income housing

The South African approach has emphasised homeownership and formal title (Review Manuscript One, Section 5; Research Article Two, Section 2.2) to bestow a housing asset conceptualised one-dimensionally around a dwelling as a financial asset. Yet, this study evidences that it may be more apt to recognise the multi-dimensional asset value of low-income housing, based on an asset trinity. Accordingly, acknowledging that homes may realise financial, economic and social asset values (Research Article Two, Section 1).

The study reveals that for low-income (subsidised housing) in South Africa, of the three, financial asset value may be the weakest, related to the quality of housing products, the scalability of the property ladder and especially, low homeowner incomes (Research Article One, Section 3.5.1.iv; Research Article Two, Section 2.3).

As such, the Bridgton/Bongolethu case study indicates that property values are too low for homeowners to scale the property ladder, almost no respondents are interested in putting their homes up for sale in the future, an inconsequential number had purchased their properties in the secondary market and even fewer had ever accessed credit with homes as collateral (Research Article Two, Section 3), again disproving de Soto's dead capital thesis (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5; Research Article Two, Sections 2.1; 2.2; 5). Data further reveals that the presence of informal backyard rental accommodation may not have any effect on municipal valuation in low-income suburbs (Research Article Two, Section 3.2), thus not detracting from financial asset value.

In support of the asset trinity and its economic asset leg, this study concludes that informal backyard rentals make homeownership feasible for the poor (Research Article Two, Section 3.3.2.1) through the remittances landlords generate *via* cash rents, services in kind or reimbursements for the services accessed by tenants (Research Article Two, Section 3.3.3.3). Though this study is limited to the rental sector, the opportunity to accommodate commercial uses in informal backyard structures is also recognised as a potential suppository of economic opportunity. These commercial activities may constitute a main part of homeowner income, but this research evidences that rental moneys rarely provide a main source of household earnings.

Whilst case study findings reveal that just over half of respondent tenants pay cash rents at an average sum slightly higher than previously recorded elsewhere, the average monthly charge of R253 is rarely raised and remains exceedingly low (Research Article Two, Section 3.3.3.3). Most landlords provide rentals out of a moral imperative to help the indigent and are not motivated by financial gain (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.3). As such, this study confirms that informal backyard rentals are not a profit-maximising venture, thus not representing informalisation for accumulation, but rather informalisation for survival as referenced in Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.3. It is especially through its contribution to the survival of landlords as homeowners in realising economic asset value that informal backyard rentals contribute to the general sustainability of South Africa's low-income housing sector.

Without informal backyard tenants a significant share of low-income housing beneficiaries would revert back to life in an informal settlement, such as in Rose Valley (Research Article One, Sections 2.1; 2.2), leaving major state housing investments empty or re-appropriated by wealthier households who can afford the financial burdens of homeownership.

In further support of the asset trinity and survivalist strategies, the informal backyard rental sector fulfils an import function in realising social asset value (Research Article Two, Section 2.3) and contributing to social sustainability, based on mutual dependence introduced in Research Article Two, Section 3.3.2.2. The social asset value linked to informal backyard renting is especially evidenced in the case study in the familial connections uncovered between landlords and tenants, discussed accordingly.

4.2.8 Familial connections between landlords and tenants may be more significant than previously recorded

Recent literature on the informal backyard rental sector in South Africa confirms a relatively stable and amiable landlord-tenant relationship, constituted by landlords and tenants who are mainly unrelated and may be family only in the minority of cases. A main contribution by this study is presented in its findings on familial ties between landlords and tenants in Bridgton/Bongolethu, not as exceptional, but as characteristic of the vast majority of respondent landlord-tenant relationships. As such, case study findings suggest that for 80.8% of backyard households included, all members are related to landlords (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.3), confirming trends for Coloured communities elsewhere (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.3).

Family connections provide important support networks and may be especially valued in post-apartheid South Africa given past apartheid strategies based on fracturing family ties (Review Manuscript One, Section 2.2). Findings in Bridgton/Bongolethu show that a significant number of respondents entered into the informal backyard rental sector to maintain family connections (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.3).

The filial links between landlords and their backyard tenants may imbue the positives already attributed to landlord-tenant relationship in general, more firmly. For example, strengthening tenure security within a trusting relationship bound by blood. Findings show that backyard tenants in the case study have been established in their backyard dwellings for a mean of six and a half years (Research Article One, Section 3.5.1.iv). These backyard tenants, mainly identified as the adult children of aged homeowners on pension (Research Article Two, Section 3.3.2.1), provide their parents and older family members with care through multigenerational arrangements, advancing the opportunity for landlords to age in their familiar homes and community (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.2). In conjunction with tenant tenure security, the reluctance of landlords to put homes up for sale (Research Article Two, Section 3) indicate low residential turnover and stability. In accordance with Research Article Three, Section 1.1 these elements contribute towards social sustainability, social cohesion and establishing social capital (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.3), considered especially significant in a community plagued by unemployment (Research Article Two, Section 3.3.2) and social pathologies such as crime, substance abuse and poor health (Research Article Three, Section 3.2), characteristic of South Africa in general (Research Article Three, Section 1.2). In addition, the study evidences that informal backyard tenants in Bridgton and Bongoletu feel safe in their backyard spaces (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.1).

A case could be made that arrangements where informal backyard landlords and tenants are related and rental contributions are often services in kind may represent a form of cohabitation to accommodate overflow from the main dwelling and thus cannot be included under the umbrella of rental housing. Yet, filial tenants in informal backyard accommodation generally contribute towards the landlord and face most of the same challenges endured by non-related tenants, also exerting the same impacts in terms of fire risks, health threats and infrastructure demands. Excluding this significant component of the informal backyard rental sector would oppose the goal of improving conditions, quality of life and sustainability at a settlement wide scale and would oppose constitutional responsibilities (Review Manuscript One, Section 4.1.3) and the pursuit of equity and justice (Review Manuscript Two).

The following section provides conclusions on the landlord-tenant relationship in terms of interventions possibly aimed at formalisation.

4.2.9 Formalising the landlord-tenant relationship may be untenable

The dominance of familial connections in the case study could further be linked to the low cash rents charged; the low incidences of landlord-tenant conflict reported; and the low occurrence of either verbal or written lease agreements (Review Manuscript One, Section 3.3) or outside mediation sought in times of conflict. However, as consensus in the established literature shows, these features are commonly attributed to the informal backyard rental sector whether landlords and tenants are related or not. It is thus reiterated, as above, that filial connections may simply imbed such features more resolutely. Despite the somewhat tranquil nature of the landlord tenant relationship echoed in the case study of Bridgton/Bongolethu, clashes do take place on occasion (Research Article Three, Section 2.3.2).

Findings suggest that such disagreements primarily centre around payment disputes or as a result of overcrowding on the yard (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.4). Rows are undoubtedly aggravated as a result of the ambiguities and infringements introduced due to the lack of written lease agreements as point of reference in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case. Findings show that where agreements exist, they are mostly verbal in nature (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.4). Accordingly even where conditions such as monthly remuneration are agreed on, terms may remain vague and disputable.

Whilst the OLM has unofficially provided written rental contracts as options to the informal backyard rental sector to mediate possible disputes (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.5) and interventions in Orlando East and Zola (Review Manuscript One, Section 6.1.2) mandated formal lease agreements, limited uptake in Oudtshoorn and the failure to maintain formal leases in Orlando East and Zola indicate that strategies based on formalising the landlord-tenant relationship may not be sustainable. Instead, landlord-tenant relationships seem to function adequately in their autonomy without interference, evidenced further in the negligible number of respondents who turn to outside mediation when conflict arises in the case study.

In Bridgton/Bongolethu, those who approach external arbitration turn to the police or church for guidance (Research Article Three, Sections 2.3.2; 3.1.5) in lure of a visible and approachable local entity dedicated specifically to mediating rental disputes, such as a RHT.

The succeeding section captures main findings on landlord and tenant characteristics uncovered in the case study and provides conclusions accordingly.

4.2.10 Specific landlord and tenant characteristics could be identified to guide planning interventions

This section of the chapter provides a summary of findings related to both backyard landlord and tenants profiles in the case study of Bridgton/Bongolethu, captured in **Table 13**.

Table 13: Summary of informal backyard landlord and tenant profiles in Bridgton/Bongolethu

	Informal backyard landlords	Informal backyard tenants
Mean age	55.62	39.76
Mean sex	Female	Male
Marital status	Single/widowed	Single/married/in civil union
Monthly household income	R1001 – R1500	R1001 – R1500
Main source of income	Pension	Formal/Informal Employment

Source: Own construction (2016)

The results presented in **Table 13** show that landlords are mostly single or widowed females aged 55.62 years who generate their main source of monthly household income of between R1001 – R1500 from pension dispensations. Informal backyard tenants on the other hand are mostly males found to be single, married or living in civil union, who are employed in either the formal or informal sectors to earn the bulk of household income reported at R1001 – R1500 per month. **Table 15** provided in the closing section of this chapter highlights whether findings reflect established trends or provide new insights.

Regardless of landlord/tenant traits as reiterations or novelties, findings raise several important issues supporting contentions held in other sections of this chapter. Firstly, substantiating familial ties between landlords and tenants in terms of parents and even grandparents who accommodate adult children in their backyards and reemphasising that landlords do not generate main income from backyard rentals.

The similar income levels between landlords and tenants further underscore their connectedness and co-dependency, with poor tenants renting from poor landlords (Research Article Three, Section 2.3.1). Despite similar socioeconomic standings, not reflected in **Table 13**, but referenced in Research Article One, Section 3.5.1.iv, backyard tenants are slightly better off than landlords in the case study, being more regularly employed (Research Article Two, Section 3.3.2.2) and not yet burdened by homeownership expenses. **Table 13** further raises the issue of ageing female landlords as main breadwinners, to a certain degree personifying the gendered angle poverty has adopted around the global South (Research Article Three, Section 2.3). Whilst these landlords may be in ownership of housing, controversially regarded as housing assets and are thus more asset-rich than tenants, they are decidedly more cash-poor, again emphasising the need to accommodate backyard renters. Sufficed to say, appropriate planning interventions will require responses tailored to landlord and tenant profiles.

4.2.11 The informal backyard rental sector levies substantial environmental impacts

The potential for increased littering and dumping (Research Article Four, Section 4.1), inappropriate human and household waste disposal and possible tree felling for fire wood or construction, as well as air pollution as a result of cooking and heating using fossil fuels must be acknowledged when considering the potential environmental impacts of informal backyard rentals. Such concerns are related to appropriate infrastructural capacity and service access as well as to the protection of environmental resources.

Additionally, informal backyard rentals may levy tolls on aesthetic qualities. The informal construction materials and practices employed to erect informal backyard dwellings (Research Article Four, Section 4.1), invariably detract from the aesthetic quality of low-income housing areas. Whilst arguments raised within this study to support the informal and respect the qualities of grassroots practices may lend themselves to a celebration of informal aesthetics, this cannot be fully endorsed.

In keeping with critiques on the ‘anesthetisation of poverty’ (Research Article Four, Section 4.1), this study posits that informal backyard dwellings require attention not only to improve structural quality and safety, but also commensurate with attempts to improve exterior appearance to the benefit of general neighbourhood aesthetics, pride, sense of place and community and to counter the potential effects of the broken window syndrome (Research Article Three, Section 1.1). The case study of Bridgton/Bongolethu reaffirms the severe informality of the structures in the low-income rental market, with dwellings constructed from timber, corrugated iron sheets, plastics and cardboard (Research Article Four, Section 4.1) with detrimental health impacts (Research Article Three, Section 3.2.3). Addressing physical structures is an element still absent from otherwise successful interventions in the sector in the City of Cape Town (Review Manuscript One, Section 6.2.1), whilst attempts to upgrade and formalise structures in Gauteng have been too disruptive (Review Manuscript One, Section 6.1).

Furthermore, the aesthetic qualities of the public domain in low-income areas demand attention, addressed in reference to the Bridgton Pavilion and its heritage sensitive 'informal' perimeter wall (See **Annexure P**) that detracts from overall aesthetics in Bridgton/Bongolethu in conjunction with informal backyard structures visible from the street (See **Annexure P**). The study thus calls for responsible design with informal features in mind that will enhance and not detract from the appeal of the environment in which low-income citizens live their lives. (Research Article Four, Section 4.1).

Those with reduced financial capacity are generally further disadvantaged by a weak political voice, elaborated on in the following section.

4.2.12 Backyarders are generally disenfranchised and need representation

As referenced directly in Research Article One, Section 1, South Africa's informal backyard rental sector has been framed by the term '*terra incognita*', as a relatively undiscovered and hidden component of the housing sector. Research shows that the sector is not only unseen, but also commonly unheard.

Whilst representative associations have been established in select areas of Johannesburg and Cape Town (Review Manuscript One, Section 6.1.2; Research Article Three, Section 2.2.2), supporting insurgency and radical planning agendas (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.4.2), both case study landlords and tenants continue to function without organised representation to articulate and channel their grievances (Research Article Three, Section 3.1.5). Whereas this study has referenced the proclivity of backyarders to join service delivery protests elsewhere (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.4.2; Research Article Three, Section 2.3.2), where they may advance social cohesion and build social capital (Research Article Three, Section 1.1), a lack of organised representation may inhibit the potential to develop social cohesion and social capital further. In addition, the absence of organised representation may hamper meaningful stakeholder engagement processes even where planners and policymakers recognise backyarder rights and intend to agonistically (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.4.2) advocate those rights in keeping with advocacy and collaborative planning (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.2).

Where backyarders are the instigators of their own legitimisation through representative bodies, they can hold the planning community accountable when it reneges on promises or outcomes continue to be unjust as a result of tokenistic inclusion and participation (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.4.2) in service of the ‘dark side of planning’ (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.4).

Formal representation allows a platform for meaningful engagement, but is not the only means by which backyarders may demand recognition. The informal backyard rental sector will continue to claim acknowledgement through its sheer size and presence across the country and the manner in which this form of counter-conduct (Review Manuscript One, Section 4.2.6) and insurgency (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.2) continues to defy formal prescripts. The task lies in providing structures for meaningful engagement and decolonising planning thought (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.4.2) to accept informal practices as valid strategies that merit recognition and consideration to develop appropriately supportive interventions in realisation of a Leferbvian right to the city (Review Manuscript Two, Section 4.3).

4.2.13 Past interventions provide significant lessons for the future

In brief, past attempts at intervening in the informal backyard rental sector can be summarised by two main approaches, firstly aimed at eradicating informal rental components as in the majority of Gauteng approaches; and secondly supporting informal backyard rentals as in the City of Cape Town’s BESIP pilots. The following Table provides a SWOT analysis, as a synthesis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to take from the pilot case studies included under Review Manuscript One in an attempt to consider lessons for future interventions in the informal backyard rental sector.

