

**“THE IMPACT OF SHIFT FROM
CANAAN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT
TO QUARRY HEIGHTS FORMAL SETTLEMENT
ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF THE PEOPLE”**

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SUMMARY

Apartheid city planning ensured that different races lived separately. Non Whites i.e. Coloureds, Indians and African Blacks were sited far from city centres and from the public amenities closer to the wealthier parts of the city. Black residential settlements in particular, did not have proper:-

- (i) drainage (ii) roads (iii) libraries (iv) post-offices (v) sports fields
- (vi) public swimming pool for children (vii) bioscope arena and
- (viii) old age homes for the senior citizens.

The mushrooming of the squatter camps in the Durban Functional area during the 80's has been an indication that Blacks needed other basic urban infrastructure. They wanted to reside near the city centre where most of them sold their labour. When political violence erupted in the rural areas of KZN (after the unbanning of political organizations, mainly the African National Congress) people moved away from the violence - stricken areas to places near the city where they erected temporary structures, the shacks or "imijondolo" in the Zulu language.

After 1994 the Government of National Unity (the first democratically elected government) came with new initiatives to improve the living conditions in the shack villages. For the first time the Metro City planning policy system took informal settlement into consideration.

Through the new government housing approach the poor were granted the housing subsidy which would enable them to own a new home in a place closer to their place of work.

Canaan informal settlement could not be upgraded because of the landslide. Instead residents of Canaan were relocated to Quarry Heights where they now have access to proper infrastructure. The community now has access to electricity, clean water, properly constructed roads with streetlights and proper sewerage.

This paper demonstrates that the beneficiaries of Quarry Heights have been the rightful recipients of the new product. They now live under improved conditions. The housing project/product of Quarry Heights, it seems has reached the intended target group, which is the poorest of the poor. The state is gradually meeting the needs of the homeless, their wants are being prioritized and redressed.

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THE IMPACT OF THE SHIFT FROM THE CANAAN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT TO QUARRY HEIGHTS FORMAL SETTLEMENT ON THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER 1

1.1 AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS

The study seeks to examine the dynamics of relocation and new conditions of life facing the residents of the formal housing settlement of Quarry Heights in Durban. This is formal housing implemented by the Durban Metropolitan Council, now the EtheKwini Unicity. The houses are between 18-20 square meters, in the mould of the so-called RDP houses. Most of the people and families allocated these houses were from the Canaan informal squatter settlement, situated near the predominantly Indian suburb of Clare Estate, six kilometers from the centre of Durban.

The main aims and objectives of the thesis are to examine:

- * The apast of the residents
- * Tenancy and ownership patterns.
- * Conditions of life.

- * Relation of residents with various organisational structures (clubs, parties, stokvels, religious organisations etc).
- * Schooling and transport patterns.
- * Patterns of employment and unemployment.

1.2 HYPOTHESES

The study seeks to explore the following hypotheses:

- * There is general dissatisfaction amongst the residents of Quarry Heights regarding their standard of living.
- * There is serious unemployment amongst the population of the area.
- * There is serious overcrowding in the new houses.
- * The distance to places of employment burdens residents in the quest for casual employment.

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT

2.1 THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE APARTHEID CITY

Apartheid planning ensured that South Africa's races were kept separately and that its objectives were achieved. Buffer strips (land belonging to the government) were used to racially separate residential settlements. In African townships all houses belonged to the state. This was done to control the inflow of people from the rural side into the urban areas. Only those whose labour was needed could reside in the township. When these people retired at work, they had to leave the township houses and go back to the reserve. In the later years the allocation of housing to Africans was carried out in accordance with Section 10 rights in the Black townships. It has been said that:

“Black townships within the city were characterised by:

- (i) insufficient land,
- (ii) overcrowded housing
- (iii) minimal service delivery or investment in infrastructure,
- (iv) lack of access to social services and facilities and
- (v) lack of formal economic activity”

(Integrated Development Planning, Planact, First Edition, October 1997, pg. 11)

During the apartheid era squatting was prevented by laws such as Native Land Act 1913, Illegal Squatters Act, Group Areas Act 1950 and the Homeland Citizenship Act 1970. The Homeland Citizenship Act further separated people according to their tongue. Planning was fragmented.

The presence of the above laws, however, did not mean the demise of squatting. People moved to the urban areas in very large numbers in search of work. At times, the state bulldozer would come and demolish 100 shacks today and the following day a new 100 would be erected again. Resistance became a common sight in some areas.

2.2 CONTEMPORARY HOUSING SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Many countries in the Southern hemisphere can legitimately claim to be experiencing a housing crisis. This is the result of the reality that few acceptable houses in serviced neighbourhoods are being built to satisfy the rapidly increasing urban population. However, South Africa has an even more serious housing crisis than most countries because of lack of access to urban land and poverty of the bulk of the black population must be added to the more general problem of urban population, growth, and construction shortfall.

“Half-hearted or purely incremental measures by a new government to deal with housing question are likely to be seen as inadequate by the majority of the black population”
(VanAmerigan, 1995, pgs 25-32).

Most of the building aimed to reduce the existing backlog would consist of replacing the existing informal housing for black people who live in unregulated, un-serviced housing areas distant from the major sources of employment. Housing is seen as complex social phenomenon that interacts in many ways with a very wide range of societal issues. Consequently, the housing question can only be addressed responsibly within a broader developmental framework, which looks into the real needs of the context, its historical past and the future. In South Africa, as in all developing countries, arguably, the most dominant of these realities are poverty, inequality, unemployment and scarce resources.

Finally, the White Paper has been formulated and it is for the first time that South African people have the same policy for housing. The housing policy has been drafted with the sole objective of creating an enabling environment that would facilitate further development. The White Paper is committed to upgrade land tenure particularly in the African areas and this is envisaged in partnership with all spheres of government, the private sector and civil society.

2.3 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

2.3.1 HOUSING

The Department of Housing (1997:8) defined this concept as a variety of processes through which habitable, stable and sustainable residential environments are created for viable households and communities. This implies that the environment within which a house is important as the house itself in satisfying the needs and requirements of the occupants.

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. All South African people will have access on a progressive basis to permanent residential structure with secured tenure, privacy and providing potable water, adequate sanitary facility including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply.

In obtaining a dwelling space the individual in fact gains access to a number of different products and according to Department of Housing, these products are as follows:

- * Access to land
- * Security of tenure
- * Access to Utility Service
- * Access to Shelter

2.3.2 DIFFERENT DWELLING TYPES

- * **FORMAL DWELLING**

Any completed dwelling constructed by formal sector operators.

- * **FORMAL ROOMS**

Hostels and backyard rooms and institutional (e.g. lodges, retirement homes, university residences, etc).

- * **SEMI- FORMAL**

Any partly block and mortal dwelling room built incrementally often by unregistered contractors (generally in rural areas and associated with traditional dwellings).

- * **INFORMAL**

Single or multi-room shacks

- * **TRADITIONAL**

Round, mud and thatch dwellings.

(A Strategic Housing Framework for the Durban Metropolitan Area, February 1999).

2.4 POSTAPARTHEID RESTRUCTURING

When the ANC government took control in 1994, it listed some basic needs that needed to be prioritised urgently of which housing happened to be one. The Reconstruction and Development Programme was seen as the vehicle to deliver this dream.

Early in October 1994, a record of understanding between the Department of Housing and Associates of Mortgages Lenders was signed, providing for the resumption of lending to lower-income borrowers by financial institutions, which for many years had refused to lend because of the fear of political violence, payment boycotts and racial prejudice. The government targeted 50 000 loans in the first year to households that qualified for government subsidy so that low income earners be able to purchase a house with a combination of subsidy and loan. One million low cost houses to be constructed over five years was the government's target. Unfortunately the set target could not be met because of the hiccups experienced in the first two years. The government has now developed the capacity to build 15 000 houses every month (Mandela's speech, 05/02/99).

The government undertook to campaign for a resumption of payment and to provide temporary mortgage indemnity where there was a breakdown of law in specific areas (Department of Housing and Association of Mortgage Lenders, 1994, pg 6).

2.5 RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The RDP's dream was to run housing programmes that would reduce poverty in communities. The RDP endorses the principle that all South Africans shall have the right to a secure place in which to live in peace and in dignity. Housing is a Human Right. One of the RDP's priorities was to provide for the homeless by allocating funds from the budget to reach a goal of not less than 5% of the budget by the end of five years. The government stipulated housing standards. As a minimum, all housing should provide protection from weather, a durable structure and a reasonable living space and privacy. The housing activities were placed in the centre of the Masakhane Campaign which was launched by the government in 1995 with the view to accelerate the delivery of basic services and housing, stimulating economic development in urban and rural areas, promoting the resumption of rent, services and bond payment and creating the conditions for large scale investments in housing and services infrastructure (The RDP, A Policy Framework, ANC, 1994).

Masakhane has been wrongly perceived as a bureaucratic campaign run by the government. The message that went out to the masses, particularly, through the commercial media was captured simply that the people must pay and the government must deliver. Masakhane, in essence, was concerned about the mass involvement of people in the transformation process. Masakhane was seen as people-driven and it encompassed all aspects of society, i.e. social, economic, environmental and cultural and so on.

Central to this approach, was the building of partnership, co-operation between the democratic state and our broad popular forces, mass-based formation, community based organisations and other progressive formations of civil society and of course private sector for a better life for all (The RDP, A Policy Framework, ANC, 1994).

2.6 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN HOUSING DELIVERY

The Housing Ministry targets to building as many houses (for the poor) as they can. Speedy housing delivery largely depends on the commitment and ability of the commercial banks to provide loans to the poorest of the poor and the co-operation of the construction industry. There has been less co-operation in housing for the poor majority, particularly from banks and developers especially during the period 1994-1996.

