

**A CASE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL CIRCULAR MIGRANTS
SHACK-FARMING IN THE BON ACCORD AGRICULTURAL
HOLDINGS, TSHWANE, SOUTH AFRICA**

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Research assignment presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MPhil Urban and Regional Science in the Faculty of Arts at Stellenbosch University.

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The perpetual shortage of affordable housing in South Africa as a function of population growth in the back of increased immigration has been greeted with the emergence and proliferation of various forms of informal settlements, including shack-farming in spite of their illegality. The study was carried out in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings area within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality to determine the factors behind the existence and proliferation of informal housing on land primarily zoned for small-scale agricultural activities. The study sought to uncover the characteristics of shack-farm residents; the primary motivations of shack-farming tenants' choice to settle in these settlements as opposed to other settlements; the characteristics of tenure; the relationship between landlords and tenants in these settlements; the spill-over effects of these settlements in the area and whether the marginal social costs of these settlements exceed the perceived benefits thereof. The analysis of the collected data has confirmed that international temporary labour migrants' need for affordable accommodation closer to potential job opportunities in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings leads to the existence and proliferation of shack-farms because international temporary migrant workers deliberately chose to reside in shack-farms in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings for their affordability, proximity to work and the existing social networks. In spite of these conveniences, the tenants did not have tenure security and their existence in the area was seen by the neighbouring landlords as resulting in negative spill-over effects in the neighbourhood.

OPSOMMING

Die voortdurende tekort aan bekostigbare behuising in Suid-Afrika as 'n funksie van bevolkingsgroei in die lig van toenemende immigrasie, is begroet met die verskyning en verspreiding van verskeie vorms van informele nedersettings, insluitend plakkershutte – ten spyte daarvan dat sodanige hutte onwettig is. Die studie is gedoen in die Bon Accord Landbouhoewe binne die Tshwane Metropolitaanse Munisipaliteit om te bepaal watter faktore die bestaan en verspreiding van informele behuising beïnvloed, veral omdat sodanige grond hoofsaaklik vir kleinskaalse landboudoeleindes gesoneer is. Die studie het gepoog om die volgende uit te lig: karaktereenskappe van plakkershutbewoners; die hoofredes vir hul keuse om in hierdie vestiging huis op te sit teenoor ander opsies; die karaktereenskappe van verblyfsreg; die verhouding tussen die grondeienaars en die bewoners van hierdie nedersettings; die uitvloeisel-effekte van hierdie nedersettings op die res van die gebied; en of die marginale maatskaplike koste van hierdie nedersettings die skynbare voordele daarvan oortref. Die analise van die versamelde inligting het bevestig dat die behoefte van tydelike internasionale arbeidsmigrante aan bekostigbare behuising wat naby aan werkgeleenthede in die Bon Accord Landbouhoewe is, lei tot die totstandkoming en verspreiding van plakkershutte omdat internasionale migrasiewerkers opsetlik verkies om in plakkershutte te woon in die Bon Accord Landbouhoewe, omdat dit bekostigbaar is, en naby aan hul werk en bestaande sosiale netwerke geleë is. Ten spyte van hierdie voordele, het die inwoners nie enige verblyfsekuriteit nie, en naburige grondeienaars is van mening dat hulle teenwoordigheid in die gebied 'n negatiewe oorvloei-effek in die woonbuurt tot gevolg sal hê.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	7
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 BACKGROUND	8
2.2 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	9
2.3 LAND TENURE: FORMAL AND INFORMAL.....	11
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN	13
3.1 THE STUDY FRAMEWORK.....	13
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN	15
CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY SAMPLE	16
4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	16
4.2 MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS	18
4.3 ECONOMIC AND INCOME DYNAMICS.....	24
4.4 TENANT RELATIONSHIP	27
4.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DWELLING UNITS.....	30
4.6 NEIGHBOURS' CHARACTERISTICS	32
4.7 LANDLORDS' CHARACTERISTICS.....	33
4.8 CONCLUSION.....	34
Bibliography	37

TABLES

Table 1: Date moved to current dwelling	19
Table 2: Intended length of stay.....	22
Table 3: Employment status.....	24
Table 4: Occupation.....	25
Table 5: Aggregate monthly household income	26

FIGURES

Figure 1: Orientation map for Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings.....	14
Figure 2: Population pyramid	16
Figure 3: Marital status	17
Figure 4: Country of birth.....	17

Figure 5: Education.....	18
Figure 6: Date moved into Gauteng province.....	19
Figure 7: Main reason for move to current dwelling.....	20
Figure 8: Most likely reason for moving out of present housing.....	21
Figure 9: Immigration status.....	21
Figure 10: Knowledge of area before moving in.....	22
Figure 11: Health status.....	23
Figure 12: Social network.....	24
Figure 13: Main transportation mode.....	26
Figure 14: Relationship between tenants and neighbours.....	27
Figure 15: Relationship between tenants and landlords.....	28
Figure 16: Tenure security.....	28
Figure 17: Tenants view of rent.....	29
Figure 18: Age of shacks.....	30
Figure 19: Water supply reliability.....	31

“This is an area that we don't have a proper grasp of... It's one of the big challenges... we face as a country. Our law is written in such a progressive manner that you essentially cannot deny anyone the claim and temporary status of asylum-seeker, due to a number of precedent-setting rulings of our courts, as well as various clauses of the Refugee Act. And the reality is that economic migrants are abusing the (act) in order to have status in South Africa” Minister Naledi Pandor speaking on illegal immigration. (IOL News, 2014).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Having inherited a housing backlog in 1994, the South African government has since stepped up efforts to supply public housing for low-income groups. Population growth, bolstered by immigration, has perpetuated public housing shortages. The population living in informal settlements in South Africa has not declined despite the provision of almost three million houses by government since 1994 (Moneyweb, 2013). The Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI) estimates housing backlogs increased to 2.4 million in 2013. In fact the percentage of households living in informal dwellings has gradually increased from 13.0 per cent in 2002 to 13.4 per cent in 2009 (Unicef, 2012). The difficulty in obtaining sufficient adequate housing by poor, under-skilled and often illegal urban migrants is credited for the proliferation of informal settlements as an alternative form of housing in most parts of the developing world (Durand-Lasserve, 2006).

Different forms of informal housing have developed in South Africa, including traditional settlements, shanty towns, backyard housing, squatting in abandoned buildings, flop housing and shack-farming; a unique form of high-density informal rental housing primarily developed on open land close to urban areas. Due to its relative newness and apparent difference from other forms of informal settlements, shack-farming deserves special attention. Shack-farms are large numbers of informal rental houses generally erected on well-located agricultural holdings by the land-owners as a source of income. Unlike other forms of informal housing, the dynamics behind the existence and proliferation of shack-farming have not been well researched, thus rendering the phenomenon less understood academically. There is therefore a need to study the dynamics pertinent to shack-farming as a basis for informed policy interventions.

The study analyses the nature of the relationship between international circular labour migration and shack-farming in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings area. The main aim of the case study is to determine whether the existence and proliferation of shack-farms is driven

by demand for affordable accommodation for international circular labour migrants close to potential job opportunities. Shack-farming is prevalent in the small holdings north of Pretoria which is why the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings area was selected as the study area. Primarily, the research seeks to determine whether international circular migrant workers deliberately chose to reside in shack-farms in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings as opposed to other settlements. Expanding on this question, the researcher is interested to uncover the characteristics of shack-farm residents, the primary motivations of shack-farming tenants' choice to settle in these settlements, the characteristics of tenure, the relationship between landlords and tenants in these settlements, the spill-over effects of these settlements in the area and whether the marginal social costs of these settlements exceed the perceived benefits thereof.

Other questions that are of interest to the researcher are whether and why (i) the shack-farm owners believe the practice is acceptable; (ii) the neighbouring residents condoned the shack-farming practice; and (iii) the neighbours would consider to farm with shacks themselves.

The empirical case study utilises a structured survey to collect and analyse data gathered from respondents. A random sample of shack-farm dwellers and neighbouring property residents, as well as three shack-farm landlords constitutes the three categories of respondents. The research structure is therefore mainly qualitative and inductive in nature using descriptive, tabulated and numerical data to share the findings emanating from the case study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 BACKGROUND

The research investigates the concept of shack-farming as a form of informal housing, issues of land tenure and the effect of international labour migration on shack-farming. To understand the reasons for the prevalence and proliferation of the shack-farming phenomenon, a review of literature and pertinent policies forms an integral part of the study. This is necessary to understand the challenges faced in efforts to address the problem of informal housing in general, shack-farming in particular and to inform possible interventions in dealing with this phenomenon. The study provides a deeper academic understanding of the characteristics of the phenomenon including the characteristics of the occupiers, ownership

and tenure issues, quality of life and economic effects, occupiers' reasons for choosing shack-farms for residence, and economic motivations behind the landowner's decision to farm with shacks.

Since the repeal of restrictive laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, South Africa has experienced an increase in urbanisation and immigration with streams of Africans moving to urban areas in search of employment opportunities. Due to low employment opportunities in South Africa, the prospects of refugees finding jobs commensurate with their skills and qualifications are usually very slim. As a result, most of them end up accepting temporary, low-income jobs mostly in the farms whilst others remain unemployed or sell cheap consumable goods such as vegetables and second-hand clothes in the informal sector. Others even end up resorting to illegal practices such as prostitution and crime to survive. Immigration, especially illegal, can be associated with increased incidents of crime, violence and corruption (Mabiala, 2013).