Table 14: A SWOT analysis of previously piloted interventions in the informal backyard rental sector

	Strengths	Weaknesses	Opportunities	Threats
Gauteng Initiatives				
ARP	Preserving existing livelihood opportunities; Preserving existing structures; In-depth preparatory research	Backyard initiatives left unimplemented	Improving living conditions; Improving health Instilling civic pride; Range of alternatives considered	Weak community support
Orlando East and Zola	Paying attention to physical structures; Securing alternative sources of funding; Beneficiaries remained eligible for housing subsidies; Appropriate de-densification	Unenforceable formalised rental agreements; Large scale displacement; Double subsidisation; Stress on infrastructure and service not alleviated; Formalisation through eradication;	Upgrade of infrastructure and environmental quality; Standard bylaws kept in place;	Nepotism in tenant selection; Large scale, organised resistance; Still large scale informal construction taking place
Cosmo City	Backyard dwellings encouraged; Backyard densification achieved	Only formal backyard structures allowed; Inappropriate starter unit placement impedes backyard densification; Approach better suited to middle income groups	Future phases planned with backyarding in mind	Reactive instead of proactive planning; Human resources needed to maintain

K206	Recognition of rental entrepreneurship; Increasing densities deliberately;	Relocations; Unfair advantage in landlord and tenant selection; Still not necessarily conducive to rental entrepreneurship; Dissatisfaction and distrust instilled; Poor build quality	Innovative and alternative unit design and layout; Utilising and augmenting basic subsidies	Disregard for fragile social networks and range of landlord-tenant connections
Western Cape initiatives				
BESIP	Strong stakeholder engagement processes; Appropriate de-densification; No interference in landlord-tenant relationship	Only applicable to municipal housing stock; Focus on infrastructure and service upgrades; Physical structures left unaddressed; Electricity connections limited to three backyard structures;	Build on existing momentum and learn from past failures; Focus on improved quality of life; Innovative service metering; Zoning instruments applied	Opposition by backyard renters in private stock; Resentment that funds should be redirected at providing formal housing

Source: Own construction based on Review Manuscript One (2016)

Recommendations based on the above SWOT analysis are provided in the next chapter, but with mindfulness for the implications of borrowing best practice ideas from one context to another (Review Manuscript Two, Section 5.5).

4.3 Certain generalisations are confirmed and new contributions are made

In closing this concluding chapter, this section is comprised entirely of a Table capturing which existing generalisation are confirmed and what new contributions are made to planning knowledge on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector by this study. **Table 15** reintroduces the foci of the review manuscripts and research articles included in this thesis in terms of the policy and legislation, planning theory, spatial, economic, social and environmental delineation followed throughout the study, incorporating the main themes provided in this chapter accordingly.

Table 15: Main generalisations confirmed and new contributions made by this study

Confirmations	Contributions
Policy and Legislation	
• Housing policy has continued to produce adverse effects in opposition to sustainable settlements • Housing is a political tool • Eradicating and formalising the informal remains as central objective • There is still a lack of social housing policy implementation • Significant housing demand is highlighted • Census data is inaccurate in terms of the informal backyard rental sector	• First textual analysis of formal and informal renting in South African housing policy • First to review informal backyard rentals within both a complete historical and policy context • Providing a new definition for informal backyard rentals
Planning theory	
• Contextualised research is paramount and a return to empiricism needed • Reemphasising the value and legitimacy of the informal • South Africa is preoccupied with reaching modernist ideals • Research on the informal backyard rental sector has been limited considering its significance • Echoing calls to generate Southern-based theory	• Nonmetropolitan areas have been neglected in previous case studies on informal backyard rentals • First to place the informal backyard rental sector within a planning theory framework • Linking the informal backyard rental sector to communicative and collaborative planning • Linking the informal backyard rental sector to insurgency and radical planning • Linking the informal backyard rental sector to co-production
Spatial planning and infrastructure matters	
• Subsidised housing projects are still located on the urban periphery • Low-density development is still the norm for subsidised housing • New subsidised housing projects continue to provide new opportunities for informal backyard tenements • Reiterating potential of informal backyard infill in densifying settlements • Support for urban compaction in sustainability	• Population density should be a primary consideration in planning • Informal backyard tenants would otherwise settle on the urban periphery in shantytowns • Feelings of reduced outside space and privacy are more related to population than dwelling unit density

• Confirms that informal backyard tenements increase both dwelling unit and population densities substantially • Informal backyard tenants enjoy excellent access to basic services • Reemphasising the need to upgrade under capacitated infrastructure networks • Risk of informal electricity connections confirmed • Majority of informal backyard tenants use sanitation facilities in the main dwelling • Informal backyard dwellings are damp, permeable, poorly ventilated and flammable	
Economic	
• Low-income housing in SA realises weak financial asset value • Low-income households are unable to scale the property ladder • Homeowners do not use their homes to access credit or finance • Rental contributions may be in cash or kind • Cash rents remain low • Cash rents are rarely raised • Landlords are not profit-maximisers • Landlords and tenants share socio-economic profiles • Tenants are more economically active and earn slightly more than landlords	• Emphasising economic asset value realised through informal backyard rentals • Informal backyard structures do not detract from municipal valuation • Marginally higher cash rents than previously recorded • Majority of landlords are pensioners
Social	
• Amiable and stable landlord-tenant relationship • Conflict between landlords and tenants is rarely an issue • Landlord-tenant relationship is co-dependent • Landlords and tenants are more often related in Coloured communities • Tenure security for informal backyard renters • Landlords are older than their tenants • Landlords are often female • Landlords are often single	• Familial connections between landlords and tenants as the norm • Maintaining familial ties is a significant motivation for informal backyard tenancy • Tenants are mainly male • Tenants are often married or living in civil union • Actors such as the police or church may be called on to resolve disputes

• Informal backyard rentals promote social sustainability • Rental agreements are either completely non-existent or verbally negotiated • Legal mediation is rarely sought to resolve disputes • Informal backyard tenancy comes with health risks • Informal backyarders are commonly unrepresented and remain obscured • Backyard households are smaller than landlord households • Reaffirming alcohol and substance abuse as social pathologies in low-income areas • Backyarding provides a support network for the elderly • Tenants continue to feel safe in their backyard dwellings • Tenants are vulnerable to illness • Potential for women and child abuse is a concern	
Environmental	
• Inequities between urban green space provisions in lower and higher income areas • Public and private green spaces have dissimilar functions and cannot substitute one another • Informal backyard rentals may escalate littering and dumping • Aesthetic degradation is a concern in relation to informal backyard rentals • New low-income housing projects are often established on environmentally sensitive land parcels	• First study to include urban green space as an infrastructural consideration in terms of informal backyard rentals • Urban green spaces are vital to informal backyard tenants to help address overcrowding and health concerns • Informal backyard rentals do not increase the use of or demand for public green space • First to advocate the value of public green space as assembly points during backyard fires • Presenting informal backyard fires as primary causes of house fires at settlement scale

Source: Own construction (2016)

The conclusions provided in this chapter deliver a coherent synthesis of the deductions to be taken from this study. The following, final, chapter provides recommendations based predominantly on the conclusions presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS

The following chapter completes the study by providing planning recommendations based on the research and findings captured in the previous chapters. Recommendations provided in the established literature on informal backyard rentals in South Africa, congruent with study findings, are cited throughout. Accordingly, these accentuated recommendations should be propelled to priority status in future discourse on the informal backyard rental sector. In keeping with the sustainability thread weaved throughout the narrative of this study, these recommendations are intended to advice the state and its policymakers, as well as planning researchers and practitioners, towards recognising and promoting the sustainability of informal backyard rentals in South Africa. Recommendations are captured according to eleven categories, guided by the thirteen themes identified in the previous chapter's conclusions and the policy and legislation, planning theory and research, spatial, economic, social and environmental delineation followed in the contents of the study.

5.1 Planning recommendation one: Recognising and supporting the informal backyard rental sector in policy and legislation

It is time that the state publically acknowledge its failures to deliver in the post-apartheid promise of a better life for all, specifically in the neglect and inertia it has shown for those who have remained 'hidden' in the backyards of the dwellings delivered under the auspices of its own housing programmes. The time for a laissez-faire approach has now passed (Morange, 2002:23; Tshangana, 2013:11) as informal backyard rentals require official acceptance and support (Gardner, 2009:18; Watson, 2009b:17). The eradication mantra based on the idea of slum-free cities should be abandoned (Lemanski, 2009:482; Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:20) in favour of an approach rooted in delivering just outcomes, even if such an approach opposes what is commonly accepted as modern, progressive, suitable or indeed politically popular. In this vein, the informal backyard rental sector should feature more prominently in future housing, urban development, social and economic policies in addition to the dedicated national policy on the informal backyard rental sector to be instituted.

The ultimate national backyarding policy should further be linked to the myriad of existing policy instruments that already support informal backyard rental principles either directly or indirectly, *inter alia* including BNG, the EPHP, the IHP, the NDP and the SHP. Social housing policy will need specific revision to include informal backyard rentals as an encouraged form of affordable rental accommodation. It is only through a synergistic, multi-institutional and multidimensional approach (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:88) that the complex and multifaceted effects of informal backyard rentals, hopes for improved quality of life and more sustainable human settlements may be realised. Though through such a multilateral approach, objectives and outcomes may become muddled. Any policy intervention at national, provincial or local level must thus articulate its main objectives clearly (Gardner, 2009:18; Watson, 2009b:21), based on primary problems in need of attention. Objectives should be tailored and focussed, as too broad a focus will generally deliver poor results on all goals (Tshangana, 2013:12) and yield unintended consequences. The general objective should be to facilitate, encourage and support affordable informal backyard rentals in pursuit of improved health, safety (Carey, 2009:10) and general quality of life without interfering in the existing market to such an extent that informal backyard rental stock is diminished, tenants displaced and prospective backyarders discouraged or any stakeholder unduly benefitted. Interventions should be as simple and flexible as possible, stimulate supply (Gardner, 2009:19) and improve human settlement outcomes and proficiency through densification. It is important to remember that the informal backyard rental sector is complex and that no single intervention will be appropriate to address informal backyard rentals in all contexts (Tshangana, 2013:11). A 'very fine-grained instrument' is thus required (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:69). SPLUMA conceivably provides an opportune platform to launch such interventions, but initiatives should be supported by scientific and contextualised research, as provided by this study.

Interventions should provide nuanced applications to plan for backyarding in future low-income housing projects and areas where the sector is already well established (Gardner, 2009:19). With regards to the latter, special consideration should be given to the legal impediments of intervening on privately owned land (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:22), also identified as a challenge in expanding the BESIP project in Cape Town.

The success of any policy will further require the full participation of informal backyard landlords and tenants, the private sector, financial institutions and contractors (Gardner, 2009:27), invoking Arnstein's participation ladder, and building capacity at local level to administer building control, inspection and by-law enforcement processes if that is what policy calls for (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:74).

It is important to recognise that a national informal backyard rental policy will only be effective if the guidelines it provides are implementable at provincial and local level and that, unlike in the ARP approach, initiatives are actually followed through to implementation and do not remain only rhetorically relevant. In this regard, piloting proposed interventions in the informal backyard rental sector across settlement scales will provide invaluable insight (Gardner, 2009:27; Watson, 2009b:7), as witnessed in past Gauteng and Cape Town initiatives where important lessons have been learnt. The outcomes of such pilots should inform final policies on the matter. For these interventions, guidelines provided in this study as well as the SALGA toolkit (Rubin & Gardner, 2013) should provide significant directions.

Contextualised and appropriately targeted interventions will require increased research on informal backyard rentals across all settlement scales, as discussed below.

5.2 Planning recommendation two: Developing an improved understanding based on more (local) research

As referenced throughout this study, authorities must accept that informalisation will continue despite their attempts to obstruct or eradicate it, as in Orlando East and Zola. The task lies in investigating the complexities that inform the informal to best address challenges and harness potentials. It is only through contextualised research, acknowledging differences (Bank, 2007:226), that authorities and planners may understand the nuances of the informal backyard rental sector and act sensitively in accordance. Therefore, improved housing data processes are required (Carey, 2009:29), that facilitate research on the size, structure and intricacies of the informal backyard rental sector (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:74) at local, provincial and national level. The national census provides an excellent vehicle to address current deficiencies in data at all levels.

The next national Census should concentrate on the informal backyard rental sector much more acutely. Census data on informal backyard rentals may be more accurate following national policy directives that legitimise the sector to lift the veil of underreporting and misinformation that has tainted Census data on the typology in the past.

However, South Africa's informal backyard rental community cannot wait for the next Census and its analysis before a national policy is rolled out and policy outcomes are realised at municipal level. Instead, it is recommended that intermediary surveys be commissioned at local level, as reiterated by Tshangana (2013:11) and (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:74), to provide municipalities with data on local conditions that may be fed to provincial and then national government. National government should mandate and capacitate such investigations and obligate continuous surveys in keeping with the five year IDP cycle, even after a national policy has been rolled out, to track progress and re-evaluate effects, also recommended by (Shapurjee *et al.*, 2014:27). The national Census may be used to track progress and analyse outcomes. Given the potential transience of informal backyard rentals, continuous evaluation should form part of the approach to analyse future trends, further inform planning and prevent delivering for demand that may be superfluous in the future in keeping with demographic shifts and advances in policy and legislation.

Government responses to the informal backyard rental sector should further be informed by sound and fine-grained empirical research by academics. In this regard, it is recommended that similar studies to this one be conducted in contexts comparable to the case study of Oudtshoorn, i.e. smaller local municipalities around South Africa, to inform local, provincial and national responses. Such investigations may only be possible if planning scholars receive adequate institutional support and funding.

Research activities should further be framed by broader cross-regional and cross-continental research aimed at illuminating the intricacies of informality related to sustainable development across the global South and increasingly, the global North, in realisation of the new theory-making opportunities and scholarly enrichment such practices may present.

Academia should take the lead in abolishing modernist ideals in favour of lived experiences as a pivotal step towards planning for the informal backyard rental sector and not against it. In planning with the informal backyard rental sector in mind certain layout and planning considerations should be taken on board, discussed in the succeeding section.

5.3 Planning recommendation three: Certain site layout and planning considerations should be contemplated

Whilst the value of informality is to be recognised, informal settlements on the periphery can have detrimental impacts on both inhabitants and at larger city scale. All efforts should be made to redirect urbanisation to alternative accommodation options without impairing livelihood strategies or citizens' right to the city. The informal backyard rental sector provides an opportune housing typology in this regard. In accommodating and encouraging informal backyard rentals, planning may play an important part in reducing the impacts that challenge everyday life in the low-income communities where informal backyarding is prevalent, specifically though site layout, urban design, dwelling unit placement, land use allocations, zoning and by-laws. As seen in the Cosmo City approach, recognising the future addition of backyard rental accommodation is laudable. It is recommended that a similar approach be carried through to the informal sector, but that such strategies be devised as part of primary planning phases with adequate human resources also provided for. It is recommended that all possible measures be taken to plan with informal backyard rentals in mind. In acknowledgement of the weak financial asset value low-income (subsidised) housing in South Africa realises for homeowners, it becomes increasingly important that planners continue to plan for quality neighbourhoods and urban environments that do not detract from the value of such homes.

As such, establishing and maintaining environments that increase property values and make dwellings attractive to new buyers is vital. Such interventions will however require a drastic departure from the current approach to low-cost housing development that should originate with the choice of development location, further justified by the increased number of people who may take advantage of well-located housing through the addition of informal backyard rentals.

In greenfield developments proactive planning may include several cost-effective tweaks to established practice. As such, planners may consider limiting the street frontage of stands, maintaining a ratio of 2:1 (Poulsen & Silverman, 2005:24), in conjunction with placing starter units as close to the street boundary as possible to allow access and ample backyard space for backyard rentals and gardens (Gardner, 2009:21; Watson, 2009b:11; Lategan, 2012; Rubin & Gardner, 2013:81).