The Minister of Housing Mthembu Mahanyele who succeeded Joe Slovo, reported that the relations between her department and the banks were improving and the issue of red-lining of certain black areas-meaning that they could not get financial help from lending institutions because they were considered high risk areas regarding repayments of bonds - has been resolved through the establishment of the Mortgage Indemnity Fund (Portfolio of South Africa, Page 113/114).

Another notable policy shift was around the government support for the people driven housing movement, which has emerged in the recent years. Based on the tradition of Burial Society and other co-operative schemes in the townships and informal settlements, the poor and the working class are mobilising their own resources, skills and energies through co-operative saving schemes to add to the governments's housing programme.

2.7 HOUSING SAVING SCHEMES

In various parts of the country Gauteng, Eastern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal and North West, hundreds of housing saving schemes have been organised by the poor most of whom do not have access to credit from commercial banks. These housing savings schemes cover more than sixty to seventy thousand families and have already contributed to the construction of more than eight thousand houses.

“Most houses built by the homeless are decent, large houses between fifty square meters and sixty square meters; however, critics are concerned about the quality of some of these houses (Mayibuye Supplement, October, 1997).

In planning, designing and building, their own houses, people are in control of most important decisions such as:

- * How if an organisation is involved, the area in question should be planned
- * How the house is designed
- * How the resources are utilized
- * Where and how they can obtain affordable building materials, and
- * How the houses will be built (Mayibuye Supplement, 1997).

With the help of a progressive local NGO called Peoples Dialogue, which provides technical and institutional support, about 500 housing saving schemes have established a network organisation known as the South Africa Homeless Peoples Federation (HPF), which has established a Revolving Fund. This fund is called “UTSHANI FUND” meaning (Grass Roots) to finance.

2.8 EMPLOYER HOUSING IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to the Local Government Digest (Volume 16, No. 9, April 1997), the private sector involvement is the key to addressing South Africa’s housing delivery crisis. In KwaZulu-Natal, Grinaker was the first developer to start construction in Cato Manor area where there was a need of many thousand houses.

The problem of housing in South Africa is here to stay as long as resources of the private sector, non-governmental organisations and employees are not prepared to meet the

challenges of providing affordable housing to all. The Housing White Paper (1995) acknowledges the importance of employers and the positive impact they can have on the housing needs of their employees. The government appeals to employers to lend a helping hand to employees in the housing arena.

The housing circumstances of employees have a material influence on their health and productivity. The housing crisis facing South Africa requires the mobilization of every effort, including companies in relation to their employees. It is incumbent on companies to know the housing circumstances of their employees and, within their means to provide advisory, administrative, financial and other material assistance in order to improve the housing circumstances of their employees. This process and challenge should be undertaken in consultation with the affected workers and representative trade unions” (Special Report, No. 1 of 1998, housing fax/facts, pg 1 of 9).

The following are four specific problem areas, which continue to affect the ability of many employers to identify and buy or rent suitable housing:

- * Lack of housing awareness
- * Low levels of affordability
- * Poor access to housing goods and services
- * Limited housing availability

In trying to address the above problems some employers are implementing a number of assistance programmes to their employees, such as:

- * Housing awareness
- * Housing affordability
- * Access to goods and services

This means that employers are providing or facilitating housing related basic education and information on specific housing issues, opportunities and services.

They are aiding workers in housing affordability and this is done in a number of ways such as additional monetary benefits, employer housing subsidies, housing investment and saving schemes. Employees are helped to access housing related resources, goods and services they may require to buy, rent or build a house (Special Report, No. 1 of 1998, Housing fax/facts).

Private sector plays an important role in housing delivery. The proactive involvement of national and provincial and local government in working together with private sector is very encouraging.

2.9 SPECIAL PROJECTS DIRECTORATE

The Special Integrated Residential Project for Urban Renewal (SIPP) was identified as one of the first led-presidential programmes to initiate the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme. The motive of the programme was to kick-start development in major urban areas, focusing on violence-torn communities. The programme was intended to ensure an integrated approach to the provision of infrastructure, housing, community and reaction facilities as well as job opportunities with a view to transforming previously disadvantaged communities and creating sustainable and habitable environment (Annual Report, Department of Housing, 1998, pg 59).

2.10 IMPACT OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING ON GEAR

Housing delivery, especially in the low-income sector will play a pivotal role in the reconstruction and development in South Africa. A massive home-building programme would provide a substantial stimulus to the economy as a whole. In view of objective of GEAR and National Housing Programme, it cannot be argued that housing is making a major contribution to the achievement of goals of GEAR.

These contributions are as follows:

- * Poverty relief
- * Investment
- * Employment Growth
- * Balance of Payment, savings and
- * Inflation

2.11 HOUSING SUBSIDY ISSUES CURRENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION

2.11.1 WHAT IS A SUBSIDY?

A subsidy is a grant from the government to help citizens buy or build their own home. Each citizen qualifies for one subsidy. It is not a cash payment. The government pays the subsidy directly to the person selling the house or building it for the citizen. Citizens do not have to pay this money back.

2.11.2 WHO QUALIFIES FOR A SUBSIDY?

A citizen qualifies for a subsidy if he/she has a total household income of R3500 or less per month, and he/she must be a first time homebuyer. He/she should not have already been given a housing subsidy. He/she can be single with dependents or married, or living with a long-term partner. He/she must be a citizen of South Africa or a foreigner with a permanent residence permit and must be 21 years or older or married in terms of the civil laws or customary union accepted by the laws of the country.

Subsidies are only available on house costing not more than R65 000. The White Paper described subsidy arrangements as a triumph for those who earn small incomes. The whole project also focuses on upgrading the informal settlements.

Capital subsidies of R15 000 for the poorest, based on the existing scheme of R12 500 per household were seen as a cornerstone in the governments approach and ‘width’ over ‘depth’ was a way of balancing need and resources. The table below shows how subsidy works:

JOINT SPOUSE INCOME	SUBSIDY
R 0-800	R 15 000
R 801-1 500	R 12 500
R 1 501-2 500	R 9 500
R 2 501-3 500	R 5 000

The implication of this table above is that those individuals who earn higher salaries are subsidised less. The lowest income families are subsidised more. In other words, the lower the income, the higher the subsidy. The higher the income, the lower the subsidy. For example, joint spouse income between R 2 501-R 3 500 qualify for subsidy of R5000 (as reflected in the above table). The subsidy had to be designed to allow the poorest to use it in order to assist them to build a reasonable structure for themselves, or with the help of others in their communities. There are two kinds of institutional subsidy:

2.11.3 A SOCIAL HOUSING SUBSIDY

The kind of subsidy is paid to an organisation like a church or specially formed company. The organisation will buy or build housing, which they can rent if they can apply for a subsidy. Social housing has been contributing enormously to racial integration, urban generation and densification with South African cities. It is said that in the inner city, Johannesburg alone at least R30 million has been invested by social housing institutions in recent years.

Social housing programmes are envisaged to lead to the achievement of broader social development goals such as resident empowerment, community development and local employment creation.

Public and private sector developers in South Africa are establishing institutions to undertake social housing projects by using the institutional through participatory management ways involving residents.

2.11.4 A CO-OPERATIVE SUBSIDY

This kind of subsidy is given to a group of people who form a co-operative to buy or build together. The provincial administration can advise the group on how to form a co-operative.

2.11.5 RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAMMES

Apart from the current housing subsidy instrument, which has a focused target group, the housing subsidy scheme does not provide assistance towards the development of rental housing, and neither does it cater for the assistance to tenants who are not accommodated within the institutional housing subsidy development.

2.12.1 INCREMENTAL HOUSING APPROACH

DEFINITION OF CONCEPT

According to Spiegel et al (1994) the most important factors of the new policy framework have been determined by its overall commitment to what has been termed the incremental approach to public housing provisions. The approach sometimes is called ‘added self help’, and it was the brainchild of Joe Slovo (the first Housing Minister in the post apartheid era). In general a defining characteristic of policies framed in forms of the incremental approach and their acceptance that public intervention in the housing process should be limited to the provision of a serviced site, possible with some minimal ‘super-structure’ such as a floor slab and toilet or ‘wet core’ on and around, upon which beneficiaries can then construct houses in an incremental fashion through their own efforts or ‘sweaty equity’.

Allocation of a serviced site, as the basic level of provision, may be subsidised fully or partially in various ways, but the process of consolidation (i.e. the building of a formal

house over a more or less extended period of time) is seen to be primarily the responsibility of the beneficiary households. Households are also assisted to access credit finance for the building process. Households are required to draw significantly on their own resources to transform their shacks into 'proper houses'.

Housing Minister Sankie Mthembu Mahanyele attacked the housing policy she inherited from the late Joe Slovo and she described it as a short-term solution that would worsen South Africa's squatter problem. She said incremental housing approach would start with the building of toilets in the bushes.

"For me it is a short-term solution because you will have a roof over your head, but you will be contributing to a squatter problem". She stressed that this housing policy had to be changed. She said the incremental approach could lead to houses standing half-finished because their owners had run out of money or been fired from their jobs.

"How do you deal with unfinished products? It will be a slum in the making; ten years down the line you'll have another Alexandra. The incremental approach would not be adequate for African families, whose average size was 3, 4 people. Is it single squatters we are building? I'm saying let's face this problem, is incremental housing a solution?

Can somebody tell me where incremental housing has worked? When I went through the policy, I was not comfortable with the concept (Sunday Times, 16 July 1995)".

Finally, the cabinet decided to shift from incremental housing approach to a completely constructed house, which are about 20 and 40 square meters. Although there is strong criticism over the type and size of the houses being built, the government is speculating the period 15-20 years to meet the existing backlog.

