

**WELL-LOCATED LAND FOR LOW-INCOME HOUSING AS A MEANS  
TOWARDS ACHIEVING IMPROVEMENTS IN LIVING STANDARDS AND  
QUALITY OF LIFE OF LOW-INCOME PEOPLE. A CASE STUDY OF EAST  
WIGGINS FAST TRACK.**

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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father Mthetho Hudson Mpantsha and my mother Beauty Magambu Mpantsha for their support. Without you I would not be what I am today.

*MANY THANKS MAKHULUKHULU*

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## CHAPTER ONE

### PROBLEM FORMULATION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Land distribution (especially for housing) is an area where the inequalities of apartheid planning were particularly apparent. Housing at that time was seen as a political tool for implementing apartheid laws. As a consequence, land and housing delivery by the apartheid government in South Africa posed a number of problems including commuting long distances to and from work, high transport costs in terms of money and time, lack of infrastructure and services for low-income people.

The apartheid planning laws were dominated by a belief in the separation of land-use. Group Areas Act removed Blacks from white urban areas and placed them in peripheral areas. As a result, Black residential areas were far from the city centres, while Coloured and Indians residential areas acted as buffers between the formerly Black and White areas. White areas were situated most opportunely in well-connected areas. The resulting spatial form has been extremely costly both in direct economic terms as well as in social terms. In economic terms, low-income people have been forced to travel long distances to and from work. This has resulted in high transport costs. In social terms, there was segregation and inequalities in service levels. Due to Group Areas Act which removed the poor from well-located land, the poor came to be located in areas which are not conducive to live in, for example, land next to industrial areas, along the rivers etc (Dewar in Housing Generator, 1997).

For the South African democratic government, it became imperative to attempt to address these imbalances that were created in the past and to attempt to construct an equitable society. The democratic elections of 1994 brought about changes within the constitutional and planning field. The constitution advocates that all people should have access to adequate housing. The White Paper on Housing Policy (1994) shows the need to establish viable socially and economically integrated communities, situated in well-located areas that have convenient access to

economic opportunities, as well as health, educational and social facilities. In part, the state facilitated this process by providing subsidies to low-income people who qualified in terms of the established criteria.

A number of laws and policies in support of restructuring were passed. The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) was promulgated in 1995 to bridge the gap between the old planning laws and the new planning system reflecting the needs and priorities of the democratic South Africa. The Act introduced the principles that must guide land development and decision making, aiming at urban restructuring, fast track development and delivery. It strives towards achieving and promoting integrated planning in South Africa (Development and Planning Commission, 1995).

The Urban Development Framework (1997) is the main policy guideline for the implementation of the Habitat Agenda in South Africa. It aims at promoting a consistent urban development policy approach for effective urban reconstruction and development. It focuses on four programmes which are integrating city and region, improving housing and infrastructure, promoting economic development, and creating institutions for delivery.

## 1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The democratic government of South Africa through its policies, especially in housing, aims at providing well-located housing for low-income people. This is based on the argument that apartheid government marginalised the poor spatially and undermined their position. Housing development for low-income people on well-located land has been seen as one of the fundamental instruments that can be used to address the past imbalances.

The vision behind this approach is to ensure an integrated, compact, equitable and sustainable metropolitan region as opposed to the problems of spatial inequalities, physical separation and isolation, destructive urban sprawl, social and physical unsustainability that characterised the apartheid city. In turn that would improve the living standard of the poor. Policies, laws (like DFA and UDF) and planners including Dewar & Watson (1991) and Mabin & Smit (1997) argue for new spatial developments in order to overcome the segregation and separation of the apartheid city. Then the metropolitan planning has to examine and address various aspects of the legacy of apartheid spatial planning. Housing development has been seen as one of the instruments that can be used to address the imbalances of the past.

Various authors (like BESG, 2000, Makhathini, 1999 and Todes(1998) have shown the constraints to the provision of well-located housing for low-income people. The availability of well- located land has become a major constraint in putting housing programmes into practice, especially regarding the delivery of low-income housing. Makhathini (1999, BESG (2000) and Todes (1998) see access to well-located land as a major constraint to urban restructuring. They note the operation of land markets, where the demand for land tends to force the price of land upwards, making it unaffordable for poor people resulting in the location of low-income housing far from the Central Business District (CBD). As a result they experience long commuter distances and high transport costs which impacts negatively on their improvements

on living standards and undermine the improvements of quality of life. Furthermore, the Land Policy allows the operation of the market, making it difficult to provide suitable and adequate land for low-income people. The poor are at a disadvantage because they cannot afford to access suitable and adequate land (Lombard, 1995).

Based on the above discussion, it becomes clear that there is a relationship between the price of land and its accessibility to locations in the urban areas. The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements argues that, the land in prime locations in the city command a higher price than land that is relatively inaccessible. The location of economic activities and residences and also the location of service networks influence the accessibility of land. Unfortunately, low-income people can only afford the residential land found on the periphery of the urban areas.

The peripheral areas are characterised by insufficient job opportunities and insufficient public facilities that can have a negative impact on housing improvement. One can argue that cheap peripheral land entails high transport costs in terms of money and time as compared to areas located in proximity to central business district. However, low-income people need to be located on suitable and adequate land so that they can improve their quality of life as argued in housing policy. This policy aims to achieve long term goals of sustainability in terms of individuals and communities rights to housing.

Smit (1994) argues that the peripheral location of low-income people where they experience excessive travel to and from work can cause severe stress and unacceptable financial burden. On the other hand, this can impact negatively on housing improvement because many hours are spent on travelling and the consolidation process can be slow.

There has been an overwhelming tendency to assume that the poor will want to locate in the areas that maximise their access to urban opportunities; for example, employment opportunities as well as recreation facilities, infrastructure and services. As a result they will pay less for transport and save a lot to improve their living standards and quality of life. Dewar and Watson (1991) policy and law also argue for this idea of locating poor in proximity to CBD as opposed to apartheid city.

Therefore the central aim of this dissertation is to assess whether well-located land for low-income housing projects makes a difference as assumed. This study will examine the extent to which the living standards and the quality of life of the beneficiaries have improved, as they are located in proximity to the Durban CBD (approximately 9 kilometres from the city centre). It will pay attention to low-income housing project beneficiaries who are close to CBD, in trying to assess the impact of the location on their living standard and quality of life. It will also try to assess their attitudes and perception of their present location.

## **1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION**

Does well-located housing project in East Wiggins Fast Track help the low-income people to improve their living standards and quality of life?

### **1.2.1 SUBSIDIARY QUESTIONS**

Issues related to the study that will help to get information for the above question will be tackled under the following subsidiary questions:

How did beneficiaries get access to this housing?

Who has access?

What work do they do and where?

How long do they take to reach working places?

How much does the transport cost?

During working hours, where do children stay?

Does the location of the area help the beneficiaries to access employment and sources of informal income?

How has the location impacted on consolidation?

How has the location affected their living standards and quality of life?

What kind of infrastructure and services do they have access to?

### **1.3 HYPOTHESIS**

The location of low-income people in the Wiggins Fast Track housing project close to the city centre has led to an improvement in their living standards and quality of life.

### **1.4 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

#### **1.4.1 HOUSING PROJECTS**

Housing projects can be defined as the development projects that aim to bring to communities houses, services and basic infrastructure. This study focuses on state housing project developed with the aim of bridging the affordability gap among the poor. This is facilitated by the provision of subsidy to those who qualified according to the established criteria. The levels of subsidy are different and they are determined by household income. For example households earning R0-R800 get a subsidy of R15 000, R801-R1500 get R12 500, R1501-R2500 get R9 500 and R2501-R3500 get R5 000 (UDF, 1997). These housing projects are called low-cost or income housing projects. Housing delivery includes the delivery of land where people obtain tenure rights, infrastructure and services.

#### **1.4.2 LIVING STANDARDS**

Living standards as used in this study are determined by many factors such as access to adequate housing, services and infrastructure, access to facilities and housing improvements and low transport costs. Maximum access to the mentioned factors led to better living standards. Living standards are also affected by economic status.

### **1.4.3 QUALITY OF LIFE**

Yeld (1997) links the quality of life with the services such as an adequate housing, electrification and access to clean water. The purpose of these services is to enable people to enjoy long, healthy and fulfilling lives. A person's quality of life refers to the link between the person and his or her immediate and broader surroundings that provide a sense of satisfaction that meet their individual needs. It is noted that an improved quality of life can create a greater sense of well being within a person or a community, and it can be aesthetic, recreational or even economical (ICLEI Local Agenda 21 Planning Guide, 1996).

Quality of life generally includes personal development, physically and mentally health of the individual, socially as well as culturally. It is important for every society. For this study, it is something that can be determined by a number of factors including access to adequate housing, housing improvements, access to services and infrastructure, access to transport, close to employment areas, commuting short distances in terms of transport costs and time and access to social and recreational facilities. The improvement of these factors or having access to them means better quality of life. If the beneficiaries achieve good living standards, definitely their quality of life is also good and vice-versa.

### **1.4.4 HOUSING BENEFICIARIES**

Housing beneficiaries for the study refer to those people who benefited from housing delivery or development. These beneficiaries are low-income people who qualified for subsidies in terms of the established criteria.

### **1.4.5 CLOSE TO THE CITY CENTRE**

Close to city centre for this research means paying less for transport, less time spent on commuting, proximity to central business district.

## **1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This section focuses on sources that have been used in gathering information for this study and that have helped in trying to answer the research question and to verify the hypothesis. The data that has been used in the study has been derived from both secondary and primary sources. The case study area for this research is East Wiggins Fast Track housing project, which is very close to the heart of Durban. It is part of Cato Manor which is one of Presidential lead Projects. It is seven kilometres from city centre and East Wiggins is approximately nine kilometres.

### **1.5.1 SECONDARY SOURCES**

The material has been accessed through libraries and housing organisations like, the Built Environment Support Group, Metro Housing, Urban Strategy and Cato Manor Development Association. The relevant information for the study has been drawn from Journals, research papers, and books that relate to local and international literature. The information the researcher has been looking for includes the issues related to the involvement of the apartheid government in the delivery process of land for housing the poor. The constraints that were caused by their system of land delivery for housing, and the changes that have been brought by the democratic government and their constraints to restructuring have been researched. The arguments put forward by various authors like Dewar and Watson (1991) in showing the importance of well-located land has been examined.



## **1.5.2 PRIMARY SOURCES**

### **1.5.2.1 CASE STUDY**

The East Wiggins Fast Track Housing project has been used as the case study. The researcher has chosen East Wiggins Fast Track as a case study because it is located close to the city centre, and has been developed for poor people. The road networks also make the area more accessible. The project is a good example of an attempt to restructure the apartheid city, which has tried to locate low-income people in well-located land.

The beneficiaries of East Wiggins Fast Track have been used as a source of information. They are important, as they are the beneficiaries (especially head of household) of the end product. They are the people who benefited from good location and who can tell the researcher more about the advantages of being located in the area. They are important when assessing the improvements in quality of life and living standards. To elicit information, a questionnaire in the form of interview was used. The researcher asked the respondents questions verbally and filled in the questionnaire. It has been helpful in gathering information from people who are illiterate. The beneficiary's questions are closed and open-ended where necessary. The information gathered from the beneficiaries is around the following issues: household composition, household savings, housing improvements, advantages and disadvantages of being located in the area, time budget, impact of the location on living standards and quality of life, access to facilities, infrastructure and services, and activities that are conducted at home to bring in an income outside of formal wages. This information has assisted the researcher to determine the impact of location on their living standards and quality of life.

### **1.5.2.2 SAMPLING**

East Wiggins Fast Track consists of 509 houses. The area is divided into three distinct settlements, the one close to Wiggins Multipurpose Centre, other close to Shayamoya housing project and the last one is next to the SPCA . Dunbar Rd and SPCA Access Rd border the last two settlements. The researcher used all the three settlements. Thirty houses were used as the sampled population for this study. The researcher used systematic sampling following Bailey (1987) where every seventeenth house was interviewed. The researcher targeted the head of household. In certain circumstances where the head of the household was not available the researcher interviewed wife/ husband or partner of the head.

## **1.6 Chapter Outline**

This is an overview of the remaining chapters that constitute this dissertation.

### **Chapter Two**

This chapter provides a literature review that helps in establishing conceptual framework for this study. It explores local and international experiences of well-located land for housing the poor. It reflects on the problems of the past government policy, the problem of distances and time. Arguments about well-located land for low-income housing development and its importance for the poor are discussed. Urban changes and the present housing policy are discussed. Policies and laws such as DFA and UDF are examined. The factors that hinder the restructuring of the apartheid city are discussed in this chapter.

### **Chapter Three**

This chapter incorporates the historical background of the case study area, which is East Wiggins Fast Track. The impact of apartheid and its resistance, reforms and developments, funding for the project, sub-communities in Cato Manor, allocation of sites to the beneficiaries of East Wiggins Fast Track, access to facilities, services and infrastructure are discussed in this chapter. Future opportunities are also discussed.

### **Chapter Four**

This chapter is concerned with the analysis and the presentation of findings of the case study. Issues including the ways in which the beneficiaries get access and the areas they lived previously; the reasons why they move to this area; the types of ownership; feelings of the beneficiaries about their location, the problems they experience in the area; impact of location in their living standards and quality of life are discussed. Transport, time budget; employment informal business; household income; access to facilities; shopping areas; infrastructure and services are analysed in this chapter. Housing improvements are also discussed. The researcher is examining the impact of location on the improvement of the beneficiaries' living standards and quality of life. Both descriptive and explanatory approaches are used in analysing the data.

### **Chapter Five**

This chapter provides conclusion arising from the main areas of the study and the recommendations for the future research and policy.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

In order to understand the dynamics surrounding land location for low-cost housing projects and the effect it has on the improvement of the living standard of the beneficiaries, it is important to understand the debates that have been posed by various authors. The problems created by the past government through its planning laws, the debates on distance and time budget will be discussed. The importance of locating poor in well-located land will be discussed. Changes happened after the democratic election of 1994 and even before, various policies, acts, pieces of legislation were passed in attempting to address the apartheid city. The housing policy (1994), Development Facilitation Act (1995) and the Urban Development Framework (1997) will be discussed as they emphasise and promote the idea of restructuring. Factors that constrain restructuring towards compaction will be discussed.