The placement and design of backyard dwellings could further reduce fire risks by avoiding the placement of backyard structures attached to main dwellings, improve privacy for all yard occupants, for example in relation to entrance and window placement or by planting privacy hedges. Accordingly, consideration should be given to increasing stand sizes to facilitate informal backyard infill, with Watson (2009b:11) suggesting stand sizes above 300m², double the stand area provided in the new Rose Valley housing project. Where increased stand sizes are contemplated, maintaining densification advantages on the long run and considering the potential effects of decreasing average household size should be considered.

The non-residential land uses accommodated in low-income layouts, as public amenities and facilities, should also be considered in terms of the probable addition of informal backyard rentals and the potential for dramatic population densification. In this regard, amenities and facilities such as public transport nodes, police and fire stations, schools, crèches, libraries and internet cafes; community halls; and urban green space should be considered, especially for the part the latter few may play in presenting opportunities for people to leave congested yards during the day to reduce overcrowding stress and secondly in providing children with constructive pastimes, lightening the childcare burden of many aged guardians.

It is also important that affected provincial departments, such as education departments (Carey, 2009:17), be capacitated and authorities empowered to commit additional resources to meet the increased demand such policies may bring about.

Following findings and the disproof of the compensation hypothesis, it is not recommended that an increase in the number of public green spaces traditionally provided in low-income housing developments necessarily be advocated. It is however highly recommended that public green space provisions be strategically placed where locations will be most advantageous to service the uppermost number of citizens. Furthermore, public green spaces should be provided at an acceptable quality for those residents expected to use them on a daily basis. Aesthetic considerations will be paramount in this regard. In order to provide aesthetically pleasing public green spaces that attract users, spaces will need to be adequately vegetated, provide dedicated use areas, be well maintained and secured and issues around duping, littering and other disservices addressed. In addition public green space must remain as accessible to the public as possible, especially in areas where private green space may be lacking.

Providing closed-off spaces or worse, facilities with expensive entrance fees in impoverished communities will defeat the purpose of providing such spaces in the first place. Barriers to access may further reduce the potential of public green spaces to provide assembly points when (backyard) fires envelop a neighbourhood. In relation to the risk of fires resulting from cooking and heating using fossil fuels or electrical shortage, both Carey (2009:29) and Watson (2009b:11) suggest erecting concrete boundary walls to act as fire breaks between stands that may also provide some structural support to backyard assemblies.

All future interventions should emanate from a recognition of informal backyard infill as a desirable spatial development tool in terms of urban compaction to be included in municipal LUSs (Tshangana, 2013:15) and SDFs to guide, control, support and remediate development towards healthier and more sustainable outcomes (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:74). Where possible standard municipal bylaws should be kept in place if intervention strategies are compatible with such instruments, as in Orlando East and Zola and new instruments, specifically in terms of zoning, incorporated,

following the City of Cape Town's Special Residential 2 zoning instituted for the BESIP.

Gardner (2009:21) suggests granting general rights under existing zonings, or providing general approval for more than one dwelling unit. Watson (2009b:10) recommends allowing alternative building materials and more flexible standards and mixed-use zoning to encourage rental and commercial activities.

However, revisions to conventional regulations to benefit only low-income households and informal second dwellings raises equity concerns (Tshangana, 2013:10) and the issue of maintaining municipal authority and control. Ultimately, control is not a responsibility municipalities can relinquish (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:74). The effectiveness of official recognition in terms of zoning and relaxed building regulations may be questioned given the indifference shown to such constraints by the nature of the informal sector (Watson, 2009b:14), but such steps towards legitimisation provide a platform for inclusion and planning *with* informality and not against it. Such steps may thus be symbolically important.

As part and parcel, any strategy should address the challenges increased population and dwelling unit densities may bring about. It should be recognised that, excessive densification can reduce quality of life and exacerbate challenges. As such de-densification must be included as an intervention where applicable, following approaches in Orlando East and Zola and the City of Cape Town's BESIP, but always within a framework sensitive to the displacement such interventions may bring about. In cases where tenants are displaced, alternative accommodation of improved quality to the housing they have lost must be secured in meeting Constitutional obligations, preferably in informal backyard accommodation in proximity to their previous residences or preferred locations.

5.4 Planning recommendation four: Infrastructure capacity and access to services should be prioritised

Following the emphasis placed on infrastructure in the literature and the preceding Chapter (See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.6) it is recommended that infrastructure network capacity and access to basic services be prioritised in a policy on informal backyard rentals at any spatial scale (Carey, 2009:30), to address densification pressures (Gardner, 2009:21; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:22), largely based on the City of Cape Town's approach discussed in **Section 4.2.13** of this chapter.

In conjunction with the local surveys on informal backyard rentals discussed in **Section 5.2** of this chapter, congruent analyses on bulk infrastructure capacity, the condition and ability of the broader infrastructure network, existing shortfalls, maintenance requirements and data on the state of backyard access points need to be conducted to formulate intervention strategies and action plans. Infrastructure evaluations should already be completed as part of planning cycles to update IDPs and SDFs. Where local municipalities fail to update masterplans consistently, as in Oudtshoorn, or fail to take informal backyard rental impacts into account, penalties should be levied by district or provincial authorities.

The outcomes of infrastructure and service evaluations will determine if, or to what extent retrofits and future capacity-building will be required to manage the demands imposed by informal backyard rentals. In some cases evaluations may reveal that relatively little action is to be taken based on spare bulk capacity and existing over specified networks, but the potential for future growth and increased demand should also be considered.

Importantly, infrastructure considerations for all new low-cost housing projects must take an expected level of informal backyard rental infill into account to accommodate desirable densification over time without the need for retrofits (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:23; Tshangana, 2013). As a safeguard, maximum and not minimum capacity should inform design specifications when planning for greenfield projects or considering retrofits.

Retrofits may be required where evaluations show that bulk infrastructure capacity needs to be updated for certain services, in terms of increasing sewerage capacity, installing supplementary electricity sub-stations and amplifying water supply (Lemanski, 2009:482).

Retrofitting is often required to address infrastructure networks that have reached their useful design life and could provide ideal opportunities to increase capacity with informal backyard rentals in mind, providing a less costly option than delivering entirely new infrastructure networks (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:23; Tshangana, 2013:7; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:22). Where sufficient infrastructural capacity exists or is developed to cope with informal backyard rental demand, the matter of service connections will be an important consideration in terms of delivering services to informal backyard tenants. In this regard, dwelling unit densities could provide an indication of the mean number of service access points required per yard. Whilst dwelling unit densities may provide an ideal guideline, number of service connections should ultimately be limited by density restrictions in terms of health, safety and affordability, as in the BESIP case.

In considering access to sanitation, future interventions should take the following into deliberation. Whilst this study finds that the majority of backyard tenants in Bridgton/Bongolethu use ablution facilities in the main dwelling with relatively little conflict, future interventions should strive to increase access to lavatories. In this regard, the BESIP approach in providing additional lavatories in separate structures may be considered, also reiterated by (Carey, 2009:31). However, such an approach would require upgrades to private property, thus further benefitting landlords who have already gained from state housing subsidies in the past or benefiting future housing beneficiaries unduly, related to double-subsidisation covered in **Section 5.6** of this chapter. In greenfield projects, simpler and more cost effective strategies such as designing starter unit bathrooms with two points of access; one lockable door leading to the rest of the main dwelling and the another opening to the backyard could also be considered, thus increasing access, but not capacity.

Access to potable water may be provided by delivering additional standalone taps, as accessed by the majority of backyard respondents in this study, or as in Cape Town by providing additional outside basins. Interventions in electricity connections should be a main concern in future backyarding strategies (Carey, 2009:31), focused on improving safety. As such, additional sockets with multiple carrying capacity, safe for outside use may be provided at strategic points from which backyard tenants may connect their structures.

Tangent to improved electricity access, alternative cost-effective heating and cooking devices must also be considered and made available to all low-income South Africans at affordable, perhaps subsidised, rates. In keeping with the BESIP approach, properties with informal backyard components should be serviced by additional refuse bins and liners in an attempt to combat littering and dumping in general. Financing additional bins and liners will however require additional rates and taxes to be levied. Following the BESIP approach it is also recommended that innovative alternatives be employed to meter service consumption by informal backyard tenants.

Furthermore, it is suggested that urban green space be included as a principal consideration along with basic services in planning for informal backyard rentals and infrastructure, also discussed in **Section 4.2.6** of this chapter. In this section the potential to use green infrastructure to substitute or complement grey infrastructure is highlighted, and the onus placed on planners and engineers to investigate and implement urban greening strategies in accordance, both in existing and new subsidised housing developments. Such initiatives should also be motivated by the need to equalise green space provisions between lower and higher income groups in South Africa. As part of greening strategies, budgetary constraints must be addressed, feasibly by presenting possible green infrastructure related savings compared to grey infrastructure expenses.

Shapurjee *et al.* (2014:27) further include public transport infrastructure as a consideration in terms of planning for informal backyard rentals to guide inevitable backyard infill towards well-located areas and to connect citizens to urban opportunities even where backyarding takes places in more poorly-located RDP projects.

5.5 Planning recommendation five: The structural elements of informal backyard dwellings should be addressed to improve health and safety

Unlike the BESIP, where physical structures have thus far gone unaddressed, improving informal backyard dwellings should form a cornerstone of any future approach. As such, taking cues from the Orlando East and Zola interventions, but seeking improvements without total formalisation. In planning with informal backyard rentals in mind, innovative and alternative unit design should be considered where

possible, following the K206 approach, not only in terms of formal dwellings, but also as design considerations for informal structures. Watson (2009b:11) submits courtyard-inspired designs as an option, whereas Rubin and Gardner (2013:81) reiterate the need to design main dwellings to allow for the construction of extensions or secondary dwellings to be included in title deeds.

It is further recommended that minimum accommodation standards be revised to suit per person requirements in terms of services, light, space, health and safety instead of regulations based on an average household (Gardner, 2009:19). Revising minimum standards may require a review of provincial and local building codes, Town Planning Schemes and LUSs.

Providing informal backyard tenants with subsidised building materials or prefabricated components should be considered to make structures more robust (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:83; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:22). Improved materials and prefabricated panels should improve insulation, ventilation, fire safety and structural integrity. Workshops on safe and effective construction should also accompany such initiatives to train beneficiaries in the optimal use of their conferrals (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:84). Subsidising tenants in this manner seems appropriate given the verified generalisation that most informal backyard rental structures in South Africa are erected by tenants and are their property (Watson, 2009b:16). Once tenants move into formal dwellings they may use structural elements to re-erect backyard structures in their own backyards, or may sell components to other backyarders or informal settlers in shantytowns, where accommodation standards may also be improved thereby. Watson (2009b:16) raises the need to keep record of such beneficiaries to prevent the resale of materials as a business venture by unscrupulous profiteers.

Subsidised components may further improve the aesthetic qualities of informal backyard rental structures. Aesthetic considerations are important especially where structures are visible from the street or neighbouring properties. Aesthetics may have an important part to play in mainstreaming the informal backyard rental sector and making it more acceptable for both the state and community members who lament the addition of unsightly informal structures in formal neighbourhoods.

Where subsidised materials and prefabricated components are not applied, aesthetics may still be improved by simply painting different structural elements in a unifying colour or aligning corrugated metal sheets, to be taught in workshops on safer and more efficient construction.

5.6 Planning recommendation six: Subsidies should focus on informal backyard rental tenants

As referenced in **Section 5.4** of this chapter, subsidies and improvements targeted at landlords who have already benefited from housing subsidies, will lead to double subsidisation and should be avoided to maintain equity and justice, evading Orlando East and Zola ramifications. This study recommends demand-side subsidies for informal backyard tenants, primarily for the building materials and prefabricated components mentioned in the previous section, to prevent the double-subsidisation of past housing beneficiaries. In relation to demand-side subsidisation, the BESIP, Orlando East and Zola approaches provide a valuable contribution by maintaining the eligibility of tenant beneficiaries to qualify for future housing subsidies and vitally, making them aware of the fact. Whilst not all informal backyard tenants are currently on the housing waiting list, many are and the question of future double-subsidisation once tenants on the waiting list receive housing subsidies should be addressed. Future demand-side double subsidisation could be justified by the defence of providing the otherwise indigent with assistance in compensation for the long years most will have to wait before they receive keys to a subsidised formal dwelling.

5.7 Planning recommendation seven: The multidimensional asset value of housing should be encouraged in planning approaches

It is critical that government revise its one-dimensional view of housing solely as a financial asset and produce policies to encourage the financial, economic and social asset value housing potentially bestows on homeowners. Remedies in aid of financial asset realisation should encourage and facilitate household mobility in terms of the property ladder by providing sufficient opportunities and choice of housing typology and tenure to scale the ladder according to household needs and capacities (Carey, 2009:11) that make giving up established community ties and familiarity worthwhile.

To access alternative properties, access to credit and mortgage finance for the beneficiaries of subsidised housing is a significant prerequisite. However, a major obstacle in this regard is presented in the poverty of homeowners whose low monthly incomes place private sector finance out of reach. As such, household income must be increased, not only to help realise the financial asset value of housing, but to improve general quality of life. Reducing unemployment, developing skills and capabilities (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:22) and providing those unable to work, like the pensioners identified as the majority of homeowners in the case study, with instruments to supplement their grant incomes will be fundamental in this regard. Whilst informal backyard rentals are provided as an example of such supplementary sources, to be encouraged in realising economic property asset value for homeowners (Tshangana, 2013:11), rental income is rarely sufficient to provide any real profit that could be converted to loan or mortgage instalments to help realise financial values.

From the ARP approach it is recommended that approaches be sought that respect and maintain existing livelihood opportunities for both informal backyard landlords and tenants. Whilst the potential of informal backyard rentals in realising entrepreneurial opportunities should be recognised in future interventions, as in the K206 approach (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:69), income generation should not become the main focus at the cost of providing affordable accommodation (Watson, 2009b:8).

The predominance of familial connections established between informal backyard landlords and their tenants in the Bridgton/Bongolethu case suggest that future interventions based on commercialising the informal backyard rental sector, framing the submarket solely as a business transaction, will fail in similar contexts across the country. As such, the informal backyard rental sector must primarily continue as an instrument to help landlords survive whilst providing affordable accommodation options to tenants, as anything more could raise rents, place tenant survival in jeopardy and see informal settlements expand exponentially when the displaced seek refuge and no viable alternatives are available to them (Gardner, 2009:11).

In order to maintain rents at affordable levels, rent controls may be considered, but are not recommended, as such interference would further disturb the fragile landlord tenant relationship, discount arrangements where payments takes place in kind (Watson, 2009b:16) and further prove unsustainable in South Africa's under-capacitated housing sector (Lemanski, 2009:482).

The following section provides recommendations regarding the informal backyard rentals in terms of physical structures.

5.8 Planning recommendation eight: Funding should be acquired and secured to finance interventions and address capacity constraints at local level

It will be important to secure alternative sources of finance to fund interventions that require largescale financing and address capacity constraints in the informal backyard rental sector, as in the Orlando East and Zola approach and to utilise and augment existing subsidy instruments as per the K206 case study (Rubin & Gardner, 2013:74). Watson (2009b:27) for example cites MIG finance to fund infrastructure and service upgrades. It is also crucial that the full housing budget be spent within the financial year for which funds are allocated and to increase funding for targeted application where needed.