2.12.2 SOME PROBLEMS HAMPERING HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

There have been several problems hampering the housing development, especially regarding that of the poorest of the poor:

- (1) It has been noted that in provinces where regional service councils are less devoted to development and where councils have failed to prioritise their housing projects, the Provincial Housing Department Board fails to use its allocated budget effectively. These councils expect government to develop them, bring inputs housing etc. councils must hold meetings with the public.
- (2) There has been limited success in normalising the housing environment since the termination of the Mortgage Indemnity Fund at the end of March 1998. The MIF was used to establish whether a previously redlined area was now safe to lend in (i.e. credit worthy) (Housing fax. No. 17 of 1-23 August 1998, page 2 of 5).
- (3) The South Africa's economic policy (Growth, Employment and Redistribution), commonly known as GEAR prioritises repayment of the international debt. To achieve this dream, the government has decided to reduce unnecessary spending in all its departments. Budgetary cuts in the housing department impedes delivery.

The government is cash strapped.

- (4) “The National Home Builders Registration Council (NHBRC) has expelled 64 building companies for various reasons including corruption and disappearing with deposits. In addition 58 other builders/developers have been suspended while cases of abuse have been investigated by the council. Most of the builders were found to have either been liquidated, absconded with consumer’s deposits, had court judgements against them or had committed some other fraud. The NHBRC receives about 100 complaints a month from homeowners and inspects about 1200 newly built homes a week. Two hundred and fifteen have been rejected by the Council” (Sowetan 22nd April 1998).
- (5) Lack of co-ordination between housing and the provision of infrastructure, education, health and social services.
- (6) Existing legislation, which constrains the speedy release and development of land.
- (7) The diversity of informal settlements within the Metro and their concomitant range of development needs are critical factors when considering housing delivery.
- (8) Land availability : Perhaps the most significant factors hampering appropriate location of housing delivery in the Durban Metropolitan Area are those associated with appropriate land availability.
- Opportunities to promote development of vacant and or under utilised land are subject to a number of restrictions, not least of which is acquiring the land at an affordable price. The same restrictions may apply to land, which has been informally settled.

- (9) Constraints on developable land : Further, underdeveloped land is not necessarily developable land. The assessment of underdeveloped land includes geo-technically unstable land, servitudes, flood lines, road reserves, land identified as a priority for environmental reasons, and major planned developments such as the Airport and Gateway Regional Centre in the North, etc. Other competing land uses and the 'NIMBY' syndrome' (not in my back yard) also act as significant constraints on the development of land for low-income housing. Another problem is that some of the potential land, which may be suitable for lower income housing or economic generating activity is subject to land claims. Further, much of the underdeveloped land is poorly located for residential purposes, e.g. on the urban periphery, outside nodes and corridors, etc. (A Strategic Housing Framework for the Durban Metropolitan Area. February 1999).
- (10) The Ingonyama Trust Act: This act was reviewed and later amended. The old Ingonyama Trust Act (1994) came about as a result of a deal between Dr Buthelezi of KZN and the then State President FW De Klerk. The Act provided that the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini would be the sole trustee of KwaZulu-Natal land estimated at about 3 million hectares. The old Act has been a stumbling block to development in many areas of kwaZulu-Natal because it meant that many people failed to obtain loans from banks or national housing subsidy because they did not own the land. The new Act provided for a formation of eight member board which would oversee its implementations, and the Zulu King is the Chair of the board. The board will not be able to lease or mortgage the land (Natal Witness. 04/08/1998).

- (11) The Housing Ministry since 1994 has been operating / delivering without knowing the exact figures of the housing backlog. Planning cannot be successful if the correct numbers of people for whom it is done is not known. Census 96 and other successful scientific surveys came up with reliable statistics of the backlog.
- (12) A debate over the inflow and the reliable estimates of illegal immigrants that come from neighbouring African States into South Africa has never been conclusive. Statistics suggest that the number of refugees in the country is extremely high. Critics view this thinking as emanating from xenophobic stereotypes.

Population policy further stipulates that it is misleading to conclude that illegal immigrants are the main cause of the present wave of socio-economic ills the country is facing. "Housing shortages, employment and other social ills are largely not caused by the 'influx' of illegal immigrants but should be attributed to the legacy of apartheid" (White Paper on Population Policy, March 1998, page 33).

- (13) It is thought that criticism by opposition parties sometimes cripples delivery.
- (14) Political differences in the Cabinet affect the pace of delivery. For example, in 2003 the Premier of KZN Lionel Mtshali, decided to fire the Minister of Housing, Dumisani Makhaye from his position.
- (15) Limited availability of well located, affordable land for low income housing.

2.13 WHAT IS A DELIVERY SYSTEM?

South Africa has an urgent need for rapid delivery since living conditions in many informal settlements are not static. The pace of delivery is between “impressive” and “too slow” in some areas.

A delivery system is concerned about the trend in which housing production is going to be carried out. Angel sees it as a system of arrangements between people (i.e. beneficiaries) on the one hand, developers to erect the housing structure, and many other people that have access to housing resources, whether they be land finance, materials, permits, contacts or simply information (1977, p. 1117). It (delivery system) can be seen to focus on the processes engendered by the inter-relationship of three important components of housing provision namely:

- (i) activities
- (ii) actors and
- (iii) premises

It is essentially about how these three factors are brought together in order to deliver the housing product to the homeless (Walker N. A new approach to Housing Delivery: SOME IDEAS FOR DISCUSSION. RESEARCH REPORT No. 1 APRIL 1994). Post-apartheid planning aims to break down the racial arrangement of cities and wants to restructure its spatial form in a way that will benefit all. As its foundation it employs non-racial, non-sexist, non-discriminative strategies to cater for all.

The fundamental concept informing the spatial development framework is that of the “compact city. This idea, originally put forward by Dewar and Uitenbogaard, sought to address the legacies of South Africa’s urban form by advocating the containment of urban sprawl and the “implosion” of the city, namely:

- (i) encouraging high density
- (ii) mixed land use development that focused on the urban core and open spaces within the city boundary. (Dewar and Uitenbogaard, 199)

In the spatial development framework, this basic philosophy has been adapted to take into account the realities of Durban's spatial structure, and especially the fact that the vast majority of its inhabitants live in townships and informal settlements that have to be integrated into the metropolitan system, rather than drained by the movement of the majority of their inhabitants to the urban core. (Doug Hindson, First Draft 1998).

The SDF is based on a number of "structuring elements". These are "areas of need," nodes and corridors, areas designated for "infill and densification", areas for "investment maintenance". and "strategic spatial investment" areas. (Doug Hindson).

Today the poor communities are able to live in the same vicinity as the rich communities, sharing the same infrastructure & amenities. However, most upper-class residential areas do not embrace this idea under the perception that their "poor neighbours" will always steal their belongings. To site an example, the White communities who used to reside in the city core sold their properties when they were joined by Africans, Indians and Coloureds. They moved to places like Durban North, Durban Westville, Cowies Lake etc. These areas are self-sufficient because of the malls where they access all the economic activities e.g. banks, building societies, upmarket shops, post offices, restaurants etc. In recent years the Indian, Coloured and African upper-class exodus has been noticed, moving into the latter areas. Seeing this inflow, some upper-class Whites in these areas are trekking out to more secluded places either to the south of the province or to the north.

2.14 HOUSING POLICY

Different parties and sectors have a responsibility to provide housing to the South African citizens. The South African Government has created a policy framework and legislative support to enhance fulfillment of this dream. The government (from the Annual Budget) allocates subsidy funds for all regions. The government's sole intention is to render housing to South Africa's poorest of the poor. Each province is given its own allocation and the number of subsidies to be given to each province is determined by the level of backlog prevalent in that province. The number of households in various income categories of the subsidy scheme and the ratio between urban and rural housing and the performance of the relevant provincial government also inform the number of allocation to be given (SOUTH AFRICA YEARBOOK 1999, SIXTH EDITION, pg 369).

The department of Housing through the use of "Nomvula" a new computer-based data collection and monitoring system is now able to produce reliable and up-to-date figures on subsidised housing and house construction progress.

The People's Housing Projects (PHP), launched in April 1998, takes into account the efforts and initiatives of those citizens who prefer to build their own houses, and are prepared to utilize their resources, skills and energies to housing themselves. The PHP renders technical, financial and other aid for those wanting to build houses on their own. The Provincial Housing Development Boards are assigned to register and manage funding in this case. The People's Housing Partnership Trust (PHPT) helps to accelerate delivery.

2.15 THE HOUSING ACT 1997

According to the Constitution of South Africa everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. The Housing Act 1997 ensures that this idea is implemented. The principles of the Housing Act can be classified into four categories, namely principles:

- * Relating to the interest of those who cannot independently provide for their housing needs
- * Aimed at promoting integrated housing development, which is economically, fiscally and financially affordable and sustainable
- * Guiding the effective functioning of the housing market and
- * Principles relating to human rights matters

The Housing Act of 1997 clearly explains tasks and responsibilities of the government. The role can be summarised as follows:

- * The National government must create and make possible a sustainable housing development process
- * The Provincial government must do everything in their power to promote and facilitate the provisions of adequate housing in their provinces within the framework of national policy
- * Municipalities must take all reasonable and necessary steps within the framework of national and provincial legislation and policy to ensure that inhabitants in their areas of jurisdiction have access to adequate housing on a progressive basis

According to the White Paper (1995) housing programmes must be designed in a way that:

- * They promote community consultation / participation in governance and development
- * They educate the public about their rights and responsibilities
- * They mobilise resources from the public, private and community sectors
- * They facilitate the provision of housing and payment thereof
- * They promote reconciliation, peace and a democratic culture

Section 4 of the Housing Act, 1997 stipulates that the Minister publishes a code, referred to as the National Housing Code, which includes national housing policy and administrative and procedural guidelines pertaining to effective implementation and application of the national housing policy and strategy. Provincial governments have made good progress with the development of provincial housing legislation and it is foreseen that those provincial governments that have not yet introduced housing legislation will do so during 1999 (South African Year Book 1999, page 370).