#### **2.1 SOUTH AFRICAN CITY-THE PROBLEMS OF THE PAST**

##### **2.1.1 ACCESS TO WELL-LOCATED LAND FOR HOUSING.**

The apartheid government and its planning laws deprived Africans of the right to land and did not view housing in a holistic way. It simply saw housing as the provision of shelter, ignoring access to well-located land and employment, and to the creation of a good social and physical environment which has the potential to contribute to an improvement of the living standards and quality of life of the beneficiaries. The environments that have resulted were unfailingly monotonous, sterile and non-supportive. These were desperately poor places to live in, even where levels of

shelter were reasonably high. Dewar (in Housing Generator, 1997) states that the quality of urban environment is not determined primarily by the quality of individual building but by the quality of the public spatial environment.

A racist planning system was used during the apartheid era and this involved the development of separate locations for Africans. Africans, Indians and Coloreds were separated from one another and from the White minority. The exclusion of African people from towns was the central feature of the system. The racial barriers were made more or less permanent by buffer strips. Planning took political ideology as its starting point rather than something based on a people-centered and environmental ethic. The apartheid laws also led to a policy of separate development. The application of separate development ideology gave rise to a city structure in which Blacks were relegated to peripheral townships where most live in poverty, suffering from inadequate educational, health, business and recreational facilities and where it was necessary to make long journeys to and from work.

The highly discriminatory nature of Group Areas Act clearly benefited the White population disproportionately. The Act removed African from areas that were too close to the city centres and were reserved for the Whites. Africans were located far away from the city centres and not linked to the city road network (Dewar in Housing Generator, 1997). This resulted in a problem of travelling long distances to and from work and extensive time demands as will be presented below.

The Development and Planning Commission and the Department of Land Affairs (1997) state that the apartheid planning system was characterized by a number of issues including, fragmentation, controls and modernist influences. Dewar and Watson (1991) also outline the characteristics of the apartheid city. They argue that it was characterised by sprawling and low density form. This form had negatively affected the informal sector. It made it difficult to combine living space with income-generating activity, which would reduce location and service costs. Therefore the people operating in the informal sector had to pay for separate and specialised locations and services, and for travel costs to and from points where they can legally operate.

Furthermore, Dewar and Watson (1991) also stated that South African cities were characterized by fragmented, coarse-grained nature of the urban fabric. They further argue that town planning has been informed by the assumption that a social community can be created in new residential areas by designing them as physically separate and self-contained suburbs. This practice has affected the urban system to generate employment opportunities. Bonteheuwel a low-income township of 44000 people in Cape Town provides a clear example of fragmented and inappropriate planning practices.

Bonteheuwel is separated from adjacent urban areas by major physical barriers in the form of freeways, a railway line, and a 'buffer' strip of open land. These transport routes were planned as specialized movement routes and commercial uses were prohibited from locating along them. Routes have a potential to locate economic activity of all kinds, but it was not realized. They only divide and fragment the urban areas. Land –use in the area was predominantly residential, and there were no work opportunities, shopping facilities, or social facilities enough to attract outsiders into the area. The local level shopping and social function in the area was designed to cater for the day-to-day needs of the residents. This environment resulted in constraints on the informal sector in Bonteheuwel (Dewar and Watson, 1991).

### **2.1.2 DISTANCE AND TIME BUDGET**

The inadequate provision of basic services and housing has a negative impact on women because they suffer most as compared to men. They are also forced to take responsibility for allocating limited basic resources to ensure the survival of their households. Miraftab (1994) in her study of 'housing preferences of female heads of low-income families in Guadalajara, Mexico' states that these conditions are more critical for women than men because they increase the domestic workload for women. Then that is why more literature presented in this study makes mention of women than men. Travelling long distances to and from work areas has been a problem of the Apartheid City. The structure of the Apartheid City consisted of extensive time demands, as they were located in the periphery due to racial

legislation. The people who were particularly affected were women due to their triple roles. Moser et al (1987) discusses the triple role that women are engaged in. She argues that women's work includes reproductive work: childbearing and rearing responsibilities; productive work where they work as primary or secondary income earners of the household and they are also community managers.

Cook (1987) studied African women living in black townships and who participated and formed a part of the labour force in South Africa. Her study shows the constraints associated with apartheid. Pretoria/ Soshanguve and Metropolitan Cape Town were used as study areas. These areas were far from the city centre, for example, Soshanguve is 37kilometres from the city centre. Working women were interviewed about their daily activity patterns. The majority of women interviewed were domestic workers. Cook (1987) states that these women were engaged in one or other of their dual roles from between 5 a.m and 6 a.m. until 9 p.m or 10 p.m. each week day. She states that women who were living in areas close to their places of employment did not have to be up and about for as long as women living in the periphery. Women living in Khayelitsha (Cape Town) spend 15 hours in various activities each day and in Soshanguve they spend 16 to 16 and a half hours per day and in busy days 18 hours. She argues that the time demand had given rise to stress symptoms among women studied in Khayelitsha (Cape Town) since they did not get enough sleep.

It has been noted that a shortage of one or two hours of sleep every night for women studied might have a great impact on their quality of life. However there were a lot of things expected from those tired women after work; for example they had to travel long distance every day because of the poor public transport system, they had to spend more time doing domestic work because of lack of services and infrastructure.

The women surveyed showed that they started work early by 07h00 and finished late after 17h00. The implication of the long working day was that they had only a few hours left each day in which to cram the journey to and from work, housekeeping and other personal issues. They did not have much time for leisure activities. She argues that the fact that housing is far from places of work and from shopping facilities means that time spent in traveling is far in excess of what one expects in a

city. Transport and the problems associated with undersleeping were major difficulties in their lives (Cook, 1987).

Posselthwyat (1986) discussed women in Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town. She argued that a number of women were forced to work due to the increased cost of living, where there was a need for two bread winners to pay the higher bond repayments and to make ends meet and the high rate of unemployment. She noted that the Group Areas Act had an effect on the transformation of household structures, where extended families were broken down into small nuclear families.

The working time of women forced them to do their shopping during weekends that is Saturday, as they started work early and finished late during work days. It was not possible also for women in formal employment to shop on the way to work even if they wished to do so. This necessitated another day waking up early because shops opened for a half-day. Although women were experiencing long commuter distances, they tended to use that as an opportunity to generate income. Long journeys were used to knit or do some crochet work and sew items for sale as well as for family members. There was no time for other activities; they visited friends during the holiday period. The nature of the Apartheid City was such that the distance constraint is the largest single factor that affected the daily time budget. The fact that housing was far from places of work and from shopping centres means that time spent travelling was far in excess of what one comes to expect in a city (Cook, 1987).

The apartheid city was also characterised by a lack of facilities and that impacted negatively on working women. With more women entering and remaining longer in the labour force, there was a need for more community facilities including crèches, day care centres and old age homes. The lack of facilities and the need to stay at home and look after children illustrate the fact that women often prefer to work in or close to home because of their domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, it underlines the importance of not separating the reproductive from the productive sphere (Posselthwyat, 1986).



The Durban Spatial Development Framework (1998) noted that the segregation of people and activities resulted in a mismatch between workers and jobs reflected in high levels of commuting between work and home especially for the poor. It is noted that the public transport system is inefficient because of low thresholds resulting from low densities around core areas and outward sprawl that makes it difficult to provide affordable and effective commuter transport systems. However, some of women in labour force were breadwinners of their families and this responsibility is in contrast with the assumption that all women are incorporated into nuclear family unit and that they are secondary wage earners.

## **2.2 ARGUMENTS ABOUT WELL-LOCATED LAND FOR LOW-INCOME HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE POOR**

Well-located land is seen as important for low-cost housing development. Eckstein (1990) in her study of inner-city slum and squatter settlement is important for this study though it does not look at low-income housing delivered by the government. Her study shows the importance of location for low-income people. She notes that those inner city squatter settlements and shantytowns offer cheap, self-made shelters, access to property usable for income generating rental and business purposes.

She further argues that people closer to the city centres are better off than people in the peripheries in terms of economic benefits. As the formal sector opportunities decline, the city centre residents are better located than residents in the periphery in terms of adapting to the changed structure of opportunity, for example once a person within the city loses his or her job, it becomes easy to go to the informal sector since they are located near or close to major commercial markets. They are at the advantage in competing in the informal sector (Eckstein, 1990).

Dewar and Watson (1991) discouraged the approach of channeling new urban growth to land beyond the urban fringe (such as Lovu housing project) but encouraged higher densities in well located land. Their argument is based on the idea of closer links between home and work and mixed use on site. They argued that well located land offers a number of advantages. These advantages include large,

easily accessible local market that promote economic densification and specialization, thus generate a wide range of economic opportunities. This kind of environment offers opportunities to small business, home based enterprise and informal sector; which is characterised by highly unregulated and labour intensive economic activities. The informal sector meets the socio-economic aspirations of the most economically disadvantaged people including the young and the old. The home-based production which consists of spaza shops, sewing, etc that form the informal sector is important in the sense that the owner experiences greater job satisfaction because he/she is working for his/her own well being and it is convenient for mothers with young children close to where they are working. Transport costs in terms of money and time can be reduced. However there are some disadvantages including the difficulty of separating work and personal life and distraction from family members or friends (Naidoo, 1999, Portes, et.al, 1989).

The studies conducted by Posselthwyat in Mitchell's Plain, Cook in Cape Town and Miraftab in Mexico also show the importance of not separating the reproductive from the productive sphere because of the domestic responsibilities women are involved in. They argued that housing close to the city centre makes it possible for women to combine the productive and reproductive demands more easily.

Housing projects located in proximity to employment and other social opportunities such as jobs, transport and social amenities are desirable for the poor as they will give them more opportunities for informal work as Eckstein (1990), Dewar and Watson (1991) are saying. Housing has a potential to generate income for the households. Van Huyck (1986) states that low-income housing is often used to generate income for its owner-occupier, through, for example, home based enterprise and subletting of space. Housing impacts positively on productivity, contributing to the economies of agglomeration associated with urbanisation. In South Africa it has a positive effect, creating new opportunities for earnings by low-income groups. Well-located areas are also desirable for the renters, giving people in the area additional income

Dubazana (in Kentridge, 1996) points out that in black townships, backyard shacks are often built for rental accommodation, while extra space in the formal housing unit

is also rented out. Housing is also used as a location for variety of small enterprises: from spaza shops to hair salons, income from which constitutes a direct return on the initial investment. This emphasises the role housing can play for the economy. Smit & McCarthy (1991) state that housing can play a “kick-starting” role in the economy.

Spence et.al (1993) states that the potential contribution to economic development from the provision of housing is more contentious. It is noted that housing in the past has been recognised as a basic human need and an important contributor to human well being. For this reason, it has been regarded as consumption, as opposed to an investment good. Researchers showed that housing might serve not only as a stimulus for saving and investment among low-income groups, but also as a vehicle for the generation of additional income and wealth. For many low-income residents in the cities of developing countries, the house is not only a place to live but also a place of work. A survey undertaken in Colombo and Lusaka in the early 1980s revealed that a squatter of urban households had home-based enterprises. The income of households with such enterprise was more than ten per cent above those without.

Spence et al (1993) also state that to create better locational opportunities for formal and informal activities, that were prohibited by the apartheid planning and other legislation, it is important to develop a system of intermediate routes which link together the isolated cells of urban development. The routes should be allowed to carry a mix of large and small commercial, industrial and social activities. They state that the purchasing power generated by road users should be supplemented by a high density residential population located in close proximity to the routes.

The promotion of total living environment includes providing well-located land, services, and housing in a manner that builds human resources and skills, builds the economy and creates viable environments with vibrant, safe and quality public places (Spatial Development Framework, 1998).

As the development of low-income housing is on an incremental basis where the poor are provided with core houses and are expected to extend on their own, good location is important. It reduces long travel distance and transport costs. Well-located land will help them to save time from traveling long distances and will save on transport costs. The households will save more money for consolidation and have time for sweat equity. It will help to accelerate the consolidation process because the poor will travel fewer kilometers and that will make them to save a lot. Consolidation refers to the gradual improvement in dwelling standards. Furthermore, The National Transport Green Paper (1995) targets that no employee should commute more than forty kilometers between residence and places of work and that transport subsidies currently enjoyed by the poor should be phased out eventually. A household should not spend more than ten percent of its disposable income on transport (Adebayo, 1999).

Miraftab (1994) in her study found that the inappropriate location of services (water, electricity and transport) harmed women by increasing their already heavy domestic workload. She further argues that the location of women within urban space has important implication for their ability to combine their multiple roles and responsibilities. Central city locations make it possible for women to combine production and reproduction processes more easily. The location should always be to reduce the time required for domestic work by women.

The apartheid city planning ignored the importance of time. Time is important to the poor, as they will involve themselves in community projects after hours that can minimise the costs and accelerate the consolidation process. As the role of the state is to provide starter houses, the beneficiaries could enhance their housing by using 'sweat equity' (Smit, 1994). 'Sweat equity' enables the prospective owner to bridge the affordability gap by physically working on the construction projects. Sweat equity agreement is seen as a way of improving job skills and it allows projects to be professionally resourced and managed. It requires a time investment and the capacity to be able to do the work.