Initiatives less dependent on financial resources, drawing on ingenuity, innovation and creativity, should be fostered, especially where funding is severely restricted. However, providing working environments conducive to such free-thinking is often limited by the demands imposed on planners where staff shortages and material resource restrictions stretch them beyond capacity. A working environment that allows out of the box thinking should be established as part of the culture of the South African planning profession.

5.9 Planning recommendation nine: Rental agreements and the landlord tenant relationship should be explored and understood to inform interventions

Realising that familial connections between informal backyard landlords and tenants are commonly attributed to Coloured communities should not provide the foothold for prejudiced interventions based on assumptions. Familial connections may be equally prevalent in the informal backyard rental sectors of White and Black communities in other nonmetropolitan areas.

Racially based conjecture should be avoided or risk recalling apartheid approaches. It is recommended that familial connections be recognised in future national policy as a feasibly more substantial segment of the informal backyard rental sector across the country, especially in nonmetropolitan areas where migration may be weaker, less housing stock is available, poverty and unemployment are more pronounced and a family have been established in an area for generations.

As always, context is paramount and tailored interventions should be implemented that suit a range of landlord-tenant connections. In this regard, authorities should not interfere in tenant selection, as attempted in the K206 approach where the range of landlord tenant connections and relationships that constitute the sector were discounted and trust in authorities reduced as consequence. Following the BESIP approach, it is vital that future interventions provide minimal interference with existing fragile landlord-tenant relationships and that previous arrangements be kept intact as far as possible. As such, following outcomes in Orlando East and Zola, where facilities are upgraded, nepotism in tenant selection should be combatted where family members were not previously tenants and unrelated renters such as migrants without filial ties to any homeowners may be displaced.

It is further recommended that standard lease agreements be drafted and made available to informal backyard stakeholders, but not made mandatory. Instead, backyarders must be made aware of the option and encouraged to make use of the opportunity to capture their agreements in writing, but not forced to do so. Experience in Orlando East and Zola suggests that mandating such contracts is rarely sustainable and the Oudtshoorn case suggests that the demand for written agreements may be low.

Rental agreement templates may include standard sections to be completed according to the particular terms agreed to by both informal backyard landlords and their tenants. Based specifically on the main sources of landlord-tenant conflict recorded in this study, such terms may include stipulations on rental payment in cash or kind; provisions on service access for tenants; landlord and tenant responsibilities; number of tenants and informal backyard structures allowed; eviction procedures; and penalties for breaches. The leading objective of such agreements should rest in maintaining land and tenure rights for both landlords and tenants, vested in security of tenure (Carey, 2009:30).

In addition it is important that arbitrary rental bodies, like RHTs, be established at local level and that stakeholders in the informal backyard rental sector be made aware of their mediation services. Informal backyard landlords and tenants should remain eligible to access the services of such bodies, even when a written rental agreement cannot be produced. In cases where rental contracts are not verified on paper, mediators will have to call witnesses, gather substantiating evidence and mediate impartially to enact justice as best they can. It will be fundamental that both rental agreement templates and RHTs are advertised to build awareness and encourage their use (Watson, 2009b:25).

5.10 Planning recommendation ten: Backyarders have a voice and must be heard

Future intervention in the informal backyard rental sector must be informed by the expertise of planners, outside specialists and most importantly, the communities who will be affected by such interventions (Zwaig, 2015:7). It is recommended that stakeholder engagement be prioritised when drafting and before implementing any interventions, as in the BESIP, in order to gain community buy-in before project execution, avoiding ARP complications. It is important that participatory opportunities be provided at local level to unearth different interests and preferences within the community (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:22). Stakeholder engagement should also aim to disintegrate the resentment attached to rental housing as a form of apartheid control and disenfranchisement, reversing the desperation for unaffordable homeownership now so deeply ingrained in public imagination.

Though broaching the subject should be done sensitively and without giving the impression that backyard rentals are advocated to default on housing promises. Participatory processes will advance democracy and social justice and meet existing national policy briefs on stakeholder engagement.

It is further recommended that future policies on backyarding in South Africa mandate representative bodies, as backyard dwellers associations, to lobby for backyarder rights and provide platforms for meaningful engagement with authorities. These associations will act as advocates and will provide an intermediary mouthpiece between authorities and the backyarding community, relaying community sentiments to decision makers in government and articulating authority intentions to backyard communities. Such bodies must consist of both informal backyard landlords and tenants nominated and elected by the constituents they represent, as well as representatives from the local authority capable of relaying regulations and planning concepts to laypeople who are unfamiliar with the technical vocabulary planning language often relies on. Whether these associations should be formed at ward, township or city level will depend on the size of the backyard rental sector and the human settlement in question. It will be vital that the autonomy and integrity of these bodies be insured, safeguarding them from becoming instruments of political manipulation.

Backyard dwellers associations will only provide valuable contributions if the informal backyard rental sector is accepted at institutional level by authorities and a planning community that concede to the accountability of their actions in dealing with informal backyard rentals and that they may be called out by backyard dwellers associations when failing to deliver, or worse produce unjust outcomes.

5.11 Planning recommendation eleven: Opportunities for future research

In realisation of the transient nature of policy, legislation and demography and the ethereal nature of the informal, there are still a number of questions on the informal backyard rental sector to be answered in future research. It is recommended that the following be addressed in this regard:

- Duplicating this study in similar nonmetropolitan contexts around South Africa;
- Investigating the informal backyard rental sector in rural areas where subsidised housing has been delivered;
- Revisiting the intervention case studies included in this study to track progress and record outcomes;
- Returning to Rose Valley to investigate to what degree informal backyard rentals have been established in the completed project;
- Multidisciplinary research between planners, engineers and architects to develop proposals based on the recommendations made in this study;
- Engaging with the legal impacts of committing state resources to interventions on private property;
- Evaluating both the future White Paper on Housing and envisioned national informal backyard rental policy;
- Considering the role of SPLUMA to facilitate such initiatives concerning the planning of informal backyard rental settlements

5.12 Closing remarks

In order to link the first and last chapters of this study, the following table connects primary and secondary research objectives to the final conclusions drawn and recommendations made and cites the new contributions provided under **Table 15** to underscore the new knowledge generated by this research.

Table 16: Linking research objectives, conclusions, recommendations and new knowledge contributions

	Research objectives	Addressed in text	Addressed in Chapter Four (conclusions) and Chapter Five (recommendations)	New knowledge contribution based on research findings
Primary research objectives	Reflecting on the informal backyard rental sector's spatial, economic, social and	Research articles one to four	Sections 4.2.5; 4.2.6; 4.2.7; 4.2.8; 4.2.9; 4.2.10; 4.2.11; 4.2.12 and sections 5.3; 5.4; 5.5; 5.7; 5.9; 5.10	

	environmental sustainability			
	Framing the informal backyard rental sector within planning theory	Review manuscript two	Section 4.2.3	First to place informal backyard rentals within a planning theory framework Relating the informal backyard rental sector to communicative and collaborative planning Relating the informal backyard rental sector to insurgency and radical planning Relating the informal backyard rental sector to co-production
	Constructing a definition for the informal backyard rental sector	Review manuscript one	Section 4.2.1	New definition for informal backyard rentals provided
	Contextualising informal backyard rentals in historic, policy and legislative terms	Review manuscript one	Section 4.2.1 and sections 5.1 and 5.2	First to review the informal backyard rental sector within both a complete historical and policy context
	Researching nonmetropolitan areas as previously under investigated in terms of informal backyard rentals	Review manuscript one and research articles one to four	Section 4.2.4 and sections 5.2; 5.9 and 5.11	Confirming that nonmetropolitan areas have been neglected in previous case studies on informal backyard rentals
	Confirming established generalisations and making new contributions	Research articles one to four	Sections 4.2.1; 4.2.2; 4.2.4; 4.2.5; 4.2.6; 4.2.7; 4.2.8; 4.2.9; 4.2.10; 4.2.11; 4.2.12; 4.2.13; 4.3	

	Providing recommendations for interventions in the informal backyard rental sector	Chapter Five	Sections 5.1; 5.2; 5.3; 5.4; 5.5; 5.6; 5.7; 5.8; 5.9; 5.10; 5.11	
Secondary research objectives	Tracing references to formal and informal rentals in South African housing policy	Review Manuscript One	Section 4.2.1 and Sections 5.1 and 5.10	First textual analysis of formal and informal renting in South African housing policy
	Reviewing informal backyard rentals in academic research	Review Manuscript One	Section 4.2.1 and Section 5.11	
	Unearthing the legacy of apartheid in the present low-income housing context	Review Manuscript One	Section 4.2.2 and Section 5.9	
	Questioning Census data in relation to informal backyard rentals in the case study	Review Manuscript One and Research Article One	Section 4.2.1 and Section 5.2	
	Quantifying informal backyard rental densification in the case study	Research Article One	Section 4.2.5 and Sections 5.3 and 5.4	Population density should be a primary consideration in planning Feelings of reduced outside space and privacy are more related to population than dwelling unit density
	Reflecting on informal backyard rentals in urban compaction	Research Article One	Section 4.2.5 and Section 5.3	Informal backyard tenants would otherwise settle informally on the urban periphery

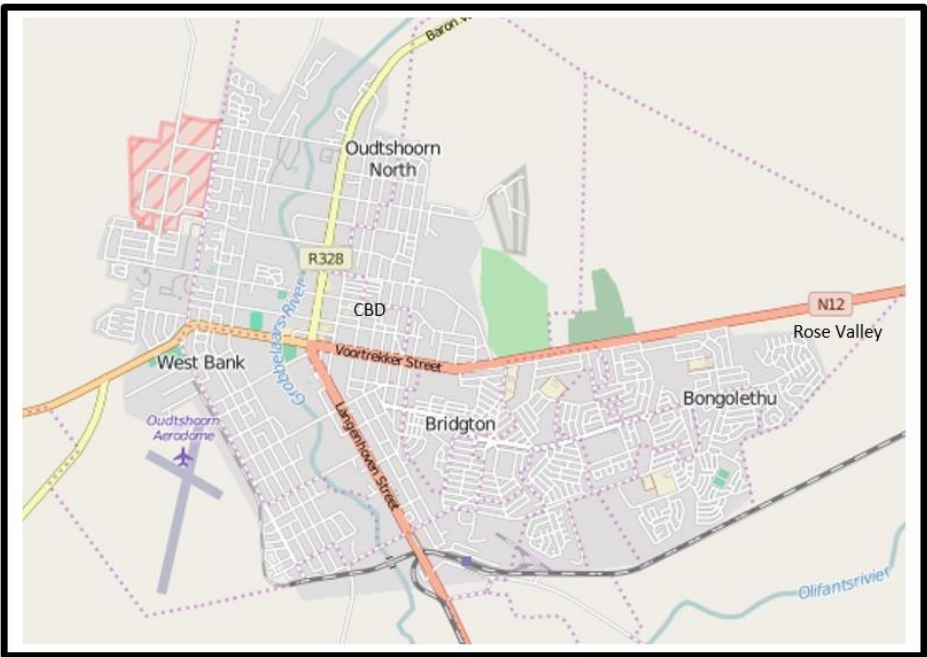
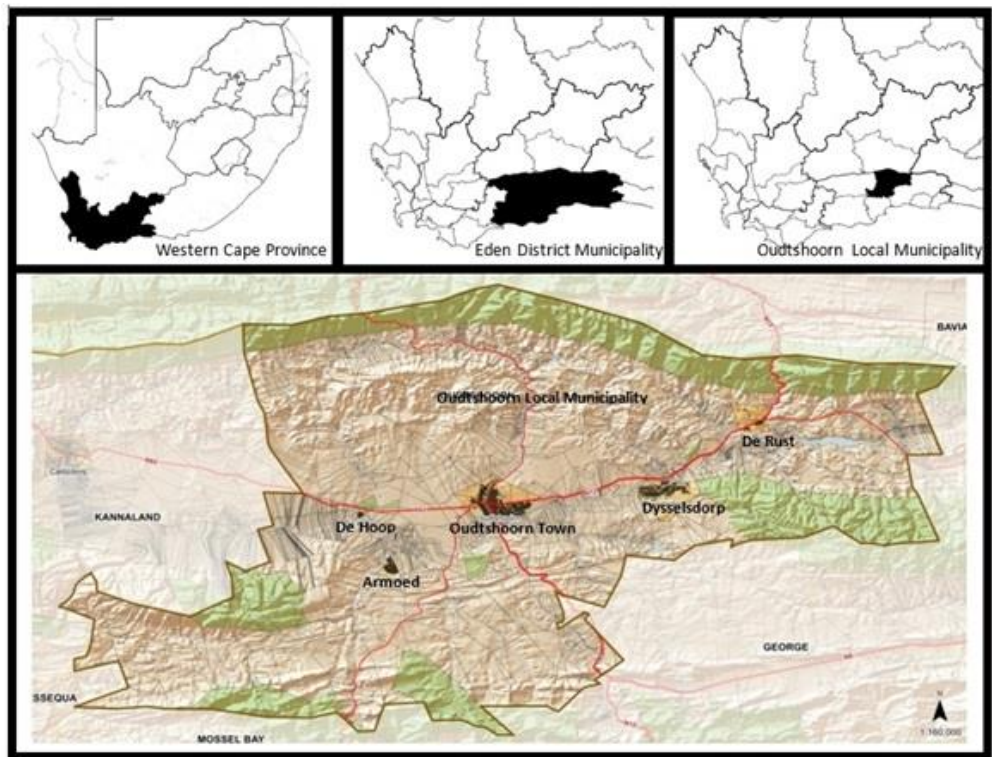
	Investigating the failing property ladder elucidation and the asset value of low-income housing	Research Article Two	Section 4.2.7 Sections 5.3 and 5.7	Evidencing the economic asset value realised through informal backyard rentals Informal backyard structures do not detract from municipal valuation
	Illuminating the role of informal backyard rentals as a survival strategy for landlords and tenants	Research Article Two and Research Article Three	Sections 4.2.7 and 4.2.8 and Section 5.7	Slightly higher cash rents than previously recorded Bulk of landlords are pensioners
	Investigating whether informal backyard rentals support or hamper social sustainability	Research Article Three	Section 4.2.8 and Sections 5.9 and 5.10	Familial connections between landlords and tenants as the norm Maintaining familial ties is a substantial motivation for informal backyard tenancy The police or church may be called on to resolve rental disputes
	Determining the role of urban green space in relation to the informal backyard rental sector	Research Article Four	Section 4.2.11 and Sections 5.3 and 5.4	First research to include urban green space as an infrastructural consideration for informal backyard rentals Urban green spaces help address backyard overcrowding and health concerns

				Informal backyard rentals do not increase the use of or demand for public green space First to study to present public green spaces as assembly points during backyard fires
	Building a case for Southern-based research and theorising	Review Manuscript Two	Section 4.2.3 and Sections 5.2 and 5.11	

In closing, following the contents of this thesis and the summary provided of findings and contributions in **Tables 15** and **16**, it is important to acknowledge that this study has made valuable contributions towards understanding the links between informality and sustainability by unpacking the sustainability challenges and potentials presented by South Africa's informal backyard rental sector. In this regard, the study evidences that informal backyard rentals already contribute towards the sustainability of the country's human settlements, but also that certain challenges must be addressed in legitimising the sector and its existing detriments. Accordingly, the study reaffirms certain established generalisations and provides new contributions to the literature on informal backyard rentals in its focus on nonmetropolitan South Africa to consider in future planning interventions. In recognising both challenges and potentials, this study extends a call to planning theorists and practitioners to sensitize the profession to the survivalist strategies employed by the poor in the informal sector, to recognise the value of informality and that complete inertia, or worse eradication, could impair the informal systems already contributing to the sustainability of human settlements.