Urbanisation and immigration have increased the demand for adequate temporary, low-cost housing in the urban areas. Immigrants' need for adequate housing is often not met due to limited housing stock availability and their inability to afford it, which has led to some farm and smallholding land-owners allocating land to erect shacks in return for monthly rental payments. This has had a significant bearing on the proliferation of informal dwellings in the country (Housing Development Agency, 2012).

South Africa stands out as the most attractive destination for African migrants (Cross et al., 2006). It was estimated that in 1997 there were 3.5 million illegal immigrants residing in South Africa, with 3000 of them deported every month (Zuberi et al., 2005). The high figures of undocumented immigrants believed to be in the country imply that the absence of legal status does not necessarily constraint their ability to access employment (Zuberi et al., 2005).

2.2 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To better comprehend the problem of informal settlements, its characteristics and causes must be first appreciated. Development features that characterise informal settlements include practices such as self-construction of structures and occupation of public, communal, and private land; unauthorised subdivision and sale of private, communal, and public land for self-construction; irregular public housing projects; the urbanisation and development of areas proclaimed as rural; unauthorised construction of additional buildings on legal plots,

occupation of protected areas, riverbanks, water reservoirs and mountain sides and the occupation of public spaces such as streets, pavements, and viaducts (Fernades, 2011).

Squatter settlements are a widespread phenomenon on the urban fringes of most developing cities. Squatters are usually organised and occupation is often facilitated by an influential person, or organisation, often through an entry fee. Informal rental housing is a variant of this, characterised by the unauthorised rental in squatter settlements and in the backyards of formal housing, the latter being a common feature in South Africa's townships (Royston & Narsoo, 2006).

Shack-farming is a unique form of informal housing prevalent in South Africa where farms or smallholdings are illegally apportioned by landlords and used to erect shacks for rental purposes. Shack-farms are a form of informal settlements that possess the general attributes of informality as informal settlements, occurring on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential and comprising structures which are not permanent. Shack-farms are associated with problems similar to those experienced by most non-conventional settlements such as insecure tenure, lack of basic services, overcrowding, poor quality of buildings, lack of infrastructure and amenities.

Informal housing is defined by one or a combination of the following physical criteria: a lack of suitable or adequate urban infrastructure, an absence of public services; poor construction methods, a deteriorating living environment; the absence of public spaces and community facilities; and high presence of poverty (Fernades, 2011). Most residents in informal settlements experience a poor quality of life, and conditions are characterised by low literacy, education, employment and income levels, poor health and high mortality rates. One underlying determinant characteristic of all types of informal settlements is the violation of legal order, including the violations of landownership rights, municipal regulations and taxation provisions (Fernades, 2001:12).

In giving a theoretical explanation of the motivation behind the migration to a certain location, Gelderblom argues that no two geographic areas offer equal opportunities to any individual, hence a persistent spatial disequilibrium of rewards. The characteristics of the individual such as their age, sex, education level, employment status, income, religion, etc. shape migration decisions. The structure of the area of destination is usually biased towards certain individualised rewards, (Kok et al., 2006).

Responses to informality can be classified into three different schools of thought. The first focuses on the physical characteristics of informality such as the structural form and the construction of informal settlements. The second focuses on the legal position of informal settlements in terms of tenure and policy. A third school is more interested in the economic potential of informality, with Hernando De Soto as its main proponent (Boanada-Fuchs, 2013). It is evident that this disjointed approach does not fully address the need for a comprehensive definition of informality.

Formality and informality are social constructs with no clear definitional boundaries since in many cases informality has become a part of the formal order mainly through the socio-political networks that underpin power, or the informal nature of occupation of formal urban areas. Norms and institutions derived from indigenous and pre-colonial socio-cultural orders are credited for their informal influence on the ideals of market based socio-economic forms of interchange (Jenkins, 2001:4).

Informal housing is relatively labour-intensive relying on traditional production modes anchored on household labour and cheap materials (Boanada-Fuchs, 2013; Pacione, 2009). Informality violates standards and rules to cut cost and increase the competitiveness of informal activities. The lack of recognition of informal settlements by formal institutions has resulted in the former's exclusion from service provision, often strengthening the informality of these settlements. Informal can therefore be defined on the basis of set rules, standards as well as moral conceptions of what is acceptable (Boanada-Fuchs, 2013).

Informality also pertains to the lack of access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation, electricity and other services, overcrowding and absence of security of tenure. Informal settlements are often associated with social problems including crime, unemployment, and extreme poverty.

2.3 LAND TENURE: FORMAL AND INFORMAL

The concept of informality presents a social dilemma because it blurs the distinction between legal and illegal land uses. Informal is not necessarily equivalent to illegal as the practices in land management that could be informal but legitimate, though it often is (Jenkins, 2001). Because formality and informality are social constructs, no clear definitional boundaries exist differentiating for informal. In many cases informality has become a part of the formal social order mainly through the entrenchment of socio-political networks that underpin local power

bases. Norms derived from local socio-cultural institutions are credited for their informal influence on market based socio-economic forms of interchange (Jenkins, 2001).

The formality-informality dichotomy embeds in itself in concepts of land tenure. Land tenure is a bundle of rights dependent on a series of other factors such as planning regulations, building standards, social norms, cultural values, individual preferences and landowner-user agreements (Durand-Lasserve, 2006; Royston, 2006). Land tenure is the mechanism through which land rights are secured, whether based on statutory law, common law or customary tradition (Prasanna, 2007). The perception that informality is a binary categorisation (formal/informal) is misleading as informality has different levels and degrees (Wu, Zhang & Webster, 2013).

Land titling is the main mechanism for promoting full security of tenure. De Soto sees an interwovenness between tenure security and capital, the intrinsic value of property. To this end, titling is thus the synthesis of all the critical information and complex process necessary to capitalise property (De Soto, 2001).

Perceived security of tenure is as important as legal tenure (Payne, 2004). Shack-farms, due to their informal nature, are faced with insecure tenure and no guaranteed right to protection against unlawful eviction of occupiers by the state (Royston, 2006). Residents of informal settlements are most likely to experience tenure insecurity which makes them prone to suffer unjustified eviction in the hands of public authorities and landowners. These settlements are also often deprived of standard residential services such as access to public services, public spaces, and public amenities. Although most democratic countries have adopted policies that discourage unregulated evictions, evictions are still common in areas where residents of informal settlements do not have officially recognised tenure (Fernades, 2011). Informal settlements also generate significant social costs and increase urban management costs.

Not all scholars agree on the efficacy of formalisation in ensuring tenure security for the residents of informal settlements. Formalisation processes cost up to three times more than developing undeveloped land, a burden too high for the residents of informal settlements. The fact that social structuring rarely takes place through legislative or administrative fiat renders formalisation as an expensive and overrated solution to tenure insecurity. Drawing on case studies in South Africa, (Kingwill et al., 2006) concluded that titling could have adverse effects on the poor. Formalisation does not necessarily increase tenure security, nor does it

promote lending to the poor (contrary to De Soto's contention); instead it could increase the rate of homelessness, registered title deeds leads to unaffordability for the poor, formalisation could undermine the informal property systems that currently support a vibrant rental market.

Tenure security approaches encourage protection against eviction through administrative and legal mechanisms (Smit & Abrahams, 2010). Titling is generally used as one form of recognition and integration of informal settlements (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). The Urban Land Mark advocates for an incremental tenure approach with securing tenure through administrative mechanisms for the whole settlement as the first step and then progressively sets in place the requirements for ownership, including legal recognition (Smit & Abrahams, 2010: 3).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 THE STUDY FRAMEWORK

This research is a qualitative case study of the existence and proliferation of shack-farms in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings area north of Pretoria. Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings comprises several small holdings in the vicinity of the famous Bon Accord Dam some fifteen kilometres north-east of the Pretoria Central Business District as indicated in Figure 1. It is nestled between the N4 to the south, the N1 to the east and the Onderstepoort Private Game Reserve to the west. Most of the plots are zoned for small-scale agricultural activities and a maximum of two building structures for residential purposes each.

