ABANDONING THE ARK IN DURBAN: DEVELOPMENT, DISPLACEMENT, RESETTLEMENT AND LIVELIHOOD STRUGGLES

by

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DECLARATION

I, Tara Jade Fitzgerald, declare that:

i. The findings of this research are my original work, except where otherwise indicated;

ii. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree at another university;

iii. This thesis does not use another person's data, graphs or pictures unless otherwise stated and acknowledged;

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the former Ark residents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

Forced removals, the theme of this thesis, through evictions, clean-up campaigns and development-induced displacement, results in the 'hygienisation' of public space and the 'violent un-homing' of vulnerable communities. The Ark Christian Ministries Church (ACMC) was established in 1982 in Durban's notorious Point Precinct, offering shelter and rehabilitation opportunities for socially excluded and marginalised persons in the inner city. As the city forged ahead with the Point Waterfront Development mega-project and prepared to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the Ark was shut-down in 2004. Notwithstanding a spirited resistance, one hundred families were forced to relocate to Welbedacht East, 30km from the Point Precinct. The aim of this study is to examine the implications of Development-Induced-Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) on the livelihoods of those displaced from the Ark homeless shelter in the Point Precinct in Durban, and their survival strategies after relocating to the urban edge in Welbedacht. Influenced by theories of displacement, social justice and human rights, this thesis analysed the displacement, resistance, relocation and livelihood struggles of the Ark dwellers. A mixed-method approach was adopted in this study, drawing from qualitative and quantitative techniques and information from documents. The study found that those displaced remained socially excluded and marginalised in Welbedacht and expressed a deep sense of detachment and hopelessness. Their lives were characterised by unemployment, poverty and social pathologies. The former Ark residents failed to restore their livelihood opportunities and remain in a constant state of precarity. The study identified a new form of displacement. *'New-Place Displacement'* refers to the inability to adapt to the new environment or integrate with surrounding communities. Instead, the 'Arkians' remained in a constant state of alienation in Welbedacht.

Keywords: *Urban Displacement, Relocation, Point Precinct, Welbedacht, Durban, South Africa*

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACMC	Ark Christian Ministries Church
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
APS	Addington Primary School
CBD	Central Business District
CHC	Christian Help Centre
COHRE	The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
COVID	Corona Virus Disease
DFID	Department for International Development
DID	Development-Induced Displacement
DIDR	Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement
DoH	Department of Housing
DPDC	Durban Point Development Company
DPSA	Disabled People of South Africa
EM	eThekwini Municipality
EMA	eThekwini Municipal Area
EMM	Early Morning Market
ESS	Environmental and Social Standard
EST	Extension of Security of Tenure
FIFA	Federation Internationale de Football Association
FWC	FIFA World Cup
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IAIA	International Association for Impact Assessment
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFI	International Finance Institution
IOC	International Olympics Committee
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
iTRUMP	inner Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Project
Km	Kilometer
KSIA	King Shaka International Airport

MICE	Meetings, Incentives, Conferences/Conventions and Exhibitions
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NMPS	Nomzamo Mandela Primary School
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
No.	Number
N2	National Highway
PAP	Project-Affected Person
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PWD	Point Waterfront Development
PIE	Prevention of Illegal Eviction
OD	Operational Directive
OP	Operational Policy
RAP	Resettlement Action Plan
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANCA	South African National Council on Alcoholism
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TB	Tuberculosis
TRA	Temporary Relocation Area
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNISA	University of South Africa
WB	World Bank
WC	World Cup

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The city provides opportunities for socio-economic mobility (Lees, 2004). Historically, the inner city has been predominantly occupied by the working class and the poor. However, across spatial binaries, speculative accumulation processes increasingly reserve the inner city for the elite (Hom, 2020; Mausio, 2020; Thorpe, 2020). Urban renewal, through mega-projects, clean-up campaigns and speculative gentrification processes, violates human rights when the poor are displaced in the periphery (Brenner, et al., 2012; Harvey, 2012; Slater, 2009; Wacquant, 2008a; Newman & Wyly, 2006). Hence, there is an increased focus on displacement as the poor's rights to access, live and work in the inner city are compromised (Easton, et al., 2020; Hirsh, et al., 2020).

Historically, South African cities were centres of exclusion predicated on racial divides enforced by draconian apartheid legislation. However, in the democratic era, there was a political and constitutional commitment to end these forced removals (Maharaj & Crosby, 2013). Nonetheless, a political shift from social welfare to neoliberal austerity has seen the right to the city increasingly reserved for the elite (Maharaj, 2020; Smith, 2005; Bond, 2000). A disturbing pattern of displacement has emerged in the post-apartheid era. The urban poor becomes sacrificial lambs as local authorities favour private development projects that inevitably reserve the right to the city for the elite (Goo, 2018; Maharaj, 2017a; Jordhus-Lier, 2015). Past injustices resurged, the foundation of which had switched from racial divide to class cleansing. Sanitising the inner city of the disposable poor and violating their rights is commonly associated with mega-projects developed for major sporting events (Maharaj, 2020; Horne, 2018; Bond, 2014).

In 2004, *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) awarded South Africa hosting rights for the 2010 soccer World Cup (WC). As part of the preparations for hosting this mega-event, authorities planned several mega-projects throughout South Africa's inner cities.

In Durban, one of the host cities, urban infrastructure projects developed for the FIFA WC included; the construction of the Moses Mabhida Stadium, expansion of transportation networks, pedestrian and cycle paths, the Warwick Junction fly-over bridge, the development of King Shaka International Airport, beachfront upgrades and the Point

Waterfront Development (PWD) (Maharaj & Harilal, 2016; Hannan & Sutherland, 2015; Lootvoet & Freund, 2006).

The Point Waterfront Development was a three-phase mega-project initiated to attract tourism and major sporting events (Lootvoet & Freund, 2006). The project was a joint venture between the eThekwini Municipality and Rocpoint (a Malaysian consortium). In 2001, this Public-Private Partnership (PPP) formed the Durban Point Development Company (DPDC). Thus, public funds drove the development of the Ushaka Marine World (Brink, 2007). The project was a catalyst for economic growth and regeneration in Durban's notorious Point Precinct.

The parastatal company, Transnet, owned most the land in the Point Precinct and neglected to maintain the area. From the 1980s, the Point Precinct succumbed to decay and dereliction. The region was old and decrepit and home to vagrants, criminals and substance abusers (Desai & Bond, 2019; Visser, 2019). In 1982, Pastor Derich de Nysschen established the Ark Christian Ministries Church (ACMC) in the Point Precinct in response to the plight of the homeless and the social pathologies in the area. The ACMC was a religious shelter that offered accommodation and rehabilitation opportunities for the socially marginalised and excluded in the inner city.

There were no exclusionary criteria. The Ark welcomed all, and the church became a haven to children, the elderly, and the sick. The church operated from the former army barracks at the heart of the Point Precinct for more than two decades. The location was prime as the ACMC was in proximity to health and education facilities, and recreational and employment opportunities. The organisation also had several private facilities including a clinic, sickbay, creche, rehab and skills development centre, and a church – to name a few. The location, facilities and the services rendered by the church were instrumental in rehabilitating the poor.

However, the Ark was a threat to the neoliberal elite's aspirations to market Durban as a world-class city. As the city forged ahead with the PWD and prepared to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the Ark was shut down in 2004. Notwithstanding a spirited resistance, the DPDC evicted the Ark community or Arkians as they collectively referred to themselves. Single residents resettled at a shelter commonly known as Strollers Overnight Facility. The sick, elderly and children relocated to the Ekuphileni Clinic, and

one hundred families moved into Reconstruction and Development Planning (RDP) low-income housing in Welbedacht East.

The Welbedacht rehousing project is located approximately 30km from the Point Precinct and is the focus of this study. Against this background, this study investigated the role that mega-projects play in forcibly removing the urban poor and displacing them to the periphery. The ACMC was used as a lens to examine the displacement of vulnerable inner-city residents and the implications for their livelihoods.

1.2   THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

The 21st century has marked an era where human rights have moved centre stage ethically and politically (Harvey, 2003a). The focus on rights is, in part, owed to philosophers such as Henri Lefebvre and geographers such as David Harvey who have pioneered works on *"The Right to the City"* and *"Social Justice"*, respectively (Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 1973). Such theories have functioned collectively to expose human rights violations associated with speculative urban accumulation processes (Huchzermeyer, 2018a; Shin, 2018; Freitas, 2017).

Against this background, several theories informed the study, including displacement, the right to the city and social justice. Also, two models guided the study, Cernea's (1997) Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model (IRR) and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) (DFID, 2001) were adapted to determine the livelihood outcomes of urban Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR).

The forced removal of inner-city residents to peripheral locations violates their rights to freedom of movement, human dignity, access to essential services, facilities and employment opportunities enshrined in the South African Constitution (1996). Such resettlement strategies are reminiscent of apartheid city planning (Onyebueke, et al., 2020). However, there had been a paradigm shift from racial segregation to class cleansing or what Garmany & Richmond (2020, p. 124) referred to as *'hygienisation'.*

1.3   STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Onyebueke et al. (2020, p.1) described forced eviction as a *'global humanitarian crisis'*. The extent of forced removals has resulted in an unprecedented number of displaced people. For the current decade (2011-2020), Cernea and Maldonado (2018) estimated that 200 million people are likely to be affected. The *'culture of silence'* surrounding forced removals have *'aided and abetted'* it's spread across the globe (COHRE, 2009a, p. 7). Notwithstanding the global escalation in forced displacement, official and reliable statistics on the phenomenon remain problematic (COHRE, 2009a).

Forced displacements occur due to civil unrest, climate change, natural disasters, urban planning, mega-projects, or major-sporting and cultural events (Onyebueke, et al., 2020). This study focused on forced removals that occur due to mega-projects and the associated human rights abuses. Van der Ploeg and Vanclay (2017) argued that project-induced displacement violates human rights due to the act of involuntary resettlement. Forced resettlement to peripheral locations violates human rights as resources are scarce, and employment opportunities are often non-existent (Nikuze, et al., 2019; Abduselam & Belay, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014; Abebe & Hesselberg, 2013).

However, despite the human rights abuses and livelihood consequences for the poor, urban DIDR is mostly under-researched – owing to extensive investigations into rural resettlement. According to Yntiso (2008, p. 60), *"the plight of the urban poor, particularly those displaced by urban development projects, has failed to attract meaningful policy and research attention."*

The few studies which *have* focused on urban DIDR emerged from India (Shaw & Saharan, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014; Bhan, 2009) and Ethiopia (Abduselam & Belay, 2018; Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015; Gebre, 2014; GebreEgziabher, 2014; Abebe & Hesselberg, 2013; Yntiso, 2008). In various cities of the global South, authorities have given little policy attention to the risk of the impoverishment caused by urban DIDR (Patel, et al., 2015). Impoverishment is defined here as the destruction of livelihoods and human well-being due to intervention – in this case, resettlement which causes physical, social and economic displacement (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Marcuse, 1985).

Despite the severe livelihood implications, project-induced displacements are often touted as being in the public interest (Onyebueke, et al., 2020; Boland, et al., 2017). Thus,

to protect the rights of those displaced, International Finance Institutions (IFIs) developed safeguard policies to guide resettlement procedures for Project-Affected Persons (PAPs). However, developers are only required to abide by safeguard policies when they lend funds from IFIs. As a result, many global South nations have introduced national resettlement policies to guide the relocation and preserve rights and livelihoods (Kamakia, et al., 2017; Roquet, et al., 2017; Perera, 2014; Indian Government, 2013; Jing, 2000). However, most nations remain without such protections, and thus resettlement projects continue to *"rip at the seams of social networks, livelihoods and community economies"* (Arrigoitia, 2017, p. 94).

1.4   THE RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The rationale for this study stems from several gaps that exist in DIDR research. Firstly, scholars have argued that DIDR had mainly been considered a rural issue (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2020; Roquet, et al., 2017). That is not to suggest that urban DIDR does not exist, but rather, it is mostly under-researched (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Roquet, et al., 2017).

Secondly, scholars have argued that locating persons displaced by urban mega-projects is challenging (Easton, et al., 2020; Wang, 2020; Newman & Wyly, 2006). Consequently, there is limited empirical evidence on the lived experiences of persons displaced by urban mega-projects (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Arrigoitia, 2017; Roquet, et al., 2017).

Thirdly, international resettlement guidelines have a strong emphasis on the restoration of land-based livelihoods. Guidance to restore urban wage-based livelihoods is negligible. Scholars have argued that the policies have a rural bias in that they lack methods on urban resettlement and wage-based livelihood restoration (Koenig, 2018; 2014; Smyth & Vanclay, 2018; Roquet, et al., 2017).