ANNEXURES

Annexure A: A closer look at the OLM and Oudtshoorn town



Annexure B: Satellite image of Oudtshoorn 2016



Annexure C: Satellite image of Rose Valley in 2013



Annexure D: Satellite image of Rose Valley in 2016



Annexure E: Satellite image of the Bridgton pavilion and surrounding area



Annexure F: 2012 Rose Valley questionnaire (English)

COVER LETTER

This questionnaire is intended to investigate settlers in the Rose Valley (Riemvasmaak) settlement with regards to a range of demographic and housing issues. This research is solely intended for academic purposes. No personal details or information regarding specific households surveyed will be divulged to any person not involved in data capturing and interpretation. The completion of the questionnaire should take no longer than fifteen minutes. Participation is voluntary and permission may be retracted at any stage.

I sincerely thank you for your time and candour in completing this questionnaire.

Louis Lategan

Contact details: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

1.) Please indicate your sex below.

Male	1
Female	2

2.) Please indicate your race below

Black	1
Coloured	2
Indian	3
White	4
Other	5

3.) Please indicate your age below.

</= 18	1
19-30	2
31-40	3
41-50	4
51-60	5
61-70	6
>70	7

4.) Are you a South African citizen?

Yes	1
No	2

5.) Are you currently on the housing list?

Yes	1
No	2

6.) What was the primary reason for moving to Rose Valley (Riemvasmaak)?

Was destitute	1
Promise of receiving a house	2
No other affordable option	3

7.) Please indicate your previous residence below.

Bridgton RDP house	1
Bridgton informal backyard Structure	2
Bridgton informal structure (stand-alone)	3
Bongolethu RDP house	4
Bongolethu informal backyard structure	5
Bongolethu informal structure (Standalone)	6
From outside Oudtshoorn district	7
Other	8

8.) Describe your current housing structure?

Standalone informal structure	1
Standalone formal structure	2
Backyard structure	3

9.) Elaborate on the ownership of your property below.

Stand transferred to owner	1
Still owned by municipality	2

10.)How many people reside on this stand.

1-2	1
3-4	2
5-6	3
7-8	4
9-10	5
11-12	6

11.)How many people on this stand are employed?

0	1
1-2	2
3-4	3
5-6	4
7-8	5
9-10	6
11-12	7

12.)How many people on this stand are unemployed?

0	1
1-2	2
3-4	3
5-6	4
7-8	5
9-10	6
11-12	7

13.) Please indicate your main source of income.

Full-time employment	1
Part-time employment	2
odd-jobs	3
Subsidies	4
None	5

14.)What sanitation facilities do you use?

Public lavatory (MVP)	1
Bucket system	2
No formal sanitation	3
Other	

15.)Would you consider a larger home, built from alternative materials such as straw bale or mud brick?

Yes	1
No	2

16.)Would you consider a larger apartment, without a separate stand, in the place of a smaller home with stand?

Yes	1
No	2

17.)How many rooms do you require (minimum)?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5

18.)Would backyard renting constitute a big part of future monthly income?

Yes	1
No	2

2012 Rose Valley questionnaire (Afrikaans)

DEKBRIEF

Hierdie vraagbrief onderneem om die bewoners van die Rose Valley (Riemvasmaak) nedersetting te ondersoek in verband met demografiese en behuisings aspekte. Hierdie navorsing word uitsluitlik onderneem vir akademiese doeleindes. Geen persoonlike detail of inligting rakende die spesifieke huishoudings ingesluit sal bekendgemaak word aan enige ander persone as diegene werksaam in data insameling en die interpretasie daarvan nie. Die voltooiing van die vraagbrief behoort nie langer as vyf minute te neem nie. Deelname is willekeurig en toestemming kan op enige stadium onttrek word.

Ek dank u vir u tyd en eerlikheid in die voltooiing van hierdie vraagbrief.

Louis Lategan

Kontak besonderhede: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

1.) Dui asb. u geslag hieronder aan.

Manlik	1
Vroulik	2

2.) Dui asb. u ras hieronder aan.

Swart	1
Kleurling	2
Indies	3
Blank	4
Ander	5

3.) Dui asb. u ouderdom hieronder aan.

</= 18	1
19-30	2
31-40	3
41-50	4
51-60	5
61-70	6
>70	7

4.) Is u 'n Suid-Afrikaanse burger?

Ja	1
Nee	2

5.) Is u tans op die behuisings-waglys?

Ja	1
Nee	2

6.) Wat is die kern rede vir u trek na Rose Valley (Riemvasmaak)?

Was haweloos	1
Geleentheid om 'n huis te bekom	2
Geen ander bekostigbare opsie	3

7.) Waar het u voorheen gewoon?

Bridgton RDP huis	1
Bridgton informele agterplaas struktuur	2
Bridgton informele struktuur (alleenstaande)	3
Bongolethu RDP huis	4
Bongolethu informele agterplaas struktuur	5
Bongolethu informele struktuur (alleenstaande)	6
Elders buite Oudtshoorn	7
Ander	8

8.) Beskryf asb u huidige woning hieronder.

'n Informele struktuur	1
'n Formele struktuur	2
Informele agterplaas-struktuur	3

9.) Verduidelik asb. die huidige stand van eienaarskap van u eiendom.

Oorgedra aan u	1
Steeds in munisipale eienaarskap	2

10.)Hoeveel mense woon op die perseel?

1-2	1
3-4	2
5-6	3
7-8	4
9-10	5
11-12	6

11.)Hoeveel mense wat hier woon is werkloos?

0	1
1-2	2
3-4	3
5-6	4
7-8	5
9-10	6
11-12	7

12.)Hoeveel mense wat hier woon is het 'n werk?

0	1
1-2	2
3-4	3
5-6	4
7-8	5
9-10	6
11-12	7

13.) Dui asb. u hoof bron van inkomste hieronder aan.

Voltydse werk	1
Deeltydse werk	2
Los werk	3
Subsidies	4
Geen	5

14.)Watter sanitasie geriewe gebruik u?

Publieke toilet (MVP)	1
Emmer stelsel	2
Geen formele geriewe	3
Ander	

15.)Sou u 'n groter woning, maar gebou van alternatiewe material soos strooi bale of klei stene oorweeg?

Ja	1
Nee	2

16.)Sou u 'n groter woonstel, maar sonder 'n eie erf in die plek van 'n kleiner huis maar met 'n erf oorweeg?

Ja	1
Nee	2

17.)Hoeveel vertrekke benodig u (minimum)?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5

**18.)Sal agterplaas verhuring 'n groot deel van toekomstige maandelike inkomste
uitmaak?**

Ja	1
Nee	2

Annexure G: 2013 Bridgton and Bongolethu questionnaire (English)

COVER LETTER

This questionnaire is intended to explore the informal backyard rental sector in a number of households in the townships of Bridgeton and Bongolethu, Oudthsoorn and issues related to public green space use. This research is solely intended for academic purposes in pursuit of the degree PhD in Urban and Regional Planning at the North-West University and publications related thereto. No personal details or information regarding specific households surveyed will be divulged to any person not involved in data capturing and interpretation. The completion of the questionnaire should take no longer than fifteen minutes. Participation is voluntary and permission may be retracted at any stage.

I sincerely thank you for your time and candour in completing this questionnaire.

Louis Lategan

Contact details: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

1.) How often do you use your nearest public green/open/recreational space?

Daily	1
Twice a week	2
Once a week	3
Once a month	4
Occasionally	5
Never	6

2.) Do you use your nearest public green space, as the Bridgton Pavilion, more now that it has been developed and refurbished?

Yes	1
No	2
Same usage	3

3.) Which public green/open/recreational space do you use the most?

Specify:	

4.) What is the minimum you expect from a public green/open/recreational space?

	Critical (1)	Important (2)	Minor Importance (3)	Not Important (4)
Grass area				
Trees				
Landscaped gardens				
Water features				
Play equipment				
Sporting facilities				
Benches/ seating				
Other (specify)				

5.) How far would you be willing to walk to access a quality public green space?

≤500m	1
1km	2
2km	3
3km	4
≥5km	5

6.) Do you own a motor vehicle?

Yes	1
No	2

7.) Would you prefer living- :

Adjacent to public parks	1
Within walking distance of public parks	2
Not in proximity to public parks	3

8.) What problems do you experience related to your nearest public open/green/recreational space, and how often?

	Daily (1)	Weekly (2)	Monthly(3)	Six Monthly (4)	Never (5)
Muggings					
Sexual assault					
Murder					
Gang related violence					
Substance abuse					
Poorly maintained facilities					
Littering					
Other (specify)					

9.) How would you rate your nearest public green/public/recreational space's accessibility?

Not accessible at all	1
Accessible for public events	2
Accessible at day only	3
Accessible at night only	4
Accessible at all times	5

10.) Where does the most social exchange take place?

	Frequently (1)	Always(2)	Never (3)
Within yards			
In Street			
Public green spaces			
Church			
Community halls			
Other (specify)			

11.) Have you attempted to establish a garden on your property?

	Yes (1)	No (2)
None		
Grass (lawn)		
Trees		
Shrubbery		
Vegetables and fruit		
Flower bed		
Other (specify)		

12.) How many informal backyard structures occupy this property?

0	1
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	5
5	6
6	7
7	8
8	9
>8	10

13.) How many people live in the backyard of this property?

0	1
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	5
5	6
6	7
7	8
8	9
9	10
10	11
11	12
12	13
>12	14

14.) How many people live in the main house?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
≥10	10

15.) Are backyard renters and landlords related?

Yes	1
No	2
Some are	3

16.) Do you feel that the presence of backyard structures places a limit on your private outside space?

Yes	1
No	2

17.) Where do your children play?

	Frequently (1)	Always (2)	Never (3)
Backyard			
Front yard			
Street			
Public green space			
School field			
Indoors			
Other (specify)			

18.) How was the main dwelling obtained?

Government subsidy	1	
Loaned	2	
Inherited	3	
	Year (4)	Price (5)
Bought		
	Rent payable (6)	
Rented		
Other (specify)		

19.) Do you pay property tax?

Yes	1
No	2

20.) Would you be willing to pay more for a property with better access to a public green space?

Yes	1
No	2

Thank You

2013 Bridgeton and Bongoletu questionnaire (Afrikaans)

DEKBRIEF

Hierdie vraagbrief onderneem om die informele agterplaas verhurings sektor in 'n aantal huishousings in Bridgeton en Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn asook gepaardgaande kwessies rakende publieke groen ruimte verbruik te ondersoek. Hierdie navorsing word uitsluitlik onderneem vir akademiese doeleindes vir die graad PhD in Stads-Streekbeplanning aan die Noordwes Universiteit en gepaardgaande publikasies. Geen persoonlike detail of inligting rakende die spesifieke huishoudings ingesluit sal bekendgemaak word aan enige ander persone as diegene werksaam in data insameling en die interpretasie daarvan nie. Die voltooiing van die vraagbrief behoort nie langer as vyfrien minute te neem nie. Deelname is willekeurig en toestemming kan op enige stadium onttrek word.

Ek dank u vir u tyd en eerlikheid in die voltooiing van hierdie vraagbrief.

Louis Lategan

Kontak besonderhede: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

- 1.) Hoe gereeld maak u van u naaste publieke groen/oop/rekreasie ruimte gebruik?

Daaglik	1
Twee maal per week	2
Een maal per week	3
Een keer per maand	4
Op geleentheid	5
Nooit	6

- 2.) Gebruik u u naaste publieke groen ruimte, as die Bridgton Pawiljoen, meer nadat dit verbeter is?

Ja	1
Nee	2
Selfde as voorheen	3

- 3.) Watter publieke groen/oop/ rekreasie ruimte gebruik u die meeste?

Spesifiseer:	

- 4.) Wat is die minimum wat u verwag van 'n publieke groen/oop/rekreasie ruimte?

	Krities (1)	Belangrik (2)	Minder belangrik (3)	Onbelangrik (4)
Gras				
Bome				
Gelandskapeerde tuine				
Watrelemente				
Speel toerusting				
Sport fasiliteite				
Bankies/ sitplek				
Ander (spesifiseer)				

5.) Hoe ver is u bereid om te loop om toegang tot so 'n kwaliteit publieke groen ruimte te bekom?

≤500m	1
1km	2
2km	3
3km	4
≥5km	5

6.) Besit u 'n motorvoertuig?

Ja	1
Nee	2

7.) Kie 'n geskikte opsie ten opsigte van voorkeur van woning ligging:

Langs 'n publieke park	1
Binne loopafstand van 'n publieke park	2
Nie in nabyheid van 'n publieke park	3

8.) Watter probleme ondervind u i.v.m. u naaste publieke groen/oop/rekreasie ruimte, en hoe gereeld?

	Daaglik (1)	Weeklik (2)	Maandelik (3)	Ses maandelik (4)	Nooit (5)
Rooftog					
Seksuele aanranding					
Moord					
Bende geweld					
Dwelm- misbruik					

Swak onderhoud					
Rommelstrooi					
Ander (Spesifiseer)					

9.) Hoe sou u die toeganklikheid van u naaste publieke groen/oop/rekreasie ruimte beskryf?

Glad nie toeganklik	1
Toeganklik vir openbare funksies	2
Slegs toeganklik deur die dag	3
Slegs snags toeganklik	4
Altyd toeganklik	5

10.) Waar vind die meeste sosiale interaksie plaas?

	Meestal (1)	Gereeld (2)	Nooit (3)
Op die erf			
In die straat			
Publieke groen ruimtes			
Kerk			
Gemeenskapsaal			
Ander (spesifiseer)			

11.) Hoe het u 'n tuin aangelê?

	Ja (1)	Nee (2)
Geen		
Grasperk		
Bome		
Struik		
Groente en vrugte		
Blombeddings		
Ander (spesifiseer)		

12.) Hoeveel informele agterplaasstrukture is daar op die erf?

0	1
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	5
5	6
6	7
7	8
8	9
>8	10

13.) Hoeveel mense woon in die agterplaas van die erf?

0	1
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	5
5	6
6	7
7	8
8	9
9	10
10	11
11	12
12	13
>12	14

14.) Hoeveel mense bewoon die hoof huis?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
≥10	10

15.) Is agterplaas huurders en verhuurders familie?

Ja	1
Nee	2
Sommiges is	3

16.) Beskou u die teenwoordigheid van agterplaasstrukture as beperkend to u privaat ruimte buite die woning?

Ja	1
Nee	2

17.) Waar speel u kinders?

	Meestal (1)	Gereeld (2)	Nooit (3)
Agterplaas			
Voortuin			
Straat			
Publieke groen ruimtes			
Skoolveld			
Binneshuis			
Ander (spesifiseer)			

18.) Hoe het u die hoof huis bekom?

Regering subsidie	1
Geleen	2

Ge-erf	3	
	Jaar (4)	Prys (5)
Gekoop		
	Huur bedrag (6)	
Huur		
Ander (spesifiseer)		

19.) Betaal u eiendomsbelasting?