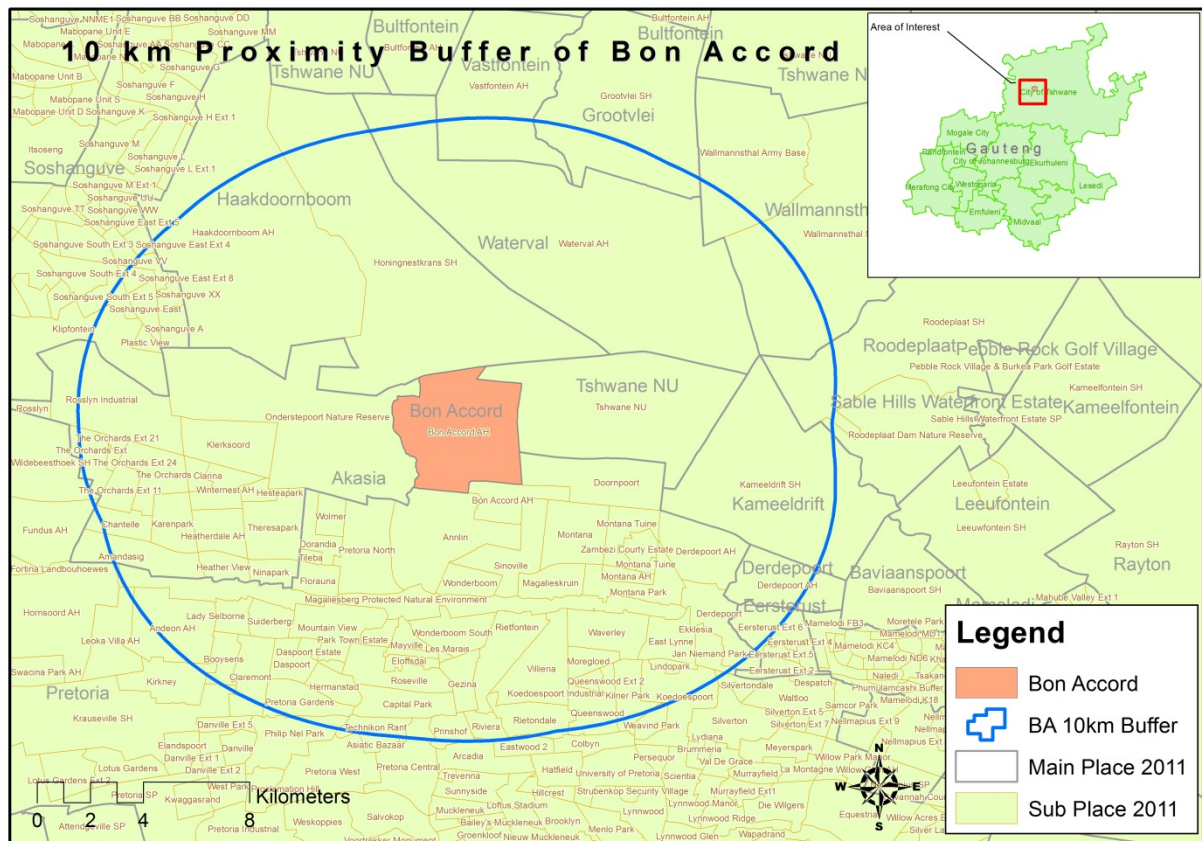


Figure 1: Orientation map for Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings

The study analyses the nature of the relationship between international circular labour migration and shack-farming in the area. The case study approach was chosen for its ability to give an in-depth description of phenomena and create a rapport between the researcher and the respondents, thus improving the quality of the data collected. The non-generalisability of results and non-standardisation of measurements are the main shortcomings while potential bias of the researcher and lack of rigour in the analysis could be the main limitations of this approach. Other critics argue that the usefulness of case study research limited to its exploratory use and therefore cannot be of value in and of itself unless linked to a hypothesis (Fieuw, 2011). An instrumental case study was used to conduct an empirical enquiry to determine whether the existence and proliferation of shack-farms are driven by demand for affordable accommodation closer to potential job opportunities for international circular labour migrants.

The key research questions asked are: (i) why shack-farm dwellers chose to live in shack-farms as opposed to established formal settlements? (ii) what are the reasons motivating farm

owners to allow the establishment of shacks on their properties? (iii) do the tenants pay rent for their shacks, how much and at what frequency? (iv) do the tenants feel protected against evictions by authorities or the landlord and why? (v) do the shack-farm owners believe the practice is acceptable and why? (vi) do the neighbouring residents condone the shack-farming practice? (vii) do the neighbouring plot residents feel that the practice of shack-farming has adversely affected them? and (ix) would the neighbours consider shack-farming themselves?

The study uses primary data collected using survey questionnaires as instruments to solicit and record expanded answers to give the interviewer more insight into the research problem. The case study approach has been used extensively in similar research (Fieuw, 2011; Nestergard, 2009).

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The case study is implemented as a three-part survey comprising tenants, landlords and neighbours components. The tenants' survey was conducted to gather demographic, socio-economic information about the tenants and reasons for residing in the shack-farms. The second component focused on the landlords of the three affected plots whilst the third gathered information from the neighbours. The participants in the neighbours' part were recruited from two plots adjacent to each shack-farming agricultural plot. Most of the questions used in the interview questionnaire were pre-coded.

The study employed a random sampling of tenants households from a population of 280 with every sixth shack included in the survey. 50 households comprising a total of 81 individuals were sampled and surveyed. The whole population of three landlords was surveyed, although only one finally participated in the survey, and six adult occupants from six adjacent plots to the targeted shack-farms formed the neighbour's sample. Structured questions were asked for each respondent. The household questionnaire was used to solicit answers about the demographic, migratory and socio-economic characteristics, living conditions and perceptions of household members. The questionnaire administered to neighbouring plot owners canvassed the views and perceptions of the neighbours on the practice and its effects while the landlord schedule was used to extract the views and perceptions of the shack-farm landlords.

The data collection procedure followed in the study started with the location and contacting of respondents, followed by the introduction of the study to the respondents before the actual interview where questions were posed to the respondents and answers recorded. Thanking respondents marked the end of each interview. The collected data was captured onto a matrix that was used to perform contingency table analysis and the research findings were presented in descriptive, graphical, tabular and percentage forms.

CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY SAMPLE

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

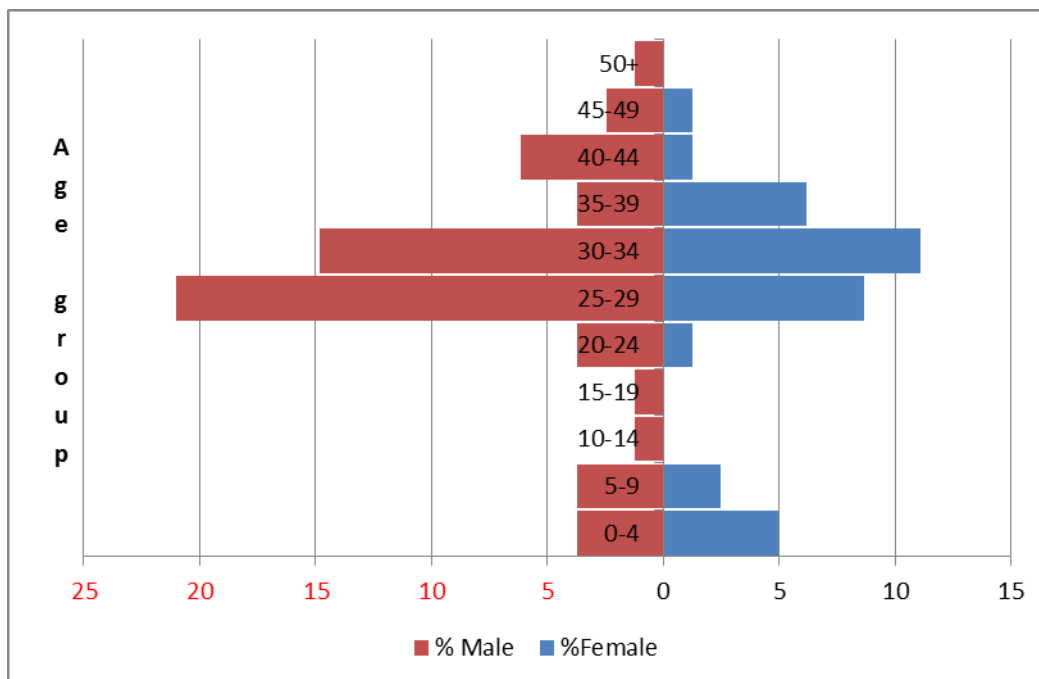


Figure 2: Population pyramid

Of the 50 households surveyed, a notable 60% of the households were one-person households and the average household size was 1.62. Figure 2 above shows that more than half of the population fell between the ages of 24 and 35, with those aged between 25 to 29 constituting the biggest age group at 29.6%, followed by the 30-34 age group constituted by just under 26% of the total population surveyed. The population was composed of about 63% males and 37% females belonging exclusively to the black African population group.

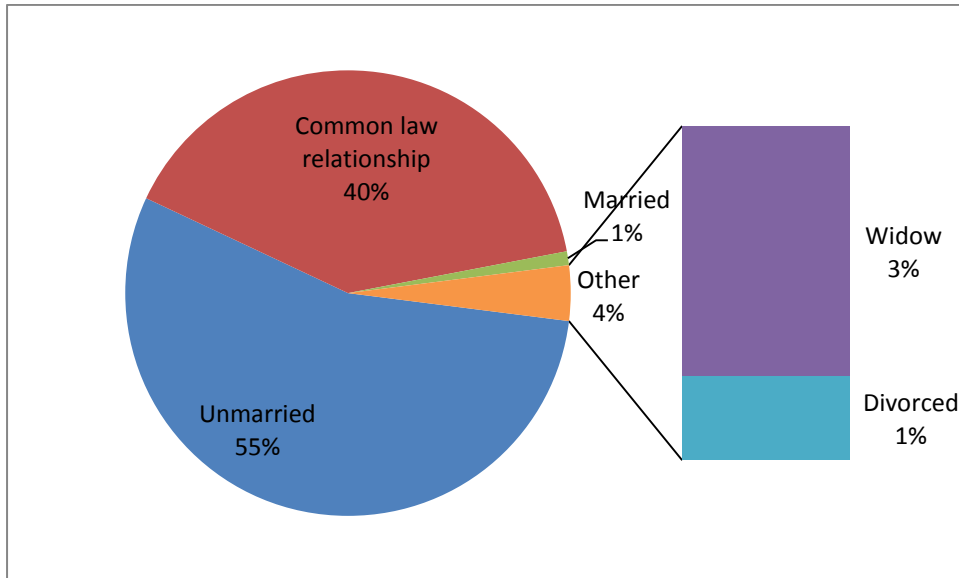


Figure 3: Marital status

The majority (55%) of the 69 adults were unmarried as displayed in Figure 3. 40% of shack-dwellers of marriage age were in common-law relationships, while 41% were in some form of conjugal relationship. The remaining 4.0% consisted of widows and divorcees.