This study sought to bridge the gaps in urban resettlement literature and determine whether the alleged rural bias hinders the rehabilitation of communities affected by urban relocation projects.

1.5   AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study is to examine the implications of Development-Induced-Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) on the livelihoods of those displaced from the Ark homeless shelter in Durban, and their survival strategies after relocating to the urban edge in Welbedacht.

The objectives of the study are to:

i)   Analyse livelihood strategies of residents in the Ark;

ii) Briefly review the revoking of urban rights, the displacement of the homeless and the nature of resistance to the move;

iii) Assess the nature of adjustment and adaptation after relocation in Welbedacht;

iv) Examine the livelihood challenges in Welbedacht and whether those displaced restored their income-earning opportunities in their new location;

v)   Evaluate the extent of support from the government and other sectors after relocating to Welbedacht; and

vi) Analyse international best practice policies regarding forced resettlement and identify whether South Africa has any safeguarding policies of the like.

1.6   GUIDING QUESTIONS

The following questions centred on rights, displacement, livelihood struggles, and resettlement guided the study:

i)   How were the rights of the Ark residents violated, and what was the nature of resistance to oppose eviction?

ii) What were the livelihood strategies of the residents at the Ark?

iii) How did the resettled community adapt to their new location in Welbedacht?

iv) What livelihood challenges did resettlers experience in Welbedacht?

v)   Was the resettled community provided with any external support?

vi) What international resettlement policies exist, and does South Africa have any of the like?

1.7   CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The thesis comprises six chapters. The current chapter introduces and provides context to the background of the study. The chapter then describes the research problem, the rationale for the research and the theoretical framework used to guide the investigation. The chapter concludes with the aims, objectives and guiding questions for this thesis.

Chapter Two provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study and divides into two sections. Part one introduces the theories that ground the study, including displacement, social justice and rights to the city. Also, this section introduced two models used in the study. These included the Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction model (Cernea, 1997) and the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DFID, 2001). Together, these models are adapted to assess the livelihood outcomes of those displaced by development. Part two analyses international resettlement policies and provides empirical evidence on human rights abuses and livelihood struggles associated with mega-project developments.

Chapter Three explains the research design and methodological approach for the study. The thesis adopted a case study design and incorporated a mixed-methods approach for data collection. After that, the chapter described the study areas, participants, and sampling methods used to collect data. After describing the types of data collected and methods of analysis, the chapter concludes with ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

Two chapters divided the research findings. Chapter Four presents the first half of the analysis and describes the Ark's history and the livelihood strategies adopted. The section discusses the internal and external pressures that threatened the church's displacement and the resistance tactics adopted to stay the eviction. After that, the chapter describes the human rights violations during the relocation and the challenges at the resettlement site. This is followed by an assessment of resettlement practices in South Africa. Chapter Four concluded with information on the ongoing struggle to resurrect the Ark and the current status of development in the Point Precinct.

Chapter Five presents the second half of the analysis. Its central focus is on the former Ark residents who resettled to Welbedacht. The chapter describes the livelihood struggles in Welbedacht.

Chapter Six evaluates the research findings with the objectives in Chapter One and the theories in Chapter Two. The chapter concludes by providing recommendations and areas for future research.

1.8   CONCLUSION

This chapter provided the introduction to the study. Forced removals continue to endure in South Africa despite constitutionally enshrined rights in the democratic era. Such displacements are a product of the neoliberal assault. This study examines the displacement and relocation of those in the Ark homeless shelter. The chapter presented the aims, objectives, and research questions used to guide the study and concluded with an outline of the thesis structure. The following chapter provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for this study.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Investment decisions, zoning, politics, urban diversity and class cultures continually transform the city's socio-spatial structure. Globally, the socio-spatial characteristics of the urban core change and several challenges plague the inner city. These include inequality, human rights violations, exclusion, dispossession, uneven development, segregation, displacement, and resettlement. These are primarily a result of processes such *gentrification* (Elliott-Cooper, et al., 2020; Mah, 2020; Helbrecht, 2017; Smith, 1982), *neoliberalism* (Collins & Rothe, 2020; Harvey, 2007a), *mega-events* and the inevitable *mega-projects* which accompany them (Horne, 2018; Talbot & Carter, 2018; Maharaj & Harilal, 2016). Harvey (2007a; 2007b; 2003b) referred to these unequal development processes as *'creative destruction'* and *'accumulation by dispossession'.*

The purpose of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework for the study, which is influenced by rights to the city, social justice, and displacement literature. The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first section focuses on social justice and rights to the city. This is followed by a conceptualisation of Development-Induced Displacement (DID). After that, the chapter critically reviews forced resettlement policies, relocation risks for livelihoods and tactics to resist resettlement. The penultimate section focuses on social justice and rights in South African cities and how unequal power relations desecrate the urban poor's constitutionally enshrined rights. The chapter concludes with the Durban experience.

2.2 SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RIGHTS TO THE CITY

In the quest for world-class status in the 21st century, many cities continue to be associated with increasing inequalities, dispossession and displacement, and the urban poor become expendable (Haas, 2020; Bristol, 2018; Leon, 2017; Brenner & Schmid, 2013). Against the background of increasing impacts and consequences of neoliberal policies, there has been augmented focus on social justice and human rights in the city (Harvey, 2003a).

The seminal works of Henri Lefebvre (1996) and David Harvey (1973) have influenced the Right to the City and Social Justice discourses, respectively. The right to the city is grounded in the individual citizen's (no matter race, class, gender, ethnicity, or status of citizenship, etc.) right to:

i) habitation (equal access to the city and its resources);

ii) participation (in decision-making and shaping the city); and

iii) appropriation (recognising the city's social value, and experiencing the fullness of city life) (Harvey, 2003a; Lefebvre, 1996).

Recently, social justice approaches have recognised the need to advance human rights in the city (Domaradzka, 2018). Thus, these theories reinforce one another as the right to the city is also the right to a just and equal society (Mair & Duffy, 2015; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2002).

The year 2018 marked the fiftieth anniversary since the publication of the book *The Right to the City* in 1968. In recent years, the right to the city has made *"a comeback as a rallying cry"* (Schissel, 2012, p. 42). The right to the city has featured prominently in urban social movements in both the global North and South to contest Development-Induced Displacement (DID) and advocate for social justice. Various alliances, campaigns and coalitions challenge urban commodification because such transformations tend to revoke rights and displace the urban poor (Marcuse, 2012; Mayer, 2012; Schmid, 2012).

For example, mega-events are touted as neoliberal strategies for economic growth and worldwide recognition for cities in the global South. However, such events have significant socio-economic consequences (Müller, 2015a). In the build-up to hosting major sporting events, cities introduce neoliberal mega-projects to clean-up and restructure the urban environment (Maharaj, 2017a; Vives Miró, 2011). Such projects simultaneously revoke rights through DID (Shin, 2018; Mair & Duffy, 2015; Smith, 2014), and those affected struggle to retain their right to the resources in the city.

Lefebvre (1996) argued that it is increasingly necessary to affirm the right not to be excluded from the city when urban transformations occur. Displacement resulting from urban restructuring is the epitome of what the right to the city and social justice evokes. The city should be appropriated not only by the masters of privilege but by the masses relegated to the peripheries and ghettos as well (Lefebvre, 1996). Space is, therefore, not

reserved for urban inhabitants based on class but equity (Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 1973). However, Lefebvre (1996) was vague about how the right to the city would be realised (Schmid, 2012). Marcuse (2012) has attempted to elucidate: who's right, what right and to what city.

It is the socially excluded and marginalised working poor for whom rights to the city are a challenge (Marcuse, 2012). Lefebvre (1996, p. 156) stated: *"the right to the city is like a cry and a demand."* The cry and demand are out of necessity for the proletariat to equally access and appropriate the resources and opportunities found in city spaces. Therefore, the *right* is to equal access to essential services, health and education, freedom from discrimination, affordable housing, equality, inclusion in decision making, citizenship, information, employment, accessibility, sustainable development, freedom from displacement or evictions, and the right to a safe and healthy environment (Marcuse, 2012).

In an increasingly globalised world, there is augmented advocacy for human rights at the local level (Baumgartel & Oomen, 2014; Barber, 2014; van Lindert, 2014). The services, resources and opportunities in the city should be a collective right, advanced by local authorities, for all who occupy urban space (Lefebvre, 1996).

The right to the city *"is not a natural right, nor a contractual one"* (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 194), and is, therefore, not a legal claim enforceable by the judicial system (Huchzermeyer, 2018b). Instead, it is a moral claim founded on social justice in the city (Marcuse, 2012). It is a space where the social hierarchy between formal and informal, core and periphery, elite and proletariat dissipate. Such a space would incorporate freedom, democracy, equity, accessibility and the ability for all to reproduce the city (Marcuse, 2012; Harvey, 2003a).

Radical urban geographers such as Neil Brenner, Doreen Massey and David Harvey, contended that an alternative space of inclusion *is* possible (Brenner, et al., 2012; Massey, 2005; Harvey, 2003a). Marcuse (2012, p. 33) notes that an alternative space of inclusion is achieved by *'Exposing, Proposing and Politicising'.* In this context, exposure relates to identifying and analysing the challenges in urban areas and making those problems known to relevant authorities. Proposing would entail collaboration with affected parties to identify solutions to the difficulties recognised. Lastly, politicising would encompass

identifying the political implications of the exposed challenges and the solutions proposed. This phase pays close attention to the political aspects of the potential strategy of implementation.

This would produce a transformed urban space, which revokes displacement and promotes inclusion, social justice, acceptance, and equal appropriation. Most importantly, however, would be recognising human rights in and to the city. However, social justice and rights are continually contested by authorities who advance macroeconomic policies at the expense of the urban poor. Such practices are responsible for creating uneven development (Smith, 1982) and revoking urban rights, thereby displacing the poor and destroying previously sustainable livelihoods provided in the city (Maharaj, 2017a; 2017b; Butler & Aicher, 2015; Watt, 2013).

2.3 CONCEPTUALISING DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

Development-Induced Displacement (DID) that is, the forced removal and eviction of those residing on land required for development is an age-old subject and is therefore not unique to the current era (Cernea, 1995). However, it was only in the last two decades of the twentieth century that the extent of displacement emerged on a global scale (Terminski, 2015). At this time (the 80s and 90s), approximately 10 million persons were displaced, per decade. Current estimations are said to reach 20 million per decade by 2020 (Cernea & Maldonado, 2018). Such displacements were mostly a consequence of mega-projects (Sikka, 2020; Tan, 2020).

Mega-projects drastically and intentionally transform landscapes in a radical and highly visible manner, affect millions of people, and often take the form of Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) (Flyvbjerg, 2017; Gellert & Lynch, 2003). Flyvbjerg (2014) stated that the construction of grandiose projects on an exponential scale typically amount to trillions of dollars. Such developments comprise 'Mega', 'Giga' or 'Tera' sized projects. Mega-projects occur in both rural and urban areas and include hydropower dams, agricultural expansions, mining and industrial plants, as well as transportation networks and infrastructural developments (Cernea & Maldonado, 2018; de Wet, 2015; Price, 2015; Terminski, 2015; Shin, 2014; UN-HABITAT, 2014; 2011; 2007).

Previously mega-projects in the global South were said to be implemented for society's greater good (Penz, et al., 2011; Gellert & Lynch, 2003; Cernea, 2000). More recently,

mega-projects have emerged as a neoliberal strategy for urban image reconstruction, particularly when hosting major-sporting events (Broudehoux, 2018; 2017; 2015; Maharaj & Harilal, 2016; Schausteck de Almeida & Bastos, 2016; Tomlinson, et al., 2011). Müller (2015a) defined mega-events (e.g. FIFA World Cup; Olympic Games) as massive occasions which i) host many visitors, ii) are wide-reaching, iii) costly, and iv) have significant impacts on the built environment and the population.

Mega-projects are necessary to comply with international sporting requirements, promote a competitive, world-class status, and transform the urban landscape. Projects required for hosting a successful spectacle often take precedent over public needs and supersede national development priorities (Hiller, 2017; Müller, 2017). In turn, this has led to livelihood challenges and human rights abuses (Horne, 2018; Talbot & Carter, 2018; Adeola, 2017), particularly in the global South, where residents are displaced in the periphery.

The notion of displacement, and its various forms, are central to understanding the human rights abuses and livelihood implications when urban rights are revoked, forcing inhabitants to the periphery. This is the focus of this thesis. Urban geographers, planners and sociologists have attempted to theorise the various types of displacement associated with urban development.

Initially, Grier and Grier (1978) argued that displacement occurred in two primary ways: physical and economic. Chernoff (1980) viewed social displacement as the dislocation and subsequent replacement of one group by another. In calling for a more extensive view of displacement, Marcuse (1985) argued for the need to look beyond the direct forms of dislocation. He contended that this was too narrow a definition, and there was a need to expand the notion to include various types of displacement that occurred under urban restructuring. Marcuse (1985) argued that urban displacement occurred in four instances, including; i) *Direct Last-Resident Displacement*, ii) *Direct Chain Displacement*, iii) *Exclusionary Displacement*, and iv) *Pressure Displacement*.