2.16 THE PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL EVICTIONS AND UNLAWFUL OCCUPATION OF LAND ACT, 1998

This Act regards eviction of occupants on any piece of land as illegal as it is carried out without a court order. "A court will in future be able to grant an eviction order only after taking account of all considerations, and if it thinks the eviction is fair and equitable (South African Year Book 1999, 370)

2.17 PROVINCIAL INITIATIVES

The Interim Constitution gave power to regional governments to formulate their own housing policy although this had to adhere to national norms and standards. The KZN Provincial Government has developed the KwaZulu-Natal Housing Bill, which outlines the powers, duties and responsibilities of both provincial and municipal government. In the past local authorities acted as an agent of national government in local developments, whereas the Act provides that a local authority may now act as a developer. This would include taking significant financial risks. Many local authorities may not have the vast management skills necessary to carry out such processes. Joint ventures are also enabled through the Act, and may prove to be a solution to such risks, although it will also involve significant capacity on the part of the local authority to ensure that such agreements are not one sided (A Strategic Framework for the DMA, February 1999, page 43).

The Housing Act, 1997 further, recommends that local authorities should be developers of last resort but should embrace a very pro-active development facilitation role.

2.18 THE HOUSING CONSUMER PROTECTION MEASURE BILL OF 1998

The Bill provides protection to homebuyers through the National Housing Builders Registration Council (NHBRC). The Bill attempts to ensure the registration of all homebuilders with the NHBRC. It also stipulates that all new homes must be provided with a ‘deemed warranty’. It is important to note that the beneficiaries of the state subsidy scheme will also be covered by this deemed warranty (A Strategic Housing framework for the DMA, February 1999, page 45).

The NHBRC provides cover for home built using the subsidy and all homes must be in line with the NHBRC’s minimum quality standards listed in the Home Builders Manual.

2.19 DURBAN METRO LAND INVASION POLICY

This policy is formulated at the local government level. According to this law land invasion should be prevented and must be dealt with under a single land invasion control department, which covers every plot / land within the metropolitan area. The policy gives authority to private landowners to control land invasions on their land. “The council will endeavour to operate at the request of the private landowners in order to prevent land invasion” (A Strategic Housing Framework for the DMA, February 1999, page 58).

2.20 DURBAN METRO HOUSING ALLOCATION POLICY

The Metro allocations policy states that any subsidy qualifying household in the Metro can if so wish apply for any project within the Metro regardless of local council boundaries.

2.21 UPGRADING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Below are three approaches to the upgrading of informal settlements:

(1) IN-SITE UPGRADING

This is an effort to work around the existing housing infrastructure.

(2) ROLL-OVER UPGRADING

This involves the temporary displacement of housing and people and the dismantling of the existing housing in order to redevelop the area.

1. RELOCATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Households are removed to a new site approved by them.

2.22 ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT POLICY, 1998

All department projects, including housing have direct effects on the natural environment. The Strategic Housing Framework sees the significance of reducing negative environmental impact in the Metro Area. The White Paper on Environmental Management Policies wants to integrate the environmental impact management with all economic, social, cultural and political development activities in order to achieve sustainable development whilst satisfying basic human needs. It stresses that there is an urgent need for Environmental Impact Assessment (EIAs) in all development plans.

2.23 DEVELOPMENT FACILITATION ACT AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENT (DFA)

The removal of some informal settlements to areas adjacent to formal settlements is condoned and facilitated in the DFA. The DFA has as one of its principles “the integration of formal, informal and existing settlements”. The principle is hoping that by integrating formal and informal settlements located in the same catchment area, the problem of urban sprawling will be dealt with. This principle further, argues that the available resources and infrastructure to settlements, which are arranged in a fragmented pattern need to be examined thoroughly before implementation takes place.

The above principle, however, does ignore the reality that in most cases the removal of communities that have resided in the area for many years is disruptive and traumatic to the people.

South Africa's yester years planning did not have a clear policy for informal settlements. After South Africa's first democratic elections the government came up with an initiative to provide low-cost housing to the poor. This was seen as a positive move towards poverty alleviation. It also indicated that the city was now prepared to cater for all communities even those who could not afford to purchase a home in cities.

South Africa's Government of the day regards shacks as real homes.

"The city is, and will continue to be built through informal as well as formal processes. Furthermore, the mindset of formal and informal management processes are fundamentally different. These factors imply that the role of the informal processes of the city building will have to be accepted as a reality, and a clear distribution in the sphere of responsibility of the formal and informal is necessary

(J. Kiepel, Vol. 2, page 154).

An inconclusive debate in the National Housing Forum took place at the time. The debate was over the place of informal settlements in a new housing setting. On the other hand there were those who strongly believed in the upgrading of existing informal settlements because the government had limited resources. On the other hand were those who strongly felt the state subsidised housing programme and that efforts to upgrade settlements would worsen the problem of poverty and inequality.

2.24 TENURE SYSTEM IN THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

During the 1970's the government stopped providing low-cost housing (i.e. township 4 roomed houses) to the poor. As the cities expanded considerably, more workers were drawn into it. Men were accommodated in barracks or hostels where there was no privacy for individuals. The wives and the children of the migrant workers moved unlawfully into the city to join their husbands and fathers. This resulted in erection of squatter shacks, which happened to be built in backyards of township houses, but also on vacant lots.

Hindson and McCarthy argued that backyard tenancy has never been a dominant mode of informal residence in the Durban Functional Region. To a certain extent, it seems to have expanded in Umlazi, particularly under pressure from people wanting access to services. Hindson and McCarthy see backyard tenancy as the expensive mode of informal residence. It was usually concluded between relatives. The shack used to be built in the premises of the owner of the formal house. To the tenant the shack served the purpose of a kitchen, bedroom and lounge. The shack occupant shared water, toilet, bathroom and the washing lines with the owner of the formal house.

Shacks built on vacant land were usually demolished by state bulldozers. In some cases demolition was carried without the occupants consent whilst in some cases it was preceded by a short notice to vacate the land. Shack dwellers paid rent to the landlords.

As apartheid laws started to loosen, the urban poor began to build themselves informal houses for themselves on vacant land near the urban centres. During the late 1980's and early 1990's political violence erupted in many African residential areas in South Africa. In the Durban Functional Region (DFR) people seeking asylum settled in places close to their place of work.

Seeing that nothing was done by the municipality of Durban to remove or punish illegal occupants, other homeless people followed suit and the result was the rapid expansion of squatter camps situated near the urban centres. According to Catherine Cross urban informal settlements usually adhere to the rural tenure system of the rural place of the residents where they come from.

“Rural facto tenure is a contractual exchange relationship between landholders and the community at large. That is, citizenship requires that when the candidate receives the land, he also accept an ongoing active commitment to the community. If this understanding is violated by flagrant and habitual anti-social behaviour, the individual or household may be expelled. In this country it is probably more common in the turbulent urban context than in rural areas. Criminals, com-tsotsi’s and active supporters of rural political movements are all subject to expulsion in the interests of the community. Absolute tenure rights are difficult to provide for this reason (Catherine Cross, *Informal Settlements in KwaZulu-Natal: A Synthesis Report*. 1994).

This quoted statement implies that individuals or households that behave in an unwanted, unacceptable and deviant manner are pushed out of the community or are punished by the community. All members of the community are expected to comply and conform to the already set up rules. Both rural and urban communities show the existence of social solidarity, which is in place to provide security and to enhance the community’s interest and goal from the outside.

2.25 THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

The role informal settlements play in the city needs to be recognised and their longer-term existence within the over urban fabric clarified. Clearly informal settlements are fulfilling a current need for shelter for about half the African population of the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA). In so doing, however, they are not able to provide levels of service provision, environmental health, and housing to be considered a viable alternative.

The need is both to prevent the emergence of new settlements and the growth of existing settlements, whilst improving the quality of life for residents in these types of settlements by ensuring that a baseline standard of environmental health, security and safety requirements are met.

Recognition of the impact of informal settlements on adjacent formal areas cannot be ignored. Many property owners are threatening to boycott rates due to the presence of informal settlements nearby, and in some cases a virtual siege mentality has taken hold amongst formal residents who express concerns regarding thefts, safety and in some cases prejudice development of the area for class appropriate uses, such as higher density working class accommodation, commercial developments, and so on (Report to Metro Housing Committee: Beneficiary Turnover in Housing Projects, 7th March 2000).

The chapter examined the legislative frameworks and realities related to the housing shortage and delivery in the national and provincial context. It attempted to pinpoint the various dynamics that shape and are shaped by such processes.

CHAPTER 3

3.1. A HISTORY OF CANAAN AND QUARRY HEIGHT IN THE DURBAN CONTEXT

The community of Canaan is made up of citizens from throughout KwaZulu-Natal. To a great extent it has been noted that settlers in Canaan were pushed in by varying reasons ranging from wanting to join a spouse/partner, seeking job opportunities, medical help and study purposes in the city. Additionally, most residents experienced political violence at their previous place of residence and had come to seek asylum in the city. The place was named 'Canaan' by a pastor who lived in the area. He regarded land on the hillside as the promised land of God.

The land adjacent to the Clare Estate upper / middle class (mainly Indian residential settlement) belongs to the Department of Transport. This land was found to be unstable and the geo-technical report suggested that the area was unsuitable for low-cost housing because of high service costs to counteract the landslide. It was realised that upgrading of Canaan settlement for low-cost housing was going to make little sense because of its poor location.

Municipal administrators often quarrel with residents of urban informal settlements because municipal authorities view such land occupancy as illegal and interfering with proper and well-developed city planning. Illegal occupation of land poses a threat to established rightful land holders in the area. At times an effort to remove these communities fails because of resistance from the people who are to be removed. In some cases especially where public consultation has been emphasised throughout the whole activity, the effort of removal becomes a success.