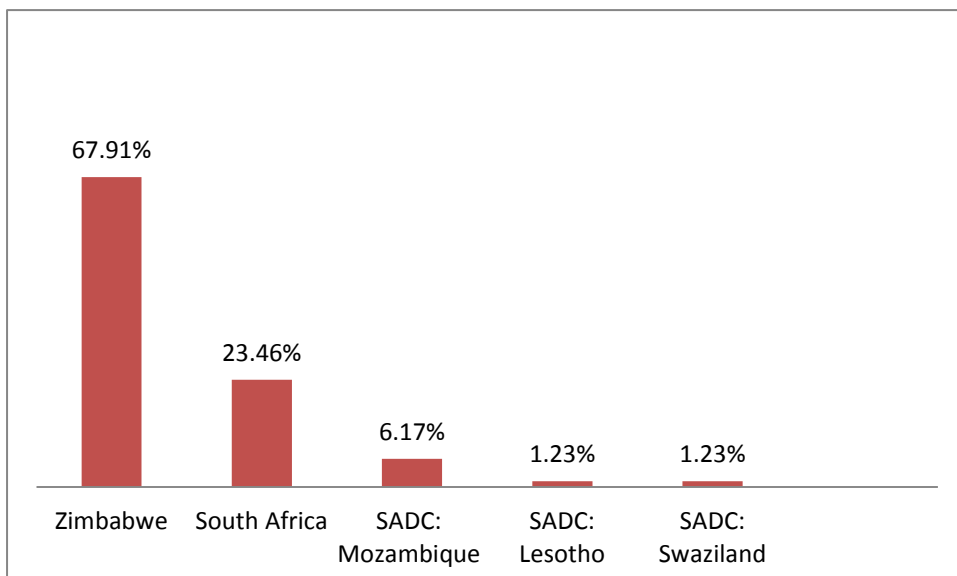


Figure 4: Country of birth

As indicated in Figure 4, a large proportion (76.5%) of the shack-farm dwellers were born outside of South Africa, of which approximately 89% were born in neighbouring Zimbabwe. 12 of the 19 South African-born shack-dwellers were under the age of 10 and born to foreign parents. Of those respondents whose household members were not living with them, 92% of the households resided outside the borders of South Africa, with Zimbabwean members constituting roughly 83% of the household members living outside South Africa. 35% of the households originated from the district of Masvingo in Zimbabwe.

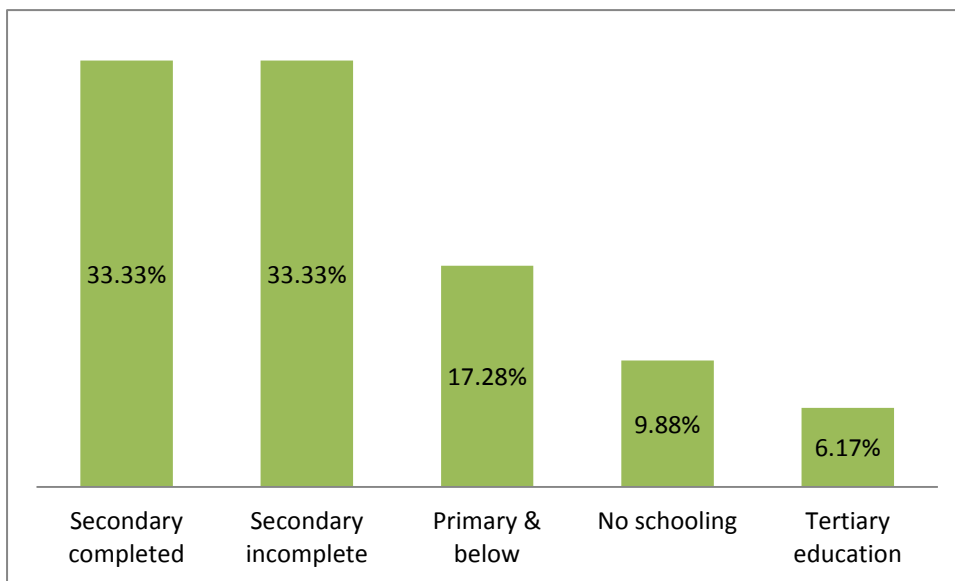


Figure 5: Education

Just over 6.0% of the respondents attained tertiary education while more than 60% did not complete secondary education, as indicated in Figure 5.

4.2 MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS

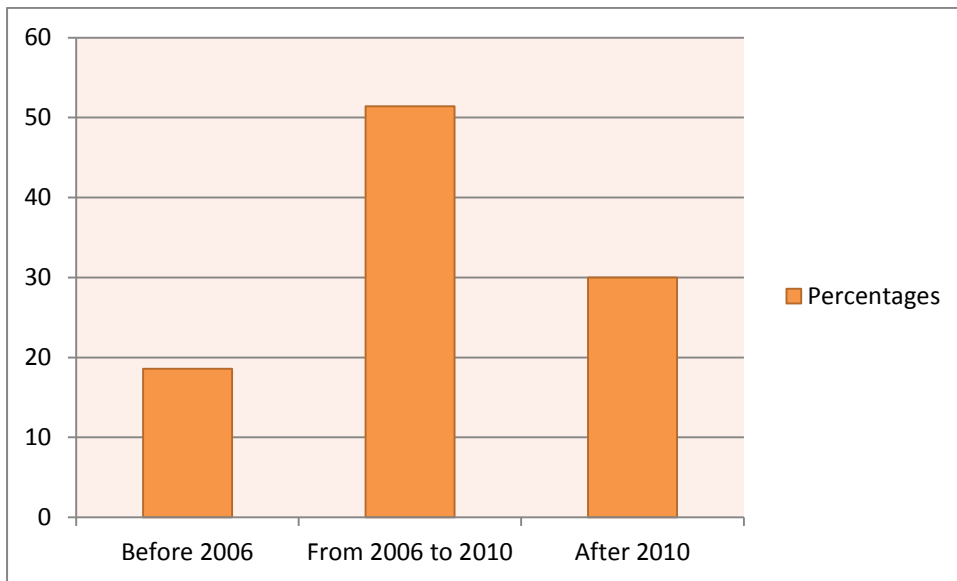


Figure 6: Date moved into Gauteng province

86% of the study population was born outside the province of Gauteng. 18.6% of Gauteng's in-migrants moved before 2006 with over half (51%) having moved from 2006 to 2010 and 30% after 2010 as indicated in Figure 6. As many as 20% of the migrants into Gauteng province came directly from other countries; the rest had lived in another location in South Africa before moving into current residence with Pretoria as prior residence contributing 46% to the latter group. Just over 65% of those who reported Pretoria as their residence had moved either from another residence in the Bon Accord area itself or from its neighbouring areas (Kaminju A, 2011).

Table 1: Date moved to current dwelling

Period	Number of people	Population %
Before 2006	2	2.7
From 2006 to 2010	1	1.4
2007	3	4.4
2008	10	13.5
2009	8	10.8
2010	15	20.3
2011	10	13.5
2012	10	13.5

2013	13	17.6
2014	2	2.7
Total	74	100

Half of the 74 people who were not born in the current dwelling moved there between 2006 and 2010, and just over 47% moved after 2010 as indicated in Table 1. The year 2010 recorded the biggest number of people who moved into current dwelling at slightly over 20%.

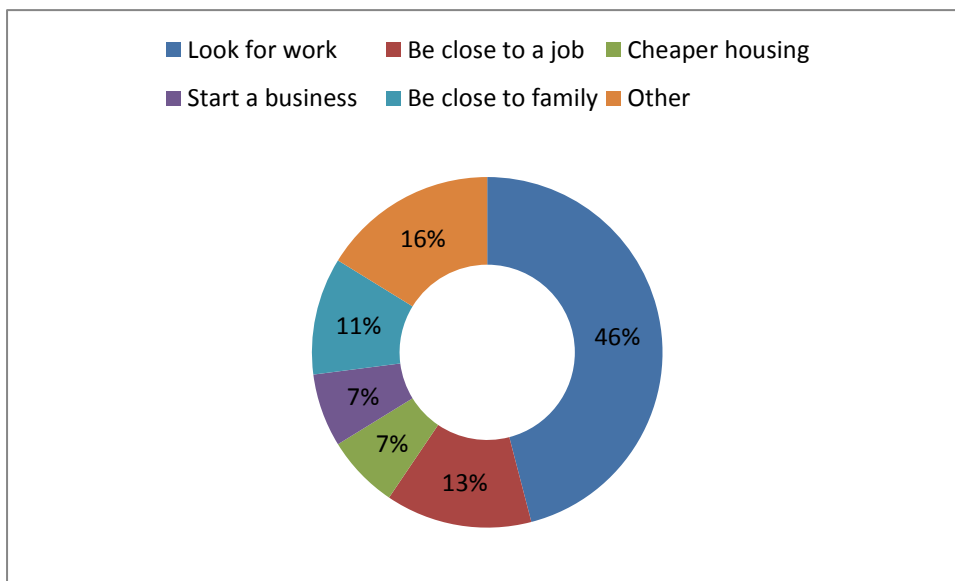


Figure 7: Main reason for move to current dwelling

46% of the respondents stated that the main motivation for moving into the current dwelling was to seek employment as indicated in Figure 7. 13% said that they moved to the location to be closer to their place of employment. The third most common motivation for moving into current location was to be close to family (11%).