Ja	1
Nee	2

20.) Sou u bereid wees om meer vir 'n eiendom te betaal net omdat dit
beter toegang tot 'n publieke groen ruimte verskaf?

Ja	1
Nee	2

Dankie

**Annexure H: 2015 Bridgeton and Bongolethu questionnaire landlords
(English)**

COVER LETTER

This questionnaire is intended to explore the informal backyard rental sector in a number of households in the townships of Bridgeton and Bongolethu, Oudtshoorn. This research is solely intended for academic purposes in pursuit of the degree PhD in Urban and Regional Planning at the North-West University and publications related thereto. No personal details or information regarding specific households surveyed will be divulged to any person not involved in data capturing and interpretation. Where needed, individual questionnaire numbers will be used to reference specific households and not street addresses or stand numbers, thus maintaining confidentiality. By participating in this survey you will be joining a research effort to improve the lives of South Africa's informal backyard dwellers. The completion of the questionnaire should take no longer than 20 minutes. Participation is voluntary and permission may be retracted at any stage.

I sincerely thank you for your time and candour in completing this questionnaire.

Louis Lategan

Contact details: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

Street Address _____/Stand Nr _____
 Questionnaire Nr _____

1. What sex is the head of the household?

Male	1
Female	2

2. What age is the head of the household in years? _____

3. Marital status of the head of the household...

Single	1
Married	2
Living together as a married couple	3
Divorced	4
Separated	5
Widowed	6
Other (Specify)	7

4. How many people live in the main house? _____

5. How many rooms are there in the main house? _____

6. What is your household's total monthly income on average (gross income)?

No income	1
R0 - R500	2
R501- R1000	3
R1001- R1500	4
R1501- R2000	5
R2001- R2500	6
R2501- R3000	7
R3001- R3500	8
R3501- R4000	9

R4001- R4500	10
R4501- R5000	11
R5001- R5500	12
R5501- R6000	13
R6501– R7000	14
R7001– R7500	15
R7501- R8000	16
R8001– R8500	17
R8501- R9000	18
R9001- R9500	19
R9501- R10 000	20
>R10 001.00	21
Unsure	22

7. Where does the household's main income come from?

Government subsidy	1
Formal temporary employment	2
Formal permanent employment	3
Employment in informal sector	4
Pension	5
Informal backyard rentals	6
Formal rentals	7
Other (Specify)	8

8. How many people living in the main house earn an income by working?_____

9. In what year was the house built?_____

10. How was the house obtained?

Bought/ obtained through government subsidy	1
Residing with permission	2
Renting the house	3
Inherited	4
Self-built	5
Bought	6
Other (Specify)	7

11. If bought indicate...

11.1	Price		
11.2	Year		
11.3	Bought with bond	Yes (1)	No (2)
11.4	Not applicable (Not bought)	3	

12. If rented, indicate...

Rental amount	
When rent is paid	
Not applicable (Not rented)	1

13. Have any loans been taken out at banks/mortgagers/other financial institutions with home as security?

Yes	1
No	2
Unsure	3
Not applicable (not home owner)	4

14. Would you consider selling this property?

Yes	1
No	2
Not applicable (not home owner)	3

15. If yes in Question 14, for what purpose? (Choose the most applicable option)

Moving to an improved dwelling	1
Moving to an improved area	2
Moving to an informal settlement	3
Moving to formal rental accommodation	4
Moving to informal backyard rental	5
Not applicable (not home owner)	6
Other (Specify)	7

16. Do you find the following on your home unaffordable?

		Yes	No
16.1	Maintenance	1	2
16.2	Water and electricity	1	2
16.3	Taxes	1	2

17. Has the house been extended or improved? If so, how?

18. Please answer the following question by choosing the applicable option...

		Yes	No
18.1	Does any member of the household own a motor vehicle?	1	2
18.2	Do you own property elsewhere?	1	2
18.3	Is crime a daily concern for your household?	1	2
18.4	Do you pay property tax?	1	2

19. Choose the applicable for backyard businesses...

No backyard structures present	1
No backyard structures are used for business	2
Spaza shop	3
Barber	4
Traditional healer	5
Repairs	6
Other (Specify)	7

20. How many backyard structures occupy this property?_____

21. How many different backyard households rent on this property?_____

22. How long was the rental tenancy of your longest-staying tenant ever?_____

23. What is the main reason for providing backyard rentals?

Financial need	1
Social service/ compassion	2
Other (specify)	4

24. What is backyard rental income used for? (Choose most applicable option)

Savings	1
Maintenance on house	2
Home improvements	3
Home extensions	4
Household expenses (food, clothing etc.)	5

School fees	6
Water and electricity payments	7
Taxes	8
Other (Specify)	9

25. Are backyard renters related to members of the main household?

No (none of them are)	1
Some are family	2
Yes (all are)	3

26. Describe regularity of conflict between main household and backyard renters?

Never	1
Seldom (once a month)	2
Often (more than once a month)	3
Always (almost daily)	4

27. What are sources of conflict, choose the applicable option.

		Yes	No
27.1	Service access	1	2
27.2	Payment disputes	1	2
27.3	Alcohol and narcotic induced misbehaviour	1	2
27.4	Eviction threats	1	2
27.5	Overcrowding on the stand	1	2
27.6	Other (Specify)		

28. Have you ever taken conflicts to a rental tribunal?

Yes	1
No	2
Unaware of tribunal	3

29. Please answer the following questions by choosing the option most applicable.

		Yes	No
29.1	Backyard structures limit your personal/private outside space?	1	2
29.2	Have you had any problems with house fires as a result of backyard activities?	1	2
29.3	Backyard renters get ill more often than those in the main dwelling?	1	2

Thank You

Municipal
Valuation_____

Stand
size_____

2015 Bridgton and Bongolethu questionnaire landlords (Afrikaans)

Straatadres _____/Erf Nr _____ Vraagbrief
Nr _____

DEKBRIEF

Hierdie vraagbrief onderneem om die informele agterplaas verhurings sektor in 'n aantal huishousings in Bridgeton en Bongolethu, Oudtshoorn te ondersoek. Hierdie navorsing word uitsluitlik onderneem vir akademiese doeleindes vir die graad PhD in Stad- Streeksbeplanning aan die Noordwes Universiteit en gepaardgaande publikasies. Geen persoonlike detail of inligting rakende die spesifieke huishoudings ingesluit sal bekendgemaak word aan enige ander persone as diegene werksaam in data insameling en die interpretasie daarvan nie. Waar nodig, sal slegs die individuele vraggbriefnommer toegeken gebruik word om na spesifieke huishoudings te verwys. Dus sal straatadresse en erf nommers nie bekendgemaak word nie om sodoende konfidensialiteit te beskerm. Deur aan die ondersoek deel te neem help u in navorsing toegespits op die verbetering van die lewens van agterplaas bewoners reg oor Suid-Afrika. Die voltooiing van die vraagbrief behoort nie langer as 20 minute te neem nie. Deelname is willekeurig en toestemming kan op enige stadium onttrek word.

Ek dank u vir u tyd en eerlikheid in die voltooiing van hierdie vraagbrief.

Louis Lategan

Kontak besonderhede: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

Straatadres _____/Erf Nr _____ Vraagbrief
Nr _____

1. Watter geslag is die hoof van die huishouding?

Manlik	1
Vroulik	2

2. Wat is die ouderdom van die hoof van die huishouding in jare? _____

3. Is die hoof van die huishouding...

Enkellopend	1
Getroud	2
Woon saam as getroude paar	3
Geskei	4
Getroud, maar woon apart	5
Weduwee/wewenaar	6
Ander (Spesifiseer)	7

4. Hoeveel mense woon in die hoof huis? _____

5. Hoeveel vertrekke is daar in die hoof huis? _____

6. Wat is u huishouding se totale maandelikse inkomste (brutto inkomste)?

Geen inkomste	1
R0 - R500	2
R501 - R1000	3
R1001 - R1500	4
R1501 - R2000	5
R2001 - R2500	6
R2501 - R3000	7
R3001- R3500	8
R3501 - R4000	9

R4001 - R4500	10
R4501 - R5000	11
R5001 - R5500	12
R5501 - R6000	13
R6501– R7000	14
R7001 – R7500	15
R7501 - R8000	16
R8001 – R8500	17
R8501- R9000	18
R9001 - R9500	19
R9501 - R10 000	20
>R10 001	21
Onseker	22

7. Waar kom die huishouding se hoof inkomste vandaan?

Regering subsidie	1
Formele tydelike werk	2
Formele permanente werk	3
Werk in informele sektor	4
Pensioen	5
Informele agterplaas verhuring	6
Formele verhuring	7
Ander (Spesifiseer)	8

8. Hoeveel mense in die huishouding verdien 'n inkomste deur te werk?_____

9. In watter jaar is die huis gebou? _____

10. Hoe het u die huis bekom?

Gekoop/verkry deur regering subsidie	1
Bewoon net met toestemming	2
Huur die huis	3
Huis ge-erf	4
Self gebou	5
Gekoop	6
Ander (Spesifiseer)	7

11. Indien gekoop verskaf asb....

11.1	Prys		
11.2	Jaar		
11.3	Met verband gekoop	Ja (1)	Nee (2)
11.4	Nie van toepassing (Nie gekoop)	3	

12. Indien u huur, verskaf asb...

Huur bedrag	
Op watter basis huur betaal word	
Nie van toepassing (Huur nie)	1

13. Het u enige lenings uitgeneem by banke/finansiële instellings met die huis as sekuriteit?

Ja	1
Nee	2
Onseker	3
Nie van toepassing (Nie eienaar van huis)	4

14. Sou u dit oorweeg om die huis te verkoop?

Ja	1
Nee	2

Nie van toepassing (Nie eienaar van huis)	3

15. Indien 'Ja' in vraag 14, waarom?(Kies die mees toepaslike opsie)

Om na 'n beter huis te trek	1
Om na 'n beter area te trek	2
Om na 'n informele nedersetting te trek	3
Om eerder formeel te huur	4
Om te huur in 'n informele agterplaas struktuur	5
Nie van toepassing (Nie eienaar van huis)	6
Ander (Spesifiseer)	7

16. Vind u die volgende uitgawes van u huis onbekostigbaar?

		Ja	Nee
16.1	Onderhoud	1	2
16.2	Water en elektrisiteit	1	2
16.3	Belasting	1	2

17. Is daar enige aanbouings of verbeteringe aan die huis aangebring? Indien, watter?

18. Beantwoord die volgende deur die toepaslike opsie te kies...

		Ja	Nee
18.1	Besit enige iemand in die huishouding 'n motor?	1	2
18.2	Besit u eiendom op 'n ander plek?	1	2
18.3	Is misdaad 'n daaglikse bekommernis vir u huishouding?	1	2
18.4	Betaal u eiendomsbelasting?	1	2

19. Kies die toepaslike opsies i.v.m. agterplaas besighede...

Het geen agterplaas strukture	1
Geen van die agterplaas strukture word vir besigheid gebruik	2
Spaza winkel	3
Haarkapper	4
Tradisionele geneesheer	5
Herstelwerk	6
Ander (Spesifiseer)	7

20. Hoeveel agterplaas verhurings strukture is daar op die eiendom?_____

21. Hoeveel agterplaas huishoudings huur op die eiendom?_____

22. Hoe lank het u langste agterplaas huurders gehuur?_____

23. Wat is die hoof rede dat u agterplaas verhuring aanbied?

Finansiële behoefte	1
Sosiale verantwoordelikheid/meegevoel	2
Ander (Spesifiseer)	3

24. Waarvoor word huur inkomste aangewend? (Kies die mees toepaslike opsie)

Om te spaar	1
Onderhoud aan huis	2
Verbeteringe aan die woning	3
Aanbou werk	4
Huishoudelike uitgawes (kos, klere, ens.)	5

Skool fondse	6
Water en elektrisiteitsrekening	7
Belasting	8
Ander (Spesifiseer)	9

25. Is die agterplaas huurders familie van die verhuurders in die hoof huis?

Nee (niemand is familie)	1
Sommiges is familie	2
Ja (almal is familie)	3

26. Hoe gereeld is daar konflik tussen u as huishouding en huurders?

Nooit	1
Soms (een keer per maand)	2
Gereeld (meer as een keer per maand)	3
Altyd (Omtrent daaglik)	4

27. Wat is bronne van konflik? (Kies die toepaslike opsie)

		Ja	Nee
27.1	Toegang tot dienste	1	2
27.2	Betaal dispute	1	2
27.3	Wanoptrede weens alkohol en dwelm misbruik	1	2
27.4	Uitsettings dreigemente	1	2
27.5	Te veel inwoners op een erf	1	2
27.6	Ander (Spesifiseer)		

28. Het u al konflik na 'n verhuurings tribunaal geneem?

Ja	1
Nee	2
Onbewus van tribunaal	3

29. Beantwoord asb. die volgende deur die toepaslike opsie te kies...

		Ja	Nee
29.1	Die voorkoms van agterplaas strukture en huurders beperk u persoonlike/privaat buitelug ruimte	1	2
29.2	Het u al enige probleme met brande gehad a.g.v. agterplaas huurders se aktiwiteite?	1	2
29.3	Word agterplaas huurders meer gereeld siek as mense in die hoof huis?	1	2

Dankie

Munisipale waardasie _____

Erf grootte _____

**Annexure I: 2015 Bridgton and Bongolethu questionnaire backyard tenants
(English)**

COVER LETTER

This questionnaire is intended to explore the informal backyard rental sector in a number of households in the townships of Bridgeton and Bongolethu, Oudtshoorn. This research is solely intended for academic purposes in pursuit of the degree PhD in Urban and Regional Planning at the North-West University and publications related thereto. No personal details or information regarding specific households surveyed will be divulged to any person not involved in data capturing and interpretation. Where needed, individual questionnaire numbers will be used to reference specific households and not street addresses or stand numbers, thus maintaining confidentiality. By participating in this survey you will be joining a research effort to improve the lives of South Africa's informal backyard dwellers. The completion of the questionnaire should take no longer than 20 minutes. Participation is voluntary and permission may be retracted at any stage.

I sincerely thank you for your time and candour in completing this questionnaire.