When the first eviction notices were issued to residents of Canaan, people came together and nominated their first committee that would represent and protect their rights. At first this committee resisted eviction. According to Ardington the residents of Canaan soon welcomed the idea of their removal to another area after they were told about the danger of the land on which they lived. The residents wished to be removed to one place where they would have security of tenure and they wanted a place close to their place of work.

Many places such as Umkhumbane, Cator Manor and Savannah Park were considered but ultimately Quarry Heights seemed the most ideal place to relocate them to. Quarry Heights is a piece of land about 5km away from Canaan Squatter camp.

According to Mr Sokhele and Mr Hlathi (both members of the development committee) fruitful discussions took place between Durban Metro Housing, the Canaan development committee as well as the housing developers. Canaan residents were properly consulted even well before their houses were erected. Durban Metro Housing, they say, hired buses to transport Canaan residents to Quarry Heights, the aim being to go and view the place upon which their future houses would be built. According to Hlathi many of them seemed taken although a small fraction expressed fear to live in a place near KwaMashu. The latter group, apparently, associated their neighbourhood with systematised crime and political violence. Although Canaan Settlement had no adequate water, no proper sanitation, no schools and clinics, it was conveniently close to the city and jobs.

The hardship which residents had shared has made people to come together as a single unit. Hence there is a high-degree of solidarity and consensus in the society. Most residents are African National Congress members or supporters. This however, does not mean that there is no following of other opposition political parties. The residents of formal settlements do not embrace the coming in of the new neighbours especially if their coming means mushrooming of slums. "The residents of Clare Estate accused their Canaan neighbours of crime as well, particularly theft" (Pearl Sithole, *An Ethnographic Paper*, page 6).

The people of Canaan informal settlement, just like other shack settlements had urban informal tenure system. For new arrivals to be allocated a piece of land, a witness was used. The witness system was used to give assurance to the old settlers that the new entrant was obedient and reliable person. According to Hindson and McCarthy security of tenure in the DFR's informal settlement is usually good to excellent. Sales of houses are carried out without any legal or formal documents but instead the witness system is used. The new entrant sometimes paid voluntary gifts to the committee. Some residents did not own the shacks in which they lived but they paid rent to the owner. The owner of the shack did not possess any title deed for the land in which the dwelling was erected.

When an incident of crime occurred, Canaan residents blew the whistle to alert neighbours in order to try and capture the culprits.

To make a living, Canaan residents had casual employment in Clare Estate where they worked as domestic servants. Some residents traded in the streets of Durban where they sold goods such as fruits, vegetables, bags, pinafores, watches, plates, sweets, cigarettes and toiletries while some traded at their homes.

Canaan never had electricity. For cooking and lighting, residents made use of candles, paraffin and gas stoves. Residents did not have any water taps in their premises. They bought water from Indian neighbours in Clare Estate; the charge being 50c per 25 litre. The place did not have proper sanitation and sewerage. Garbage was not removed. Sewerage could be seen flowing in the open and there was always a terrible smell. Residents dug pit toilets, which were very close to the shacks. Children had no place to play since shacks were built close to one another. There were no schools and clinic for the residents.

Shacks dwellers especially during the winter season were highly vulnerable to fire because residents used the coal and wood burning heaters to warm themselves. Shacks were easily burnt down on account of them being built in close proximity.

During the 1997 floods, which hit KwaZulu-Natal immensely, many shacks in Canaan were washed away. Residents were sheltered temporarily in the Clare Estate Community Hall and Dunusa in Springfield Park. Decisions to provide housing to Canaan destitutes had to be taken quickly, as it was considered an emergency. The Durban Metro housing felt Quarry Heights was the most suitable and nearest place to take these people to. At the time of the disaster a housing project in Quarry Heights had already started. Quarry Heights had a large piece of vacant land in which about 1 800 houses were built. The size of land in Quarry Heights would easily absorb / accommodate all the destitutes who did not want to be separated or allocated to different places. According to Mark Byerley of Durban Metro Housing, relocating small amounts is not easy to control because of reoccupation.

The majority of Canaan residents still have a rural home. The Canaan settlement started from Sections A to Z. Section Q was not relocated to Quarry Heights because this portion of land, which is privately owned (i.e. not belonging to the state) was not directly affected by the fault, the landslide.

The residents who remained in Canaan were divided into two camps. On the one hand were those who wanted to remain in Canaan while on the other hand were those who wanted to relocate to any developed areas. Most residents wished to follow their relatives in Quarry Heights.

In a meeting held on the 29/10/2000 in Canaan between Quarry Heights Development Committee and Canaan Development Committee these are the following realities that came to light:

- 1) The Canaan Development Committee expressed their disappointment at the request that was put forward by some officials of Durban Metro Housing. They said that they were told that each of the two residential areas should mind their own business. The Canaan residents were not prepared to be separated from the Quarry Heights residents; they wanted to be treated as one community. Their expectation is that committees of the two settlements would work hand in hand with each other. Both committees had one common objective in mind which should be ensuring that all residents leave Canaan for a developed residential area with proper sanitation, sewerage, roads, electricity and clean water.
- 2) Some residents who were relocated to Quarry Heights have been returning to resettle in Canaan. The reason given by this group for resettling in Canaan is that Quarry Heights is quite a long distance from their place of work. They find it too expensive to live in Quarry Heights.
- 3) Some local Indian businesses do not want Canaan squatters to leave the place. These business owners are promising residents that they are going to persuade the government to have the area upgraded. The residents are supporting their businesses.
- 4) Individuals who are resettling in Canaan from Quarry Heights cannot apply for another housing subsidy.

- 5) Resettling residents, on their return, are made to understand that they are expected to abide by the word of the committee.
- 6) Amongst residents who are returning to Canaan, it is claimed, are those who owned more than one shack and rented the rest to others. These residents it is alleged, are discouraging people to leave Canaan.
- 7) Residents hate the unhealthy conditions they live under in Canaan. Mr Mpinga of Canaan Development Committee complains bitterly that “It is unhealthy to live here. The government must provide us with basic services. We voted for them, we are hungry and there are no jobs”.
- 8) Skoti (Canaan resident but not a member of the committee) and Ms Sibisi who is secretary of the committee said they were advised by Metro Housing to go and apply to other projects around Durban.
- 9) The Clare Estate residents need Canaan’s workforce as domestic workers and gardeners. Some residents of Canaan do not want to be distant from their employers in Clare Estate.

3.2 THE “NEW HOME” IN QUARRY HEIGHTS

Quarry Heights is approximately 5km away from the Canaan settlement and it is adjacent to the Avoca-Hills residential settlement. A large number of residents in Quarry Heights are former residents of Canaan informal settlement. In other words their relocation had changed their status of being ‘informal settlers’ to “formal homeowners”.

Although Quarry Heights roads are tarred, some households do not have motors vehicle access. Instead, there are long-cemented pedestrian passages running between rows of houses. There is street lighting. Most households use electricity as a source of energy for cooking and lighting and residents have to pay for electricity to be connected. There is one toilet and one water tap connected to each house. Refuse is removed once a week. The size of most house is 20 square metres. Children do not have enough space to play because houses are closely located to one another.

The residents of Quarry Heights do not pay rates (i.e. rates paid annually for removal of refuse, street lighting and for using roads) because the value of their property is below R20 000. For this reason certain groups of residents are reluctant to expand/extend the initial structure. Some houses are already extended/expanded but it is alleged that plans of the extended houses were never submitted to the Durban Metro Housing office for approval and acknowledgment, the reason being that property owners fear submitting their plans because they think they will be alerting the authority about the change in value of the dwelling, which will result in them paying rates.

Most residents still have rural homes where they spend holidays and bury their loved ones. Most of the Quarry Heights residents send cash remittances to their families in the rural side. Residents appreciate their relocation to Quarry Heights although they complain about the distance, which they now travel to their place of work in the city.

To them relocation has meant transport costs. Some residents walk a distance of approximately 4-6km to their place of work because they cannot afford the bus and taxi fares to the city. Some of them leave their homes as early as 4 o'clock in the morning and return at about 07h30 in the evening. Some residents (i.e. original beneficiaries) have gone back to the shack settlements near the city and they stay there during workdays and they come to check on the house in Quarry Heights once or twice a month. There may be no one living in the house or a relative left to look after the house. In some cases the house is rented.

3.2 UNEMPLOYMENT IN QUARRY HEIGHTS

Durban's economy at present is failing to provide sufficient jobs for citizens. Unemployment in Quarry Heights is one of the most serious problems affecting the people. This can be confirmed during the day. Streets are filled with able-bodied men and women, both young and old. There are a high number of school-leavers who cannot find local employment. Avoca Hills (a working class residential settlement adjacent to Quarry Heights) cannot offer Quarry Heights residents a living wage. In their former place of residence, life was better because Clare Estate (an upper/middle class suburb) could offer them a living wage.

Amongst the people who decided to remain in Canaan squatter camp are those who found themselves simply too poor to move anywhere else. There is an increase in shebeen trade and excessive drinking is a big problem. Apparently, frustration resulting from being unemployed has forced people to rely on alcohol and this makes them unemployable at a certain later stage.

Quarry Heights residents are on the road everyday to seek or to register at the labour office in Durban. They complain that they were promised jobs by the government (i.e. during the 1994 first democratic elections). Residents say that the government lied to them. In South Africa, generally, it has been noted that very poor households are poorly represented among jobholders and that there is a strong association between unemployment and poverty. “Only 19% of persons of workforce age in the poorest households have regular work. Three quarters of the working age members of the poorest households are without paid work” (White Paper on Population Policy for South Africa, March 1998, page 17).

3.4 RESALE OF HOUSES IN QUARRY HEIGHTS

Poverty in Quarry Heights has forced many homeowners to sell their subsidised houses at a price that is below actual value of the property. Seemingly, the Department of Housing has not come up with a strong mechanism to prevent this practice. It has been noted that by reselling a house the subsidy is likely to fall into the hand of the higher income groups who unfortunately were not the intended beneficiaries.