Cook (1986:3) supports the idea of locating the poor in good locations. She looks on the time constraint side caused by being located in the peripheral of the city with long commuter distances and transport costs. She says, " a shortage of one to two hours of sleep every night may not seem important in an affluent Western society. But in an area where women are close to (below) the poverty datum line, where it is necessary to walk long distances every day because of the poor public transport system, this difference is likely to have a great impact on quality of life"

## **2.3 URBAN CHANGES AND THE PRESENT HOUSING CONDITION**

Relaxation of the Group Areas Act led to increasing number of Africans in urban areas. By the early 1990s some apartheid laws were abolished. After the elections of 1994 government was faced with the challenge of redressing the legacy of apartheid planning. Projects that would empower people to build a better life for themselves were initiated after 1994. The new South African government strongly emphasised the need to address both the immediate and the future needs of the urban population. The aim behind this was to diminish the social inequalities and economic inefficiencies that impair the functioning of the cities and towns of this country. A number of changes were ushered in 1994 in the planning field. The democratic government set a new policy agenda for the country in line with contemporary international development approaches. They are based on the principle of meeting people's basic needs on a sustainable basis. Pieces of legislation that are in favour of the idea of restructuring the city will be discussed below, starting with the housing policy.

### **2.3.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING POLICY**

The South African Housing Policy Framework is trying to deal with shelter problems that were created by the past government that particularly affected the poor. A number of South Africans earn low incomes, thus many people cannot afford adequate housing using their own incomes. In part, the state enhances the income of the poor by granting a capital subsidy. This subsidy is meant to secure a site, basic services and a starter house, but some authors argue that the capital subsidy is unsustainable. It has been argued that low-cost housing development in locations

allowing for economic opportunity and activity will address the income generation obstacles and enable the poor to afford other services and be able to consolidate, as their low incomes hinder housing consolidation (Adebayo, 1999).

According to the Housing White Paper (1994), the relatively high proportion of the poor households and budgetary constraints do not allow sufficient subsidy money per household to enable the construction, at state expense, of a minimum standard complete house for each household. It therefore means that the beneficiaries of housing will have to make some contributions to enable the government to solve the housing problem. The government strives for the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities. The intention is that all South Africans will have access on a progressive basis to a permanent residential structure with secure tenure, privacy and adequate protection against the elements, domestic electricity supply, portable water and adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal (Adebayo, 1999).

### **2.3.2 RESTRUCTURING THE APARTHEID CITY**

Apartheid planning has crippled the ability of South Africa's cities to offer a decent urban life to the majority of their citizens. Since the democratic elections of 1994, planning has commenced a new era of reconstruction. Both planners and legislation encourages the idea of restructuring.

Democratic planners faced a challenge where they have to implement policies aimed at restructuring and improving the viability of the South African city, thereby enabling them to yield the true qualities of a well-integrated city. It is noted that a democratically planned society has a personal concept of freedom in social relationships. It fosters flexibility, affords maximum opportunities for choices and favors self-expression in small groups and personal relationships. It is noted that in the construction of the South African cities and towns, there is a need to use new housing to compact, intensify and integrate urban settlements in order to make them more sustainable, efficient and convenient (Dewar in Housing Generator, 1998)

In the new democratic South Africa, the vision is of an integrated, compact, equitable and sustainable metropolitan region as opposed to the problems of spatial inequality, physical separation and isolation, destructive urban sprawl and social and physical unsustainability which had characterised the apartheid city (Dewar and Watson: 1991). BESEG (2000:2) defines urban restructuring as “the reshaping of the physical environment with the aim of:

- ❖ Redressing the apartheid imbalances
- ❖ Enabling low-income people to live closer to areas of work, and to places where there is a concentration of opportunities and facilities
- ❖ Promoting a higher density compact integrated environment
- ❖ Avoiding urban sprawl
- ❖ Avoiding the development of dormitory low-income developments on the urban periphery
- ❖ Promoting mixed –use developments and
- ❖ Increasing access to facilities and infrastructure”.

In redressing the imbalances of the past, there is a great need to understand the social and economic implications that the apartheid planning has had. Social change is usually accompanied by conflict between tradition and modernity, manifested in values, beliefs, attitudes, lifestyles and consumption patterns. The spatial elements that were used to develop apartheid cities were based on the principles of segregation, separate development and unequal access to resources. The element that is used in restructuring the apartheid cities is centered on the promotion of more compact, integrated, and efficient city form. It is noted that the concentration of activities facilitates greater integration and accessibility, and provides the opportunity for the emergence of a richer and more diverse urban experience and therefore improved quality of life (Durban Spatial Development Framework, vol. 1, 1998).

### 2.3.3 DEVELOPMENT FACILITATION ACT

The national government in 1995 passed the first piece of planning legislation of the post-apartheid era, the Development Facilitation Act (DFA). The Act was passed to begin the process of transforming the planning to meet the needs of the new democracy (Development and Planning Commission and the land Affairs, 1999). According to Mabin and Smit (1997), the Act allows old planning mechanisms to be bypassed and embark on attempt to reconstruct South African cities in the new image. The Act was passed to achieve three objectives, which are:

- ❖ to provide a coherent policy framework for land development, land registration and planning in South Africa according to the general principles for land development;
- ❖ to speed up and facilitate the approval of land development applications;
- ❖ and to provide for a beginning to the overhaul of the existing planning and local development framework.

The act has two intentions which are

- ❖ a better land planning system
- ❖ to accommodate the needs of all people, not just those of the wealthier minority (Development and Planning Commission, 1995).

The Act consists of different principles which bind the future actions of legislation. Changes in laws and regulations have to conform to the principles. These principles for land development are as follows:

- ❖ Development in formal and informal, existing and new settlements,
- ❖ Illegal occupation of land
- ❖ Efficient and Integrated land development
- ❖ Public participation
- ❖ Capacity building
- ❖ Facilitating developer interaction with government



- ❖ Clear laws, procedures and administrative practice
- ❖ Substantial land development
- ❖ Speedy land development
- ❖ No one land use is important than any others
- ❖ Security of tenure
- ❖ Co-ordination of land development
- ❖ Promotion of open markets and competition (Development and Planning Commission, 1995)

The Act recognizes that only development can correct settlement distortions. It calls for new growth to be used to improve living conditions in former areas. The Act outlines methods to create more integrated development, including:

- ❖ integrating new development with historical pockets of development thus increasing thresholds;
- ❖ by using new development to fill in, and to give definition to, currently excessive and ill-formed areas of public open space, thereby improving the quality of spatial environment;
- ❖ by structuring new developments along movements connections between historical pockets of development, thereby increasing the viability and efficiency of public transportation;
- ❖ by physically infilling between pockets of development in order to integrate them and to generate economies of scale (Development and Planning Commission, 1995).

### **2.3.4 URBAN DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK**

The Urban Development Framework, of 1997 as a policy, also contributes to the idea of restructuring. It is the main policy guideline for the implementation of the Habitat Agenda in South Africa. It aims at promoting a consistent urban development policy approach for effective urban reconstruction and development. It focuses on four programmes, which are; integrating city and region; improving housing and infrastructure; promoting economic development and creating institutions for delivery.

Four programmes of the UDF are as follows:

- ❖ **Integrating city and region.** This programme aims at addressing apartheid imbalances, and promoting or encouraging integrated planning, rebuilding and upgrading the townships and the informal settlements, planning for higher density land-use and developments, reforming the urban land and planning system, urban transportation and environmental management.
- ❖ **Improving housing and infrastructure.** This programme involves the upgrading and construction of housing, restoring and extending infrastructure, alleviating environmental health hazards, encouraging investment and increasing access to finance, social development, building safe communities and maintaining safety and security.
- ❖ **Promoting urban economic development.** It aims at enhancing the capacity of urban areas to build on local strengths to generate greater local economic activity, to achieve sustainability, to alleviate urban poverty, to increase access to informal economic opportunities and to maximise the direct employment opportunities and the multiplier effect from implementing development programmes.
- ❖ **Creating institutions for delivery.** This programme requires transformation and capacity building of government at all levels. It also encompasses a range of institutions (Department of Housing, 2000).

The UDF has developed an urban vision for the year 2020 that the South African cities will achieve as opposed to the apartheid city. The UDF hopes that by then all citizens will be equal regarding race and gender. Sustainable environment in working and residential places will be promoted.

### 2.3.5 THE CONTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS TO THE NEW PLANNING SYSTEM

Different departments have shaped the planning system, which exists in South Africa today in the form of laws, policies, institutions and practices. Among those departments, department of Housing, Land Affairs, Transport, Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Water Affairs and Forestry, health and education will be discussed.

❖ **The Department of Housing.** The White Paper on new Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa (1994) states that the challenge the government is faced with, that is to establish viable socially and economically integrated communities, situated in well-located areas that are convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities, within which all South Africans will have access on a progressive basis to:

- a permanent residential structure with secure of tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and
- Potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply.

The government introduced the housing subsidy programme as a once off grant for the poor to access housing and related services helps. It allows for a range of tenure options.

❖ **Department of Land Affairs.** The Habitat Agenda in South Africa encourages the commitment of government to promoting the provision of an adequate supply land in the context of sustainable land-use policies. It also encourages optimal densities and the full use of existing infrastructure in urban areas.

❖ **Department of Transport.** The department plays a major role in promoting access for citizens and also integrating South Africa's cities and regions which are spatially, socially and economically divided and disjointed. It aims at promoting efficient transport systems on a national level. The vision is to provide safe, reliable, effective efficient and fully integrated transport operations, provide infrastructure strategies for economic and social development whilst being

environmentally and economically sustainable.

- ❖ **Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.** The department in its policy recognises the need for people-centered development that promotes social justice and equity, and discourages growth and development that ignores environmental issues. The policy emphasises the approach of sustainable development. Brundtland Report (in Oelofse (1999) defines sustainable development as a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability for future generations to meet their needs.
  
- ❖ **Department of Water Affairs and Forestry.** According to the Habitat Agenda, adequate housing includes promoting access to safe drinking water, sanitation and other basic services, facilities and amenities for all people living in poverty. The Water Services Act (1997) reinforces the constitutional right of every citizen to basic water supply and sanitation.
  
- ❖ **Department of Health.** The department of Health has adopted a strong primary care policy, which promotes equity, accessibility and utilisation of health services as well as extending the availability of appropriate health services to previously disadvantaged communities.
  
- ❖ **Department of Education.** The improvements of school physical infrastructure have been developed in all provinces especially the schools of disadvantaged groups (Department of Housing, 2000)

### 2.3.7 FACTORS THAT CONSTRAINT THE RESTRUCTURING PROCESS

The whole idea of locating the poor in well-located land can be eroded and undermined by restructuring constraints which include access to land, competing claims to vacant land, the operation of land markets, the housing capital subsidy, informal settlements and land invasion.

- ❖ **Access to land** is an important input in any form of development and a major constraint on urban restructuring. Some of the available well-located land that can be accessed easily is undevelopable due to geographical problems. Most developable vacant land is located on the periphery and that is in contrast with the aim of restructuring because it will lead to the reinforcement of the past pattern where the poor were placed in the periphery. Low-cost housing delivery in South Africa is constrained by land. Well-located land is scarce. Housing that is situated on the periphery of the city continues to disadvantage the poor and makes their life costly and inconvenient (Adebayo, 1999).
- ❖ **Competing claims to vacant land-** locating low-income people adjacent to higher-income areas is a problem because higher-income people might resist such development. For example, the Quarry Heights low cost housing project (next to Newlands East a lower middle income area) development was resisted by the neighbours. Another issue is that land for commerce and industry is seen as more important than land for housing.
- ❖ **The operation of land markets** prevents the poor from affording access to well-located land. The supply of land plays a dominant role as the willingness and ability of people to pay drives demand. Therefore the poor people are left out of the formal land market not because they are unable to participate in it, but they are constrained by exchange of values of land and their low incomes to cope with land prices. The major constraint in the land market becomes the shortage of land for housing the poor because they cannot compete with high market prices. The land market commodifies land and becomes expensive for the poor. The only land that is affordable by the poor is the land located in the periphery. This makes it impossible to locate projects near to areas of economic opportunities.

The principle of willing buyer willing seller in the market situation excludes poor people who cannot afford to pay for land (Motladi: 1995). Angel (1983) notes that land for housing the poor legally and in a socially acceptable manner cannot therefore be solved by allowing each landowner in the city to reserve his land for the most profitable use.

- ❖ **The housing capital subsidy** restricts the location of low-income housing indirectly because it allocates only R1000 per site of which is below the market price of well-located land.
- ❖ **Informal settlements** In Durban Metropolitan Area a large percentage of households are in informal settlements. That on its own leads to the emphasis of informal upgrading which needs the subsidy and constrain the new housing development.
- ❖ **Land invasion** has a negative impact on restructuring process. People tend to invade land banked for other developments and build informal settlements, which undermines the whole idea. People will settle in areas that are not surveyed, their health will be on risk and vulnerable to other diseases. They will not have access to services and infrastructure. Poor people mostly do land invasion.