Louis Lategan

Contact details: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

Street Address _____ /Stand Nr _____ /
 Backyard Structure Nr _____ Questionnaire Nr _____

1. What sex is the head of the household?

Male	1
Female	2

2. What age is the head of the household in years? _____

3. Marital status of the head of the household...

Single	1
Married	2
Living together as a married couple	3
Divorced	4
Separated	5
Widowed	6
Other (Specify)	7

4. How many people live in this backyard structure? _____

5. How many rooms are there in this backyard structure? _____

6. Who constructed this backyard rental structure?

Constructed by you (tenants)	1
Constructed by landlord	2
Other (Specify)	3

7. What was used as construction materials? Choose all applicable.

Plastic	1
Cardboard	2
Corrugated sheets	3
Other metals	4
Timber	5
Other (Specify)	6

8. How many months have you been renting this structure?_____

9. How many months have you been a backyard renter in total?_____

10. What is the main reason that you rent in the informal backyard sector?

A lack of other affordable formal rentals	1
To maintain family ties	2
To maintain community ties	3
To save money for a purpose	4
To be closer to employment opportunities than would be offered by other housing options	5
You are staying here while waiting for your housing subsidy and ownership	6
Other (specify)	7

11. Are backyard renters related to landlords in the main house?

No (none are)	1
Some are	2
Yes (all are)	3

12. If not related, did you know landlords before you moved in?

Not applicable (are family)	1
Not at all	2
Were acquainted	3
Close friends	4

13. Describe regularity of conflict between you and your landlord?

Never	1
Seldom (once a month)	2

Often (more than once a month)	3
Always (almost daily)	4

14. What are sources of conflict? (Choose the applicable option)

		Yes	No
14.1	Service access	1	2
14.2	Payment disputes	1	2
14.3	Alcohol and narcotic induced behaviour	1	2
14.4	Eviction threats	1	2
14.5	Overcrowding on the stand	1	2
14.6	Other (Specify)		

15. Have you ever taken conflicts to a rental tribunal?

Yes	1
No	2
Unaware of tribunal	3

16. Do you have access to the following, and how? (indicate the applicable option)

16.1	Electricity	Yes	1	No	2
	Informal electricity connection				
	Formal electricity connection				
	Other (Specify)				

16.2	Sanitation	Yes	1	No	2
	External, communal lavatory				
	Lavatory in main dwelling				
	Other (Specify)				

16.3	Waste removal	Yes	1	No	2
	Municipal waste removal				
	Individual waste removal				
	Other (Specify)				

16.4	Water	Yes	1	No	2
	Communal tap on property				
	Tap in main dwelling				
	Other (Specify)				

17. Please answer the following questions by choosing the applicable option:

		Yes	No
17.1	Do you own property elsewhere?	1	2
17.2	Are you on the housing waiting list?	1	2
17.3	Is your backyard structure watertight?	1	2
17.4	Is your backyard structure ventilated?	1	2
17.5	Is your backyard structure secure and safe (Lockable and possessions and occupants safe there)?	1	2
17.6	Is crime a daily concern for your household?	1	2
17.7	Have you had any problems with house fires as a result of backyard activities?	1	2
17.8	Backyard renters get ill more often than those in the main dwelling?	1	2
17.9	Renting in a backyard limits your personal/private outside space?	1	2
17.10	Does anyone in this household own a motor vehicle?	1	2

18. What is your household's total monthly income on average (gross income)?

No income	1
R0 - R500	2
R501- R1000	3

R1001- R1500	4
R1501- R2000	5
R2001- R2500	6
R2501– R3000	7
R3001- R3500	8
R3501- R4000	9
R4001- R4500	10
R4501- R5000	11
R5001- R5500	12
R5501- R6000	13
R6501– R7000	14
R7001– R7500	15
R7501- R8000	16
R8001– R8500	17
R8501- R9000	18
R9001- R9500	19
R9501- R10 000	20
>R10 001.00	21
Unsure	22

19. Where does your household's main income come from?

Government subsidy	1
Formal temporary employment	2
Formal permanent employment	3
Employment in informal sector	4
Pension	5
Other (Specify)	6

20. How many people in your household earn an income by working?_____

21. How was your rental agreement established?

Written	1
Orally	2
No agreement, only permission to reside	3
Other (Specify)	4

22. What has been agreed on as part of rental agreement? (Choose the applicable option)

		Yes	No
22.1	Service access	1	2
22.2	Maximum number of tenants	1	2
22.3	Eviction procedures	1	2
22.4	Rental amounts	1	2
22.5	Intervals of rental payment	1	2
22.6	Restrictions on tenant behaviour	1	2
22.7	No agreement in place		
22.8	Other (Specify)		

23. What is the rental amount charged/services rendered in payment for your rental?

24. If rent is paid, at which intervals are payments made?

Weekly	1
Fortnightly	2
Monthly	3
Yearly	4
Rent not paid, services rendered	5

Other (Specify)	6

25. Does your rent increase at certain intervals, if so, at which intervals and with how much?

Yes	1
No	2
Interval	
Increase (amount or %)	

26. If you were to move from this backyard structure, why/where to would you move?

Would never want to move	1
To move to an informal settlement	2
To move to another backyard, to another informal rental structure	3
To move to a formal rental opportunity like an apartment or rental house	4
To move to your own house as owner	5
To move to a farm	6
Other (Specify)	7

Thank You

2015 bridgton and bongolethu questionnaire backyard tenants (Afrikaans)

Straat Adres _____/Erf Nr _____/
Agterplaas Struktuur Nr _____ Vraagbrief Nr _____

DEKBRIEF

Hierdie vraagbrief onderneem om die informele agterplaas verhurings sektor in 'n aantal huishousings in Bridgeton en Bongolethu, Oudtshoorn te ondersoek. Hierdie navorsing word uitsluitlik onderneem vir akademiese doeleindes vir die graad PhD in Stad- Streeksbeplanning aan die Noordwes Universiteit en gepaardgaande publikasies. Geen persoonlike detail of inligting rakende die spesifieke huishoudings ingesluit sal bekendgemaak word aan enige ander persone as diegene werksaam in data insameling en die interpretasie daarvan nie. Waar nodig, sal slegs die individuele vraggbriefnommer toegeken gebruik word om na spesifieke huishoudings te verwys. Dus sal straatadresse en erf nommers nie bekendgemaak word nie om sodoende konfidensialiteit te beskerm. Deur aan die ondersoek deel te neem help u in navorsing toegespits op die verbetering van die lewens van agterplaas bewoners reg oor Suid-Afrika. Die voltooiing van die vraagbrief behoort nie langer as 20 minute te neem nie. Deelname is willekeurig en toestemming kan op enige stadium onttrek word.

Ek dank u vir u tyd en eerlikheid in die voltooiing van hierdie vraagbrief.

Louis Lategan

Kontak besonderhede: +27 720141181/ 21441480@nwu.ac.za

Straat Adres _____ / Erf Nr _____ /
 Agterplaas Struktuur Nr _____ Vraagbrief Nr _____

1. Watter geslag is die hoof van die huishouding?

Manlik	1
Vroulik	2

2. Wat is die ouderdom van die hoof van die huishouding in jare? _____

3. Is die hoof van die huishouding...

Enkellopend	1
Getroud	2
Woon saam as getroude paar	3
Geskei	4
Getroud, maar woon apart	5
Weduwee/wewenaar	6
Ander (Spesifiseer)	7

4. Hoeveel mense woon in hierdie agterplaas struktuur? _____

5. Hoeveel vertrekke is daar in hierdie agterplaas struktuur? _____

6. Wie het die agterplaas struktuur gebou?

U as huurder(s)	1
Die verhuurder	2
Ander (Spesifiseer)	3

7. Wat is gebruik as boumateriale? (Kies almal van toepassing)

Plastiek	1
Karton	2
Sink plate	3
Ander metaal/staal	4
Hout	5
Ander (Spesifiseer)	6

8. Vir hoeveel maande huur u al hierdie struktuur?_____

9. Vir hoeveel maande is u al in totaal 'n agterplaas huurder?_____

10. Wat is die hoof rede dat u 'n informele agterplaas struktuur huur?

Daar is nie ander formele huur verblyf wat bekostigbaar is nie	1
Om familie bande te behou	2
Om gemeenskapsbande te behou	3
Om geld te spaar vir 'n sekere doel	4
Om nader aan die werk te wees as wat u in ander behuising sou wees	5
U bly net hier terwyl u wag vir u behuisingssubsidie en eienaarskap	6
Ander (Spesifiseer)	7

11. Is die agterplaas huurders familie van die verhuurders in die hoof huis?

Nee (niemand is familie)	1
Sommiges is familie	2
Ja (almal is familie)	3

12. Indien nie familie, het u die verhuurders geken voor u ingetrek het?

Nie van toepassing (is familie)	1
Glad nie	2
Was kenisse	3
Goeie vriende	4

13. Hoe gereeld is daar konflik tussen u en die verhuurders?

Nooit	1
Soms (een keer per maand)	2
Gereeld (meer as een keer per maand)	3

Altyd (Omtrent daagliks)	4

14. Wat is oorsake van konflik? (Kies die toepaslike opsie)

		Ja	Nee
14.1	Toegang tot dienste	1	2
14.2	Betaal dispute	1	2
14.3	Wanoptrede weens alkohol en dwelm misbruik	1	2
14.4	Uitsettings dreigemente	1	2
14.5	Te veel inwoners op een erf	1	2
14.6	Ander (Spesifiseer)		

15. Het u al konflik na 'n verhurings tribunaal geneem?

Ja	1
Nee	2
Onbewus van tribunaal	3

16. Het u toegang tot die volgende, en hoe? (Dui die gepaste opsie aan)

16.1	Elektrisiteit	Ja	1	Nee	2
	Informele elektriese konneksie				
	Formele elektriese konneksie				
	Ander (Spesifiseer)				

16.2	Sanitasie	Ja	1	Nee	2
	Eksterne, gemeenskaplike toilet				
	Toilet in hoof huis				
	Ander (Spesifiseer)				

16.3	Vullis verwydering	Ja	1	Nee	2

	Munisiplae vullis verwydering	
	Individuele vullis verwydering	
	Ander (Spesifiseer)	

16.4	Water	Ja	1	Nee	2
	Gemeenskaplike kraan op erf				
	Kraan in hoof huis				
	Ander (Spesifiseer)				

17. Beantwoord asb die volgende vrae deur die toepaslike opsie te kies:

		Ja	Nee
17.1	Besit u eiendom op 'n ander plek?	1	2
17.2	Is u op die behuisings waglys?	1	2
17.3	Is u agterplaas struktuur waterdig?	1	2
17.4	Is u agterplaas struktuur geventileerd?	1	2
17.5	Is u agterplaas struktuur veilig (kan toesluit en besittings en inwoners veilig daar)?	1	2
17.6	Is misdaad 'n daaglikse bekommernis vir u huishouding?	1	2
17.7	Het u al enige probleme met brande gehad a.g.v. agterplaas aktiwiteite?	1	2
17.8	Word agterplaas huurders meer gereeld siek as mense in die hoof huis?	1	2
17.9	Om in 'n agterplaas te huur beperk u persoonlike/privaat buitelug ruimte?	1	2
17.10	Besit enige iemand in die huishouding 'n motor?	1	2

18. Wat is u huishouding se totale maandelikse inkomste (brutto inkomste)?

Geen inkomste	1
R0 - R500	2
R501 - R1000	3

R1001 - R1500	4
R1501 - R2000	5
R2001 - R2500	6
R2501 – R3000	7
R3001- R3500	8
R3501 - R4000	9
R4001 - R4500	10
R4501 - R5000	11
R5001 - R5500	12
R5501 - R6000	13
R6501– R7000	14
R7001 – R7500	15
R7501 - R8000	16
R8001 – R8500	17
R8501- R9000	18
R9001 - R9500	19
R9501 - R10 000	20
>R10 001	21
Onseker	22

19. Waar kom die huishouding se hoof inkomste vandaan?

Regering subsidie	1
Formele tydelike werk	2
Formele permanente werk	3
Werk in informele sektor	4
Pensioen	5
Ander (Spesifiseer)	6

20. Hoeveel mense in die huishouding verdien 'n inkomste deur te werk?_____

21. Hoe is u huurooreenkoms opgestel?

Geskrewe	1
Mondelings	2
Geen ooreenkoms, slegs toestemming om te bly	3
Ander (Spesifiseer)	4

22. Wat is ingesluit in die huurooreenkoms? (Kies die toepaslike opsie)

		Ja	Nee
22.1	Toegang tot dienste	1	2
22.2	Maksimum aantal inwoners toegelaat	1	2
22.3	Uitsettings prosedures	1	2
22.4	Huur bedrae	1	2
22.5	Wanneer huur betaal word	1	2
22.6	Beperkings op huurders se gedrag	1	2
22.7	Geen ooreenkoms in plek		
22.8	Ander (Spesifiseer)		

23. Hoeveel huur betaal u/watter dienste lewer u as betaling vir u verblyf?

24. Indien huur betaal word, op watter tydstip vind betalings plaas?

Weekliks	1
Elke twee weke	2
Maandeliks	3
Jaarliks	4
Geen huur betaal, slegs dienste gelewer	5

Ander (Spesifiseer)	6

25. Word u huur op sekere tye verhoog, wanneer en indien, met hoeveel?

Ja	1
Nee	2
Tydstip	
Verhoging (bedrag of %)	

26. Indien u uit hierdie agterplaas struktuur sou trek, waarom/waarheen sou u wou verhuis?

Sal glad nie wil trek nie	1
Om na 'n informele nedersetting te trek	2
Om na 'n ander agterplaas te skuif, steeds in informele struktuur	3
Om na 'n formele huurplek te skuif, soos 'n woonstel of huurhuis	4
Om na u eie huis te verhuis as eienaar	5
Om na 'n plaas te trek	6
Ander (Spesifiseer)	7

Annexure J: Guidelines for authors Town and Regional Planning

- *Town and Regional Planning* publishes articles in Afrikaans or English or any other official language. The desired length for an article is between 4 000 and 8 000 words, double-spaced in third person.
- A copy of the typed article must be submitted (authors keep the original) in electronic format (MS Word) forwarded via email (see address at bottom). The format must be kept as plain as possible for extracting and printing purposes.
- Articles on an applicable topic in town, urban and regional planning, well presented, written in any easy style and already proofread, will be considered for publishing.
- The Editor reserves the right to alter articles where necessary with regard to the style and presentation to bring it in line with the journal. If the referees propose large-scale changes, the article will be returned to the author for alterations.
- Copyright is transferred to *Town and Regional Planning* when an article is accepted for publication.
- Titles must be short and concise, but informative. Supply suitable headings and sub-headings where necessary. Titles must be provided in both Afrikaans and English. The Editorial Staff can be of assistance here.
- Short summaries of no more than 150 words in English and Afrikaans, must be provided at the beginning of the article. (By choice also in any other official language, except if other arrangements were made with the editor).
- For sections and subsections use Arabic numbers with full stops inbetween, i.e. 1. Followed by 1.1 and 1.1.1 up to the maximum of three levels. After that use an (a).
- Source references in the text must be in the Harvard style of referencing. i.e. (Healey, 1996: 201-202).
- Footnotes must also be in the Harvard style of referencing and be included at the bottom of the page (or at the end of the article).
- The references list (in the Harvard style of referencing) must contain all the relevant information, and be listed alphabetically according to the names of the authors, i.e. HEALEY, P. 1997. *Collaborative planning*. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Abbreviations must be limited and only used for corporations etc. in general use, then only after it was written out in full at first, with the abbreviation in brackets. After this the abbreviated form is used.