The household structure of Canaan mainly consisted of cohabiting couples and a few legally married couples. In a number of cases each partner (from the cohabiting ones) applied for a subsidy and qualified to get one. These couples on their arrival at Quarry Heights each occupied his/her house. At a later stage they (partners) would feel it is costly to live separately and they decided to share one house and sell the other to any willing buyer.

“However, by settling up cohabiting partnership it enables one or more people to be employed and provide the means of support for the family and household. The cohabiting was a strategy employed to increase the options of survival” (Shaïd Vawda, Citizenship and Migration: A question of Sociality and Mobility, 9-14 July 2000).

People re-sell or rent out their units due to a number of reasons, including:

1) MOBILITY

People may reside in Durban for only part of the month or year, or they may find work elsewhere.

2) OPPORTUNISM AND DESTITUTION

Some people may have acquired houses fraudulently and then sold them; others may be desperate for cash to meet short-term expenses or a crisis.

3) LOCATION AND AFFORDABILITY

Some households find that Quarry Heights is not as well located as Canaan and that it imposes higher expenses on them (e.g. transport and payment for services).

4) RENT-UP DEMAND AND DOWN-MARKET RAIDING

In some cases people buy because they can afford to and do not want to wait until they receive a subsidy (Report to Metro Housing Committee, Beneficiary Turnover in Housing Projects, 7 March 2000).

3.5 PROBLEMS ARISING IN RE-SALE OF SUBSIDY HOUSES

1. Firstly, those who re-sell are likely to end up in shack settlements, if they continue to stay in the city, they will not be able to access another subsidy. This means that shack settlements may never be totally eradicated and people will continue to live without adequate shelter and services. If they return to a rural area they will not be able to access Land Reform Subsidies either.
2. Secondly, as most sales are not registered, the second owner does not have legal protection. In addition water and electricity accounts would most likely also not be transferred, meaning the original beneficiary remains liable.
3. Thirdly, the fact that houses are being sold at far below their actual development costs is worrisome. In effect people are demonstrating that they do not place a value on the cost of the service provided or land but only on the top structure.
4. Finally, it may be the case that these people who are purchasing houses do not qualify for the subsidy and as such governments investments on the poor are not reaching the intended target groups, and in effect better off people may be benefitting at the expense of the poor.

This is known as down-market raiding (Report to Metro Housing Committee, Beneficiary Turnover in Housing Projects, 7 March 2000).

This chapter examined the historical and present background of the two settlements central in this thesis, the Canaan informal settlement and the formal housing settlements of Quarry Heights. The dynamics of unemployment and ownership patterns were examined.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the sample size, and methodology as well as the strategies used to by the researcher in order to obtain data to provide answers to the research questions identified in Chapter One.

4.2 THE RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLE SIZE

The population of this research consists of 20 respondents in the Quarry Heights formal housing settlement. The sample size was drawn through systematic sampling, whereby every 20th house was selected.

4.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Quantitative and qualitative research methodologies were considered as the most appropriate methodology to address the main and secondary research objectives. A semi-structured questionnaire was used for the purpose of data collection.

3.4 RESEARCH DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Both qualitative and quantitative research techniques was used because it was felt that they complement each other. Maja (1995) asserts that combining these methods 'is in fact a form of triangulation that enhances one's study'. Cohen and Manion (1980:208) support this by stating that:

Triangulation techniques in the Social Sciences attempt to map out and explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint and, in doing so, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data.

The use of triangulation merges the responses from two or more methods of data collection. This is attempted as it is thought that a single method of data collection may not capture the full picture of reality on the ground. Multiple methods are more reliable especially when examining factors and attitudes in a community. Quantitative data be the basis most of the present research.

4.4.1 THE CASE STUDY METHOD

Using the case study method made the questionnaire in that it incorporated various supplementary data sources such as observation, interviews and records. This process increased the internal validity of the case study. As Cohen and Marion (1980) put it:

A case study is the observation of an individual unit, a child, a class, a clique or a community. It is undertaken to probe deeply and analyse intensely the multifarious phenomena which constitutes the life cycle of the individual unit so that generalisations can be made about the population to which the individual unit belongs.

Historically and at present social research has been concerned with collection data that will help the researcher answer questions regarding various aspects of society (Bailey: 1984).

Patterson and Shannon (1993) cited in Daniels describe research as an inquiry in which certain individuals attempt to understand actions, policies and events that shape society and groups within it. Daniels (1996) defines research more specifically as a systematic, reflective, collaborative process that examines a situation for the purpose of planning, implementing, and evaluating change. The critic basic research, Ebel (1973) cited in Daniel argued that research promotes the virtue of usefulness and offers little hope for the improvement of the process of social development.

4.5 RESEARCH AREA

A research survey was conducted in July and August 2003. The study took place in the Quarry Heights formal housing settlement that lies near Newlands West, a predominantly Indian working and middle class area near Inanda Road.

4.6 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The questionnaire which is the most important measuring tool of this study was prepared in English though the interview was conducted in Zulu.

A semi-structured questionnaire was used to conduct personal interviews during the data collection phase. Other research instruments could not be used to collect data as a result of time constraints and lack of sufficient funding. The questionnaire was kept brief and concise in the hope of avoiding annoyance and frustration on the part of respondents thus resulting in the return of incomplete and inaccurate responses on questionnaires (Robert: 1996) cited in Daniel (1996)

Neuman (1997: p233) suggests three points that need to be considered when designing or constructing a questionnaire. He mentioned that a good questionnaire forms an integrated whole and that researcher weaves questions together so they flow smoothly.

These are ten principles that Neuman suggested for constructing the questionnaire:-

- * Avoid jargon, slang and abbreviations.
- * Avoid ambiguity, confusion and vagueness.
- * Avoid emotional language and prestige bias.
- * Avoid double-barreled questions.
- * Avoid leading questions.
- * Avoid asking questions that are beyond respondents' capabilities.
- * Avoid false premises.
- * Avoid asking about future intentions.
- * Avoid double negatives.
- * Avoid overlapping or unbalanced response categories.

When designing the questionnaire, the researcher ensured a balance of both open-ended and open-ended questions. Neuman (1997: p 240) remarked that a researcher's choice to use an open-ended question depends on the purpose and practical limitations of a research project. He further examined the advantages of both the close-ended and open-ended questions in the questionnaire. They are presented in a summarised form below:

4.6.1 ADVANTAGES OF CLOSE ENDED QUESTIONS

- * It is easier of different respondents are easier to compare;
- * Answers are easier to code and statistically analyze;
- * The response choices can clarify question meaning for respondents;
- * Respondents are more likely to answer about sensitive topics;
- * Less articulate or less respondents are not at a disadvantage;
- * Replication is easier;

4.6.2 ADVANTAGES OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

- * They permit an unlimited number of possible answers;
- * Respondents can answer in detail and can qualify and clarify responses;
- * Unanticipated findings can be discovered;
- * They permit adequate answers to complex issues;
- * They permit creativity; self-expression and richness detail;
- * They reveal a respondent's logic, thinking process and frame of reference.

Several face to face interviews with key stakeholders was very useful for the researcher in this endeavour.

4.7 THE PROCESS DATA COLLECTION

4.7.1 Preliminary visits

The researcher visited the area a number of times prior to the formal beginning of this research process. These visits were designed to familiarise her with the community environment and its general activities, and more especially to acquaint her with the key role-players.

4.8 QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTRATION

4.8.1 Respondent questionnaires

Twenty questionnaires were administered to respondents during different days. There was a 100% return rate of the questionnaire as they were distributed and collected in the big hall on the same day.

4.9 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis was done manually because of the small number of questionnaires filled. Interpretations followed.

This chapter clarified the empirical bases of the thesis in their social context.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The analysis of data will be undertaken in this chapter and will follow the sequence of the questions included in the administered questionnaire schedule.

5.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

This section will examine the demographic profile of the interviewees in terms of various variables.

The gender of respondents appears in the table below:

TABLE 1 : GENDER OF RESPONDENTS

MALES	15
FEMALES	5

It can be seen that the majority of respondents were males, who were interviewed during the day and week-ends. This was the result of the decision of the researcher to utilize the systematic sampling frame in the context of this study.

Age was the second variable.

TABLE 2 : AGE

0-25	2
26-40	12
41-50	4
51-60	1
61+	1

It can be seen that more than 50% of the respondents interviewed were between 26 and 40 years of age with those between 41 and 50 being the second largest group. This means that the majority of residents in the area belong to a group that should have employment.

The marital status of the respondents was as follows:

TABLE 3 : MARITAL STATUS

MARRIED	5
SINGLE	14
DIVORCED	1

The majority of people interviewed were single, and it became quite obvious in the process of the research that this was the norm rather than the exception in the settlement. Despite that it became evident that many of the single people had children living with, either their own or belonging to relatives:

The next item in the questionnaire was the language spoken amongst the residents in the area. The results appear below.

TABLE 4 : LANGUAGE SPOKEN

ZULU	14
XHOSA	6

This figure dispels the myth that most residents in Canaan were Xhosa speakers, especially from the previously Transkei region. This was a perpetuated perception prevalent amongst many people in Durban. As one respondent said to the interviewer:

We know that certain people said that most people in Canaan were Xhosas from the Transkei. I lived there for many years, and while it is true that there were Xhosas in Canaan, the majority were Zulus. Some of the landlords were Xhosas and they brought their relatives during weekends etc. This was the time when the Zulu people went to their farms. So some people, even in the municipality and researchers believed that most people in Canaan were Xhosas. We had good relationships amongst ourselves and this is very obvious in Banana City, the other squatter camp near the university. Everyone says the Transkeian Xhosa women run the place and that they are many of them, this is not true, but these women are very active in the various groups and are leaders. They work very well with the Zulu women, because they have a common enemy, they and their kids are hungry, some die of malnutrition. Their stomachs are big and then they die. People try to separate Africans between Zulus and Xhosas in the squatter camps, but the truth is that the majority are Zulus, but the Xhosas are more leaders, they try harder to move the communities forward and they seem to be more that the Zulus.