In the displacement literature, residents' physical displacement has been over-emphasised, with little attention given to the attachment of space and what the dislocation from place entails. In recognising this, Davidson (2008) re-conceptualised displacement to include both direct and indirect impacts. Such displacement-related

effects include: i) *Indirect Economic Displacement,* ii) *Community Displacement,* and iii) *Neighbourhood Resource Displacement.* Table 2.1 provides an overview of the conceptualisations presented by Marcuse (1985) and Davidson (2008).

Table 2.1: Conceptualising Displacement – Marcuse and Davidson

Marcuse (1985)	Davidson (2008)
i) *Direct Last-Resident Displacement,* informed by Grier and Grier (1978), referred to residents' physical or economic displacement. Physical displacement occurs, for example, when landlords turn off the central heating within housing units, thereby forcefully evicting individuals. Economic displacement may occur due to excessive rental increases. However, Marcuse (1985) argued that both physical and financial disarticulation is likely to coincide where only the last resident of a unit is the victim of displacement.	i) *Indirect Economic Displacement* is related to *Exclusionary Displacement* (Marcuse, 1985)*.* It refers to the affordability pressures which accompany development in a previously underdeveloped area. *Price Shadowing* – where redevelopment in one location simultaneously identifies other potential regions for development through increased housing and rental pricing (Vicario & Martinez Monje, 2003; Atkinson, 2002) – decreases affordable housing availability, leading to augmented Indirect Economic Displacement.
ii) *Direct Chain Displacement* considers the various displacements that have occurred since the physical decline of an area and includes all residents as displacement victims. Marcuse (1985) broadened the notion of displacement to include all those forced to relocate as an area physically declined.	ii) *Community Displacement* occurs when a city's identity and governance are changed, and there is a resultant shift in political power from the original residents to the newcomers.
iii) *Exclusionary Displacement* refers to households that can no-longer access (previously) affordable housing as the area has been regenerated to cater to the elite. Here, Marcuse (1985) refers to two households. The first household relocates from the unit voluntarily. The unit is then redeveloped. The second household is one which was once able to reside within an area but no-longer can due to increased property values (post-redevelopment).	iii) *Neighbourhood Resource Displacement* occurs when original residents succumb to feelings of alienation and disconnection as they no-longer relate to the transformed socio-political state of 'their' community.
iv) *Pressure Displacement* refers to urban residents who have resisted displacement. Such residents witness the changing socio-spatial structure of their living environments. It is such changes Marcuse (1985) argued that would inevitably pressurise residents to relocate, thereby displacing them.	

(Source: Adapted from Marcuse (1985) and Davidson (2008))

Following the initial conceptualisation by Marcuse (1985), and re-conceptualisation of displacement by Davidson (2008), there have been attempts to incorporate many forms of dislocation. Martin (2007) focused on *Political Displacement,* which transpires when residents are politically marginalised and outnumbered by newcomers. This occurs through the hierarchal shift that accompanies a regenerated area. In other words, political power transfers from one group to another, and influence is displaced from the poor and retained by the elite (Betancur, 2002; Auger, 1979). Political Displacement relates to Davidson's (2008) Community Displacement (see Table 2.1).

Hyra (2015) argued that *Political* and *Cultural Displacement* are interrelated as the latter produces feelings of alienation amongst a community's original residents. This occurs when the desires of newcomers supersede those of the original residents. Hyra (2015) argued that political and cultural displacement results in the original residents feeling resentful toward, and alienated by, newcomers.

Drawing inspiration from Davidson (2009; 2008), Stabrowski (2014, p. 794) described *Everyday Displacement* as *"the ongoing loss of the agency, freedom, and security to 'make place'."* While residents continue to stay put in the area, they are unable to 'make place' as the continued reconstruction of space leads to neighbourhood erasure (Stabrowski, 2014).

In a similar vein, Butcher and Dickens (2016) talk of *Affective Displacement,* Atkinson (2015) of *Symbolic Displacement* and Valli (2015) refers to *a Sense of Displacement.* Such forms of displacement all relate to the sense of loss which occurs when residents can resist physical removal, but experience inequality and discomfort which accompanies the fight to remain in a redeveloping area (Butcher & Dickens, 2016; Atkinson, 2015; Valli, 2015). Such forms of dislocation primarily relate to Community Displacement (Davidson, 2008). These forms of dislocation are indirect in that physical movement does not occur.

Kern (2016) introduced the notion of *Temporal Displacement* as the privileging of specific landscapes which inevitably results in the marginalisation, exclusion and displacement of certain groups and their needs.

Zuk et al. (2017) argued that *Residential Displacement* is both direct and forced, and therefore attributed it to *Forced Displacement.* Forced displacement is a central theme in this thesis and comprises the involuntary relocation of residents often to a region with

increased crime and poverty. Forced displacement could be physical (evictions), economic (livelihood disruptions) or exclusionary (beautification strategies) (Zuk, et al., 2017).

Urban lands cleared for FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association) or IOC (International Olympics Committee) related infrastructure forcibly displaced countless communities in the emerging economies of Beijing, Seoul, Athens, New Delhi, South Africa, Brazil and Russia (Talbot & Carter, 2018; Broudehoux, 2015; Foxall, 2014; COHRE, 2007). Governments form public-private partnerships to facilitate mega-project developments required for the event. Also, beautification campaigns disguise poverty in the quest to create world-class cities. The combination of mega-projects (stadiums, sports venues, transport networks, hotels and accommodation, and entertainment facilities) and beautification strategies were responsible for challenging rights and displacing and excluding countless citizens, mostly the urban poor (de Oliveira, 2020; Gauthier & Alford, 2020; Ruggie, 2016; Corrarino, 2014).

Those forcibly displaced include informal settlers and traders, vendors and hawkers, street children, the unemployed, the homeless, substance abusers and sex workers (Maharaj, 2017a; 2017b; Corrarino, 2014). These persons did not fit the ideal image of a neoliberal city and were denied access to urban space. Such clean-up tactics are evident in most host countries, including those in the global North (Suzuki, et al., 2018; Kennelly & Watt, 2011; COHRE, 2007). It is significant to note, however, that clean-up campaigns are not only tied to mega-events but are likewise evident under authoritarian regimes where the poor fall prey to the neoliberal city. This was evident in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, under 'Operation Murambatsvina,' which targeted those living and working in the informal sector (Mazuru, 2019). In less than two weeks, 700 000 urban inhabitants lost their source of employment, their homes, or both (Hammar, 2017).

Displacement has many meanings, occurs in different contexts and has wide-reaching consequences. After evaluating the vast occurrences of removal across spatial binaries, Hirsh et al. (2020) developed a new conceptual framework for understanding displacement. The framework reveals that despite occurring in different social, economic, political and geographical contexts, those displaced experience similar qualities on a global scale. These include power, positionality, eligibility, temporality and resistance (Hirsh, et al., 2020).

Displacement is mostly associated with development that spatially dislocates the urban poor from the city, compromises their livelihoods and increases their risk of impoverishment.

2.4 FORCED RESETTLEMENT: RISKS AND LIVELIHOODS

Forced relocation or Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) has two different but related processes – *displacement* and *resettlement.* The latter constitutes the *"process by which those adversely affected* [by displacement] *are assisted in their efforts to improve, or at least to restore, their incomes and living standards"* (The World Bank, 2015, p. 2). Hence, forced resettlement is the act of displacement combined with struggles to restore the livelihoods of those displaced. Forced resettlement occurs when i) land is expropriated for developmental purposes, ii) people are in the 'right of way' or footprint of a mega-project, or iii) new developments threaten to harm surrounding populations (Vanclay, 2017).

Scholars argued that focus on DIDR has been in rural areas, especially displacement related to dams (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2020; Roquet, et al., 2017). DIDR in cities is under-researched, and the impacts of urban resettlement remain relatively unexplored (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Roquet, et al., 2017). This knowledge gap has led to limitations in existing resettlement policies, and frameworks need to be revised to address urban DIDR (Koenig, 2018; 2014; Choi, 2015).

Displacements are unjust due to the resettlement itself and the impoverishment which is likely to occur. Impoverishment mostly occurs when resettlement disrupts sustainable livelihoods. Koenig (2002) argued that those forcibly resettled do not benefit from projects that led to their displacement. Instead, they experience impoverishment as they lose their social, economic and cultural resources which previously sustained them (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015).

These development projects epitomise social exclusion through physical and economic displacement (Marcuse, 1985; Grier & Grier, 1978). Cernea (2004) argued that social justice, equity norms, entitlements and human rights should be paramount when development projects negatively impact vulnerable groups. As a result, various International Finance Institutions (IFIs) developed safeguard policies to identify and mitigate forced resettlement risks.

2.4.1   FORCED RESETTLEMENT POLICIES

Displacement threatens the welfare and property rights of affected persons. At the global scale, several IFIs have developed resettlement guidelines to mitigate the negative implications of forced resettlement (Terminski, 2013; Drydyk, 2007; Georg, 2007). However, IFIs are accused of being *"agents of neoliberalism"* (Babb & Kentikelenis, 2018), thus questioning the inherent contradictions between being profit-seekers on the one hand, and protectors of the vulnerable on the other. Nonetheless, where development projects require funding from IFIs, resettlement guidelines are expected to be strictly adhered to (at least in theory) in order to i) mitigate the negative implications of forced resettlement and ii) facilitate measures to restore livelihoods (Vanclay, 2017).

Policies are either rights-based or risk-based. Rights-based approaches focus on preventing human rights violations that may occur during forced resettlement and include the: *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (2004), *Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement* (2007), and *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights* (2011).

Risk-based approaches are widely recognised and focus on economic restoration (Price, 2015). These include policies put forward by IFIs, including the: World Bank (WB) (2017), International Finance Corporation (IFC) (2012) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2012) (among others).

While there is no universal guideline to prevent impoverishment (Price, 2015), several policies align in terms of the risks of forced resettlement, including:

i) The World Bank's Environmental and Social Standard 5: Land Acquisition, Restrictions on Land Use and Involuntary Resettlement (2017);

ii) The International Finance Corporation's Performance Standard 5: Land Acquisition and Involuntary Resettlement (2012); and

iii) The Asian Development Bank's Involuntary Resettlement Safeguard Policy Principles (2012).

In 1980 the World Bank adopted its first policy centred on the socio-economic impacts of forced resettlement associated with mega-projects. The World Bank's guidelines have

been revised over the years and morphed into a global benchmark which influenced multilateral, bilateral and state policies on forced resettlement (Cernea, 2005).

These policies guide the resettlement process and recognise that displacement can be both physical (relocation or loss of shelter) and economic (lost assets or livelihood strategies) (Vanclay, 2017). The primary focus of all three policies is to:

i) prevent displacements, or where unavoidable, to mitigate the negative impacts associated with DIDR;

ii) avoid forced evictions;

iii) engage with affected communities and provide consultation and compensation for lost assets;

iv) cash compensation is not enough for livelihood restoration;

v) improve or restore livelihoods of those displaced; and

vi) select a resettlement site based on socio-cultural compatibility and adequate resources (The World Bank, 2017; Asian Development Bank, 2012; International Finance Corporation, 2012).

These policies suggest that livelihood restoration is a fundamental part of ensuring successful resettlement. Satisfactory relocation, that is, resettlement with livelihood restoration can be realised when adhering to the displaced's rights (Van der Ploeg & Vanclay, 2018; Van der Ploeg & Vanclay, 2017; Vanclay, 2017). These include the right to information, consultation, participation, negotiation, compensation, and rehabilitation (Jing, 2000).

Where displacement is unavoidable, the policies provide guidelines for developing a Resettlement Action Plan (RAP). RAPs focus on compensation for lost assets, relocation costs, and livelihood restoration for Project-Affected Persons (PAPs). Borrowers from the Bank are required to employ skilled resettlement practitioners to conduct a baseline survey that determines the number of displaced persons, demographic information, assets, livelihood strategies, and vulnerable groups. Such information is required to formulate a livelihood restoration plan (The World Bank, 2017; Asian Development Bank, 2012; International Finance Corporation, 2012).

However, scholars have argued that these policies lack guidelines on urban resettlement and methods to restore wage-based livelihoods (Koenig, 2018; 2014; Roquet, et al., 2017;

Smyth, et al., 2015). Policies to mitigate forced resettlement were first introduced for dam-related projects. In such mega-projects, PAPs were rural and relied on land-based assets and natural resources for livelihood strategies. Hence, all three policies have a rural bias which focuses on land as the primary livelihood strategy (Koenig, 2018; 2014). Likewise, there is a strong emphasis on the need to restore livelihoods that depend on common property resources and natural assets (The World Bank, 2017; Asian Development Bank, 2012; International Finance Corporation, 2012). Such resources (common property and natural) do not encompass wage-based strategies of urban inhabitants.