## 2.4 CONCLUSION

Well-located land for low-income housing development is important for the poor. It helps them to minimise transport cost and save a lot for housing consolidation that can help in improving their living standards and quality of life. The apartheid government marginalised the poor from having access to well-located land. Group Areas Act removed Blacks from well connected areas and placed them in the periphery of the city. This resulted in long commuting distances, high transport costs, time constraints and prevented small business activity. These issues were evident for women studied by Cook (1986). The Bonteheuvel township in Cape Town shows other characteristics of apartheid planning system, including fragmentation, and separation of home from working areas. The democratic government promulgated a

number of policies and laws as an attempt to address apartheid spatial planning. The idea promoted is one of restructuring the city. These policy and laws include the Housing Policy, DFA and UDF. Planners and different departments also promote restructuring process. Restructuring is intended to help the poor to locate in well connected areas. Although restructuring is a good idea, it is undermined by the above discussed factors, which include, access to land, competing claims to vacant land, the operation of land markets, the housing capital subsidy and land invasion.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CASE STUDY AREA- EAST WIGGINS FAST TRACK**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

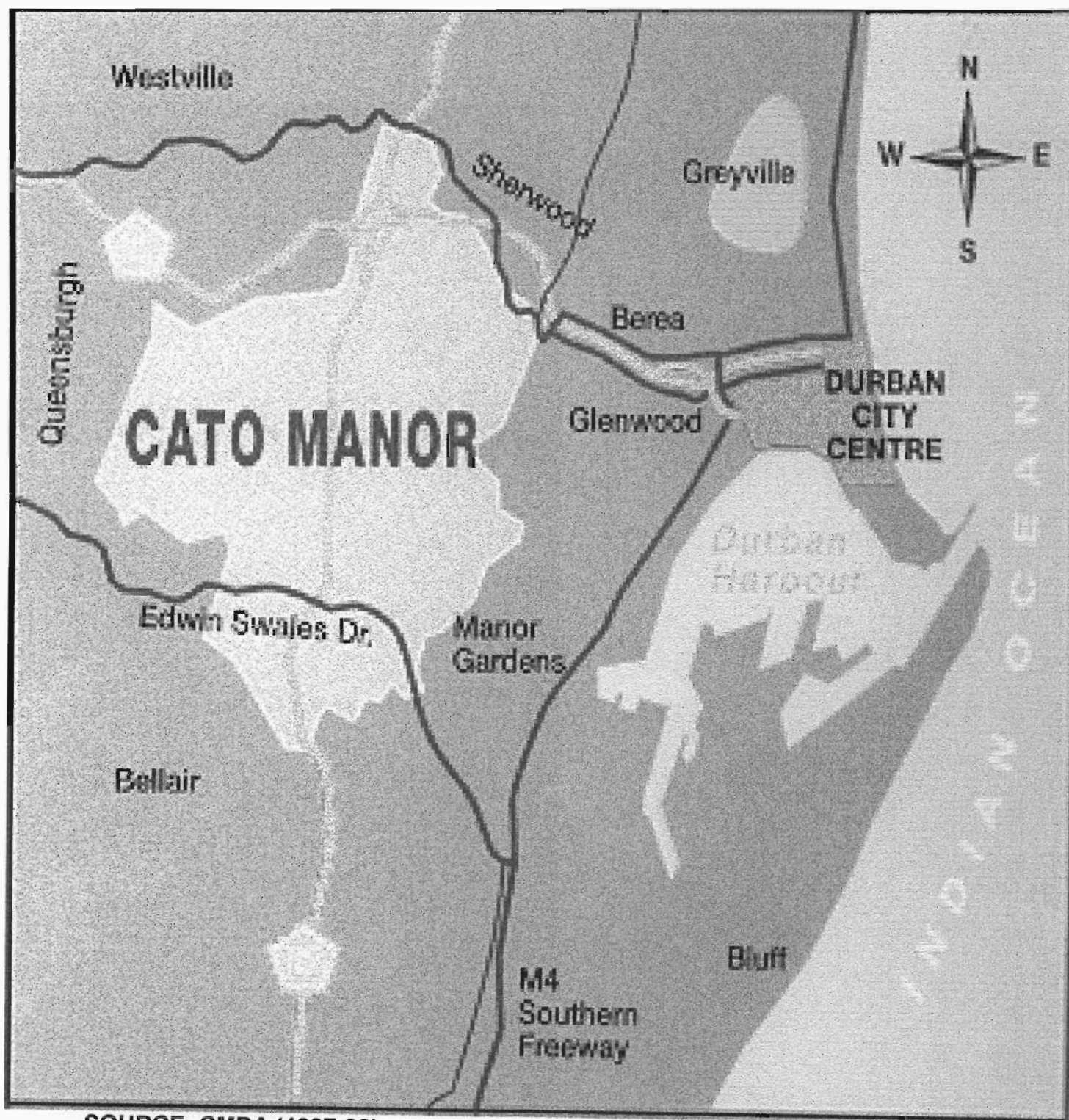
The chapter will give a historical background of the case study that is the East Wiggins Fast Track Housing Project. East Wiggins Fast Track is a project in Cato Manor, which benefits from its location within the broader Cato Manor development. The background will firstly focus on Cato Manor and then move to the case of East Wiggins Fast Track. The location of the Greater Cato Manor and its road network will be discussed. It will give a broad understanding of the history of accessing land in Cato Manor. The problems that people experienced which were posed by apartheid government will be investigated. New developments that were and are initiated in the area and how people get access to the area will also be discussed.

#### **3.1 LOCATION OF THE AREA**

Greater Cato Manor comprises an area of 2000 hectares. It is a 45 minutes walking distance from the Durban city centre and located seven kilometers west of the Durban city centre. The area is bordered in the north by the Pavilion shopping centre and the N3 freeway, which leads inland towards Gauteng. It is bisected by the national N2 freeway, which leads to the Cape Province in the South and Mozambique in the North and Sarnia road in the south, Manor Gardens and the University of Natal in the east and Westville prison in the west. These road networks make Cato Manor one of the most accessible areas in the Durban Metropolitan Region and provide easy access into and out of the area (Cato Manor Development Project Report, 2000).



Figure 1: Location of the Area and Road networks.



SOURCE: CMDA (1997-98)

The Cato Manor Development project (CMDP) is one of the largest integrated urban development projects attempted in South Africa and is also designated as a Presidential Lead Project of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It is emerging as holistically planned, balanced and economically sustainable city-within-a-city; compact urban settlement that impacts positively on the development of the whole KwaZulu-Natal province. The project aims to redress the imbalances created by the apartheid government and creates a new sustainable urban environment. The development vision of CMDP is to ensure the delivery of affordable housing to low-income earners, to achieve economic development and to avoid the vast, monotonous, unsafe and environmentally unsustainable housing estates that were created by the past government. The development entails the delivery of industrial and office parks, commercial and manufacturing opportunities, housing, transport, infrastructure, educational, social and recreational facilities (CMDA Report, 1997-98)

### **3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA**

The area was named after George Cato, the first mayor of Durban after he was granted the land in compensation for a beachfront property, which had been expropriated for military purposes. Different groups of people have lived in Cato Manor that is Whites, Blacks, and Indians. The indentured laborers that arrived from India to Natal after they finished their contracts had located in this area. Some bought or hired the small land for farms and became market gardeners.

Due to urbanisation and rural poverty by late 1800 a number of African people moved to Durban seeking employment. The influx control laws prevented them from staying near to their places of employment and they went to Cato Manor where they either rented land from the landowners or built shacks.

By the 1920s, shacks began to appear along Umkhumbane River, which is part of Cato Manor. The number of squatter shacks increased in early 1930s to early 1940s. They increased from 300-400 squatter shacks to 16700 units. The area was

characterised with lack of sanitation, lack of access to water services, and absence of drainage systems (CMDP, 1996)

### **3.3 IMPACT OF APARTHEID AND ITS RESISTANCE**

Apartheid and its policies affected people who were living in Cato Manor. In 1960 the Group Areas Act declared Cato Manor a White area and the tenants were removed from Cato Manor. The African population was moved to KwaMashu and Umlazi and Indians were moved to Chatsworth and Merewent. Small groups of Indians and Africans remained in Cato Manor and they formed an association called the Cato Manor Residents Association in 1979 (CMRA) to resist further removals, to resist racially based development in Cato Manor and to attempt to reclaim the land. By 1987, squatting activity in Cato Manor began with an African population coming from peripheral areas (CMDP 1996)

### **3.4 REFORMS AND DEVELOPMENT**

Between 1993 and 1994 a number of invasions happened in the area. Discussions and negotiations took place in response to the attempt to develop parts of Cato Manor. As a result the Greater Cato Manor Development Forum was established in January 1992 to guide development in an area of 2000 hectares. The forum consisted of people from different communities, major landowners, public authorities etc. The forum sought to develop all the Cato Manor area with the participation of all interested parties. Negotiations led to reduction in the amount of land available for development by the forum. The forum formulated a vision for the development of the area and adapted a pro-active model and embarked on a three-pronged programme;

- ❖ To acquire as much of land in greater Cato Manor possible so as to secure development rights,
- ❖ To establish an appropriate funding vehicle to manage the project,
- ❖ To obtain adequate funding for the development (CMDP. Report, 1997-98)

The majority of landowners committed their land in Cato Manor for development. The form, structure and membership of the implementation vehicle resulted in the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) in 1993. The project was designated as a

Presidential lead Project of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) trying to address the imbalances created by the apartheid government as noted above. The objective of the project is to create an efficient and productive city within a city,

- ❖ Targeting the poor and marginalized residents of Durban,
- ❖ To provide housing and security of tenure,
- ❖ To require existing infrastructure and services disparities,
- ❖ And to establish safe and secure living and working environment with ample economic opportunities (CMDA Repot, 2000).

The project covers an area of 2000 hectares of land of which only 900 hectares is suitable for development. Much of the land in the project has been designated as a land for less formal settlement in terms of the Less Formal Township Establishment Act, no. 113/1991 (CMDA Report, 1997-98). East Wiggins Fast Track housing project, which is the case study area for this study, falls to 900 hectares of land available for development.

### **3.5 FUNDING FOR THE PROJECT**

The Cato Manor Development project is funded by a number of sources, including Reconstruction and Development Programme, the European Union, the Provincial Housing Development Board, the Durban Metropolitan Council and South Central Local Council. The USAID, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), IDT and individual donations contributed to the early phase of the project.

### **3.6 SUB-COMMUNITIES IN CATO MANOR**

The broad community of Cato Manor consists of several distinct sub-communities as stated in the discussion of the historical background. For this study, the researcher finds it important to look at these communities as they form the broader Cato Manor project. They differ in characteristics such as the level of formality of the housing, household composition and household income. Cato Manor consists of 19 distinct communities. In other communities no research has taken place on socio-economic status. Six informal settlements of Cato Manor housed 7 500 families. Those

settlements Include, Wiggins Umkhumbane, Nsimbini, Jamaica, Old and New Danbar and Cato Crest (Crookes, 2000). These informal settlements are being upgraded and some families from these settlements are being relocated in preparation for upgrading. The existing population in the following areas is 63,668; Wiggins, Bellair Rd North, Cato Crest, Chesterville Extension, Part Bellair& Hillary, Umkhumbaan, and Sherwood (CMDA, 2000). They include both formal and informal settlements

**Subsidy levels**

The CMDP (1997-98:29) puts the levels of subsidy in this way:

Income per household	Subsidy amount
<R800	R17 250
R800-1500	R14 375
R1501-2500	R10 925
R2501-3500	R5 750

The subsidy is determined by the income of the household. In East Wiggins Fast Track, all the beneficiaries that the researcher interviewed got a full subsidy of R17 250.

Cato Manor has both informal and formal houses, some of which are subsidised while others are aided by bonds. Some of these bond formal houses were invaded like Wiggins1/ Masixhawulane. Bonella is also part of Cato Manor, and consists of a public housing estate, Umkumbaan low density, Indian, lower middle income and Wiggins Umkambane, which is more formal. The rest consists of low cost incremental houses. The Shayamoya housing rental flats project close to East Wiggins Fast Track is still in construction.

The Institute and Economic Research (ISER) conducted a survey on socio-economic status of the communities of Cato Crest, Wiggins, Chesterville (including the backyard rooms and shacks, and informal settlement of Jamaica down Pavilion) and Old Dunbar. The survey was conducted in 1994/5.

**Employment status of certain communities of Cato Manor (1994/5)**

Status	Cato (1995)	Crest (1994)	Wiggins (1994)	Chesterville (1994)	Old (1995)	Dunbar
Scholar/student	52.2		44.8	47.5	56.2	
Formal employed	15.8		16.1	18.1	7.8	
Informal employed	7.1		8.1	6.5	8.3	
Unemployed	15.7		18.9	17.2	3.4	
Part time employed	4.8		9.5	2.7	8.7	
Others (including retired disabled)	4.4		2.6	8.0	16.6	
Total	100		100	100		

**Source: Makhathini and Xaba, 1994/5 (in Doug, 2000)**

**Table 3.2 Income from these communities(1994/5)**

Community	Mean income
Chesterville	R2060
Backyard rooms	R1946
Backyard shacks	R1560
Jamaica	R1008
Wiggins	R1851

**Source: Crookes (2000)**

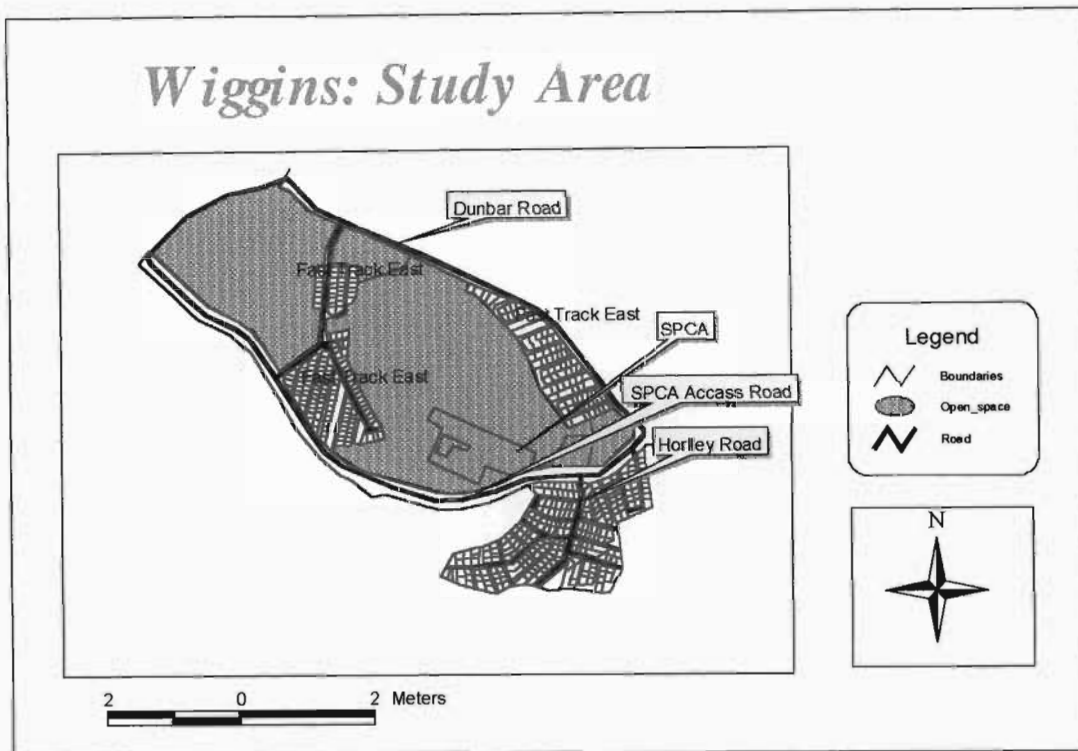
### **3.7 ALLOCATION OF SITES TO THE BENEFICIARIES OF EAST WIGGINS FAST TRACK**

The Fast Track Project was processed through the Less Formal Township Establishment Act. According to this Act, normal building standards, town planning, and associated regulations do not apply within the development. In addition, the Provincial Housing Board (PHB) which was funding the development, does not apply any set of standards with regard to top structure construction.