The next question was related to the children living with their families in the new settlement. This is one of the parameters that are important in terms of overcrowding given the small size of the house built in the new area of residence.

TABLE 5 : NUMBER OF CHILDREN LIVING WITH FAMILY IN QUARRY HEIGHTS

NONE	11
ONE	4
TWO	3
FOUR	2

It is obvious that the respondents do not keep their children in the settlement for various reasons, the basic schooling. It surfaced that there was a clear mistrust in the schools around the area for various reasons. As one resident explained:

People look for jobs every day, so even if the children were there would be problems, because children become naughty, and people generally want their own space. A lot of people have their own houses packed with relatives who pay rent to them and so they have money to pay for electricity etc. This is why they keep their children away, and the women and men also bring their girlfriends and friends and the children are not good for this thing. In the townships where the children are schooling there are opportunities for the people not to pay the fees if they say they have no money, in the Indian and coloured schools around here this does not happen, because the principals are very strict, they want everyone to pay the fees. People do not have the money to pay the fees, it is very easy to understand the situation.

The next question was in relation to the number of children the family, including those living in Quarry Heights.

TABLE 6 : TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN (INCLUDING THOSE LIVING IN QUARRY HEIGHTS)

TWO	4
THREE	6
FOUR	4
SIX	3
SEVEN	3

It can be seen that the quotation above by one of the residents had great truth in it regarding the reasons for inhabitants leaving their children at home or other places, with relatives, grand-mothers etc. There are several interviewees with large numbers of children who are not residing with their parents for reasons advanced above.

The level of education of the respondents is recorded below:

TABLE 7 : LEVEL OF EDUCATION

ILLITERATE	3
PRIMARY	12
SECONDARY	3
TERTIARY	-
SKILLS TRAINING	2

It can be seen that the level of the education of the majority of respondents is low and this creates serious problems for their future employment opportunities. This is true of even the two persons who had skills training. As one of them explained to the researcher:

I was trained as an apprentice cabinet maker with a Business Center in Durban. This was done with one of the European Union projects two years ago, because I had a cousin at the Technikon Natal who helped me to get in there. After one month of training, the agreement was that there will be opportunities for me to get jobs at least as an apprentice, because our instructors were from big companies who will employ us even for piece-work, when they need people. Nothing came of it, as the months passed. I did not stop my efforts to get jobs, I went from house to house in the township and the Indian and Coloured areas to look for work, to make coffins, windows and such other things. Then I got some jobs and make some money but it is not enough, everyone needs a full time job to survive and help the family. It will be good for me to go to school once again, I left school at Standard 9 and I am capable of finishing matric, now I cannot register because of the new laws. We, the members of the ANC who are grown up with the Freedom Charter as our idea cannot understand what is happening. It says the doors of education will be opened to all people, but now those who are older cannot go to school. Now people get jobs because they are not educated and this is not good for these people and the country. The other day I was talking to the ANC councillor in Newlands West who was worked well of us all these years and he is a teacher and he could not say anything about it, he just shook his head and agreed with me, he said it was unfortunate that these things happen in a country like South Africa that has a shortage of skills, especially for Africans like me. He told me that the ANC has done a lot of things for African people and things will become better with time. I have heard these things many times and I agree with him, but we want these things now, not when we are dead, this is the main problem we have with the party.

The next question was associated with the previous residents of the respondents before they moved to Quarry Heights. The responses were as follows:

TABLE 8 : PLACE OF RESIDENCE BEFORE QUARRY HEIGHTS

CANAAN	11
KWAMASHU	2
NDWEDWE	2
RICHMOND FARM	1
CLERMONT	2
MTUBATUBA	1
MBANSHELA	

It can be seen that although more than 50% of the residents of the new settlement were from Canaan there are people who also came from other rural and urban areas in and around Durban. This is not taken lightly by the previous residents of Canaan, as it was said to them that Quarry Heights was “built specifically for them. This reality has created some animosity between the ex Canaan residents and other people, but this has not been expressed in any conflict between the residents, at least so far. As one of the ex Canaan residents said:

When we were negotiating with the City Council teams, it was very clear that all Canaan residents will be in Quarry Heights, and the priority of the City Council was to clear up the squatter camps, especially Canaan because of the danger of the landslides in that area. Suddenly we learnt that there were thousands of people coming from all over to claim a house in the new area. That day we came here and we saw thousands of people in the queue. Some whites came with Mercedes and their domestic workers and talked to the City Council people in front of us. The City official in charge of this was a young man called Rasta, he talked to all these whites, we saw him there. Then our Development Committee spoke with him and he told us that we should not worry, all Canaan people will have houses.

This did not happen and all of us were not happy, because we had agreements with the Council. Even people with houses in KwaMashu got houses in Quarry Heights, and then they rented their houses to other people in the township to make money. Then they rented their houses here and some small time crooks moved there and created problems for us. Sometimes the police comes and look for this guy and that guy and we don't know what's happening, because we are peaceful, good people. We have some community spirit here, but people do their own things and give a bad name to the township.

The next question was associated with the reasons for moving to Quarry Heights and the results appear below:

TABLE 9 : REASON FOR MOVING TO QUARRY HEIGHTS

LOOK FOR JOBS	6
BETTER LIFE	8
SUPPLY OF FACILITIES, LIKE	3
WATER AND ELECTRICITY	
MOVE OUT OF SQUATTER	3
SETTLEMENTS	

These reasons are very understandable as they epitomise the key issues facing the country and the majority of the previously homeless people. The search of work was mentioned by the residents from areas outside Canaan, as the latter in fact were much closer to job opportunities in their previous residence. However, for people in Ndwendwe for example, their move to the inner city meant that they had a better opportunity to be near places where they can seen work. AS “Better life” means a lot of things to different people, especially for the previous Canaan residents. One of them expressed these feelings as follows:

It is different here, although, it is far from my job in Clare Estate. When there were rains we suffered in Canaan, because we were washed away, then we had to rebuild our homes. There were landslides there and the city people told us of these problems, they brought these scientists and explained to us that we had to move because our lives and our childrens lives were in danger. We knew all that we are not fools, we have eyes to us and brains to understand these things. We say there is a better life here because we never had water and electricity in Canaan, we used to pay the Indian people R0,50 for 25 litres of water, what can you do with that water, wash, clean the cloths etc, things were bad there, here you have to pay R40 for electricity and for the water. For us who have jobs is OK, but what about those who no not have jobs and money, they come and steal water from us when we are at work. People complain about a lot which are not right, but we must also be grateful for what we have, because the government has done things for us, but all people are greedy, they want everything for nothing, some people here are lazy, they stay in the township drinking the whole day, then they get drunk and they want to touch the women, and then there are many problems here and there. The police does nothing about these people, because they do not care. Even people from Newlands West complain that the police does nothing for the people in the area.

The next question is of great importance as it looks at the home ownership in the area. This has become a very important issue in new housing developments, because there are many cases where the new owners either put tenants in the property or they sell their houses to unsuspecting people who then cannot it again because of the existing laws. These realities create problems between people in the community, because these ownership situation can lead to conflict, due to the fact that there is money involved. Some people even borrow money to buy homes, although they are not aware that this is illegal. The owners of the house pretend they do not know the laws, but they still sell the houses and then they go back to claim it as their own, hence there is potential conflict.

TABLE 10 : OWNERSHIP OF HOME

OWNER	15
TENANT	5

The figures show that what was said earlier is true, as five people interviewed were tenants, who are renting the house or space in the house for between R60 - R150 depending on the house and the space they rent. Their relationship with the landlord was described as follows:

I work in Newlands West for a contractor, short time, initially I was living in Umlazi, which is very far and by the time I arrive at work it was late. It was then I decided to move here, because one of my brother had a friend. Then every morning I walk to the main road and the contractor pick me up. I save money this way because I pay R80 for staying in the house, and I use the bath and some water, but I have problems with the owner, although I know him, because the owner treat tenants very badly, they should that we use too much of water and other things, and things are not safe in this area. I had a CD player with batteries to play my music and after 5 days the batteries finished, then I though that the owners kids were using it when I was at work, I told the owner about that and that batteries are expensive and I could not afford them, he told me to take your machine to work if your think we are stealing your batteries. The I took the CD player home because batteries are expensive and I could not afford them at all, now I don't have music and I end up in the shebeen and get drunk.

The next question was related to the number of members of the family that share the house.

The results appear below:

TABLE 11 : WITH HOW MANY MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY YOU SHARE THE HOUSE WITH?

ALONE	2
TWO	4
THREE	5
FOUR	3
SIX	2
TEN	1
TWELVE	1
THIRTEEN	1
TWENTY	1

The social contrasts existing in the area became evident in relation to this question. Thus while there are people who live alone there is a cane where 12, 13 and even twenty people share a house. It can be understood that such situations lead to serious overcrowding, especially when adults and children share such small houses. The person living with another 12 people in the house confessed that:

For many people who moved here there was no choice for various reasons. There are relatives and tenants in one house. Tenants who live in a house with 5 or 6 people have more space and pay more money for rent, other who live with a lot of people pay less, but most times the landlords are very greedy, they tell the tenants they don't need them, because more people come to town to look for work, and rural people don't know about these things, because they need a house to stay, they are prepared to pay,

then they come to town with R300 they pay the rent and in two months they have no money, then they fight with the landlord and they go, other tenants come. The landlords are greedy, they don't care, they know that there will always be tenants, because people do not know. There is a lot of overcrowding in many houses, while some houses are empty, these are things that the City council does not know. I really suffer in this house, too much suffering, but I have no choice.