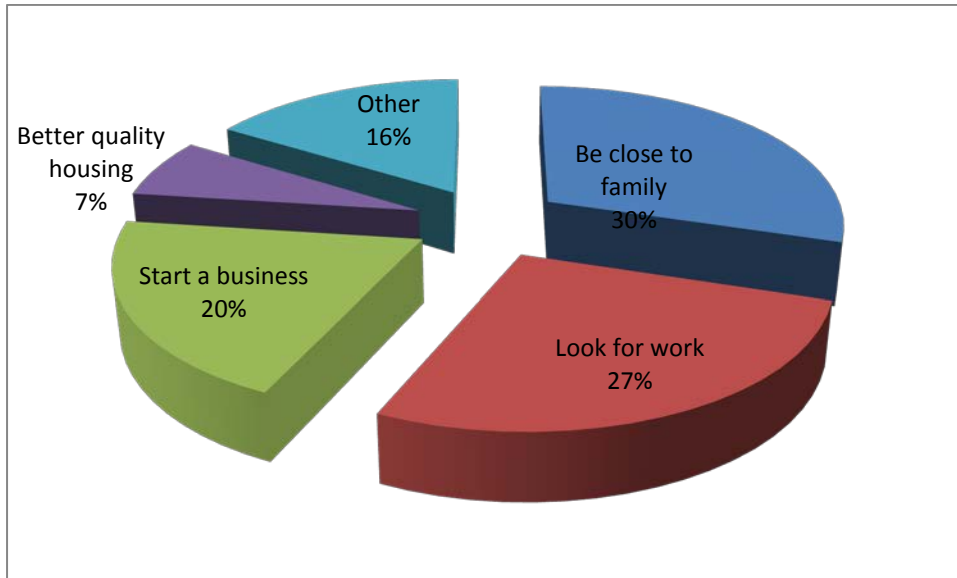


Figure 8: Most likely reason for moving out of present housing

The two dominant reasons that would motivate the shack-dwellers to move out of their current dwellings were to be closer to family and to look for work elsewhere at 36% and 27%, respectively, as indicated in Figure 8. 20% would move out to start a business while better quality housing would motivate only 7% to move out of their current location.

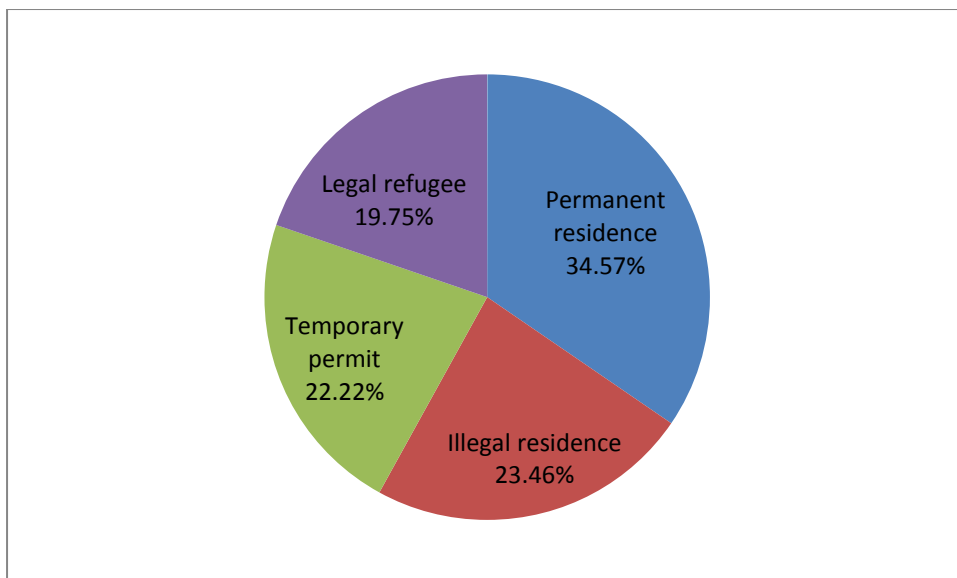


Figure 9: Immigration status

Nearly 35% of the surveyed respondents claimed to have a permanent South African residence status as indicated in Figure 9. Illegal migrants formed the second largest sub-group

at 23.5% of the surveyed population while temporary residence-permit holders and legal refugees accounted for approximately 22% and 20%, respectively. 52% of the respondents came from rural areas.

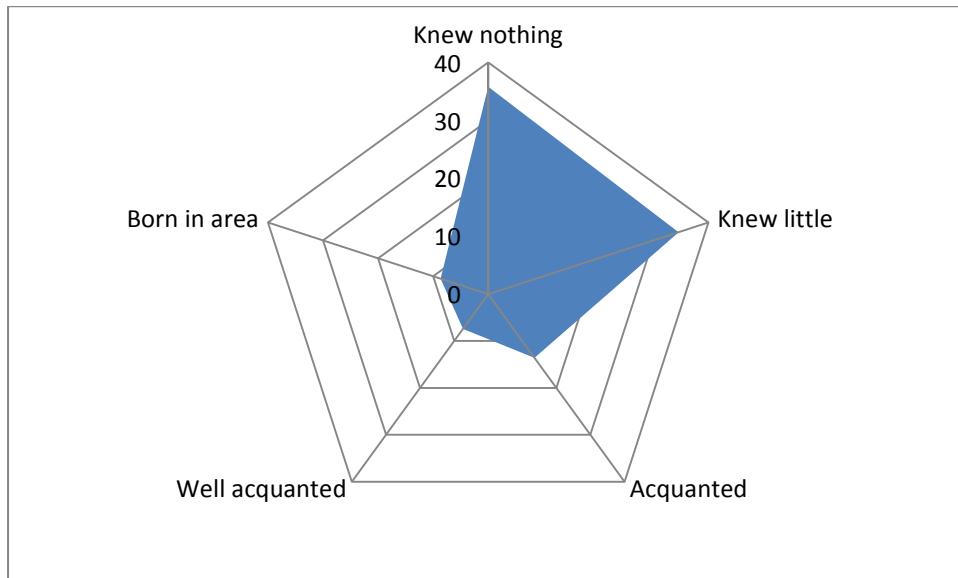


Figure 10: Knowledge of area before moving in

About 36% of the shack-farm tenants said they knew nothing of the area as opposed to approximately 35% who knew a little about the area before moving, as indicated in Figure 10. Prior knowledge of the area did not have had a significant influence in the respondents' decision to move into the area.

Table 2: Intended length of stay

Intended length of stay	Number of people	Percentage
One month	3	3.7
1-6 months	1	1.2
6-12 months	17	21.0
1-5 years	31	38.3
5-10 years	11	13.6
10 years or more	18	22.2
Total	81	100

The largest portion of the respondents (38.3%) declared intentions to stay in their current location for a medium duration period of between 1 and 5 years as indicated in Table 2. Those who intended to stay for more than 5 years constituted approximately 35.8% of the population. Only 25.9% of the residents intended only to remain for a short term period of less than a year.

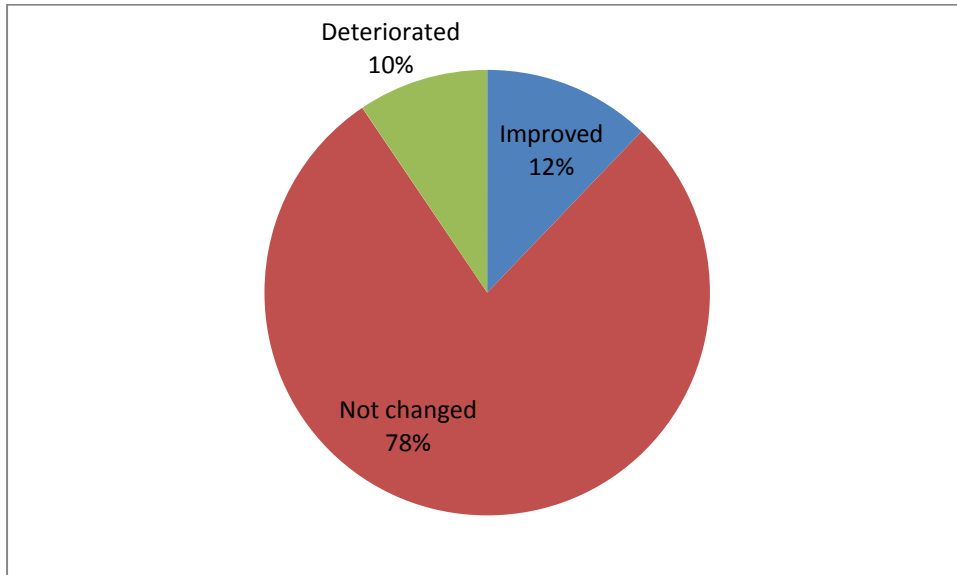


Figure 11: Health status

Of the 74 respondents who moved into their current residence from elsewhere, 78% reported their health status to have not changed since moving into current residence as indicated in Figure 11. 12% of the respondents' health improved and 10% of respondents experienced some form deterioration in their health.