The Wiggins Fast Track housing project was initiated towards the end of 1994. The project was initiated to demonstrate that the capacity to rapidly deliver housing for low income households at scale is possible via a joint venture agreement between local authority (Durban City), and the development agency (Cato Manor Development Association-CMDA). The local authority was involved in the allocation of sites to beneficiaries and in the subsidy application. It also played a major role in the establishment and staffing of a Housing Support Centre, which has been set up to service the project. It helps to workshop the Housing Clubs, monitoring standards applied in the construction and the utilisation of the balance of the subsidy.

The project was advertised in the media and people were asked to form housing clubs. The clubs of twenty to thirty members were invited to apply. The allocation of units in the area was based on these formed housing clubs. When the sites were finished, they were allocated on a block basis to the clubs who were then responsible for the allocation of sites to their members. This encourages a good neighbourhood because they know their neighbours and that will lead to the formation of viable communities. Figure: 2 presents the area in a form of a map.





**Figure 2: Wiggins: Study Area.**

### **3.8 ACCESS TO FACILITIES**

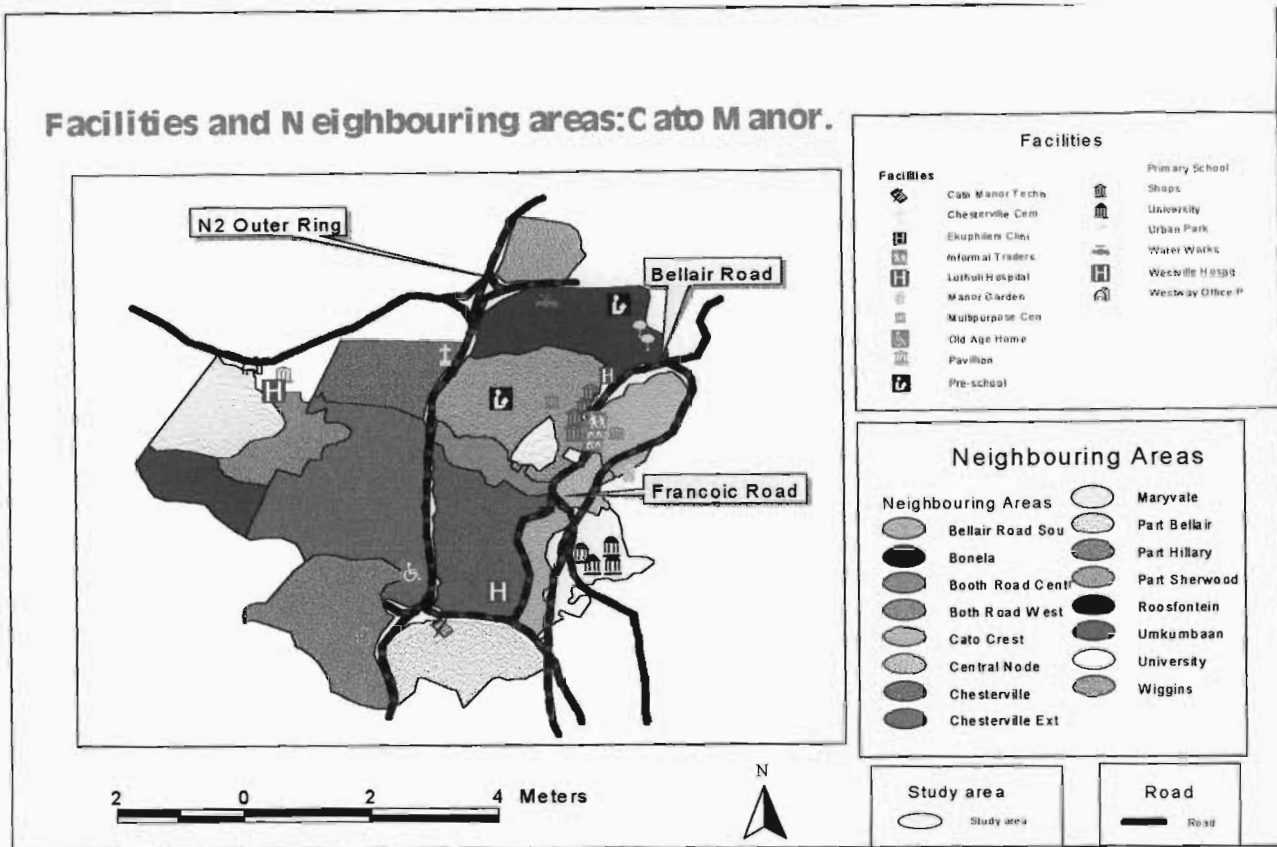
Oelofse (1999) noted that housing is not just considered in terms of its physical structure, but rather in relation to what it should really represent: a home at the level of the individual, a neighbourhood or community at the level of a group of people and a viable settlement with functional links and positive interactions in terms of the broader urban environment. The social and economic characteristics of the area as a whole, particularly in relation to the linkages to a broader urban environment, include access to urban employment opportunities, such as recreational and economic resources, facilities, and transport. Social facilities, including schools, libraries, clinics, community halls, and crèches are delivered in Cato Manor in an appropriate and affordable manner that contributes to the goals of compact city form and integration with the rest of the metropolitan area. These facilities are planned to provide for the entire metropolitan community. They are also designed around these principles, to ensure that they offer safe and convenient access by users and are



affordable, sustainable and promote economic development in the area. Examples are community health care centres, parks and the New Academic Hospital (CMDP Report, 1997-98).

Wiggins has some well-developed facilities such as high schools and clinics, which serve to create a sense of neighbourhood in the community. Facilities in broad Cato Manor will be outlined as they benefit from its development. Figure 3. will show the other facilities that people have access to within neighbouring communities (including sub-communities of Cato Manor)

Multi-purpose centres were implemented and each consists of a primary school, secondary school, library, community hall and sports fields. Multi-purpose centers are designed in such a way that the public library is stocked with books required by schools and is able to use school classrooms to operate as a community learning centre. The schools use the community hall for their functions and the sports fields are a resource for the community and schools. In this way, the use of facilities is maximised and costs are reduced. The beneficiaries also have access to parks, one in Chesterville Extension and one in Bellair Road. Others are still in construction. The people in the area have access to the clinic in Bellair Road.



**Figure 3: Facilities and Neighbouring Areas of Cato Manor**

### 3.9 SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Services are critical in terms of the right to adequate housing. Good servicing provides the basis upon which an individual can develop a good quality of life by improving his or her house over time. Individuals can upgrade and extend their houses, but it is very difficult for them to make interventions into service provision. Poor service provision has serious impacts on the environment and on the residents living in that environment. Sowman and Urquhart (1998, p 81) state: "providing appropriate services increases quality of life, reduces risks to health, and maintains or improves the balance of the natural environment". Services and infrastructure are important in housing development. They contribute a lot to the improvement of the quality of life and living standards of the poor. The residents of East Wiggins have access to a number of services and infrastructure, including the following:

**Roads:** Cato Manor is an accessible area. A number of roads were developed and upgraded and some are on construction. The East two roads border Wiggins Fast Track Project: Dunbar Rd and Belliar Rd and SPCA access Rd inside the project.

The project is characterised by residential streets, which are marked in numbers in a layout plan for the area.

**Sanitation:** Waterborne sewerage has been included in all new housing projects in the area and social facilities.

**Water:** Three water service levels were delivered by Durban Metro Water to overcome affordability constraints. They include: a full pressure system which gives an unlimited water supply to the household, a semi pressure system where water within the building is supplied solely from the tank, and a standpipe which is in informal settlements, provided as a temporary measure and is situated next to the house.

**Electricity:** Streetlights are provided in the area to ensure safety. Business premises and higher income houses are provided with electricity in a normal manner, whilst low-income households are serviced on a pre-paid system. The residents have been provided with a pre-paid system. There are no complaints about the service but the problem is that the Durban Metro Electricity fails to notify the community about the dates when there is going to be a disturbance to the electricity service in the community.

**Stormwater and drainage:** Stormwater and drainage are both necessary to remove surface water and prevent flooding. Inadequate drainage for surface water may result in puddles of water or marshy areas that provide, for example, breeding ground for mosquitos, flies and other insect disease vectors (Built Environmental Support Group: 1999). Stormwater has been given attention in the early phase of the project because the area is prone to flooding as it is traversed by the Umkhumbane and Blinkbonnie River (Cato Manor Development Project Status Report: 2000). The observation done by the researcher and the information collected from the respondents suggests that there are some problems though it is difficult to say the exact area (drainage, stormwater) where it lies. The residents have a problem of moist and wetness in their area. Water that causes problem comes from the ground. It is worse in summer and the people who experience the

problem are those who are close to the road (the residential street that joins Dunbar and SPCA access road). That wetness results in health problems; people are exposed to mosquitos and rash especially the children. This problem undermines the principles of sustainable development, the living standards and quality of life of the beneficiaries.

**Posts and telecommunications:** The South African Postal Services policy gives the right to every family in a newly developed area to have access to an address box and cluster boxes. In response to that traditional telephone lines and a number of pay phones have been installed in Cato Manor. The development of these services has been implemented to ensure that health and safety standards are achieved. But the people who are at the edge of the area close to SPCA are not benefiting that much from the public telephones because they are far from their area. Some households are no longer using their home telephones due to money problems. They cannot afford to pay for the service (CMDP, 2000).

### **3.10 FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES IN CATO MANOR**

Cato Manor is a project that will consist of vibrant communities. Although levels of employment are low, there is hope in future that things will go better. Job Opportunities Bureau (JOB) was established for Cato Manor residents to facilitate access to job opportunities. The residents in the area are given the opportunity to acquire training courses in order to take advantage of work that arises in through the construction projects. Out of 4 220 people who have been registered on JOB, 1 344 have been placed on construction projects. The Cato Manor Community Organisation (CMCO) working with CMDA also assists in skills development for the residents of Cato Manor. Skills and training courses helped and will continue helping the poor to generate income for themselves.

### **3.11 CONCLUSION**

The historical background of the case study area of East Wiggins Fast Track has been discussed in this chapter. The ways in which people get access to land in the area and the apartheid problems have been discussed. Reforms and development initiated in the area, the sub-communities in Cato Manor, and the allocation of sites to the beneficiaries have been outlined above.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **AN ANALYSIS OF LIVING STANDARDS AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN EAST WIGGINS FAST TRACK**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

The survey questionnaire of East Wiggins Fast Track living standards and quality of life will be analysed in this chapter. This will help in trying to come up with findings and recommendations for the future research and policies. It will also help in verifying the aim and the hypothesis of this study.

#### **4.1 ACCESS TO THE AREA AND THE AREAS WHERE THEY LIVE BEFORE**

The project was advertised in the media and the people also heard about it from community structures. People were asked to form housing clubs, which consist of twenty to thirty members and they were invited to apply. The low-income people according to the established criteria for this project are those who earn R1500 per month or less. The majority of households come from the informal settlements of Cato Manor (Cato Crest and Dunbar). A small proportion came from other informal settlements (Inanda), formal settlements (KwaMashu), and also rural areas (Stanger).

**Table 4.1 Areas where they Lived Previously**

Areas where you lived previously	No. of people	Percentage
People from informal settlements of Cato Manor	17	57
Other informal settlements	6	20
Formal settlement	4	13
Rural areas	3	10
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

According to Makhathini and Xaba (1995) people in the Cato Manor informal settlements came as unorganised groups and individuals to occupy land with the purpose of finding safe accommodation for themselves against the harsh socio-economic conditions in black townships and other informal areas. They settled there because it was the available place accessible to them and they did not consider the location of the area.

## **4.2 THE REASONS WHY THEY MOVED TO THIS PROJECT**

The beneficiaries stated different reasons for coming to the area. Mr. Chiliza from Danbar informal settlement said, "I was living in informal settlements where we had no services and infrastructure dreaming of better place to live. I wanted to live here because it's a better place as compared to where I was staying before", Mrs. Mdletshe from rural areas of Stanger said, "Due to family problems we had in rural areas, we decided to move in this place as we had no choice. It was the only available accommodation that we were able to get". Ms Malinga from the informal settlement of Cato Crest said, "our area was flooded and we were moved to temporary tents and later we were invited to apply for this area". They came to this area because it was the only available place to which they could get access (Survey, 2000).

**Table 4.2 Reasons why they Moved to this Project**

Reason	No. of households	Percentage
Riots and family problems	5	17
Inundated by floods	13	43
The only place that was available	12	40
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

The households that moved due to family problem and riots are from rural areas and townships in Durban whereas those attacked by floods were from Cato Crest the informal settlement of Cato Manor. Some of those who settled because it was the accessible place they can live are from townships and the informal settlements of Cato Manor and other areas.

The discussions that the researcher held with the households showed that the beneficiaries before settling in informal settlements in Cato Manor were from rural areas of different provinces and they came in search for employment and better places than rural areas that were characterised by riots. They came with friends and relatives sometimes. They brought their children because they had no time, and could not afford to pay for the person who will look after children in rural areas. To all these households location was not considered as a priority but it was just somewhere where they can access land and stay.