The city space is a segment in society that provides refuge to the urban poor through informal occupations. Such occupations, defined as irregular, transient and artisanal, mainly include street vending, trading, hawking, and traditional small-scale productions (Roquet, et al., 2017), and are mostly overlooked by IFIs.

The World Bank pays the least attention to urban-based livelihood strategies. Also, the IFC (2012, p. 33) states that the resettlement policy *"does not apply to impacts on livelihoods where the project is not changing the land use of the affected groups or communities."* However, in urban areas city dwellers rely on skills and social networks for livelihood strategies. While this may be disrupted by physical displacement, the land use remains the same (Koenig, 2014). Thus, the policy gives little consideration to non-land-based livelihood strategies (Koenig, 2018). However, the ADB did make some effort to incorporate language on livelihoods which are non-land-based and stated that resettlement areas must be conducive to transport networks and employment opportunities (Asian Development Bank, 2012).

While all three policies specifically focus on livelihood restoration, little to no guidelines are given on how wage-based livelihoods are restored. According to Koenig (2014), many urban resettlement projects are mostly (re)housing strategies where livelihood restoration is overlooked. Interestingly, before resettlement, the urban poor often lacks access to physical capital in the shape of formal housing. Instead, they reside in informal settlements where their location is more critical. When hosting mega-events, cities of the global South restructure urban space for event requirements and aesthetic appeal. Slum settlements get demolished, and informal residents often relocate to formal housing on city borders (Nogueira, 2019). Therefore, urban resettlement is considered successful

merely by the provision of housing. However, in peripheral locations transport networks are often non-existent or considerably expensive, and employment opportunities are scarce. In such resettlement projects, livelihood rehabilitation is sacrificed for formal housing (Koenig, 2018; 2014).

In 2014, a symposium was held in South Africa, which focused on 'Resettlement and Livelihoods' under the auspices of the International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA). Two-hundred-and-fifty attendees (government and private sector representatives, academics, civil society, PAPs and IFIs) from 42 countries attended the seminar. The purpose was to identify issues in resettlement projects and recommend solutions. Five key themes emerged, including:

i) Resettlement plans are failing communities;

ii) There is more alignment between IFI policies and national legislation – countries are increasingly implementing resettlement legislation;

iii) Livelihood restoration is inadequate and not planned or implemented effectively, and there is limited guidance for urban resettlement;

iv) Skilled practitioners are the key to success – RAPs need thorough planning, and research into PAPs needs to commence as early as possible; and

v) Resettlement practice is improving but requires more resources and training (Smyth, et al., 2015).

In practice, effective resettlement is often constrained by inadequate consultation and participation, lack of political will, and policy gaps (Kabra, 2018). Problems persist in resettlement projects despite the introduction of policies (Koenig, 2018). Developers are not required to abide by IFI safeguard policies if they are not borrowers. Under such circumstances, developers must comply with national legislation centred on land acquisition, zoning, resettlement and social welfare (Koenig, 2014).

With the unprecedented amount of infrastructure development in cities of the global South, the risk of population displacement and resettlement exacerbated. Hence, several nations have introduced policies which seek to mitigate the negative consequences for the poor. More specifically, Brazil, India, and the Peoples Republic of China have designed strategies that i) reduce the impacts of forced resettlement, ii) facilitate relocation and livelihood restoration, iii) bridge the gaps between national legislation and international

safeguard policies, and iv) promote effective governance (Yan, et al., 2018; Roquet, et al., 2017; Zhang, et al., 2017; Raghuram & Sunny, 2015; Liao, 2012; Cernea, 2005).

The seminal work of Cernea (1997) informed renowned international guidelines and country-specific frameworks. While employed at The World Bank, Cernea developed the Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model.

2.4.2 CERNEA'S IMPOVERISHMENT RISK AND RECONSTRUCTION MODEL

The IRR model provides a framework for resettlement practitioners to guide relocation projects and highlights the social and economic consequences of forced displacement and resettlement (Cernea, 1997). The model diagnoses and predicts the risks related to DIDR, as well as possible solutions. Risks include joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, social disarticulation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, landlessness and loss of access to common property resources (Cernea, 1997). The dual purpose of this model is risk prevention and livelihood restoration (Cernea, 2000). The IRR model can guide all relevant social actors, including local authorities, affected persons, resettlement practitioners, researchers, and project designers about the risks of resettlement and possibilities for livelihood restoration.

Cernea (2000) argued that improved livelihood outcomes might be achieved when combining the IRR model with alternative frameworks. Therefore, this study draws from the IRR model and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF). This thesis proposes an innovative improvement in resettlement policy assessment and livelihood outcomes by adapting key elements of the IRR model and SLF approach.

2.4.3 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK (SLF)

The SLF complements a rights-based approach. This is because both approaches are geared toward the same goal: the empowerment of those most vulnerable, coupled with increasing their capacity to secure sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 2001; 1999).

The SLF is primarily concerned with understanding and improving the livelihood strategies of vulnerable communities. The SLF can be used as a strategic planning tool during a resettlement project and to assess the status quo of livelihoods within a community after resettlement (Serrat, 2017; GLOPP, 2008; DFID, 2001; Ashley & Carney, 1999).

Livelihoods are multifaceted, ever-changing and complex. The SLF is people-centred and seeks to identify the assets within a community and understand how individuals develop strategies to realise improved livelihood outcomes. This approach is based on the view that no single asset will produce a prosperous livelihood. Instead, assets in the form of social, human, natural, financial and physical capital collectively foster sustainable livelihood outcomes such as increased income, improved well-being, reduced vulnerability, food security, and sustainable use of resources (Serrat, 2017; GLOPP, 2008; DFID, 2001; Ashley & Carney, 1999).

Table 2.2 draws from the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, 2001) and Cernea's (1997) IRR model to illustrate how the livelihood assets in the SLF (column 1) are threatened when resettlers experience the risks identified in the IRR model (column 2). This ultimately creates adverse livelihood outcomes for resettled communities (column 3).

Table 2.2: Assets, Risks and the Outcomes of Resettlement

1. Asset (SLF)	2. Risks (IRR) to Sustaining Assets	3. Outcome of Resettlement
Social Capital	Social Disarticulation	Sense of loss, fragmented social networks, loss of place
Human Capital	Marginalisation	Socio-economic exclusion
	Food insecurity	Malnutrition
	Increased Morbidity and Mortality	Physical and mental health ailments and death
Natural Capital	For this model to be suited for urban DIDR, it is necessary to redefine certain risks, including: • *Landlessness* – taken not as a loss in productive systems upon which crops are generated but rather, as a loss of central location and subsequently increased distance to livelihood opportunities. • *Loss of Access to Common Property Resources* – redefined to exclude natural resources (forest, burial grounds, pastures, water bodies etc.) and instead include loss of physical assets such as education, hospital, shopping and recreational facilities as well as services and economic opportunities offered in the city (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015).	Loss of access to central locale and income-earning opportunities Threats to human capital due to inaccessible facilities (e.g. hospitals and schools)
Financial Capital	Joblessness	Fiscal insecurity, increased risk of poverty
Physical Capital	Homelessness	Homelessness may occur as eligibility criteria often determine who receives a dwelling

(Source: Developed by Author)

The following section draws from Cernea's (1997) IRR model and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, 2001) to reveal how the model's risks threaten livelihood assets when urban inhabitants resettle in the periphery, ultimately reducing their ability to restore or maintain sustainable livelihood outcomes.

2.5   RESETTLED IN THE PERIPHERY: LIVELIHOOD RESTORATION?

This section focuses on livelihood restoration and illustrates how resettlement affects the assets in the SLF. In such cases, urban resettlers experience all eight risks identified in Cernea's (1997) IRR model, ultimately impeding livelihood rehabilitation for the poor.

2.5.1   SOCIAL CAPITAL

The urban poor is heavily reliant on social capital for networking, empowerment, security, shared knowledge and experiences and socio-economic support in times of hardship (Dehkordi, 2020; Gebre, 2014; Esman, 2003; DFID, 2001). To sustain one another, low-income communities use social networks to pool their resources together in stokvel, local burial associations or kinship groups (Patel, et al., 2015; Abebe & Hesselberg, 2013). Communities often nurture their social relationships as this asset enables them to sustain and secure their livelihoods through networks and support mechanisms (Abebe & Hesselberg, 2013).

However, social capital is often disrupted or dismantled when communities forcibly relocate in the urban periphery.   The social fabric of communities is torn asunder, fragmenting social ties and dismantling life-sustaining relationships (Patel, et al., 2015; Cernea, 2000).

Abebe & Hesselberg (2013) argued that too little attention is given to the social cost of urban DIDR.   Communities are often at risk of impoverishment due to their inability to re-establish social networks (Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015; Curley, 2008). A recent study conducted by Abduselam & Belay (2018) found that resettled communities experienced social disarticulation because of: i) a break in social networks, ii) a deterioration in well-being, and iii) a distinct lack of trusted relationships in the resettlement area. Thus, displacement, and disbursed geographical resettlement, result in social disarticulation where previously invaluable social capital fragments. Networks disintegrate, and poor communities are further marginalised in the periphery (Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015).

Significantly, the destruction of social assets has a domino effect as it *"compounds the loss of natural, human and physical capital"* (Patel & Mandhyan, 2014, p. 122). Once resettled, PAPs find themselves isolated in a peripheral environment. This is often expressed in instability, insecurity and the unpredictability of the new environment and interaction with the host population. *Social disarticulation* emerges and interlinks with *marginalisation* and health risks (human capital). The lack of social cohesion within a community morphs into various socio-economic problems (Khan, 2019). The deterioration of one capital (social) may lead to the destruction of another (human) (Patel & Mandhyan, 2014).

2.5.2 HUMAN CAPITAL

Human capital is intrinsic to personal development and plays a pivotal role in sustaining livelihoods through social and economic growth. This asset refers to the educational achievement, health, talent, skills, experience and the physical and mental capabilities which enable individuals to pursue diverse livelihood opportunities and secure socio-economic well-being (Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015; DFID, 2001).

However, sustaining human capital is challenging when urban residents resettle in peripheral areas as their skills and capabilities are often no-longer useful in their new location. As a result, those displaced experience socio-economic *marginalisation* often expressed through the destruction of human capital (Patel, et al., 2015). Financial exclusion is critical as it is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalisation. This is usually experienced by losing self-confidence, feelings of unfairness, and increased vulnerability to outside shocks. Exclusionary feelings worsen when those resettled face hostility from the host community (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015; Cernea, 2000).

Furthermore, a shortage of income-earning opportunities in the resettlement site renders the community vulnerable to food shortages. *Food insecurity* threatens the human capital as members are susceptible to malnutrition and related health risks (Patel, et al., 2015).

Also, educational facilities are often far away from the resettlement site (Yntiso, 2008). The high cost of transport often results in children not going to school (Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015; Abebe & Hesselberg, 2013). A poorly selected relocation site and the associated economic burden can marginalise communities that are not self-sufficient (Cernea, 2000).

Human capital is also at risk of increased *morbidity and mortality* due to the socio-psychological impacts of marginalisation (depression/suicide) and the nutritional implications of food insecurity (malnutrition/famine). Risks to the resettled population's health are perpetuated by the relocation site's distance to healthcare facilities (Yntiso, 2008).

2.5.3   NATURAL CAPITAL

In the SLF and the IRR model, this asset refers to natural resources (wildlife, land, water bodies, forest areas, etc.) relied upon for livelihood strategies (DFID, 2001). In this study, loss of land has multiple implications for livelihoods.

Landlessness is reinterpreted in this study as a loss of a prime location, resulting in increased distances to access *common property resources* such as markets, recreation, health services, and educational institutions. These are 'indirect' assets that add to a better quality of life for the poor and enable the diversification of their livelihood strategies (Patel & Mandhyan, 2014). The loss of 'indirect' assets, such as location, opportunities, services, and facilities play a significant role in destroying livelihoods. Those forced to relocate are often societies most vulnerable inhabitants with limited assets. Their primary livelihood strategies are heavily reliant upon their strategic locations. Removal from such locations – and the opportunities it offers – has devastating impacts for PAPs and often results in severe impoverishment for those displaced (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014).