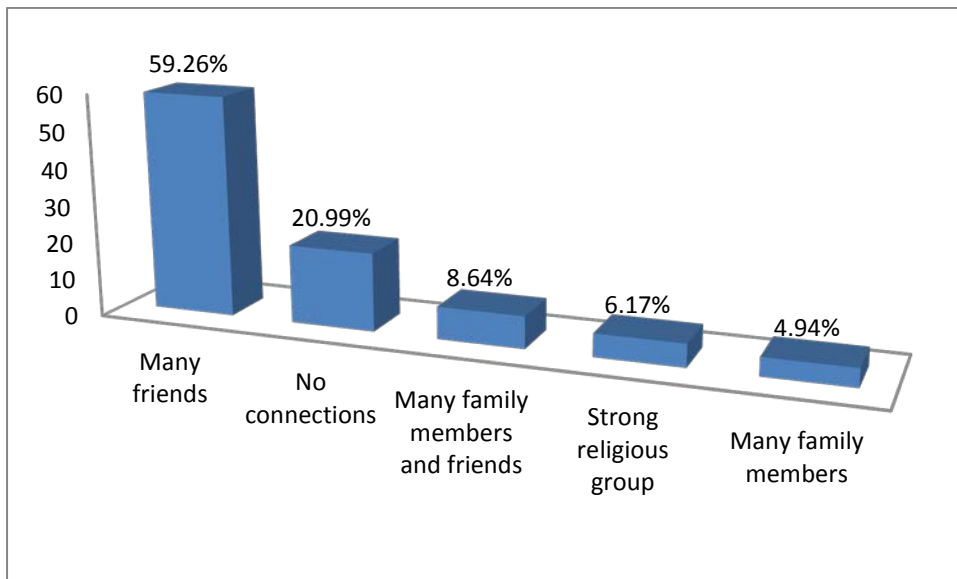


Figure 12: Social network

79% of the respondents claimed to have had a social network of one kind or the other in the local area, with 72.8% of the respondents well-connected with many friends and/or family members in the local area, as indicated in Figure 12. Close to 21% of the residents claimed to have no social connections in the area.

4.3 ECONOMIC AND INCOME DYNAMICS

Table 3: Employment status

Employment status	Number of people	Percentage
Informally employed	41	57.7
Self-employed/own business	18	25.4
Formally employed	3	4.2
Housewives	3	4.2
Unemployed but looking	3	4.2
Scholars	2	2.8
Unemployed but not looking	1	1.4
Total	71	100

More than half (57.7%) of the shack-farm tenants of working age were informally employed at the time of the survey while 25.3% of them were self-employed., contrasted with only 4.2% who were formally employed, as indicated in Table 3. The unemployment rate was 12.7%, of which only 4.2% were actively seeking employment.

Table 4: Occupation

Occupation	Standard Industrial Classification	Skill level	Number of people	Percentage
Labourer (non-farm)	Elementary occupations	unskilled	12	16.9
Farmworker/labourer	Elementary occupations	unskilled	11	15.49
Domestic worker	Elementary occupations	unskilled	10	14.08
Vendor/Business owner	Elementary occupations	unskilled	6	8.45
Builder	Craft and related trade	Semi-skilled	6	8.45
Waitress	Sales and services	Semi-skilled	2	2.82
Electrician	Craft and related trade	Semi-skilled	2	2.82
Welder	Craft and related trade	Semi-skilled	2	2.82
Driver	Craft and related trade	Semi-skilled	2	2.82
Plumber	Craft and related trade	Semi-skilled	1	1.41
Hairdresser	Sales and services	Semi-skilled	1	1.41
Thatcher	Craft and related trade	Semi-skilled	1	1.41
Tiler	Craft and related trade	Semi-skilled	1	1.41
Car washer	Elementary occupations	unskilled	1	1.41
Shop Assistant	Sales and services	Semi-skilled	1	1.41
Recycler	Elementary occupations	N/A	2	2.82
Unemployed, Housewives and scholars	No classification	N/A	10	14.08
Total			71	100

Apart from the 16.9% that were either unemployed, or housewives, or scholars or in unspecified occupations, the rest were in unskilled and semi-skilled occupation. Over 54.9% of the shack-dwellers reported to be in unskilled occupations, as indicated in Table 4. Farm labourers (15.5%) were the second ranked occupation category after the non-farm labourers (16.9%).

More than half of the employed (56.5%) were employed in the neighbouring agricultural holdings of Bon Accord and Pyramid while approximately 31% worked in the neighbouring suburbs within a 10 kilometre radius, notably Doornpoort, Sinoville, Montana, Rosslyn,

Pretoria North, and Wonderboom and in the CBD. The remainder of the workers said they worked part-time in different locations in the city.

45% of the working population travelled a walking distance of less than 30 minutes to work while 53% of them travelled a distance of more than 30 minutes walking but less than 30 minutes driving time to work.

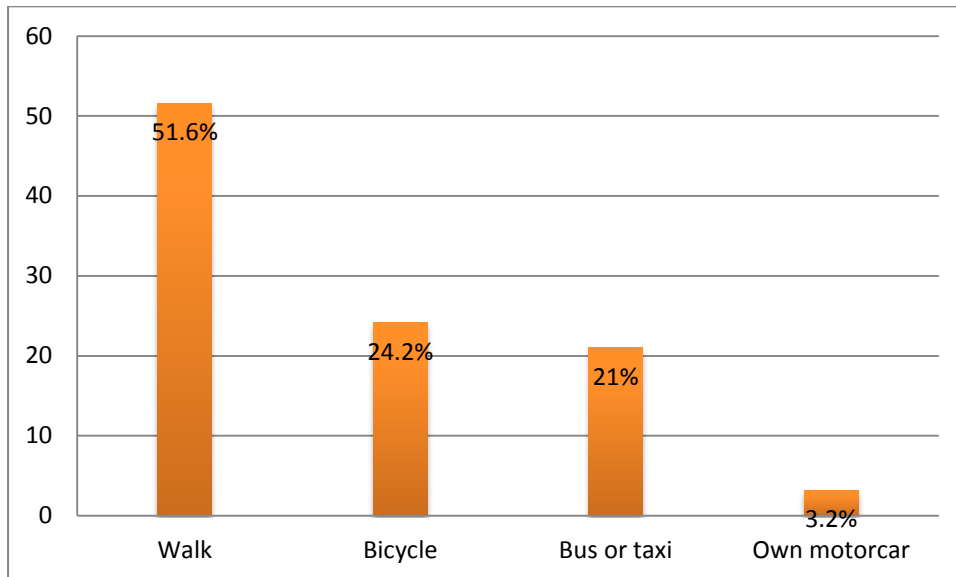


Figure 13: Main transportation mode

The largest proportion (51.6%) of the working population walked to work, as indicated in Figure 13. Users of bicycles as a transport mode made 24.2% whereas 21% relied on public transport (buses and taxis).

Table 5: Aggregate monthly household income

Income category	Number of households	Percentage
R0-R400	0	0
R401-R800	2	4.0
R801-R1600	9	18.0
R1601-R3200	16	32.0
R3201-R6400	16	32.0
R6401 and more	7	14.0
Total	50	100

Most of the households' aggregated monthly salary fell between two income categories, as indicated in table 5. The R1 601-R3 200 and the R3 201-R6 402 categories together contributed equally to make up 64% of the income earners while 18% of the households earned an aggregate income of R801-R1 600, only 4% earned an income of R800 or less per month. 14% earned an income of R6 401 or more. Informal employment and self-employment in the informal sector contributed to 90% of the household income while formal employment contributed only 10% of household income.

4.4 TENANT RELATIONSHIP



Figure 14: Relationship between tenants and neighbours

Half (50%) of the respondents had a good relationship with the residents in the neighbouring plots, while 26% cited their relationship to be very good, as indicated in Figure 14.

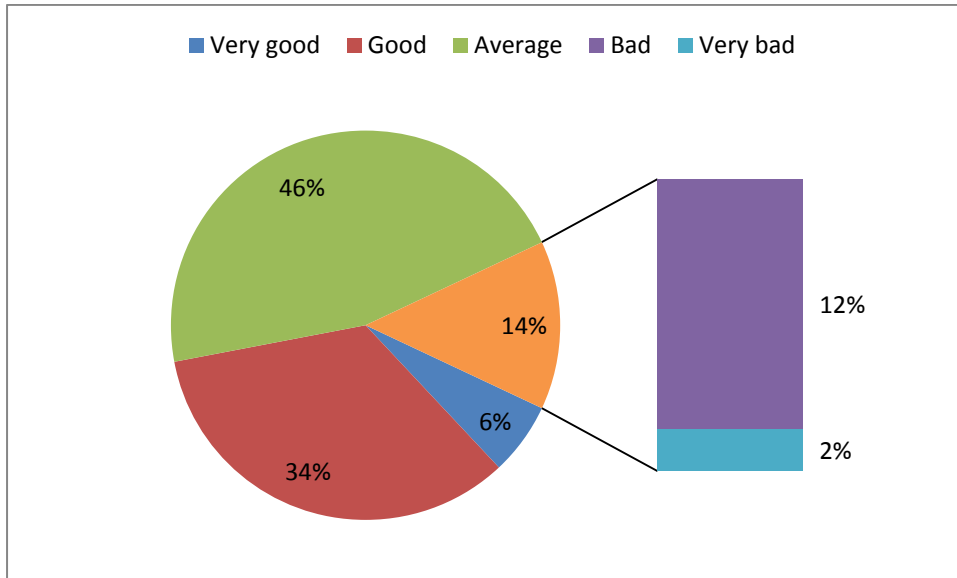


Figure 15: Relationship between tenants and landlords

Whereas 46% of the tenant population thought their relationship with their landlords was average, 40% believed theirs was either very good or good, as indicated in Figure 15.