The next question was related to membership of organisations of all kinds, stokvels, burial societies, political etc. Not one of the twenty interviewees belonged to an organisation, a really important phenomenon as African people generally are known for their collective spirit of ubuntu, that stresses the importance of being together and doing things together. It is also interesting to note that even religious groups or organisations feature in this question, despite the fact that most people said they are regular church-goers who pray to God frequently. When asked about this phenomenon one of the respondents had this to say:

I think people come from different places here and it takes time to close with other people. This means that it is difficult to join organisations with other people. I see Zionists and Shembe people on Sundays, but most people, especially those who work do not have time for these things. Others say that to join these organisations one needs money, and most people here do not have real money because they have a lot of responsibilities for their families, kids etc. I have money in a burial society in Ndwende, because I want to be buried there, I am here because I look for work. I do not like it here, it is not my home, most people I know feel the same as me, we talk and drink and agree on these things.

The next question was related to the attitudes and feelings of people regarding their temporary or permanent status in Quarry Heights. The responses appear in the next table.

**TABLE 12 : DO YOU THIN YOU ARE GOING TO SETTLE PERMANENTLY
IN QUARRY HEIGHTS?**

YES	10
NO	10

The equal number of people shows that there is a strongly divided opinion on the matter. The tenants especially were those who do not want to settle permanently in the area for obvious reasons that have been elaborated upon earlier in some detail. However, there are some residents amongst the 10 who replied in the negative. One of them gave the following reasons for this kind of negativity towards the settlement:

Things are not right here. We were promised a good place with good houses and facilities, but this is not what we expected. Things have become bad here because there is no service, many houses are not looked after by the council, and people do not have pride in the houses, because they say these toilets, not houses. But then the same people put tenants in these toilets, so they can make money for themselves. This is not right, because we do not know these tenants and we do not trust them. The question is how people without jobs can get the money to move from here, also in the townships people become clever, they sell small plots for a lot of money, these plots are worth nothing, but they sell it for R20 000, R30 000 etc. People don't know, they get loan from the bank and buy it. As for me I want to go out of here, it is my dream, but it is difficult.

The next question was where the people who replied in the negative wanted to settle. The answer are to be found in the next table:

TABLE 13 : IF NO WHERE DO YOU WANT TO SETTLE?

ANY WHERE ELSE BETTER	6
TO A PLACE WHERE I HAVE	1
A PROPER HOUSE	
DON'T KNOW	3

The answers to the question are illuminating, and confirm previously made statements. The wish for a proper house and “anywhere else better” really show a sense of hope and desperation combined. The conditions in the new area are not the best and certainly not what the beneficiaries expected. They have hope for the future as on of them explained:

A lot of things have happened in the country over these years, and this shows that many other things can happen. I say that this place is not good for many reasons, but if the Government gives the people a free house there is nothing we can complain about. The only real problem here is that the place is very far away from the places where there is work, like town, Pinetown and the rich white and Indian areas. People who have no money must walk all the way to look for jobs, this is one of the reasons why there is so much crime, people steal when they must not steal and they also kill for money. God must not allow this to happen, because South Africa is a blessed nations. I want to have a better house and a better life and I do everything possible to have these things. I want all people to do the same as me and I want everyone to think as well as me.

The next question was associated with the existence of school-going children of the respondents. The result was the table following:

TABLE 14 : DO YOU HAVE SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN?

YES	17
NO	3

It can be seen that the vast majority of residents had children at school.

The next question was where did they take them to school. Most of them preferred their children to go to school outside the Quarry Heights area, for reasons advanced earlier in the thesis. Thus children were schooled in Kwamashu, Ndwendwe, and two in the Transkei region. Several of them had the schools in the Newlands West and East areas, which are very near the settlement. However, they were in the minority.

The next question was associated with the use of transport of children to school. It is related to the direct financial constraints facing the parents in their economic struggle for survival. The answers appear below.

TABLE 15 : DO YOU USE TRANSPORT TO TAKE THEM TO SCHOOL?

YES	13
NO	4

It became evident that transport was used in most cases for the travel to school, with the exception of four respondents who said that their children walked to the school of their choice.

Associated with transport was the question of bus or taxi fares, which was covered in the next question. The following table:

TABLE 16 : IF YES HOW MUCH FARE DOES IT COST PER WEEK?

R45	5
R50	4
R60	3
R65	5

It can be seen that the cover costs of transport per week are severe, especially for families that face unemployment and poverty and struggle to cover their daily and weekly needs in terms of food, clothing as well as the other necessities of life. These settlements were clear in most cases as one of the interviewees said:

People who do not have children in schools do not understand really the expenses involved, because the education is very expensive. There are very good reasons why we do not keep our children in Quarry Heights, because people look for jobs and there is crime here, we feel it is dangerous to have them here. For these reasons we have to spend all these moneys for transport, sometimes this is money we don't really have, and this is why we borrow from the mashonishas (informal lending groups in the townships). These people charge a lot of interest and most of the times we have no money to pay them, and day by day we go much deeper into owing money to these people. Children must be educated, but the government must do something about these problems, especially transport money.

The next question was related to the employment situation of the respondents, and the replies appear in the following table:

TABLE 17 : WERE YOU EMPLOYED BEFORE YOU CAME TO QUARRY HEIGHTS?

YES	10
NO	10

Half of the respondents were employed before they came to Quarry Heights, while the other half were unemployed.

The next question was whether they were still employed. The responses appear below:

TABLE 18 : ARE YOU STILL WORKING?

YES	10
NO	10

It is interesting to note that all those who where previously employed are still employed, while those who were unemployed were in the same position. This pattern was explained as follows by one of the respondents who has employment:

Whatever job people have they must keep it, because the situation is very bad for jobs, in my family alone 10 people have lost their jobs. To find a job when you live in Quarry Heights is difficult because one has to walk long distances to go around asking for jobs, applying for jobs, have interviews etc. Everyone now wants casuals, big business do not take permanent people. In Canaan, we walked across the road at Clare Estate and Reservoir Hills and spoke to the business and houses, then we went back to the township. Now things are different because if you even want to go to Inanda Road you have to take a taxi, and this costs money.

There are people who want to look for jobs, but they have no money for transport and they stay at home doing nothing. This is not good for them and the country. There are no government work for the local community at least to get jobs and money for a few days. If this happened they will have some money for transport to look for other jobs.

The next question was related to the income of those who had work. The replies are produced below:

TABLE 19 : WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT INCOME?

R 0-500	6
R 500-1000	3
R1001-1500	1

It can be seen that with the exception of one person who earns R1200 per month in a permanent job, the other respondents earn very little money, which they use to buy groceries and pay for transport on most occasions.

The next question was associated with the use of transport on the way to work, and the responses were as follows:

TABLE 20 : DO YOU USE TRANSPORT TO REACH YOUR AREA OF EMPLOYMENT?

YES	3
NO	7

It can be seen that most of those who work preferred to walk to their work instead of using transport. This saved them transport costs, which they used to buy groceries and other necessities.

Those who used transport spent between R40-60 per week to reach their place of employment.

The final question of the interview schedule was if unemployed, how the respondents survived financially. The responses appear below:

TABLE 21 : IF UNEMPLOYED HOW DO YOU SURVIVE IN THE FACE OF UNEMPLOYMENT?

SELF CUPBOARDS	4
SELL FRUITS	3
SELL VEGETABLES	2
RUN SPAZA SHOP	1

It can be seen that the unemployed were involved basically in informal trading.

The present chapter was the empirical basis of the thesis and attempted to tie up the theoretical and historical dynamics of the areas, the hypotheses and the empirical component.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The last chapter of the thesis will evaluate the validity and confirmation or not of the stated hypotheses and will conclude the exercise. Several recommendations emanating from the study will be advanced.

The study sought to explore the following hypotheses:

- * There is general dissatisfaction amongst the residents of Quarry Heights regarding their standard of living.
- * There is serious unemployment amongst the population of the area.
- * There is serious overcrowding in the new houses.
- * The distance to places of employment burdens residents in the quest for casual employment.

It can be said that the hypotheses have been confirmed at all level of the empirical evidence in the thesis;

- * The dissatisfaction of the residence was in abundance, hence a good number of them do not plan to stay permanently in the area.
- * The unemployment amongst the respondents was 50%, i.e. 10% higher than the national average. It was observed that the real unemployment in the are is even higher in real terms.

- * The overcrowding in the houses sometimes bordered on the extreme, where 13 and even 20 people lived in a space of 20 square metres.
- * The distances for those employed as well as those seek work are big, the transport costs high and these conditions make it difficult for both categories of people.

Overall it can be said that the movement of most people from Canaan to Quarry heights did not come from Heaven. There is dissatisfaction amongst people regarding the existing conditions they live in.

Hence, the following recommendations can be seen as vital to there betterment of life amongst them. The existing inactivity of individuals and groups in the area that became evident in the context of the empirical research does not augur well for the future.

- * The creation of a Development Committee in the area, as it was evident in Canaan is an important first step. Such a Committee will liaise with the relevant local authorities etc and negotiate various programmes and initiatives that will in the medium and long term create better living conditions.
- * The creation of infrastructural undertakings on the part of the relevant authorities will ease the problem of unemployment, at least temporarily and will create new hopes for those who are disillusioned.

- * There need to be efforts to revitalise the local economy through entrepreneurial activities in and around the area.
- * There need to be channels created whereby unemployed people in the area will be able to acquire skills, especially technical skills that will open the doors for them to have employment.
- * The self-organisation of people in women's groups, stokvels or informal groups is important. The collective debates and action of such groups might pave the way for the future.
- * There need to be constant pressure and persuasion of the local government councillors to look towards the solving of the problems of local people and groups.

Politicians promise the Heaven on Earth before every election, however, the only solution to these problems faced by the people is their continuous self-organisation towards their community upliftment.

******END*

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