In the global South, most informal residents acquire wage-labour in urban locales. However, too little attention has been given to the role that location plays in securing the right to employment (Nogueira, 2019; Brown, 2015). Unlike the right to housing, the right to employment and the role of location in accessing work opportunities have been largely neglected. While the South African Constitution (1996) enshrines employment and housing rights, the critical issue of access to locale also matters (Nogueira, 2019). In other words, the need to secure urban land for housing is widely recognised. However, access to urban land for employment (traders, vendors, hawkers) has received limited scholarly focus, despite the invaluable role that location plays in securing livelihoods (Brown, 2015). Hence, resettlement risks are grounded in the loss of income-earning opportunities which occurs when residents lose access to urban locations that provide economic prospects.

Therefore, Bazza et al. (2016) argued that resettlement should be avoided. Where avoidance is not possible, PAPs must resettle within a 5km radius. Similarly, Patel & Mandhyan (2014) argued that resettlement practitioners should strive to retain PAPs within the same ward, thereby maintaining the provision of services, resources and the

aforementioned 'capitals'. This facilitates a more equitable, ethical and just development process. However, urban displacement mostly results in peripheral resettlement as land is cheaper and more readily available, and removing the poor sanitises the city.

2.5.4   FINANCIAL CAPITAL

Financial capital refers to the economic assets which individuals use to sustain their livelihoods. These include wages, savings, access to cash/loan facilities, remittances, pensions and grants. Financial capital converts into other assets (finances used to purchase a house – physical capital). Financial capital contributes to direct livelihood outcomes (using wages to buy food for daily consumption). However, the urban poor struggle to gain financial security and other forms of capital (social, human, natural and physical) play a more central role in sustaining their livelihoods (DFID, 2001).

Although the urban poor struggle to access financial capital, the city provides a diversity of income-earning opportunities – thereby providing a greater possibility for fiscal security. Individuals targeted for resettlement are often of a lower socio-economic status and depend on the informal sector for their livelihood strategies. These include wage labourers, traders, vendors, hawkers, small business owners and domestic workers. However, *joblessness* is often a side-effect of resettlement projects (Cernea, 1997). Those who were employed often face unemployment because i) limited (if any) opportunities for employment are available in the resettlement site, ii) their skills are no longer conducive to the relocation area, or iii) the distance to their previous employment site is too far or expensive (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018).

There are also gender implications, as the relocation process tends to create a more significant financial burden on women due to employment loss (Smitha, 2017). Women tend to have home-based livelihood strategies that rely heavily on social networks in their immediate surroundings. Therefore, removal from this environment tends to reduce income-earning opportunities for women (Elias, et al., 2018).

2.5.5   PHYSICAL CAPITAL

Physical capital refers to the infrastructural assets which are required to facilitate a decent quality of life. Physical capital relates primarily to formal housing and its benefits – a secure shelter with access to water, electricity, and sanitation – and assets such as healthcare and educational facilities, for example. Physical capital is linked to human capital because inadequate access to the former (formal housing, water, sanitation, education and health facilities) may infringe on the status of human health and educational prospects (DFID, 2001).

While housing plays a significant role in improving the living conditions for those who receive a dwelling, it cannot ensure the restoration of livelihoods. Instead, peripheral resettlement housing often threatens the PAPs' ability to maintain social, human, natural (people-made) and financial capital. That also increases the social, economic and psychological costs. While formal housing offers a more safe, clean and stable environment, the remote location increases vulnerability as resettlers struggle to generate income (Elias, et al., 2018). In a study conducted by Smitha (2017, p. 217), respondents used spatial metaphors to describe their predicament by stating: *"What is the use of a castle without proper food and income to live?"* Also, resettlement may result in *homelessness* as not everyone is eligible for rehousing (Hirsh, et al., 2020).

Despite the advantage of having physical capital, studies have shown that those resettled are often further impoverished by the need to pay for essential services, down payments, rent or maintenance – which was not a requirement in their previous location (Abduselam & Belay, 2018; Choi, 2015; Gebre, 2014; GebreEgziabher, 2014).   Many resettlement projects focus on rehousing affected persons, while livelihood rehabilitation falls by the wayside (Shaw & Saharan, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015; Koenig, 2014).

Although the literature is scant, a study conducted by Patel & Mandhyan (2014) found that PAPs resettled due to urban development experienced all eight impoverishment risks identified in Cernea's (1997) IRR model. Fundamentally, *landlessness* – based on location – was the primary cause for the impoverishment risks that followed. The locale where PAPs previously resided played an integral role in social networking; employment; and access to resources such as health services, education facilities, recreation and markets (Patel & Mandhyan, 2014).

Once resettled, residents experienced i) disintegration of social networks; ii) increased health risks due to poor sanitary conditions in the resettlement site; iii) isolation and job-loss (and subsequently food insecurity) because of increased distances from accessible resources; and iv) homelessness as not everyone was eligible for resettlement (Patel & Mandhyan, 2014).

Kumar (2015) extended resettlement risks and included: child labour and loss of childhood, educational prospects, livelihoods, and human dignity. Furthermore, a culture of poverty develops. This is a result of i) psychological internalisation, ii) loss of identity, and iii) increased criminality, suicide and pollution (Kumar, 2015). Such challenges have led to increased contestations related to urban DIDR.

2.6   RESISTANCE TO FORCED RESETTLEMENT

Resettlement is one of the most acute forms of powerlessness as those removed lose control of their physical space and access to resources and amenities. Powerlessness, coupled with the urban poor's lack of developmental benefits, has led to increased resistance to DIDR (Hirsh, et al., 2020; Bisht, 2014).

However, because forced resettlement literature mostly focuses on the rural experience, resistance studies have focused mainly on dam-related projects (Oliver-Smith, 2006), with little analyses given to urban resistance measures (Koenig, 2015).

Urban resistance to forced resettlement is a political action that calls for the inclusion of affected persons in decision-making, genuine consultation, participation, and involvement in the formulation and implementation of resettlement plans. City residents are well-positioned for activism due to the high density of urban areas (allowing for collective action) and residents' proximity to centres of power (Koenig, 2015).

Urban resistance has taken several forms including i) negotiating with decision-makers about the effects of infrastructural development, ii) using local, multisectoral, vertical and national alliances to build and influence support for the displaced, iii) utilising social media to gain public support, iv) activists and affected persons highlight the human rights violations enshrined in resettlement policies, and v) mass demonstrations place pressure on politicians and remind them of their constitutional obligations to their constituents (Koenig, 2015).

The most visible form of urban resistance has taken place concerning forced evictions, where residents have protested displacement. Resistance to DIDR involves various bodies and spaces that act in solidarity to advocate for preserving livelihoods, the right to stay put, and human and property rights (Brickell, et al., 2017).

Despite the policy protections for vulnerable groups, urban DIDR remains a contentious issue. Those displaced are resettled to the periphery and struggle to retain their rights to the city (Patel, et al., 2015), a scenario all too familiar in South Africa, especially under apartheid.

2.7   SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

The shift from apartheid to the democratic era saw the African National Council (ANC) government transform South African legislation to facilitate socio-economic development through a rights-based constitution. For the first time in South African history, all citizens had equal socio-economic, political and civil rights.

Such freedoms are expressed in Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution – the Bill of Rights (The South African Government, 1996). The Constitution provides certain preconditions for establishing and securing the right to habitation in the city through the right to adequate housing in conjunction with protections from arbitrary evictions (Huchzermeyer, 2018a; Coggin & Pieterse, 2012). To uphold rights and social justice, the state needs to ensure equal access to livelihoods and the city (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010).

The Constitution makes provisions for local authorities to advance rights. According to Section 152 of the Constitution, urban citizenship is realised through local government's ability to ensure: accountability, the provision of services, a safe and healthy environment, social and economic development, and community participation in local affairs (The South African Government, 1996).

The Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000 promotes social and economic rights, service delivery, sustainable development, and community participation (Municipal Systems Act 32, 2000). In recognising social, economic, political and civil rights, and the role of local government in advancing these rights, the South African Constitution and the Municipal Act promote the principles of the right to the city (Pieterse, 2014; Coggin & Pieterse,

2012; Parnell & Pieterse, 2010). An increased role of the state is needed to advance the rights of urban citizens.

The challenge for the local government was to adapt the rights-based agenda to serve previously disadvantaged (and marginalised) communities while simultaneously implementing neoliberal macroeconomic policies (Beyers, 2017; Bond, 2007; 2000). Today, the right to the South African city is challenged by neoliberal pro-growth agendas, particularly when hosting major sporting events.

2.7.1   JUSTICE, RIGHTS AND CONTESTATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

The era of exclusion and forced removals was said to have ended with the demise of apartheid and the promulgation of legal protections in the South African Constitution. However, countless South Africans were forcefully displaced by mega-projects and beautification strategies constructed across several cities for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (FWC) (Ziegler, 2018; Haferburg & Steinbrink, 2017; Burocco, 2014). Citizens, mostly the urban poor, were removed to i) make way for development and ii) to be concealed from tourists (Robbins, 2012; Mentor-Lalu, 2011; Steinbrink, et al., 2011; Morel, 2010).

Forced removals violate human rights through i) evictions without consultation or community participation, ii) poor planning (no relocation option or compensation for loss), iii) the tactics used to remove people (harassment, brutality and violence), iv) the conditions under which eviction occurs (weather, respect for person and belongings), and v) the consequences of removal (disruption in work and education, trauma, lost belongings, impoverishment, homelessness, no provision of essential services and loss of livelihoods) (UN-HABITAT, 2014).

In Cape Town, thousands of informal residents were 'temporarily' resettled in Delft to make way for training facilities and the N2 Gateway Project (Dehkordi, 2020; Jordhus-Lier, 2015; Ranslem, 2015; Smith, 2010; Newton, 2009). Cape Town officials promoted the N2 Gateway development as a 'flagship' project to address the severe housing shortage. In phase one, massive slum eradication occurred in the 10km stretch between Cape Town International Airport and the city, resulting in the forced removal of 20 000 inhabitants from the Joe Slovo informal settlement to the Delft Temporary Relocation Area (TRA) (approximately 30km away) (Dehkordi, 2020). Critics argued that fast-

tracking this project was to be understood as a beautification strategy to prepare the city for the World Cup (Newton, 2009).

Hundreds of evictees removed from the N2 Gateway project refused resettlement to the TRA in Delft. Instead, families built makeshift housing along Symphony Way (opposite the N2 Gateway Project from which they had been evicted) and vowed to occupy the space until the government provided permanent housing. However, after 22 months of resistance, the families lost their struggle and were relocated to the Delft TRA (Dehkordi, 2020; Symphony Way Pavement Dwellers, 2011).

The cruel irony being that this TRA was to become *de facto* permanent housing for those resettled (Ranslem, 2015; Doherty, 2013). The relocation site is known as 'Blikkiesdorp', or 'Tin Can Town'. The area comprises rows of three-by-six metre tin shacks, a high prevalence of diseases, sweltering summers and freezing winters, poor sanitation, dirt roads and no transport links, services or job opportunities (Burocco, 2014; COHRE, 2009b).

Those residing in Tin Can Town are always in survival mode as livelihood struggles endure (COHRE, 2009b). The site has been likened to a 'concentration camp', and residents stated that living conditions are 'hell' and worse than those under the apartheid regime (VOC News, 2016; Burocco, 2014; Davids, 2010; Smith, 2010).

Johannesburg's urban poor also faced exclusionary removal tactics as the city prepared to host the world. Beautifying the urban core meant that the poor were vulnerable to eviction. The government elicited a local militia company the 'Red Ants', to evict residents and raze slums to beautify the city ahead of the games (McDougall, 2010).

The Red Ants targeted locals who lived in central, derelict areas as developers perceived them as the cause of crime and grime in the vicinity. 'The state of exception' (Broudehoux & Sánchez, 2016; Vainer, 2016) allowed officials to by-pass standard procedures and public concerns about the consequences for the urban poor (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009). Instead, the Red Ants forcibly removed residents occupying 'hi-jacked' and 'bad buildings', without consultation with affected parties (Burocco, 2014).

However, given the devastating consequences for the urban poor, the High, Supreme and Constitutional Courts placed a moratorium on evictions. Also, the courts ruled that authorities needed to relocate those residing in 'bad-buildings' to centrally located

accommodations (*City of Johannesburg v Rand Properties (Pty) Ltd 2007 SCA 25 (RSA)*) (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009; UN-HABITAT, 2007). For a fortunate few, South African law stood firm and stopped evictions from occurring without alternative, centrally located housing, and enabled the poor to retain their right to the city (Desai, 2014).

However, other eviction cases revealed that, like Tin Can Town, alternative housing was sought in peripheral areas – further perpetuating the spatial legacy of apartheid. The land was cheap, services were inadequate, job opportunities were scarce, and livelihoods were threatened (Royston, et al., 2016; COHRE, 2008; UN-HABITAT, 2007).

The hard-hitting documentary titled *Farenheit2010* depicts forced removals related to the 2010 FWC (Tanner, 2010). The documentary sheds light on the way citizens resisted evictions (Moody, 2009). However, news and television agencies refused to broadcast the film (Moyo, 2010).