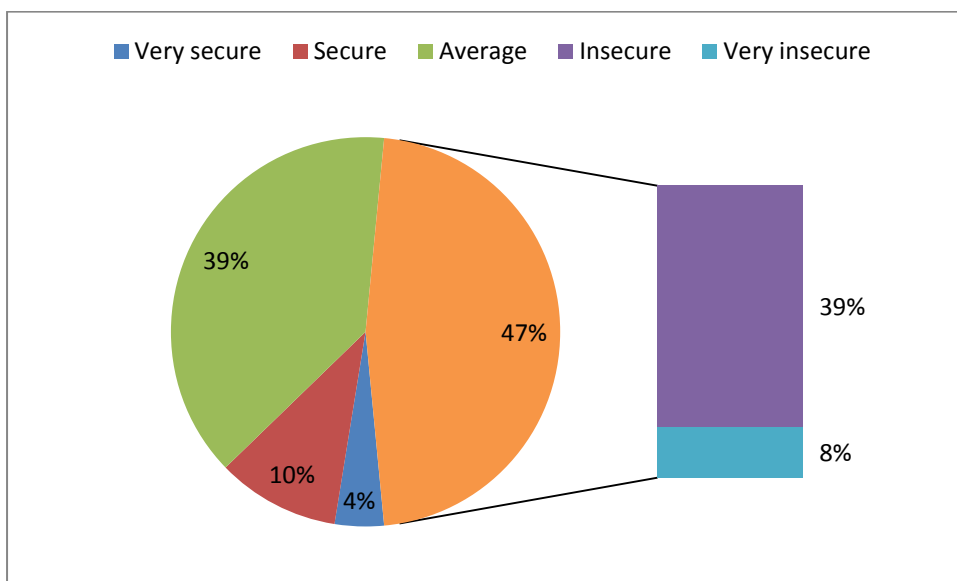


Figure 16: Tenure security

All dwellings were rented. Altogether the tenants who felt either insecure or very insecure made 48% of the population against 14% who felt either very secure or secure, as indicated in Figure 16. Locking out occupants from the building was cited as the most likely action to be taken by the landlord in the event the tenant did not pay rent. 42% of residents claimed that

the demolition of the shack by the landlord's agents and the sale of material at the scrap yard to recover the rent, as the most likely action in the event of continued non-payment.

Table 6: Monthly rent for building

Rent amount	Number of households	Percentage
R200	22	44
R250	9	18
R325	15	30
R600	4	8
Total	50	100

R200 was the predominant amount of rent paid by 44% of the tenants per month, as indicated in Table 6. Those who paid monthly rents of R325, R250 and R600 were 30%, 18% and 8%, respectively. The average monthly rental amount was calculated to be R278.50 per household and about R172.00 per person. All the shacks were single room with multiple uses units. 54% of the tenants paid their rent to the landlord in person. 46% paid to a rent collector not representing the landlord. Two of the plots practicing shack-farming were managed by people other than the property owners. They sublet the property for shack-farming and the owners neither lived on the property nor were involved in the practice.

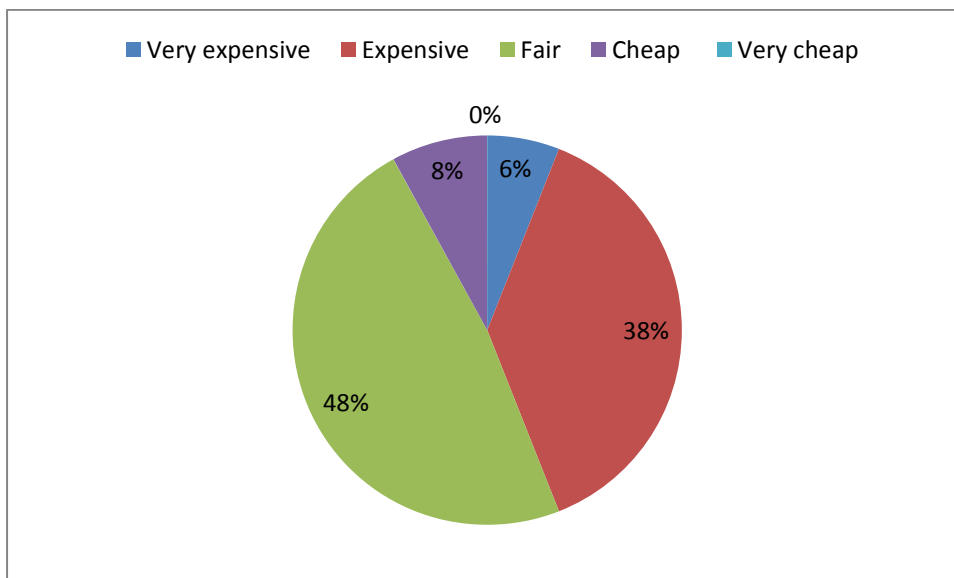


Figure 17: Tenants view of rent

Over half (56%) of the respondents believed the rent they were paying was cheap or fair, as indicated in Figure 17. Those who viewed the rent as either expensive or very expensive were 44%.

4.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DWELLING UNITS

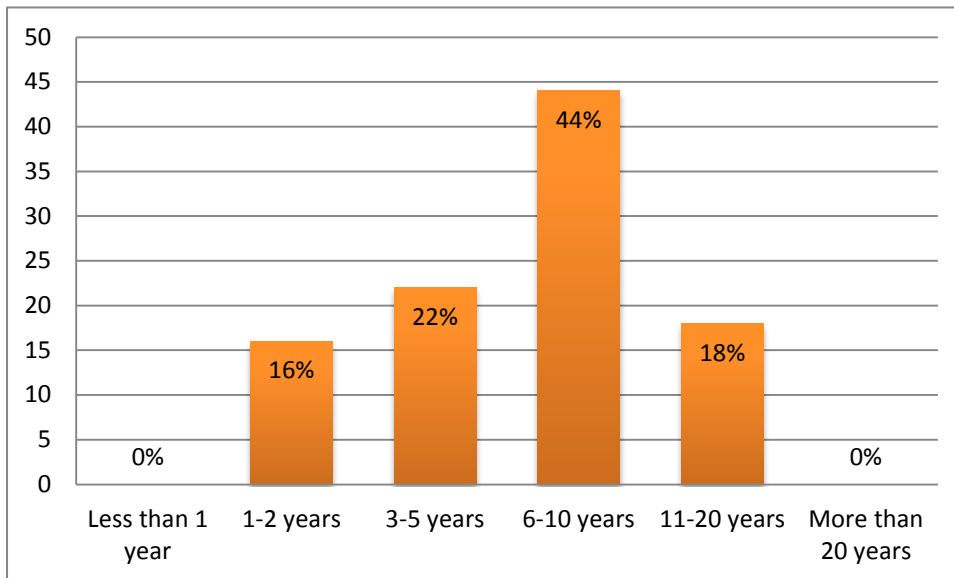


Figure 18: Age of shacks

Almost two-thirds (62%) of the shacks were older than 6 years with 44% reported to have been 6-10 years old and 18% having been constructed 11 to 20 years prior. Interestingly, no shack was reported to have been constructed in the eleven months prior or more than twenty years before the survey.

Approximately 70% of the shack walls were constructed with corrugated iron/zinc sheets followed by wood in 22% of the shacks. Most of the flooring found in the survey area was concrete (76%) while the remainder either had ground floors or carpeted floors. Corrugated iron/zinc sheets were used to construct the roof structures of all the shacks. The average size of the shacks was 9.13 square metres with shacks ranging in size from 3 square metres for the smallest to 16 square metres for the largest. 54% of the shacks were constructed by the tenants themselves or bought from a previous occupant while the rest were constructed by the landlords.

Only 3 (6%) of the respondents shacks had an electricity connection. The high cost of electricity was the principal reason for the decision not to connect. Paraffin, followed by gas was the most prevalent source of energy respectively used by 62% and 42% of the households. A large proportion (82%) of the shacks did not have any toilet facility and used nearby bushes. 14% of the households used a pit latrine without a ventilation pipe. Except for one household the residents stated they did not receive refuse removal but dumped their refuse at a common point for periodic burning.

Piped (tap) water was available onsite to 80% of the households while the rest accessed their water from boreholes on site. 95% of those with water access were charged an amount of 50c per container if the owner had a copy of the tenant's identity document, otherwise the recipient was charged R2.00 a container if the owner did not have the tenant's ID.