**4.3 TYPE OF OWNERSHIP**

The ownership they have in the area is different. The findings from the area show that the majority of beneficiaries are house owners. Some bought their houses from the original owner and others are tenants.



**Table 4.3 The Types of Ownership the Households have in the Area**

Ownership	No. of households	Percentage
Original owners	22	73
Second owners	5	17
Tenants	3	10
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

**Table 4.4 The Type of Gender of Head of Household**

Gender	No. of households	Percentage
Headed by Male	21	70
Headed by Female	9	30
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

Males head most households and 30% are headed by females. Households vary in size. 53% of households are between 7 and 9. This is the largest percentage constituting the households' size. The interesting point about this is that, though this is a big size, they are not overcrowded. The space they have is enough for them.

**Table 4.5 Household Size**

Size	No. of households	Percentage
<6	6	20
7-9	16	53
>10	8	27
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

172  
2/10

#### 4.4 LOCATION OF THE AREA AND THE FEELINGS OF THE BENEFICIARIES

Sowman and Urguhart (1998) note that low-cost housing should be located close to urban and commercial areas in order to maximise access to employment opportunities. Housing should be close to viable informal trading opportunities. Desirable sites for housing are along existing urban activity corridors that is, along the routes in a city or town where most of the development exist, or where most economic activity takes place. Well-located housing will also be better integrated within a region than housing situated in the outskirts of town.

The response of the people in households interviewed shows that East Wiggins is a good place to be, and they are satisfied with the location of the area. 40 % of households failed to respond on location question. They mentioned that they are pleased to have improved services, but this is not a locational issue. For others (60%) the advantages of good location are clearly evident. For example Ms Madondo said, "as a street vender operating in town the area helped me a lot, transport is accessible until late hours. It cost less in terms of time and money. It is easy to do shopping while I'm still at work".

The respondents commented on the advantages of being located in the area. They stated that they are close to the city centre and pay less for transport. Sometimes they can walk to town. Their advantages varied and the specific location of their site determined these advantages. For example, some people in the east part of East Wiggins benefited from different modes of transport, that is, buses and taxis, while those that are in other areas only used taxis as the bus route is far from their area. That means that they have to walk a long distance to the transport point. Some employment areas are close to the area. Some also walk, whereas others take two taxis to reach their places of work. The majority benefited from the area because they pay less for transport and can also walk while others do not because they pay more for transport and waste their time commuting long distances to and from their work places. The table below (4.6) shows the feelings of people about the location of the project. Though there are those who did not say anything about the location, it is evident that they benefited from the location of the project because they pay less for transport and they are close to employment areas.

**Table 4.6 Households Feelings About the Location of the Area**

Feeling	No. of Households	Percentage
Very satisfied	20	67
Satisfied	10	33
Dissatisfied	-	-
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

#### **4.5 THE PROBLEMS THEY EXPERIENCE IN THE AREA**

The beneficiaries in the area experienced some problems which are not due to location. They said that they are not given notices when the electricity is going to be off. Trees on the site constrain consolidation process and interfere with the original structure. The roots of the trees tend to develop all over the site and that results in cracks to the house. At night when it is windy, leaves of the trees fall on the roof therefore make noise and cause sleepless night. On the other hand trees are important; they protect from sun, wind, maintain the aesthetic value of the area and lead to a good environment. Another problem mentioned is that the residents do not comply with the dates put by Metro Waste for waste collection. They tend to dispose their waste after the collection date and that results in odour smell and flies.

**Table 4.7 Different Problems Households Experience**

Problems	No. of h/holds experiencing	%	No. of h/holds not experiencing	%	Total No. of h/holds	Total &
Electricity	17	57	13	43	30	100
Houses not complete	3	10	27	90	30	100
Wetness	6	20	24	80	30	100
Trees	4	13	26	87	30	100
Waste collection	6	20	24	80	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

#### **4.6 IMPACT OF LOCATION IN THEIR LIVING STANDARDS AND QUALITY OF LIFE**

Good location can help people to improve their living standards and quality of life. This can happen in many ways; for example in East Wiggins Fast Track, 95% of the respondents said that the location has a positive impact on their living standards and quality of life. People who are not previously from broad Cato Manor emphasised the issue of less payment for transport and being close to central business centre. People from informal settlements stated that they no longer waste time in making queues for water before cooking which was stressing them in their former areas. But not all people's standards of living and quality of life have been improved. 5% of the households interviewed do not see the difference. Mrs. Mkhize who was from overcrowded family in Kwamashu said, " the situation is worse than ever before, we are getting more poor. We came here hoping that we will improve our standards but there is nothing happening. We have access to services that we did not have in the area where we were staying before but these services cannot do anything, as my husband and I are not employed. Without source of income there is nothing we can do".

#### **4.7 TRANSPORT**

90% of people in the area use taxis as their mode of transport while 3% have access to different modes of transport including taxis and buses. The people who are in the north west of East Wiggins Fast Track use these two modes of transport while in other parts they cannot do that. They only depend on taxis. They pay R2, 00 for a single taxi fare to go to town. Buses cost R3, 80 for a single fare to go to town at peak hours while at other times the cost is the same as taxis. Comparing with other parts of the city, for example, Lovu housing project they pay R6,00 for a single fare to go to town and they only depend on taxis. This kind of transport costs and the modes of transport people have access to, clearly show the advantages of location people in this project are benefiting.

**Table 4.8 Mode of Transport Households has Access to**

Transport	No. of Households	Percentage
Taxi	27	90
Bus	3	10
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

**4.8 TIME BUDGET**

The people in the area have plenty of time as compared to those studied in Cape Town by Cook. The reason for this is that the majority of people in East Wiggins Fast Track are working close to their residential areas. Some people spend more hours before reaching their places of work and home while others spend fifteen minutes and some can walk.

The public transport point is close to the area. To reach to it, it only takes 4 minutes and to other people, those close to the road take 1 minute. 90% of people work normal hours (that is 8 hours) as compared to women studied by Cook. They work a reasonable 8 or 9 hours a day. A small proportion depends on shifts. Taxi drivers are the only people working more hours in the area. They work 16hours a day, but they are men who do not have domestic responsibilities that women have. The time people take to reach places of work will be presented in table 4.10. 77% of economically active people in the area are free on weekends. They use this time for other activities like attending funerals, functions in the area, housekeeping and making lawns. No one used that time for consolidation of their houses. The breakdown of time they take to reach their places of work and home from work will be presented in table 4.11.

## 4.9 EMPLOYMENT RATE

Unemployment and low incomes have a negative impact on consolidation and also on the improvement of people's living standards and quality of life. 45% of the economically active people work five days a week, 23% work 7 days a week, and the remaining 32% work less than 5 days a week. The category of less than five days a week includes people who operate at home. In most cases they are not assigned for that special duty, anyone available can do it. Out of 11 people who are domestic workers in the area only one lives in. Children and scholars are not represented in the table below because they do not fall on the category of unemployed.

**Table 4.9 Levels of Employment in the Area.**

Employment	No. of economically active people	Percentage
Employed Formally	10	13
Employed informally <sup>1</sup>	19	24
Self employed informally <sup>2</sup>	15	19
Housewife	0	0
Unemployed seeking work	25	32
Unemployed, not seeking work	1	1
Pensioner	9	11
Total	79	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

The table below shows the number of households containing different categories of economically active people. It also helps in determining the household income sources.

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<sup>1</sup> This includes casual laboures and domestic workers

<sup>2</sup> This includes informal traders working at home and in the CBD

**Table 4.10 Number of Households Containing Economically Active People.**

Employment	No of households	Percentage
Employed Formally	5	17
Employed Informally	2	7
Self Employed Informally	6	20
Depend on the Three of the Above	4	13
Depend on Formally and Informally	3	10
Depend on Formally and Self Employed	-	
Depend on Informally and Self Employed	10	33
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

The areas of employment will help the researcher to determine the costs of transport and the time they spend when going in their working areas.

**Table 4.11 Areas of Employment, Transport Costs and Time**

Area	Transport Costs (return)	Time to reach place of work	Time to reach home from work	%of people working there.	No of people in h/holds	No of h/holds with people in these area	% of households
Home	-	-	-	20	9	3	10
SPCA (Close to the area)	Walk	+_15 minutes	Same	32	14	8	27
Overport	R4.00	+_7 minutes	Same	9	4	3	10
Lalucia	R11.00	30 minutes	Same	7	3	2	7
Musgrave	R5.50	+_10 minutes	+_15 minutes	7	3	3	10
Town	R4.00	+_15 minutes	+_12 minutes	23	10	10	33
Umbilo	R6.00	+_10 minutes	+_15 minutes	2	1	1	3
Total				100	44	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**



The time for going to work and coming back home is different. This is because the transport going to work places is accessible in the sense that it drops people close to their working areas. The problem arises when people are going back home, they have to go to taxi rank to get transport. Depending on the distance from their work places, some can manage to walk while others can not. For example, people working at Musgrave find it easy to get there, taxis drop them next to their working places but when they come back home they have to take a taxi to get to taxi rank where they can find transport to go home. This table shows the accessibility of transport in terms of money and time in the project. It really shows that people in the area do benefit in their location of the project. Another issue is that, it shows the number of people in the project that depends on transport to get to their areas of work. The percentage of casual workers at SPCA shows the advantages of skills and training courses acquired through JOB and CMCO.

**Table 4.12 Occupation of the People in the Area**

Occupation	No of people	Percentage
Labourer	8	18
Informal Traders	15	34
Domestic Worker	11	25
Cleaner	4	9
Driver	4	9
Technician	2	5
Total	44	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

The occupation table presented above helps in understanding the living conditions of households in the project.

#### 4.10 INFORMAL BUSINESS (SECTOR)

The area gives people the opportunity to generate income. It is close to town, and it is a new development where other facilities like shops are still on construction. For example, a market has been implemented where micro-entrepreneurs will be able to locate their businesses in future. 43% of people in households with income are using the informal business as their only source of income. In this sector, people are operating at home and CBD. At home they operate in the form of spaza shops, selling drinks vegetables and clothes, and repairing electric appliances. In the CBD they are street venders. People who have these small businesses argued that the area at first helps them to generate more income because there was no one at first who provided these services. But over time, the business go down especially for spaza shops as shops opened in Bellair Road. Then people go to buy there instead of buying in their spaza shops.

**Table13 Number of Self Employed People Operating in Different Areas**

Area	Total no. of people	Percentage
Home	9	60
CBD	6	40
Total	15	100

**Source: Field Survey:2000**

The project enables residents to practice gardening but no one produces vegetables for income. There is a large area close to their settlement which is not developed. They said that they have been authorised to use the area for agriculture. 10% of households interviewed practice gardening but as plots are small they cannot sell anything, and they are doing it for their own consumption. This also helps because it reduces the expense of buying vegetables. Plate: 1 and 2 in the next page shows gardening in the area.

There is evidence of subletting in the area but in most cases, the whole house is rented out. Some of the owners are staying with their extended families and others in informal settlement. Mrs. Mlaba stated that people are living in poverty; they cannot

afford to pay for services (buying electricity, paying for water). Then they decided to give away their houses to people who can give them money monthly in order to support themselves and tenants pay R100. These people returned back to informal settlements where they can afford living, further, the house is too small to accommodate them all. 1% of the total sampled population has given her relative space on the site for spaza shop purposes. The money they get from the tenants they use for buying food.

**Plate 1 Practice of Gardening in the Area**



**Plate 2 Practice of Gardening in the Area**



#### **4.11 HOUSEHOLD INCOME**

Household income influences the level of consolidation. Households earning more will consolidate easily whereas those with little income struggle or do not consolidate at all. People in the area are earning low income and some do not have income at all. Out of 30 households interviewed 13 households are earning 0-R400 per month, 8 households are earning R450-R1000, 4 households are earning R1050-R1500 and 5 households are earning +\_ R1550.

4.12 SAVINGS

Savings are important for the poor in trying to help in accelerating consolidation process. It can be done in the form of stokvels or clubs. 40% of the total of 70% households in the area that have managed to consolidate (both internally and externally), their houses have been helped by stokvels and clubs but they are no longer part of them now. Only 1% of households in the area is saving from their salaries. The savings are for unforeseen problems like death not housing related. Most people do not have regular incomes and others have low incomes or no incomes at all, so they cannot save, as their incomes are used for buying food. Other people stated that they do not save from their salaries because they use all they have for improving the house.

4.13 ACCESS TO FACILITIES

From the beneficiaries the researcher found that residents have access to a number of facilities for example, crèche, clinics, community halls, library, schools and many more. Figure:3 shows other facilities that the community have access to. Some of these facilities are not as accessible as they want, and they experience some problems in using them. For example Mrs. Mkhize complained of the procedures they have to follow at clinic (Ekuphileni in Bellair). She stated “You have to be at the clinic as early as possible and around nine o’clock it is closed you cannot get help. The other clinic in Chesterville is a long distance walk and also far from transport point “.

Table 4.14 Feelings of the Households About their Access to Facilities

Facility	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Do not use facilities
Crèche	2	15	-	13
Clinic	7	9	12	2
Community Hall	10	20	-	-
Library	17	9	-	4
Schools	20	7	-	3

Source: Field Survey (2000)

Some households do not use certain facilities and they found it difficult to respond to the question. Figure 3 shows facilities that the community have access to.

**Table 4.15 Households Using Facilities**

Facility	No of h/holds using facilities	%	No of h/holds no using	%	Total no.	Total %
Crèche	17	57	13	43	30	100
Clinic	28	93	2	7	30	100
Community Hall	30	100	-		30	100
Library	26	87	4	13	30	100
Schools	27	90	3	10	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

The findings show that the beneficiaries at East Wiggins Fast Track use the crèches for their children while they are at work. The practice of grannies or neighbours looking after children is uncommon in this area. The fee for local day care centres is around R70 per month per child. The respondents use local day care centres and schools. For primary level parents pay R250 per child and for secondary level they pay R500. Both day care centres and schools are close to the area. They are at a walking distance of +\_15 minutes.