Exclusionary practices were evident in core South African cities due to strategies which focused on mega-projects and urban renewal. The latter, through clean-up campaigns and neoliberal beautification strategies, triggered regeneration schemes in South African cities. Hence, gentrification continues to displace and exclude the urban poor for the benefit of elite and middle-class enclaves (Goo, 2018).

Serino (2015) argued that the human impact of gentrification on the urban poor is largely under-researched. This is because finding those evicted and displaced by development has proven challenging for researchers, especially when those removed are poor (Newman & Wyly, 2006).

However, what is known is that gentrification displaces the city's most impoverished and already marginalised residents (Elliott-Cooper, et al., 2020; Goo, 2018; Helbrecht, 2017; Zuk, et al., 2017). Such renewal projects, facilitated by the government, resulted in state-led new-build gentrification, introduced under the guise of social-mixing and housing stock differentiation to increase an area's tax base (Teernstra, 2015). New-build gentrification occurs when the state joins forces with large-scale capitalists to transform the built environment (Davidson, 2018), subsequently resulting in direct and indirect displacement (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Marcuse, 1985).

This was evident in Cape Town (Woodstock), Johannesburg (Ellis Park) and Durban (Point Precinct) (Visser, 2019; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009; Visser & Kotze, 2008). Spaces of the

inner city are redeveloped to extract wealth but are not necessarily planned for the benefit of locals (Rossi & Alberto, 2015; Gunter, 2011; Weber, 2002). Instead, the state becomes the land grabber and facilitates the eviction, dispossession and 'violent un-homing' of the urban poor (Elliott-Cooper, et al., 2020; Pedlowski, 2013; Harvey, 2007b; 2003b).

Due to the history of forced removals in South Africa, the nation has a political climate which condemns illegal evictions. Several civil society organisations have formed which seek to protect the rights of the poor. Such organisations advocate for the preservation of constitutional rights, and social justice in the democratic era. These movements include *Reclaim the City, Abahlali baseMjondolo,* and *Ndifuna Ukwazi.*

Reclaim the City advocates for inclusive city spaces. The movement invokes the right to the city where land for people is valued over land for profit. The members recognise the social value of place and advocate for equitable development. Also, members offer protection to vulnerable persons and provide temporary accommodation in crises. In doing so, *Reclaim the City* is a platform that promotes inclusive city spaces and advocates for housing rights for the poor (Reclaim the City, 2018).

Abahlali baseMjondolo is an informal shack dwellers movement which promotes the rights of the Durban's urban poor. More specifically, ABH advocates for improved living conditions in informal settlements. The organisation calls on various sectors across society, including researchers, academics and Non-Government Organisations, to advocate social justice for the poor. Likewise, the movement supports rights to the city and argues that all persons should have equal access to centrally located housing (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2020).

Ndifuna Ukwazi is a law-based activist movement which advocates for the realisation of constitutional rights in Cape Town. The organisation focuses on urban land justice, where members promote inclusive city spaces with mixed-income, integrated housing in well-located areas (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2019).

Despite legal protections and civil society organisations that seek to protect the rights of the poor, millions of informal city dwellers have been displaced to the urban periphery, exacerbating socio-economic inequalities (Corrarino, 2014). The Durban experience was no exception.

2.8   DURBAN'S WORLD CLASS AMBITIONS

Located on the eastern coast of South Africa and within the KwaZulu-Natal province, the eThekwini Municipal Area (EMA) spans some 2555km². For several years, eThekwini Municipality had envisioned Durban to be Africa's most caring and liveable city (eThekwini Municipality, 2019/20; 2006).

The municipal area accommodates a population of approximately 3,811,167 and comprises urban and rural periphery, constituting 32% and 68%, respectively (eThekwini Municipality, 2019; 2017a). Since the democratic turn, a range of strategic frameworks guided Durban's development plans. However, with the transition from a pro-poor to a pro-growth agenda, the city adopted mega-projects as a development and regeneration strategy (Hannan & Sutherland, 2015; Baud, et al., 2014; Houghton, 2011).

This pro-growth neoliberal agenda was most notable in the city's event-led development plan titled the *'2010 and Beyond Strategy'.* The strategy used FIFA 2010 as a catalyst for growth and development (Baud, et al., 2014; eThekwini Municipality, 2011). As a result, key nodes formed to serve the interests of sport, tourism and MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences/Conventions and Exhibitions) (eThekwini Municipality, 2017b). Key mega-projects included:

i) Transport infrastructure: footpaths, fly-overs, People Mover (inner-city bus system), Freeway Rehabilitation, and King Shaka International Airport (KSIA) (Sutcliffe & Ellingson, 2006).

ii) Dube TradePort: was combined with KSIA as a catalytic mega-project to stimulate growth in the airfreight industry (Robbins, 2015).

iii) Point Waterfront Development: a three-phase mega-project deliberately inserted into the strategic development of the city to attract and host mega-events (Fleischer, et al., 2013; Gounden, 2010; Lootvoet & Freund, 2006).

iv) Golden Mile Beachfront Upgrade: a two-phase mega-project that integrated the beachfront with Moses Mabhida Stadium (Maharaj, 2017c).

v) Moses Mabhida Stadium (and sports-related infrastructure and training venues): a 70,000-seater stadium, built adjacent to the existing 52,000-seater Kings Park Stadium (Maharaj, 2017c).

vi) City Beautification: clean-up campaigns and urban regeneration in the inner city (eThekwini Municipality, 2017b; 2011; Maharaj & Harilal, 2016; Sutcliffe & Ellingson, 2006).

These mega-projects were used to market Durban as the ultimate African sporting destination to attract future mega-events such as the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. The construction of these mega-projects resulted in human rights violations and Durban's urban poor were evicted, dispossessed, displaced and excluded from the benefits of FIFA 2010 (Maharaj, 2017c; Nadvi, 2008).

2.8.1   EXCLUSION OF THE URBAN POOR

As with most developing countries, countless Durban residents rely on the informal economy for livelihoods, services and subsistence. As a result of the desire to beautify the city ahead of the FIFA 2010 tournament, the eThekwini Municipality adopted beautification strategies and clean-up campaigns to remove the indigent from tourist areas. This further ostracised the city's already marginalised communities.

City regeneration schemes and beachfront upgrades displaced countless subsistence fisher folk and informal traders in the area. As part of the beautification strategy, fishing was banned from the beachfront throughout the FWC, affecting the livelihoods of approximately 2000 fishermen (Maharaj & Harilal, 2016). Authorities also forcibly removed almost 25,000 vendors, street traders and hawkers. They lost their right to livelihoods, employment and (by default) to a residence in the city (Amnesty International, 2011; Lindell, et al., 2010).

Subsistence fishers and informal traders contested the restriction to public space through protest marches, vigils, confrontations with authorities, as well as appeals to the eThekwini Municipality, and provincial and central government (Maharaj, 2017a; Lindell, et al., 2010). The commodification of this once public space was mired in controversy as regeneration resulted in failed restaurants, loss of blue flag status, and return of crime and decay in the area. Such controversies questioned the effectiveness of neoliberal regeneration strategies which displaced the poor and deprived them of previously sustainable livelihoods (Maharaj, 2017c; 2011).

Another poignant example of the city's exclusionary tactics was evident in the attempted eviction of informal traders from the Early Morning Market (EMM), located in Warwick Junction (Maharaj, 2020). The EMM plays an integral role in the inner city, providing livelihoods to approximately 10,000 informal traders, services, a thriving transport network and affordable nourishment to almost half a million people who pass through daily (Bahadur, 2011).

The proposed mall was a neoliberal strategy that would have dispossessed countless poor of their livelihood strategies while simultaneously revoking their right to live in and occupy city space (Maharaj, 2017b; Bahadur, 2011; Harvey, 2007b).

Significantly, the struggle to save the EMM saw the emergence of non-racial solidarity in the mobilisation of traders, vendors, researchers, academics, architects, planners, NGOs and unions. The united front presented in this variegated (class and race) mobilisation strategy successfully prevented the demolition of the EMM (Maharaj, 2020).

However, other sectors of the urban poor were not as fortunate. The city's steps to 'clean-up' ahead of FIFA 2010 saw the removal of street children and the homeless. The political elite criminalised the poor, not for the crimes they had committed but because of their poverty. Former Mayor, Obed Mlaba rationalised the poor's removal when he stated: *"This is a wonderful opportunity for us to clean up areas that have become unsavoury"* (quoted in Ngonyama, 2010, p. 173).

The Durban Point Precinct and Beachfront areas are notorious for high concentrations of homeless persons (including children) (Tolsi, 2010). The urban poor occupied abandoned buildings and adopted various livelihood strategies, including guarding cars, begging and doing chores for street vendors (Schernthaner, 2011). However, the beachfront is one of Durban's prime tourist attractions. Thus, the city resorted to tactics that violated the indigent's constitutional rights by removing them to far-off destinations, TRAs and even prisons (Burocco, 2014; Packree & de Boer, 2007).

The neoliberal strategy of event-led development resulted in distinct winners and losers in Durban. Most notably, subsistence fisher folk, vendors, informal traders, street children, the homeless, and informal shack dwellers. All were targeted for removal to sanitise the city ahead of the FWC. Vulnerable communities experienced dispossession through the loss of livelihoods, exclusion, police brutality, forced displacement and

relocation – reminiscent of the apartheid regime. In response, an 'anti-thiefa' protest took place where 3000 people from 26 civil society organisations protested: exorbitant spending, the misappropriation of scarce resources, corruption, elitism, and the exclusion of and attack on the poor (Bahadur, 2011; Pillay, 2010; Veith, 2010). The Durban Social Forum (more than 20 organisations) argued that the world-class agenda benefited the elite and dispossessed the poor:

> *"The ANC have not given a 'World Cup for All' but again chose to deliver to the rich instead of the poor…The ANC government delivers world-class facilities and infrastructure to the rich that the majority of South Africans will never enjoy…Vulnerable children, traders, the poor, homeless, shack dwellers, refugees…are forcibly removed so tourists won't see them…Our government has sold its citizens out for a gigantic, short term publicity stunt, and we must not let them forget their responsibilities"* (quoted in Maharaj, 2011, p. 58).

Human rights violations and the displacement of scarce resources threatened the urban poor's access to livelihoods, resources and central public space.

2.9   CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the theoretical framework for this study which focused on social justice, rights and displacement literature. The chapter consisted of seven sections and began with a discussion on social justice and rights. After conceptualising development-induced displacement, the chapter analysed forced resettlement policies and the livelihood implications of urban DIDR. It proposed that resettlement policy assessment and sustainable livelihood outcomes are best achieved when adapting the IRR model and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework simultaneously. After that, the chapter analysed the removal of vulnerable groups in South Africa and how rights and justice are continually challenged in the democratic era. Such violations are reminiscent of the apartheid era and are mostly a by-product of neoliberal mega-projects, implemented to achieve world-class status. This chapter concluded with the Durban experience and illustrated how the city grapples with upholding rights while competing for world-class status. Instead, the poor are rendered obsolete and forcibly resettle in the periphery where they are stripped of their ties to place, people and livelihood opportunities. The following chapter describes the methodological approach adopted for this study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored the theoretical framework which guided the study. This chapter will focus on the methodological approach used for the study. The chapter begins by discussing the mixed-method research approach. After that, the use of a case study design is explored. The focus then centres on the study area(s), fieldwork, sampling techniques, and data collection methods. The proceeding sections examine the sources of information collected, data analysis and ethical considerations. The chapter concludes with the limitations of the research study.

3.2   RESEARCH APPROACH

This research study adopted a mixed methods-methods approach. This approach was referred to as the *"third methodological movement"* following the development of quantitative and then qualitative research methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011, p. 285). The approach provides procedures for collecting and analysing data by mixing qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study (Creswell, 1999). The formative years of mixed-methods began in the 1950s. However, Small (2011) noted that mixed-methods had been applied throughout the history of social science.

There are three mixed-method designs. These include *the convergent design, the explanatory sequential design* and *the exploratory sequential design* (Creswell & Clark, 2018). This study adopted the convergent and explanatory sequential designs.

The convergent design brought together quantitative and qualitative data to be compared and combined from all phases of data collection. However, the explanatory sequential design was only adopted in Welbedacht, where the researcher collected the quantitative data first. After that, the quantitative data guided the questions posed in the focus group discussion.

3.3　THE RESEARCH DESIGN

This study used a case study research design. According to Gonzalez (2008), the case study design provides a logical sequence that connects the empirical data to the study's objectives. In using a case study design, the data provided a narrative of the Ark's history and the implications of its demise. The case study approach allowed for an investigation into various contextual factors, including the nature of displacement, the Ark's historical background and the current physical setting in Welbedacht (Stake, 2008).