- Words in other languages and stereotyped Latin terms such as *per se* must be in italics. Italics must be used sparsely. Emphasis must be in single inverted commas.
- Diagrams, maps and photos must preferably be provided in Tif or Jpeg format, 300dpi resolution on separate pages to simplify scanning. Computer graphics are welcome, but must also be provided camera-ready on A4 paper. Clearly legible text and markings is a must.
- Details concerning the origin of the article must be indicated, i.e. if it was presented at a congress. An article will only be referred to the panel of referees if the author clearly states that it has not been submitted to other journals for publication.
- It is editorial policy to use a double-blind refereeing system, therefore the author's name/address should *not* appear anywhere on the paper including on the cover page. Authors may submit the names and addresses of three persons (not members at own place of work) who might be qualified adjudicators. If possible one of the proposed experts will be asked to act as a referee.
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Annexure K: Guidelines for authors Housing Studies

Manuscript preparation

1. General guidelines

- Manuscripts are accepted in English. Any consistent spelling and punctuation styles may be used. Please use single quotation marks, except where 'a quotation is "within" a quotation'. Long quotations of 40 words or more should be indented without quotation marks.
- A typical manuscript will not exceed 8000 words excluding tables, references, captions, footnotes and endnotes; but in exceptional circumstances, for example where the paper contains substantial qualitative material, may be up to 10,000 words. Contributions to the Policy Review section should fall within the range 3,000 to 5,000 words. Papers that greatly exceed this will be critically reviewed with respect to length. Manuscripts should be compiled in the following order: title page (including Acknowledgements as well as Funding and grant-awarding bodies); abstract; keywords; main text; acknowledgements; references; appendices (as appropriate); table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figure caption(s) (as a list).
- Abstracts of 150 words are required for all manuscripts submitted.
- Each manuscript should have 3 to 6 keywords.
- Search engine optimization (SEO) is a means of making your article more visible to anyone who might be looking for it. Please consult our guidance.
- Section headings should be concise.
- All authors of a manuscript should include their full names, affiliations, postal addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses on the cover page of the manuscript. One author should be identified as the corresponding author. Please give the affiliation where the research was conducted. If any of the named co-authors moves affiliation during the peer review process, the new affiliation can be given as a footnote. Please note that no changes to affiliation can be made after the manuscript is accepted. Please note that the email address of the corresponding author will normally be displayed in the article PDF (depending on the journal style) and the online article.

- All persons who have a reasonable claim to authorship must be named in the manuscript as co-authors; the corresponding author must be authorized by all co-authors to act as an agent on their behalf in all matters pertaining to publication of the manuscript, and the order of names should be agreed by all authors.
- Biographical notes on contributors are not required for this journal.
- Please supply all details required by any funding and grant-awarding bodies as an Acknowledgement on the title page of the manuscript, in a separate paragraph, as follows:
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 - *For multiple agency grants:* "This work was supported by the [Funding Agency 1] under Grant [number xxxx]; [Funding Agency 2] under Grant [number xxxx]; and [Funding Agency 3] under Grant [number xxxx]."
- Authors must also incorporate a Disclosure Statement which will acknowledge any financial interest or benefit they have arising from the direct applications of their research.
- For all manuscripts non-discriminatory language is mandatory. Sexist or racist terms must not be used.
- Authors must adhere to SI units. Units are not italicised.
- When using a word which is or is asserted to be a proprietary term or trade mark, authors must use the symbol ® or TM.
- Authors must not embed equations or image files within their manuscript

2. Style guidelines

- Description of the Journal's article style.
- Description of the Journal's reference style.
- Guide to using mathematical scripts and equations.

3. Figures

•

- Please provide the highest quality figure format possible. Please be sure that all imported scanned material is scanned at the appropriate resolution: 1200 dpi for line art, 600 dpi for grayscale and 300 dpi for colour.
- Figures must be saved separate to text. Please do not embed figures in the manuscript file.
- Files should be saved as one of the following formats: TIFF (tagged image file format), PostScript or EPS (encapsulated PostScript), and should contain all the necessary font information and the source file of the application (e.g. CorelDraw/Mac, CorelDraw/PC).
- All figures must be numbered in the order in which they appear in the manuscript (e.g. Figure 1, Figure 2). In multi-part figures, each part should be labelled (e.g. Figure 1(a), Figure 1(b)).
- Figure captions must be saved separately, as part of the file containing the complete text of the manuscript, and numbered correspondingly.
- The filename for a graphic should be descriptive of the graphic, e.g. Figure1, Figure2a.

4. Publication charges

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There is no submission fee for *Housing Studies*.

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8. Supplemental online material

Authors are encouraged to submit animations, movie files, sound files or any additional information for online publication.

- Information about supplemental online material

Manuscript submission

All submissions should be made online at the *Housing Studies* Scholar One Manuscripts website. New users should first create an account. Once logged on to the site, submissions should be made via the Author Centre. Online user guides and access to a helpdesk are available on this website.

Manuscripts may be submitted in any standard editable format, including Word and EndNote. These files will be automatically converted into a PDF file for the review process. LaTeX files should be converted to PDF prior to submission because ScholarOne Manuscripts is not able to convert LaTeX files into PDFs directly. All LaTeX source files should be uploaded alongside the PDF.

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Guidelines for authors also available at

http://tandfonline.com/action/authorSubmission?journalCode=chos20&page=instructions#mp_style

Annexure L: Guidelines for authors Community Development Journal

Information for Authors

Articles for the Community Development Journal cover a wide range of topics, reviewing significant developments and providing a forum for cutting-edge debates about theory and practice. The journal adopts a broad definition of community development to include policy, planning and action as they impact on the life of communities. We particularly seek to publish critically focused articles which challenge received wisdom, report and discuss innovative practices, and relate issues of community development to questions of social justice, diversity and environmental sustainability.

Submissions of articles of between 5,000 and 7,000 words (inclusive of abstract and references) are invited; articles should include a word count. Authors should avoid sexist, racist or other discriminatory expressions or statements. An article should make it clear to readers at or near the beginning why it is worth reading, by clearly summarizing the main argument and explaining its political and strategic significance. Authors should also remember they are writing for an international readership and should avoid jargon, clichés, acronyms and complicated constructions. Articles are reviewed by at least two referees and this is done in double blind peer review.

Language Editing

Particularly if English is not your first language, before submitting your manuscript you may wish to have it edited for language. This is not a mandatory step, but may help to ensure that the academic content of your paper is fully understood by journal editors and reviewers. Language editing does not guarantee that your manuscript will be accepted for publication. If you would like information about such services, please [click here](#). There are other specialist language editing companies that offer similar services, and you can also use any of these. Authors are liable for all costs associated with such services.

Title Page

The title should be short, specific and informative. The first name, initial(s), and surname of each author should be followed by his or her department, institution, city with postcode, and country. The email address of the corresponding author should also be provided. For the purposes of communication with the Journal staff during submission, review, revision and publication, only one author is designated as the Corresponding Author. If desired, a short description of each author's background and research interests can be provided, in italic text, after the main article text.

Abstract

The second page of the manuscript should contain the Abstract, which must not exceed 250 words. The Abstract should be comprehensible to readers before they have read the paper, and reference citations must be avoided. It is essential that the Abstract clearly states the focus and importance of the work described in the paper.

Main Text

Spelling

CDJ uses Oxford English spelling conventions (i.e. –ize endings, with exceptions such as 'analyse').

Abbreviated terms

Abbreviated terms should be given in full on first use, with the abbreviated form in brackets; if used in the Abstract they should be re-defined at first mention in the main text.

Section headings

Section headings should not be numbered: first-level headings should be in bold text, second-level headings in italic text, and third-level headings in italic and included as part of the paragraph text.

Quotations

Quotations should be given in single quote marks, with double quote marks for quotes within quotes; quotations of more than 50 words should be set apart from the main text and indented.

Lists

Lists may be numbered using roman numerals or set as bullet points; lists within lists should be lettered, then numbered with Arabic numerals.

Dates

Dates are given in the form 1 January 2009, and periods are given using a full span, e.g. 1993—1999.

Latin terms

Latin terms should be italicized; e.g. and i.e. can be used but should not be followed by a comma.

Hyphens

Hyphens should be used consistently (refer to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* if in doubt).

Numbers

Numbers from zero to ninety-nine should be spelled out; numbers over 1,000 use a comma as a thousand separator.

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A reference list should be provided at the end of the article. All cited works should be included, and no un-cited works should be included. References should be arranged alphabetically by author. Works by the same author should be arranged by second author, then by date. Works by the same authors in the same year should be cited as “(2010a)” and “(2010b)”. In-text citations are given in brackets in the text, for example (Smith and Jones, 2010; Marshall, 2003). If you use Endnote or Reference Manager,

a style file can be downloaded to convert your references into CDJ style.

Examples of citation formats are given below:

Book

Heron, B. (2007) *Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender, and the Helping Imperative*, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Canada.

Edited volume

Rich, W., ed. (1996) *The Politics of Minority Coalitions: Race, Ethnicity, and Shared Uncertainties*, Praeger, Westport, CT.

Chapter

Ghai, A. (2001) Disability in the Indian context: post-colonial perspectives, in M. Corker and T. Shakespeare, eds, *Disability Discourse*, Open University Press, Philadelphia, PA, pp. 1-11.

Journal article

Fujiura, G. T. Park, H. J and Rutkowski-Kmitta, V. (2005) Disability statistics in the developing world: a reflection on the meanings in our numbers, *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, **18**, 295-304.

Report

London School of Economics (2006) *The Depression Report: A New Deal for Depression and Anxiety Disorders*, Mental Health Policy Group, Centre for Economic Performance, LSE, London.

Conference paper

Hendriks, C. (2002) 'Navigating the murky waters of civil society in a deliberative democracy', paper presented at the Australian Political Science Association Conference (Political Sociology stream), 10 October 2002, Canberra, Australia.

Website

DFID (1999) *Sustainable Livelihood Guidance Sheet*, UK Department for International Development, accessed at: <http://www.dfid.gov.uk> (5 June 2010).

Tables and Figures

Tables and Figures should be numbered sequentially, using Arabic numerals (e.g. Table 1, Table 2, Table 3; Figure 1, Figure 2 ...). Each table and figure should have a brief descriptive title. Additional explanatory information can be provided as footnotes below the table or figure. All tables and figures must be cited in the text (e.g. "As Figure 3 illustrates ...").

Tables should be arranged as simply as possible, with any formatting (e.g. bold or italic text, indentation, shading, dividing lines) kept to a minimum. Column and row headings should be short, clear and self-explanatory, and any abbreviations should be defined in the table footnotes, even if already provided in the text.

Figures should be saved as separate high-resolution image files without their captions (captions should be included with the text of the article). Minimum resolutions are 300 d.p.i. for colour or tone images, and 600 d.p.i. for line drawings. The preferred format is TIFF. Colour figures should be supplied in CMYK not RGB colours. Font-related problems can be avoided by using standard fonts such as Times Roman and Helvetica. Symbols cannot be generated in the legend and should be described rather than indicated by a symbol. Figures and legends should be intelligible without reading the text of the manuscript.

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Acknowledgements can be provided in a short paragraph between the main text and the reference list. Sources of funding should be acknowledged in a separate Funding paragraph in the same location.

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1. Made a substantial contribution to the concept and design, acquisition of data or analysis and interpretation of data,
2. Drafted the article or revised it critically for important intellectual content,
3. Approved the version to be published.

Authors should meet the conditions of all of the points above. Each author should have participated sufficiently in the work to take public responsibility for appropriate portions of the content.

When a large, multicentre group has conducted the work, the group should identify the individuals who accept direct responsibility for the manuscript. These individuals should fully meet the criteria for authorship. A student is usually listed as principal author on any multiple-authored publication that substantially derives from the student's dissertation or thesis.

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Annexure N: Letter from co-author

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1 December 2016

Re: Declaration from co-author

I, Prof Elizelle Juaneé Cilliers (NWU personnel nr 12248029), am the promotor of Mr L.G Lategan (Student nr 21441480) for his Thesis submitted for the degree Philosophiae Doctor, entitled "Informality and sustainability: reflecting on South Africa's informal backyard rental sector from a planning perspective".

I hereby confirm that, as promotor, I am co-author of the papers submitted for publication. As co-author my role was defined by the Code of conduct for supervisors and promoters, as captured in the Manual for Postgraduate Studies of the NWU. As such my role included:

- Ensuring quality of the research
- Assisting in the development of the research process and guidance throughout the introductory phase, the planning phase, the implementation phase, the reporting phase and the evaluation phase.
- Guiding the development of expertise in the research field
- Supporting appropriate methodologies employed in the research
- Review and assessment of submitted work in terms of technical and academic standards
- Ensuring that ethical research processes are followed throughout

Mr L.G Lategan, as first author, conducted all research, and was solely responsible for the writing and editing of the research. Mr Lategan illustrated the ability to conduct high level research independently, he made a distinct scholarly and original contribution to the knowledge and insight in the field of Urban and Regional Planning.

His thesis complies with rule 5.4.2.7 of the quality manual, stating that where the article option is used, "the thesis must still be presented as a unit, supplemented with an inclusive problem statement, a focused literature analysis and integration and with a synoptic conclusion, and the guidelines of the journal concerned must also be included".

As co-author I hereby give permission that the article(s) can be submitted for degree purposes. All included articles in this thesis flow forth directly from the student's research after registration for the doctoral degree at NWU.

Regards,



Prof. Juaneé Cilliers

Sub-program leader: Sustainable Planning and Development
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Date: 19 September 2016

RE: Inclusion of published article in PhD dissertation

Dear prof. Juanee Cilliers and Mr Louis Lategan

Thank you for your request to obtain permission to include Mr Lategan's article entitled: **"Towards more compact South African settlements through informal housing: the case of backyard densification in Bridgton and Bongolethu, Oudtshoorn"** into his PhD dissertation.

According to the journal's policy, copyright is transferred to *Town and Regional Planning* when an article is accepted for publication.

The editors grant permission to include Mr Lategan's article into his PhD dissertation.

Kind Regards

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'JJ Steyn'.

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Annexure P: Case study photographs



Figure 20: A view of Oudtshoorn

Source: Own photography (2016)



Figure 21: A view of Oudtshoorn

Source: Own photography (2016)



Figure 22: A view of Oudtshoorn

Source: Own photography (2016)



Figure 23: An aerial view of a still expanding Riemvasmaak, circa 2011

Source: Own photography (2011)



Figure 24: Another view of Riemvasmaak from the air in 2011

Source: Own photography (2011)



Figure 25: A more populated Rose Valley visible from the highway in 2012

Source: Own photography (2012)



Figure 26: A chaperone and his sibling take a break during the Rose Valley surveys in 2012

Source: Own photography (2012)



Figure 27: A decorated section of the Bridgton Pavilion's corrugated metal

Source: Own photography (2013)



Figure 28: The Bridgton Pavilion wall, undecorated and jagged in most parts

Source: Own photography (2013)



Figure 29: A glimpse of the inner sanctum of the Bridgton Pavilion

Source: Own photography (2013)



Figure 30: Locked gates bar entrance to a local playpark

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 31: Even surrounded by razor wire and fences children find a way into this playpark

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 32: Litter dumped in a liminal area

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 33: Litter dumped in another liminal area

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 34: An informal backyard rental dwelling under construction

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 35: An elderly wheelchair bound homeowner who depends on backyard tenants

Source: Own photography (2013)



Figure 36: A timber backyard dwelling draped with canvas resembles a tent

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 37: A timber backyard dwelling, typical in the case study

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 38: Survey assistants engage with a respondent outside her timber and metal shack

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 39: A survey assistant explaining the questionnaire to a respondent

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 40: Residents of a main dwelling pose in the morning sun

Source: Own photography (2013)



Figure 41: Two mail backyard tenants share a single small room

Source: Own photography (2013)



Figure 42: The inside of an informal backyard structure poorly insulated with cardboard

Source: Own photography (2013)



Figure 43: A view of a bedroom in an informal backyard dwelling of improved construction

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 44: A larger backyard dwelling with rooms divided by curtains. Note the television

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 45: An antenna and electrical wire connected to a timber backyard shack

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 46: Informal electricity lines enter an informal backyard dwelling

Source: Own photography (2015)



Figure 47: One of the few private vehicles encountered in the case study

Source: Own photography (2015)

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