**4.14 SHOPPING AREAS**

The area has access to a number of shopping areas. These areas include Pavilion, Southway Mall, Berea Centre, Musgrave, and the City Centre. The problem is that they cannot get access to all these areas, as transport is structured in a way that they have to go via town before getting transport to these centres. Southway Mall and Pavillion, for example are close to East Wiggins, but in order to get there people have to go to town and get transport that goes to these areas. Due to these problems a number of households use the city centre for shopping. Out of 44 working people 39% go via town when they go to their workplaces (Lalucia and city

centre). Those people are at an advantage of doing their shopping at any time they want. They are the people who go in these areas most of the time. Other people operate their businesses at home. They also go to town when they want to buy their things to sell.

**Table 4.16 Shopping Areas**

Shopping area	No of people	Percentage
Pavilion	7	9
Southway Mall	-	
Berea Centre	3	4
Musgrave	-	-
City Centre	69	87
Total	79	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

**4.15 INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES.**

The beneficiaries have access to a number of services and infrastructure as discussed in the previous chapter. Households in the area have a residential access to the road, which is marked by numbers. They also have access to clean water provided by Durban Metro Water. They use a semi-pressure system in which water within the building is supplied solely from the tank.



Although the system has been viewed as cheap, 40% of the households interviewed have changed it. They put in pipes instead of tanks. They have decided to change the original system; they suspect that the tanks can lead to health problems because they cannot clean the tank and it might get tadpoles. They also complained that the water in the tank on hot days is so hot that you cannot drink it. They end up using all water in the tank by opening the tap to get access to cold water. This results in an increase of water charges and they will end up paying more. By removing the old system they want to have access to cold water. Drawing from these complaints posed by residents, one might say the system is not cheap because it will lead to

health problems (not confirmed at CMDA) and higher payments of services. 60% of households in the area are still using the original system. One can say that this change goes with affordability and health consciousness. Home telephones are provided in other households, but a small proportion of the households interviewed is no longer using their phones. They do not have money to pay for the service. Others have never had access at all. They use the neighbor's phone to receive calls. These services have accelerated the process of consolidation in a way that the owner-occupier used his/her own water, electricity and telephone where necessary. This is convenient as compared to informal settlements where they pay up front before getting water.

**Table 4.17 Number of Households Having Access to Home Telephone**

	No of Households	Percentage
H/holds using telephones	16	53
H/holds no longer using telephones	5	17
Never had access at all	9	30
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

**4.16 SERVICES THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE IN THEIR HOUSES**

43% of households in the area are interested in the installation of hot water as the service they like to have in their houses. They also consider the fact that paying for that service will increase the amount they pay for all the services. Because the majority of households earn little, only a small proportion will afford services. On the other hand 33% like to have access to a residential address rather than a post box.



#### 4.17 HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS

Security of tenure makes it possible for people to live in security, to invest their energy and resources in land. It is argued that tenure alone is not sufficient on its own to achieve increased levels of investment in house improvement. A study in Mexico City showed that levels of investment in house improvements were directly related to income levels (Baken and Linden, 1992). Mbonane (1999) emphasised this point by saying that improvements in housing are linked to household size, income and household economic activities. Housing improvement is also influenced by the location of the project. The discussion the researcher had with households showed that location has impacted on consolidation. Mr. Myeza, one of the people who managed to improve his house both internally and externally, said, "The area accelerates the process of consolidation, delivery costs were cheap and not taking time"

Out of the sampled population of 30 households, 75% have managed to improve both internally and externally. Internal improvements refers to investments that are made inside the house including buying furniture, wiring etc, whereas external improvements refers to the extensions made in the house in the form of adding extra rooms, painting, fencing, plastering etc. Before improvements, 70% had two rooms, 3% had added money during construction to get four rooms and the remaining 7% had one room. Plate:3 and 4 show the internal improvements and plate 5 shows the external improvements that are done by households at East Wiggins Fast Track (both internally and externally)

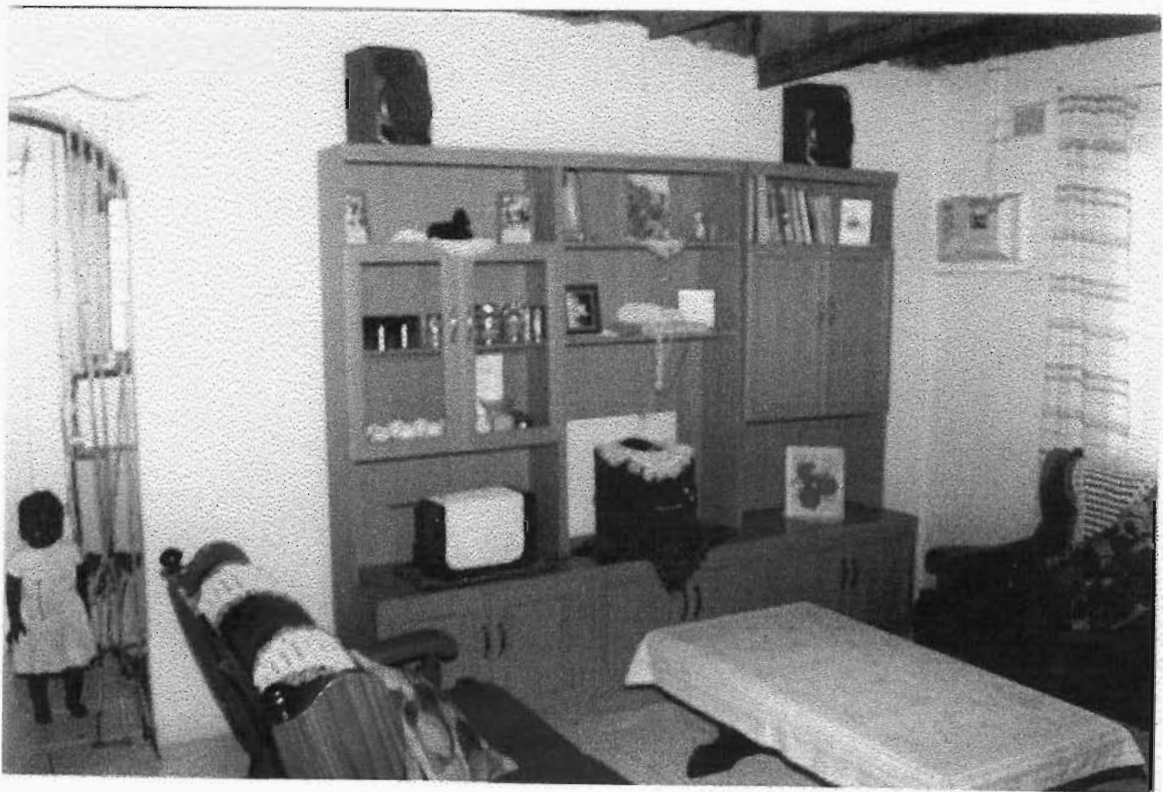
**Internal Improvements:** Out of the sampled population of 30 households, 83% have managed to improve their houses internally. The 17% failed to improve due to unemployment. These improvements are different, some households have done wiring and bought electric appliances and furniture, they have installed burglar guards in their houses for security reasons.

**Table 4.18 Levels of Internal Improvements to the House**

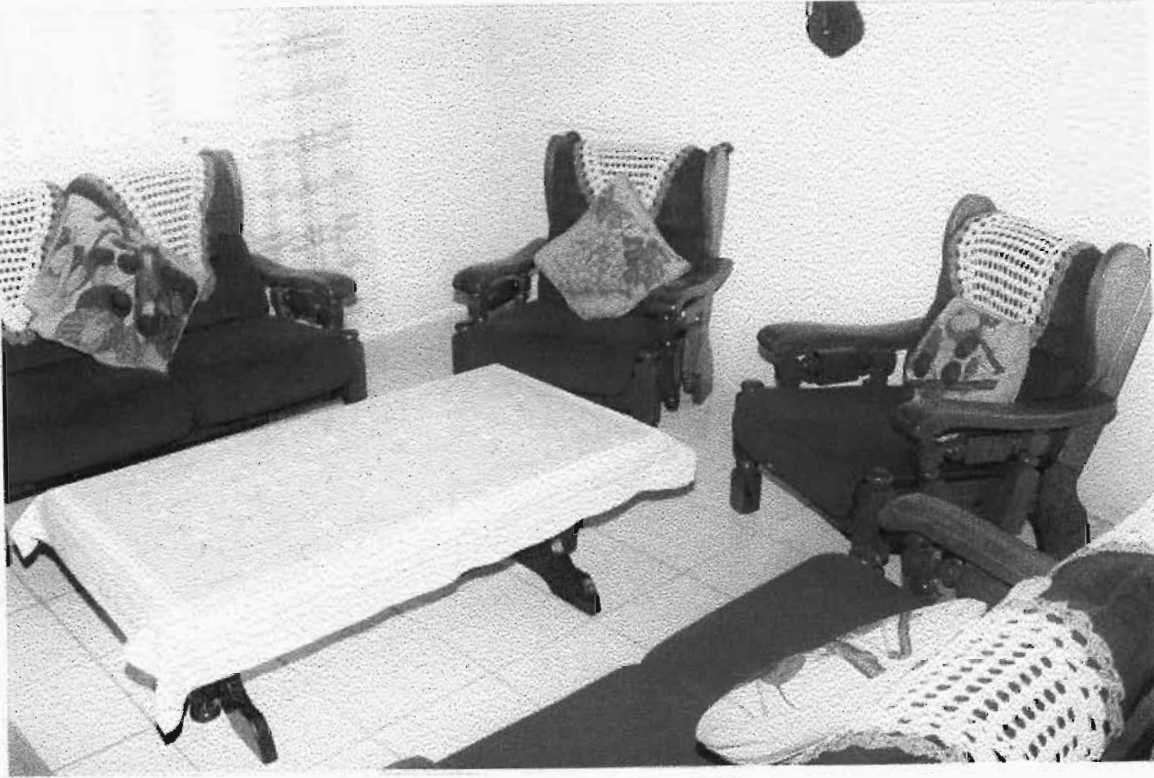
Internal Improvements	No of households	Percentage
Households who managed to improve	25	83
Those who failed to improve	5	17
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

**Plate 1 Internal Improvements**



#### Plate 4 Internal Improvements



**External improvements:** Out of the 30 households interviewed 20 have improved their houses after the original construction whereas 10 did not. Some have added two or three rooms and enlarged the existing rooms. For example Mrs. Mthembu has managed to add money on the original construction in order to get a four-roomed house and now she is in the process of improving her house. She stated "we have managed to put money on the original construction in order to get a small four room house and at this stage we are trying to enlarge the rooms that we have as they were small, we are also adding another room to make it five rooms". Other people have not improved their houses at all. The problem that they put first is the issue of unemployment, and therefore they cannot afford to consolidate. Some people in this group are working but earning little makes them unable to afford to save for housing improvements.

**Table 4.19 Levels of External Improvements**

External Improvements	No of households	Percentage
Households who managed to improve	20	67
Those who failed to improve	10	33
Total	30	100

**Source: Field Survey (2000)**

**Plate 5 External Improvements**

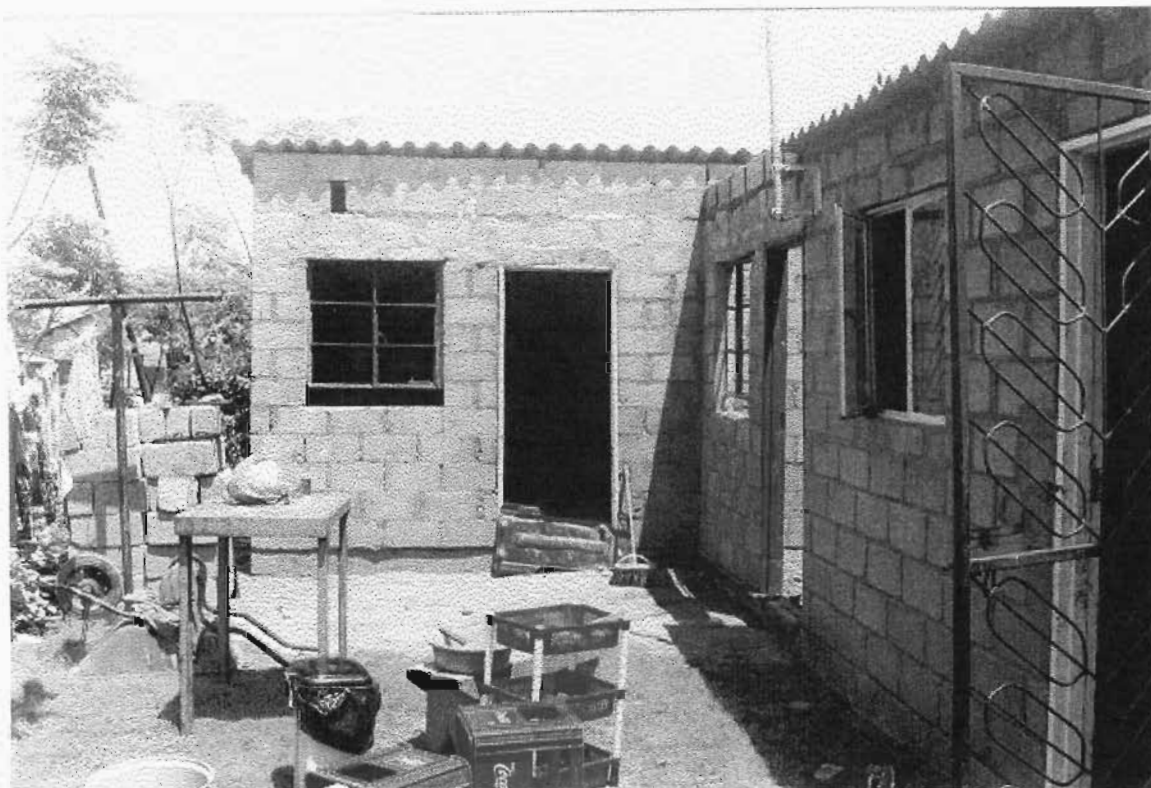


**Material Used:** It is important to know the material used in consolidation because that will help the researcher to understand whether the improvements that have been made helped to improve their standards of living and quality of life as the majority of people are from informal settlement where most of the time used recycled material for shelter provision. The majority of people in the area have used blocks, besters and cement while others have used corrugated iron, plastics and asbestos in roofing. Plate:6 and 7 in the next page show the material used in the area.