The case study design provides an in-depth analysis of the lived experiences and livelihood implications of displacement. These were particularly vital as scholars have argued that finding displaced persons is difficult (Newman & Wyly, 2006). Therefore, there is a gap in the knowledge of the lived experiences for those displaced by urban development (Arrigoitia, 2017). The case study design was pivotal for exploring and understanding the complexities of urban displacement, resettlement and livelihood struggles (Zainal, 2007).

The seminal work provided by Stake (2008) was influential in differentiating the types of case study designs which included *intrinsic, instrumental* and *collective* approaches to a study. This research adopted an *instrumental* case study design which identified a specific case (the eviction of the Ark) and used quantitative and qualitative techniques to investigate the implications thereof. Using quantitative and qualitative data collection methods provided a rigorous, in-depth and multifaceted explanation of the research problem (Crowe, et al., 2011).

3.4　THE STUDY AREAS: FOLLOWING THE RESEARCH TRAIL

Although not initially envisaged or anticipated, as the study proceeded, the researcher was made aware of Arkians who did not resettle in Welbedacht East. Court documents and conversations with participants informed the researcher of the locations of Arkians in various areas across Durban. While the primary study areas included the Point Precinct and Welbedacht East, these extended to include additional research sites such as Stollers Overnight Facility, Ekuphileni Clinic and Durban's South Beach. This section will briefly describe the study areas, all of which fall within the eThekwini Municipality. Figure 3.1 illustrates all of the study areas.
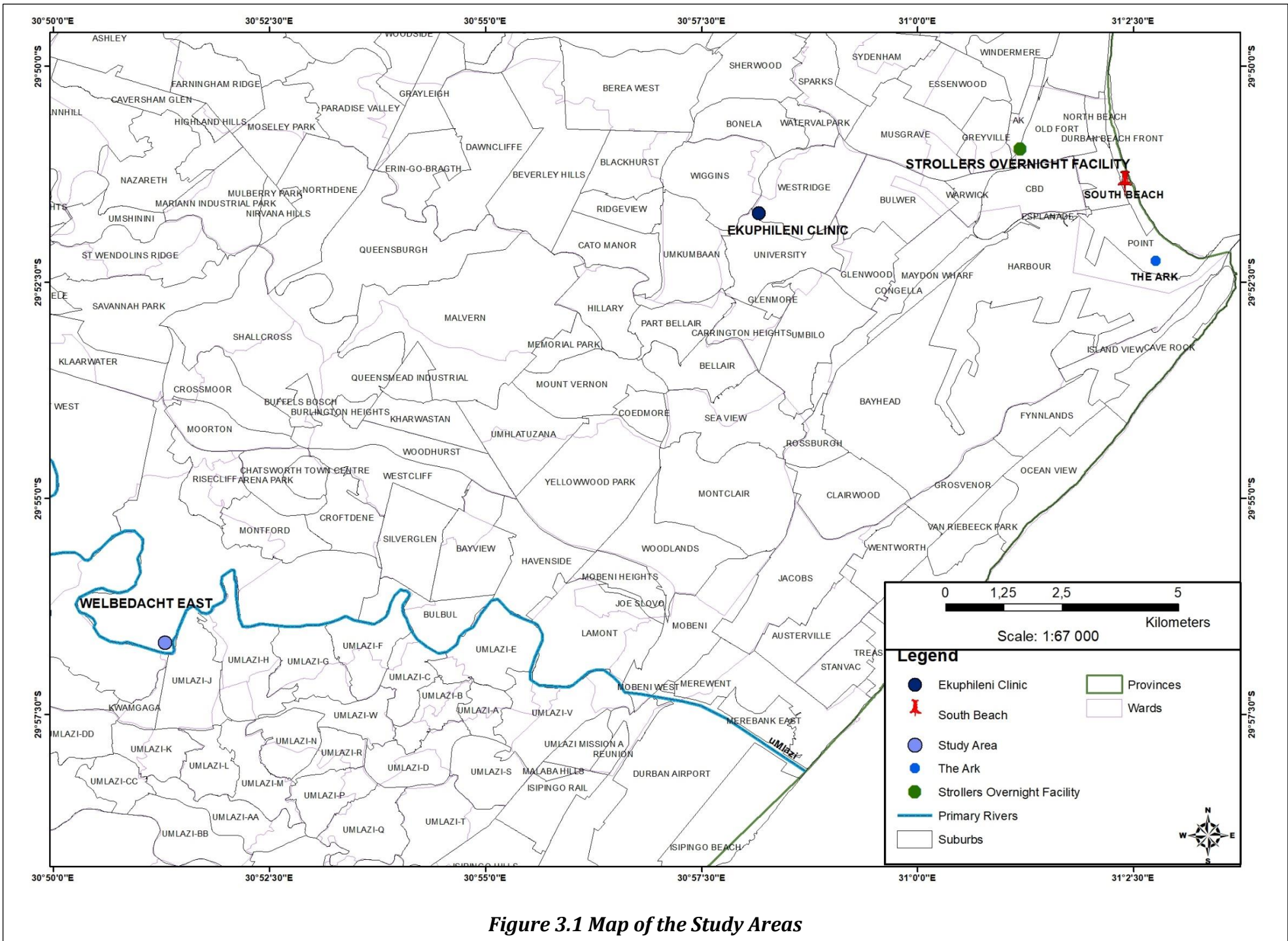
Figure 3.1 Map of the Study Areas

3.4.1 THE POINT PRECINCT

The Point Precinct, located at the entrance to Africa's busiest port, has a rich history of cultural diversity comprising smugglers, seaman and indentured Indian labourers (Desai & Bond, 2019). Despite linkages to the Central Business District, the harbour, and the beachfront, the Point Precinct remained mostly excluded from the city's developments.

After decades of neglect, the city began selling land parcels within the Point Precinct to Rocpoint (a private Malaysian consortium) to attract private investment. However, the Asian financial crises of 1997 stalled developments (Robbins, 2005). Thus, to drive growth and draw investment, a 50/50 PPP formed between Rocpoint and the eThekwini Municipality. In 2001, the joint venture founded the Durban Point Development Company (DPDC). After that, all the land in the Point Precinct transferred to the DPDC (Brink, 2007). The DPDC launched a three-phase mega-project under the auspices of the *Point Waterfront Development*. The turnkey project was Ushaka Marine World, phase one of the mega-project developments scheduled for the Point Precinct (Du Plessis, 2018). The construction of Ushaka Marine World and the planned beachfront upgrades for the 2010 FIFA World Cup were the catalysts for the Ark residents' eviction (Vermeulin, 2004).

3.4.2 WELBEDACHT EAST

Welbedacht East nestles between the built-up suburb of Chatsworth and the Umlazi informal settlement (Desai & Goolam, 2012). The region forms part of the ambitious slum clearance project where the planned construction of 11 500 RDP houses was intended to reduce the number of persons residing in informal settlements across eThekwini (Bisetty, 2003). One hundred homes were located on the uMlazi River banks and reserved for the relocation of the Ark residents. In 2004, 300 Ark residents (100 families) relocated to Welbedacht East (Maharaj, et al., 2017).

The region experiences extreme poverty, a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, malnutrition, inadequate medical facilities, substance abuse, and domestic and child violence (Desai & Goolam, 2012). The peripheral location was hugely prejudicial to the Arkians and is a replication of apartheid spatial planning. However, there had been a shift in the exclusionary tactics of government from racial to class-based segregation. The relocation to Welbedacht East has presented severe challenges to the former Ark residents.

3.4.3   STROLLERS OVERNIGHT FACILITY

The Strollers Overnight Facility lies on the outskirts of the Central Business District. The shelter is in proximity to transport services, facilities and employment opportunities. In 2004, 277 single people from the Ark were re-housed at the facility (Ryan, 2004). The shelter offers dormitory-style accommodations, and the former Ark residents are not required to pay for their housing. However, the facility does not provide any additional services like those offered at the Ark, and the building is decrepit and overcrowded.

3.4.4   EKUPHILENI CLINIC

A former Department of Health building, the Ekuphileni Clinic was the final official rehousing strategy for the Ark residents. Like Strollers, the Clinic is located along main transport routes, and therefore residents have access to social services and employment opportunities. A total of 107 residents relocated to the Clinic in 2004. The eThekwini Municipality used the Clinic to re-house the sick, elderly and children (Bisetty, 2004b). The building is dilapidated and a threat to the safety of residents (Erasmus, 2019).

3.4.5   SOUTH BEACH, DURBAN

South Beach is part of the famous golden mile and is less than 1km from the former ACMC. South Beach played a central role in the lives of the Arkians and provided a central space for recreation, trade and subsistence fishing.

In 2008, Makhaye (2008) wrote that several Welbedacht residents had failed to adapt to the area and had since left. During the focus group interviews, the participants stated that those unable to adapt in Welbedacht had returned to South Beach. The researcher attempted to find these residents but instead found participant 39 (a former Arkian). Chapter 4 explains what happened to residents who returned to South Beach and how participant 39 came to be homeless along the beachfront.

3.5   FIELDWORK: PARTICIPANTS AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Fieldwork commenced in November 2019 and concluded in January 2020. Data collection was conducted in several phases and involved a total of 46 participants. Said participants included:

- Greg Huggins – resettlement expert;
- Dr Mark Haskins – former volunteer at the Ark Christian Ministries Church and current Director of Arauna Ark in Hammersdale;
- Dr Peter Munns – Current Chairman of the Ark; and
- Forty-three former Arkians – 38 were the focus of this study and resided in Welbedacht East; one participant resides at South Beach, Durban; another at Strollers Overnight Facility, and three more at Ekuphileni Clinic.

An objective of this study was to critically analyse international resettlement policies and identify whether South Africa had any of the like. The resettlement expert was included in this study to provide the researcher with information on resettlement guideline materials and procedures followed in the South African context.

As a former volunteer at the ACMC, Dr Mark Haskins provided invaluable data on the livelihood strategies at the Ark. Also, he offered documentary information about the Ark's establishment, the threats that led to its demise and the resistance tactics used to stay the eviction.

Dr Peter Munns offered additional information on livelihood strategies and the history of the Ark. Also, Munns provided information on the current status of his attempts to revive the ACMC. Dr Munns was instrumental in the study as he had a pre-existing relationship with those displaced to Ekuphileni Clinic. With his assistance, the researcher was able to interview three former Arkians at the Clinic. These participants provided vital information, and several similarities were drawn between the plight of the Arkians at the Clinic and in Welbedacht.

The central aim of this study was to investigate whether those displaced to Welbedacht East could restore their livelihoods. Thirty-eight participants were willing to participate and provided the researcher with invaluable data on their lived experiences in Welbedacht. As the study commenced, the participants informed the researcher of the

plight of former Arkians who were not provided housing in Welbedacht. The participants stated that those excluded from Welbedacht housing resided along Durban's South Beach, Strollers Overnight Facility and the Ekuphileni Clinic. With the invaluable assistance of three Welbedacht participants, the researcher (together with these participants) embarked on a mission to locate the former Arkians.

Participant 39, located at South Beach, was homeless at the time and provided the researcher with rich data on Welbedacht residents who had sold their houses and returned to the city.[1] She also described how she came to be homeless and why she did not relocate to Welbedacht.

After that, the researcher, together with the Welbedacht participants ventured to the Strollers Overnight Facility. There we located participant 40, who was instrumental in the case study as she had lived experience at both Welbedacht and Strollers. She described the living conditions in Strollers and provided invaluable insight into why the city was more conducive for her survival.

Although much of this data was not anticipated at the proposal stage of the thesis, contributors of this study assisted with identifying participants at Ekuphileni Clinic, Strollers and South Beach, Durban. Participants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling methods.

3.5.1 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Purposive sampling is a non-random technique frequently used in qualitative data collection (Haegele & Hodge, 2015). Based on specific criteria, researchers apply their judgement to decide who (participants) or what (study areas) the study includes. For example, a participant may be purposively chosen to provide data on a specific research objective. Purposive sampling involves seeking out specific participants who meet distinct criteria for the research objectives (Hibberts, et al., 2012). In this study, purposive sampling allowed the researcher to select research sites and participants.

Greg Huggins was deliberately selected for his expertise in resettlement practices. The researcher knew Huggins through previous work experience. Likewise, Dr Mark Haskins and Dr Peter Munns were purposefully chosen for their knowledge of the Ark's role and

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[1] Click here to follow the hyperlink to the analysis.

history. Both participants were identified via desktop research. Moreover, the South Beach, Strollers and Ekuphileni Clinic were study areas specifically chosen once informed about former Arkians residing at these sites.