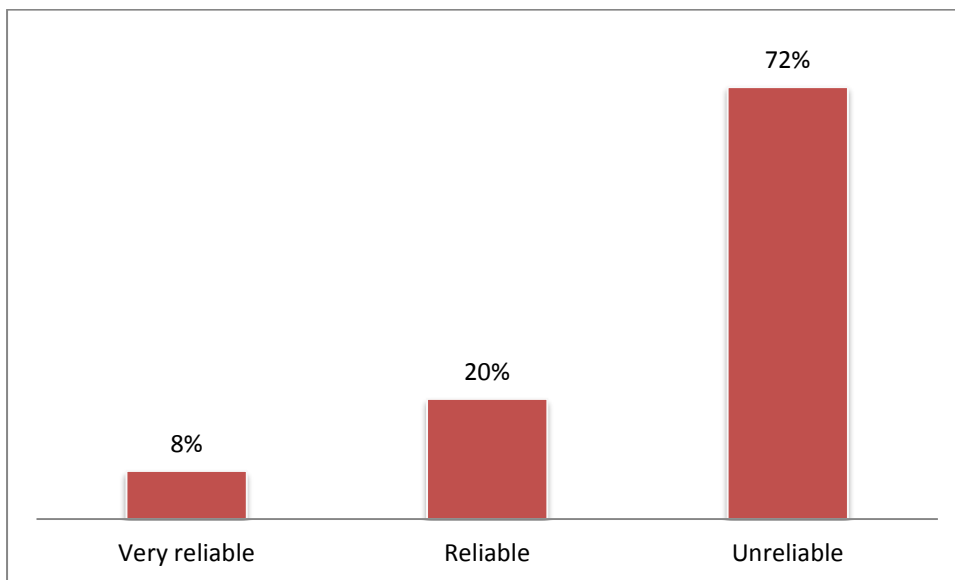


Figure 19: Water supply reliability

A staggering 72% of the households from the three shack-farms considered the water supply in the shack-farms as unreliable due to periodic interruptions, while 28% viewed the water supply as reliable. Households with access to electricity reported the electricity supply to have been reliable.

All households had a bed and a cell phone. Evidently, all households had some kind of stove or another. 64% of the households owned a paraffin stove while 62% owned either an electric stove or gas stove. 42% owned a radio. Only two (4%) households owned a refrigerator, a PC

or laptop, a television set, a DVD player or a motorcar, and those two households owned all these items.

78% of the respondents said the onus was on the tenant to maintain the property. 18% said the property was maintained by the landlord but rarely, while 4% said the landlord maintained the property only when necessary.

4.6 NEIGHBOURS' CHARACTERISTICS

Six households from plots bordering the shack-farms were interviewed. All of them were South African nationals, five being white and one black. Three of respondents were over 65 years old and the other three fell between the ages of 45 and 55. Half of the respondents had moved into their current dwelling between 1980 and 1990, two had moved in between 1991 and 1999 and the last one after 2000.

Two of the neighbours described their relationship with the shack-farms tenants as average. Two described it as good and very good while two stated they had no relationship or any problem with the tenants but sympathised with the shack-farm dwellers. However, all the neighbouring landlords felt insecure or very insecure about the proximity of the shack farm residents to their properties. Theft was considered the biggest problem with many break-ins experienced, with declining property values, violent crime, noise, sewage and environmental decline regarded as important problems caused by shack farms. Drug dealing and the possession and use of unlicensed firearms were also said to be prevalent in the area because of the presence of shack farms.

Four neighbours had no relationship with the shack-farm landlords. Another two described their relationship with the shack farm landlords as average. A group of plot owners previously unsuccessfully tried to collectively purchase one of the plots accommodating the shacks in an attempt to rid the area of shacks.

All of the neighbours said the shack-farms were not maintained and believed the responsibility was placed on the tenants to maintain their shacks. They had not seen any reaction from the municipality though there was always police presence in the area. All the neighbouring plot owners estimated the shack-farming practice to have been going on for a period of between 10 and 20 years, despite the shared perception that the practice was illegal.

Three of the neighbours did not benefit from the presence of the shack farm but three had employees living there. Five of the plot owners stated they would not consider doing shack-farming but one considered doing shack-farming as it seemed to be a viable business with no opposition from the local municipality.

4.7 LANDLORDS' CHARACTERISTICS

Only one shack-farm landlord's household participated in the survey, the other two declined to participate.

The household had two members, a father and son belonging to the white population group. Both were South African citizens, with the elder born in the Western Cape and having moved into the current plot 34 years ago, while the younger was born in the current dwelling. The landlord is an early pensioner and the son unemployed, with both dependent on shack-farming as their main source of income estimated to be R30 000 per month based on an average of R200.00 per dwelling per month directly paid to the landlord.

All the available shacks were leased and it was not difficult to find tenants as the shacks were in high demand. They described the relationship between the shack-farm dwellers and the neighbouring plots' occupants as good but the relationship between the neighbours and the landlord as bad because they did not approve of him accommodating shacks on his plot. In his view, the relationship between him and his tenants was also good.

The respondent estimated that there were 10 shacks constructed this year, 50 shacks constructed between 3-5 years ago, 45 shacks constructed between 6-10 years ago, 35 shacks constructed between 11-20 years ago and 10 shacks constructed more than 20 years ago. All the shacks were single rooms with multiple uses. The respondents estimated the average stay of the occupants to be between one and five years. The shacks were mainly self-constructed by the tenants out of corrugated iron sheets and concrete flooring. The units are on average 9m² and the maintenance of the shacks was the responsibility of the tenants themselves. Due to the high cost of electricity, the units were not connected to the municipal electricity supply, with paraffin the main source of energy. They had no toilet and refuse removal facilities on site; however, there was access to piped municipal water on site which had been reliable in the preceding twelve months.

The respondents confirmed that in the event of non-payment of rent, the shack was demolished and the materials sold to recoup the rent. The landlords did not belong to any association of landlords. Insofar as the legality of shack-farming is concerned, the respondents believed it was a grey area. Although they were prosecuted by the municipality, the case was dismissed as the practice was widely practised throughout the north of Tshwane and thus the municipality could not issue an order of eviction isolated from other land use violations in the municipality.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The study has revealed that international migrants deliberately chose to reside in the shack-farms and that the migrants mostly received temporary employment in the neighbouring agricultural holdings and neighbouring suburbs. Due to their close proximity to potential temporary employment opportunities on local farms, industrial centres and homes, shack-farms offer the most affordable type of residence for international circular migrant workers in the Bon Accord area.

The majority of the shack-dwellers are international migrants, predominantly unmarried, young males of working age from Zimbabwe. Most of the South African-born residents were children born to non-South African parents. The majority of the working age residents had not completed secondary education and were informally employed in unskilled labour and semi-skilled crafts. Most residents were employed in the neighbouring agricultural holdings and suburbs and most residents walked or cycled to work. A significant amount of residents were self-employed in informal businesses.

Whilst employment opportunities were the predominant reason for the resident's move to current location, prior knowledge of the area seems not to have had an influence in the people's decision to move into the area. However, the strong prevalence of social networks in the shack-farming community evidently influenced the low turnover rate of residents. Separation from family topped the motivations for moving out of current residence. It could therefore be concluded that although they envisaged staying in current location for a considerable length of time, most of the shack-dwellers are in temporary residence, intending to emigrate home to their families in the long term.

It could be safe to say the shack-farming practice in the area started more than twenty years ago and therefore something that will be around for a long-term, more so that the landlords depend on it for a living and some of the tenants intend to stay there in the long term. All the residents of the informal settlements were renters. A significant proportion of which believed the rent they paid which averaged R278.50 per shack or R172.00 per person was fair. The shacks were generally constructed from cheap materials including corrugated iron sheeting and concrete floors. Whereas water availability was sometimes irregular, electricity, toilet and refuse removal services were almost universally not available, rendering the living conditions sub-standard.

Despite the illicit nature of shack-farming, its proliferation is driven by a constant demand for affordable, well-located temporary housing for circular migrant workers and its viability as a potential source of income for the landlords.

Notwithstanding the favourable perceptions of their relationships with the shack-farming tenants, a perception which is shared by the surveyed tenants, and the fact that some of them had employees living in the location, all the neighbours felt either insecure or very insecure about the proximity of the shack settlements. They stated theft, violent crime, noise pollution, water pollution as some of the negative spill-overs of the practice. They regarded shack-farming practice as illegal, contributing to declining property values.

The survey has confirmed that international circular labour migrants' need for affordable temporary accommodation closer to potential job opportunities in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings leads to the existence and proliferation of shack-farms because international circular migrant workers deliberately chose to reside in shack-farms in the Bon Accord Agricultural Holdings for their affordability, proximity to work and the existence of extensive local social networks. In spite of these conveniences, the tenants did not have tenure security or proper public services and their existence in the area was seen by the neighbouring landlords as resulting in negative spill-over effects in the neighbourhood. It would be safe to conclude that unless the authorities take drastic action to enforce municipal regulations, the practice will continue indefinitely.

South Africa's liberal immigration policies and its regional competitive economic advantage have made it an attractive destination for foreign migrants, particularly from SADC countries. Migrants who find employment in the agricultural holdings and neighbouring areas are

incentivised to lease property in shack-farms due to the limited availability of affordable temporary low-cost housing, the high transportation costs and the intermittent availability of employment in those areas. Some landowners with underutilised land have thus allocated the land to tenants to erect large numbers of rental shacks, creating rental shanty towns.

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