#### Plate 6 Material Used



## Plate 7 Material Used



## 4.20 CONCLUSION

The analysis presented above showed some benefits that the beneficiaries have from their location. They mentioned the benefits they have from location such as access to transport, being close to town and paying less for transport. But out of all these things, they appreciate the right to adequate housing, access to services and infrastructure which they do not have during their stay in informal settlement. Their presence in the area is not based on location but it was the only place available at the time that was accessible to them. The majority of these people are from the informal settlement of Cato Manor.



The majority of people in the area have managed to improve their houses internally and externally. The improvements they have made have a positive impact on their living standards and quality of life. In accelerating the improvements stokvels and saving clubs were used though they do no longer exist. They have helped them to save for housing improvements. The improvements they have made were not influenced by location as such though they mention less cost on delivery as they are close to the CBD where they bought their material.

The location of the area has enabled the beneficiaries to be involved in informal sector. Some beneficiaries are subletting in their houses but the way they do it is different to other areas. In East Wiggins Fast Track Project, it is the tenant that stays in the house and the owner stays elsewhere. Others are operating spaza shops, selling vegetable and drinks.

The services that are provided in the area helped in improving their quality of life and living standards. This is due to the fact that the majority of people are from the informal settlements where they do not have access to services and adequate housing. The services have accelerated the speed of consolidation, in the sense that they use their own water, electricity in consolidation process. The beneficiaries have access to a number of facilities including crèche, schools, community hall, and parks. They also share other facilities with neighbourhoods as they benefit from the broader Cato Manor development.

People in the area experience some problems but they do not link with location. They are general problems though they undermine the principles of sustainable development. Those problems include the negligence of the community in issues like waste collection dates, and the wet problem.

The analysis presented above show that the savings (that can help to consolidate like stokvels that were formed in the area), better income, transport in terms of cost and time, the location of the area, access to services, infrastructure and facilities have helped them to improve their living standards and quality of life. All these services influence the standards of living and quality of life of the beneficiaries.

Location in proximity to work places and have accessible transport helps the beneficiaries of the project to save time. The costs of transport are less as compared to some low-income housing projects developed in the peripheral of the city. Unemployment on the other hand impacts negatively on the idea of locating the poor close to CBD. Unemployed people do not enjoy much on location although they go off site (use transport). This implies that they could be anywhere in the city.

63% of households have workers working off site. They use transport during their working days. They also enjoyed their proximity to CBD because they take few minutes to reach their places of work. 37% of households consist of those who can be anywhere. Some proportion of households (27%) who work in construction on the area benefited on location. For them it is difficult to say they can be placed anywhere in the city. The construction they are working at, the skills they have qualified for that particular job are locational related. They benefited because some people in other projects do not have these kinds of opportunities (skills and training they acquire through JOB and CMCO).



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 CONCLUSION**

The East Wiggins Fast Track housing project is one of the areas that have been developed for low-income people who qualify for housing subsidy according to the established criteria. People in the area got a full subsidy because they earn little. The project is located close to the city centre, which put them on advantage to involve themselves in informal sector. Beneficiaries have access to transport and are paying less fare and that helps them to save for other household expenditures and also enable them to consolidate. The project contributes to the restructuring of the apartheid city, which is the policy of the democratic government. It helps in redressing the constraints posed by apartheid policies including time budget constraints and long commuter distances to and from workplaces that was experienced by women studied by Cook in Cape Town.

The hypothesis that location of low-income people in the East Wiggins Fast Track housing project close to the city centre has led to the improvements in their living standards and quality of life has been proved. The findings of this research show some benefits the beneficiaries have from good location including paying less for transport and proximity to the CBD. Beneficiaries themselves primarily emphasised access to services which they do not have in informal areas.

The findings also show that some beneficiaries of housing project in East Wiggins Fast Track managed to improve their living standards and quality of life while others did not. The improvements in living standards and quality of life are influenced by numerous factors including income, employment, access to facilities, housing improvements, access to transport, services and infrastructure. The more the households have access to these factors the more their living standards and quality of life improve.

Well-located land is important for the poor, they become close to employment areas, close to city, have access to shopping facilities and pay less for transport. High levels of unemployment undermine the advantages of being well located. 33% of people in the households interviewed are not working, so the advantage of being located close to the city centre does not make as much difference as assumed. But they do go off site where they use transport and other facilities.

The research findings show that some of the beneficiaries have managed to improve their houses both internally and externally. The rate of improvements has been accelerated by their involvement in saving clubs and stockvels. This shows the influence savings have on housing improvements which is difficult for other households in East Wiggins Fast Track because they are earning little and others do not have income at all.

The beneficiaries of East Wiggins Fast Track housing project lack information about loans for consolidation. The research shows that they do not have access to finance from traditional or non-traditional lenders to accelerate consolidation process. People in the area use their own savings to consolidate their houses, which sometimes end up delaying the process. The findings show that the location of the area has helped the beneficiaries to consolidate. These improvements are not possible in any housing project; location does give much advantage. For example, beneficiaries of the Lovu housing project which is on the periphery of the city have low levels of consolidation and they pay more for transport.

Although household size is large, there is no overcrowding, and the majority have extended their houses. Unemployment has a negative influence on overcrowding that might happen in this area. The household size will increase if adults are unemployed. Unemployed adults will not be able to afford to access their own houses, they will stay at home for longer and this will lead to household overcrowding. This will result in health problems. The people who also contribute to the increasing number of households are grandchildren and this is due to unwanted pregnancy.

The informal sector (spaza shops, selling vegetables and drinks) that operates at the present moment is not the result of good location. Much of the informal sector is serving the local community in the absence of formal facilities. Renting which beneficiaries also practice is one of the advantages they have from good location because people want to be close to their employment area.

Gardening in the area can be practiced but there is a lot that needs to be done before cultivating something. The area is bushy and people cannot just cultivate, it is a long way to go. This makes people to be lazy to practice gardening.

There is a positive hope that markets develop in the area and the skills they have managed to acquire will encourage the informal business that will help the poor to raise income for their households. Location will be more prominent than ever before to the beneficiaries as hoped that people will operate in these informal markets and will be able to generate income. People would generate more income as they would spend nothing on transport to work and there will be lots of people coming in the area for employment and otherwise interested on subletting space in some households.

The findings of the study show that the majority of the beneficiaries were from the informal settlements of Cato Manor and other areas including Inanda. These people were living in areas where living standards and quality of life were undermined, they had no access to proper services and infrastructure and they were vulnerable to environmental risks. Therefore it is clear that as they are housed in this area where they have access to adequate housing including services, infrastructure and facilities their living standards and quality of life have improved.

The beneficiaries of East Wiggins Fast Track housing project have benefited from the location of the project. The location has enabled them to pay less for transport, travel short distances, which save time and money. They are also able to involve themselves in informal work. Renting as part of informal business is being practiced in the area but in a different way. The findings show that the owner rented out the whole house and returned back to informal settlement because the space is small, so the house can not accommodate two families. Though people do this because of

the issue of affordability where they cannot pay for services, it impacts negatively on the delivery rate of housing and the number of the people in informal areas will not decrease.

New developments such as East Wiggins Fast Track are still in the process of development so that the threshold for activities will rise in the future. With this kind of new development, the beneficiaries in this area experience transport problems. Though these problems might be overcome in future, at the present moment the transport structure hinders the accessibility to other facilities including shopping and people are paying high transport costs in terms of time and money.

## **5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The idea of locating poor in proximity to CBD is a good one and it really works for the poor. It is important therefore to argue for these developments despite the constraints. The poor will continue paying less for transport and save time for some activities. As some proportion of people in the area that are economically active are working in the area (close to home in terms of not paying for transport), the location of the area put them on advantage as compared to peripheral projects. They might get employed at some construction companies after they finished the project, as they are skilled.

The other issue that must be considered is that, good location characterised with unemployment makes no difference to people's life. In order for the beneficiaries to appreciate location they have to be employed and have income at the end of the day. This implies that good location alone is not important; it needs to be incorporated with employment and income. Therefore, CMDA has to accelerate the construction of the informal business areas where the poor will generate income as they are still in a process of development. As the economy is going down, and the rate of unemployment is increasing, these kind of developments have to be encouraged in order for the poor to generate income for themselves.

When people get employed and have income they can save money and consolidate their housing. Being close to working places, shopping areas and so forth encourages this. In East Wiggins Fast Track the process is delayed by money. It is either there is no income at all or the beneficiaries wait for the month end to continue with the process. In order to accelerate the process of consolidation especially to those who can afford, the Housing Support Centre in the area working with CMDA has to give them relevant information also where they can get help to consolidate including the housing finance corporations that help the poor in bridging finance.

Drawing from other issues outlined in the findings which might not relate to location that much but hinder the locational benefits enjoyed by the beneficiaries (including less transport cost in terms of money and time to facilities), there is a need to integrate between departments in the implementation of housing projects especially for low-income people as different departments supply different facilities. These departments have to work together in order to achieve their goals. In the research conducted in East Wiggins Fast Track the researcher found that in ten years to come the households of East Wiggins Fast Track will be overcrowded due to increasing number of grand children (adolescence pregnancy). They will need more space to extend which is not possible under current circumstances. This on its own undermines the improvements of living standards and quality of life of low-income. Therefore in this case the departments of health, and department of social welfare have to liaise with the department of housing in order to overcome this problem.

It has found that the beneficiaries are not satisfied with the access they have with other facilities. The clinic (in Bellair Rd Ekuphileni clinic) is not accessible due to time constraint. As a community facility, its operation has to accommodate the beneficiaries needs. Therefore there is a need to assess the needs of the beneficiaries when a certain facility is put in a project and the facility itself has to satisfy beneficiaries needs.

Restructuring process is constrained by a number of factors yet its advantages are important particularly for poor. The beneficiaries of East Wiggins Fast Track witness this. As a result they pay less for transport, proximity to the CBD, and have more time for leisure. People in the project will be more economically active as markets that will encourage informal business are still in the process of development. Therefore, the benefits and the advantages they have in good location necessitate the need for pushing the idea forward. Planners should continue arguing for these sort of development despite the constraints.

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# APPENDIX

---

Name	R/ to	Cond	Ag	Empl	Empl	Type	Time	Time	Time	Tim	Tim	Type	Trans	No	of	Salary	Other
------	-------	------	----	------	------	------	------	------	------	-----	-----	------	-------	----	----	--------	-------

[illegible]

## CODES

### Relationship

1= Male head  
 2=Female head  
 3=Husband/ wife/ partner of head  
 4=Son/daughter of head  
 5=Brother/ sister of head  
 6=Parent of head  
 7=Tenant  
 8=Grand child of head  
 9=Other

### Employment

1= Employed  
     A. Formal  
     B. Informal  
 2=Housewife  
 3= Unemployed, seeking work  
 4= Unemployed, not seeking work  
 5= Student/ scholar  
 6=Pensioner  
 7=Preschool/ infant

2(a) How did you get access to the house?-----

-----

(b) Are you owning or renting the house?-----

-----

3(a) Where were you living before?-----

(b) If from informal settlement, how do you came there?-----

-----

© Why did you choose there?-----

-----

4. Why did you move to this area?-----

-----

5. Did you want to live here? Yes      No

6. Why-----

-----

7. Are you satisfied with the location of your area? Yes No

8. Why-----  
-----

9. What are your everyday problems of living in this area? -----  
-----

10 Where are your shopping areas? -----

11. How do you get to shopping areas? -----  
-----

12 if using a public transport how much does it cost to get there? -----

13 How often do you go there? ? -----

14 what type of services do you have in your household? ? -----  
-----

15 How has these services improved your living standards and quality of life? --  
-----

16 What are the most important services that you would like to have in this house?

17 How many rooms did the original house have? ? -----

18 Did you improve your house after the original construction? Yes    No

19 If yes, how many rooms does your house have now? -----

20 What kind of building materials did you use for additional rooms? -----  
-----

21 What other improvements have you made other than the additional rooms? ----  
-----

22 Other than external improvements, did you improve your house internally?  
Yes    No

23. If yes, what improvements have you made? -----  
-----

24 If no, why-----  
-----

25 Does this household have the following items:

Please tick where appropriate

Item	Yes	No
Television		
Radio		
Fridge		
Electric stove		
Piped hot water		
Electric kettle		
Micro wave oven		
Vacuum cleaner		
Washing machine		
Car		
Sofas		
Table and chairs		
Other, specify		

26(a) What are the good things of being located here? -----

-----

(b) What are the bad things of being located here? -----

-----

27. Has the location of the area affected the consolidation process? -----

-----

28. Does the area enables you to be involved in informal business? Yes No

29 Why? -----

30 What kind of informal business are you involved in? -----

-----

31. Where? -----

32. Are renting part of your house? Yes No

33 How much do you get from renting? -----

34 How has the location affected your living standards and quality of life? -----

-----

35 What are your leisure activities? -----

36. Where are they? -----

37 Do you use the following facilities?

Facility	Yes	No	Location
Clinic			
Library			
Community Hall			
Local Shops			

38. Who, looks after children? -----

39. For those who attend day care centres and schools, how long does it take to reach these areas from home?

Day care center	School

40. How much do you pay for a child?

Day care center	School

41 Do you save any money from your salary? Yes      No

42 If yes, what will you use your savings for? -----

-----

43 If no, why? -----

**Thank you for your participation**