Welbedacht was the focus of this study. The site was deliberately chosen as the researcher was aware of the Arkians due to previous research undertaken in the area (Fitzgerald, 2017). Prior knowledge of the study area allowed the researcher to seek-out and re-establish connections with a community leader. After that, snowball sampling was applied.

3.5.2 SNOWBALL SAMPLING

Researchers often use snowball sampling to identify hidden populations when participants are hard to locate, for example, sex workers, drug users, or in this case, the displaced. In this technique, an existing participant introduces the researcher to other potential subjects (Sharma, 2017). In this study, a community leader was purposefully selected. She then introduced the researcher to another participant. After that, each participant systematically identified the other potential respondents. This process continued until data saturation was reached.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection involves the process of gathering information on specific variables. Data is collected to answer the research objectives. The data collection component is present across all fields of study and is one of the most critical phases of the investigation (Kabir, 2016). Data collection in a case study research design can consist of multiple sources of information and methodological procedures (collection methods). Researchers often triangulate data and methodologies to ensure rigour and validity (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010).

The idea of using triangulation in social and behavioural sciences was introduced in the 1950s (Weyers, et al., 2014). This method involves mixing methods of data collection (Olsen, 2004). The objective is to increase confidence in findings by allowing two or more data collection methods. This creates a more complete and rigorous research design while simultaneously avoiding the potential biases from a single approach (Graham,

2005). There are four basic types of triangulation. These include triangulation of methodologies, data, theory, and investigator triangulation (Denzin, 2015).

For this study, triangulation was used in the i) methods of obtaining information and ii) the sources of data collected. Methods of data collection included both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Data included both primary and secondary sources. Primary data collection adopted a mixed-method research approach which consisted of questionnaires, a focus group discussion, and semi-structured interviews. Secondary data included court documents, journal articles and news reports. Triangulation of both primary and secondary data was then applied for rigour and validity (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010).

3.6.1   PRIMARY DATA

Arsovska (2012) argued that a research design that allows an investigator to gather primary data is highly desirable. Primary data is significant in a research project because it provides first-hand and original material based on empirical evidence (Finnegan, 2006). In this study, the researcher adopted three primary data collection techniques. These were applied over separate phases and included semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and a focus group discussion.

i)   Semi-Structured Interviews

Face-to-face interviews are a commonly used data collection technique in the social sciences field (Ryan, et al., 2009). Lune & Berg (2017) described interviews as conversations with a purpose. The intent is to gather in-depth information on a specific topic or phenomenon (Ryan, et al., 2009). There are three fundamental types of research interviews: *structured, semi-structured* and *unstructured* interviews (Gill, et al., 2008).

Structured interviews were described by Gill et al. (2008) as verbally administered questionnaires. The interviewer asks the respondent a set of predetermined questions with little or no variation. Therefore, structured interviews do not allow for scope or follow-up questions that may arise and need further elaboration. *Semi-structured interviews* provide more room for in-depth and detailed data. Here, the interviewer has a set of critical questions centred on relevant topics for the research study. The flexibility of this approach allows exploration of other themes – should they emerge in the

interview. A researcher uses unstructured interviews when s/he is not well-informed on the research topic. Instead, the researcher learns more as the interview is conducted (Morse & Field, 1996).

This research study adopted semi-structured interviews as a method of data collection. Semi-structured interviews allowed for further probing and follow-up queries. Also, semi-structured interviews enabled further exploration of the respondents' experiences and how they attributed meaning to these events (Adams, 2010). However, a drawback was that this technique was labour intensive and time-consuming (Adams, 2015). This method of data collection was applied when interviewing:

- Greg Huggins – the resettlement expert (see Appendix 6);
- Dr Mark Haskins – a former volunteer at the ACMC (see Appendix 4);
- Dr Peter Munns – the current chairman of the Ark (see Appendix 5); and
- Former Ark residents found at Strollers, Ekuphileni Clinic and the South Beach (see Appendix 7).

By applying this technique, the researcher was able to gather in-depth information on multiple themes. The resettlement expert provided invaluable data on the procedures used for involuntary resettlement projects in South Africa. As a former volunteer at the ACMC, Mark Haskins provided rich data on the history of the Ark and the role the church played in rehabilitating the poor. The current chairman of the Ark offered detailed information on the livelihood strategies that the church adopted. The semi-structured interview with Dr Munns also provided information about the ongoing court battle between the ACMC and the eThekwini Municipality.

Semi-structured interviews were also applied at Strollers, South Beach and Ekuphileni Clinic. A set of guiding questions enabled the discovery of rich data on respondents' lived experiences post-displacement (Seidman, 2006).

Thus, the focus of the semi-structured interviews was the resettlement experience in South Africa, the role and history of the Ark, and the lived experience of former residents in Welbedacht and other areas of relocation. The interviews were conducted at multiple research sites for approximately two hours per meeting. All respondents agreed for the researcher to audio record the conversations.

ii)   Questionnaires

Social science research often requires the use of questionnaires. This data collection technique can be a vital tool for obtaining statistical information and in-depth and informative statements about a specific group or research problem (Roopa & Rani, 2012).

Questionnaires are advantageous because they are efficient and can be combined with other sources of evidence to produce rich and diverse information (Mathers, et al., 2009). However, this method of data collection is prone to disadvantages. For example, some participants may provide superficial responses because the questionnaire becomes monotonous and time-consuming. Also, because the participants were resettled 16 years ago, they may have forgotten events that occurred (Milne, 1998).

The resettlement expert, Greg Huggins, presented the researcher with a survey which he uses to determine whether resettled communities had adapted and re-established their livelihoods post-resettlement. He referred to this as a *'Livelihood Monitoring Survey'.* This survey was used as a baseline to guide the questionnaire developed for this study. Also, the IRR model (Cernea, 1997), the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DFID, 2001), and a study conducted by Alemu (2014) also informed the development of the questionnaire.

Based on the sources mentioned above, the thematic focus of the questionnaire (see Appendix 3) is summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Thematic Focus of the Questionnaire

1. Status of homeownership	9. Sense of place
2. Participant information	10. Crime
3. The resettlement experience	11. Education
4. Employment	12. Health
5. Skills development and support	13. Income and expenses
6. Business opportunities	14. Host community
7. Livelihood strategies	15. Risks, shocks and vulnerabilities
8. Social services	

In 2019, a field survey determined how many resettled households remained in Welbedacht. Thirty-six of the one hundred families resettled in 2004 continued to reside in Welbedacht. Snowball sampling was used to administer 37 questionnaires across 26

households. No exclusionary criteria applied. However, the surveyed population was limited to 26 families, as some did not want to participate, and others were not available during the fieldwork period.

The questionnaire was extensive and took approximately two hours to complete per respondent. A mixed-method design enabled the researcher to gain invaluable statistical information about the socio-economic impacts of forced resettlement as well as experiences regarding challenges and livelihoods. The researcher kept a journal throughout this phase of data collection. Keynotes made in the journal guided the questions developed for the focus group discussion.

iii) Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions allow researchers to gain an in-depth understanding of the social problem investigated (Nyumba, et al., 2018). The purpose of the focus group was to obtain knowledge, opinions, and perspectives from the Arkians (Gill, et al., 2008). The focus group is advantageous as it allows the researcher to probe into unforeseen topics. However, this technique also has challenges. For example, assertive participants may dominate the discussion (Wong, 2008).

During the questionnaire, participants were informed of the upcoming focus group discussion. The researcher also enlisted the assistance of two community leaders who told the Arkian community of the time, date, and venue for the focus group discussion. The group discussion held in Welbedacht focused on resistance to resettlement, the relocation process and the livelihood struggles experienced. Ten participants joined the focus group discussion, which lasted 210 minutes. All the participants consented for the researcher to audio record the discussion.

3.6.2   SECONDARY DATA

Secondary data refers to information sources that researchers, journalists, and scientists (for example) have already collected. Secondary data offers an alternative to primary sources of information and often provides the researcher with access to additional information (Vartanian, 2011).

Historically, the focus was on secondary analysis of quantitative data. However, Punch (2014) argued that there is growing importance in evaluating secondary qualitative data.

This study recognised the value of secondary sources of qualitative data. These sources were triangulated with the primary sources of data to provide rigour. Also, the triangulation of secondary data was applied to refute or confirm primary sources of information. Secondary sources of data included documents, scholarly journals and reports.

i)   Documents

Documents relating to historical and contemporary activities surrounding the Ark were sourced. Punch (2009) argued that both historical and contemporary documents provide a rich source of data for social research. Moreover, due to our record-keeping society, documentary information is likely to be relevant in every case study research design (Yin, 2018).

Documents are a valuable source of data not only for the information they provide but also as a stimulus for paths of inquiry in the collection of primary data (Patton, 2015). For example, documentation may inform the researcher of further avenues that need investigating. According to Patton (2015), documentation comprises three categories: *individual*, *community* and *internet* documentation.

Individual documentation refers to personal artefacts such as diaries, journals, photographs, heirlooms, letters etc. Community documentation comprises documents that the public can access. These include historical records, legal documents, government records, public notices, and newspapers. Internet documentation refers to social media postings, blog posts, and chat room transcripts, for instance (Patton, 2015).

This research study incorporated all three categories of documentation into the investigation. *Individual documentation* provided by Dr Peter Munns (current chairman of the Ark) included:

- emails to city officials;
- a flyer describing the services rendered at the Ark;
- detailed transcripts of the role and history of the Ark; and
- photographs of the day of eviction.

Peter Munns also provided the researcher with *community documentation* which included:

- Newspaper clippings; and
- legal documents.

Lastly, *internet documentation,* including online interviews and news media, was useful to understand the historical and contemporary developments surrounding the Ark and the Point Precinct. In all, documentary evidence provided invaluable data on the role and history of the Ark (individual/ community documentation), the resistance to eviction (community documentation), and the current struggle to revive the church (internet documentation).

ii)   Journal Articles and Reports

According to Chivaka (2018), journal articles are an excellent source for secondary analysis. The reason for this is twofold. First, research is original and undertaken by experts in the field. Second, journal articles are peer-reviewed by a panel of experts before publication (Matthews & Ross, 2010; Seale, 2004). As such, journal articles were a reliable source for data triangulation. Data provided in the journals supported evidence found in this research study.

Another source of secondary data are reports (Chivaka, 2018). Reports are useful for providing context on a specific topic. Academics and researchers conduct reports for universities, institutions, and public or private organisations (Matthews & Ross, 2010). This study analysed online reports undertaken by private organisations for research purposes. These reports were centred on the Durban Point Development Company and provided additional information on the Point Waterfront Development mega-project.

3.7   DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is a process which reduces vast information into a narrative for interpretation. Initially, the researcher begins with raw data. This data is then coded or categorised to provide concise collections of summarised data in the form of results. The results then provide the reader with a description of what the study found (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999).

In 2019, the researcher attended a quantitative and qualitative data analyses retreat provided by The University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN). The retreat provided guidance on

how to operate the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and NVivo. The course was invaluable because it aided in the analysis of a mixed-method research approach.

The data were processed and analysed according to the nature of the information. Quantitative information was analysed using *coding* techniques while the qualitative data was categorised via *thematic analysis.*

i)   Coding

Coding is the process of assigning numerical values to text data so that information can be easily analysed and quantified (Gupta & Gupta, 2011). In this study, coding was used to analyse close-ended questions from the questionnaire. Close-ended questions were assigned numerical values and analysed using the computer software package Excel. Although the researcher had attended SPSS training, this is a sophisticated software package which is more suited to quantifying large sample sizes. Thus, Excel was the preferred option. The software was used to store, analyse and quantify the data. Excel also enabled the statistical representation of data through graphs, for example.

ii)   Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a form of coding used to categorise qualitative data into themes. Boyatzis (1998) argued that the terms 'code' and 'theme' are used interchangeably and refer to a specific pattern identified in the data (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Marks & Yardley, 2004). A theme organises possible observations and allows interpretation of a phenomenon. The process involves encoding qualitative data, where the objective is to identify and categorise topics within the research (Boyatzis, 1998).

This study used thematic analysis to evaluate and interpret all qualitative data. These included open-ended data extracted from the questionnaire, as well as interview and focus group recordings. All recorded data was transcribed. Transcription can occur automatically or manually. However, both options have flaws. Automatic transcription is less labour intensive. However, limited human oversight produces inaccuracies in the data and may render it unreliable (Roy & Roy, 2009). Manual transcription is more accurate and is considered the first step in data analysis (Roy & Roy, 2009; Bailey, 2008).

However, it is prolonged and labour intensive (Roy & Roy, 2009). Nevertheless, the reliability of manual transcription made it a preferred option for the researcher.

It took six hours to transcribe one hour of material. Similarly, Pope et al. (2020), stated that each hour of material could take six to seven hours to transcribe. In total, the researcher spent sixty hours transcribing the qualitative data. Although this was a painstaking process, it allowed the researcher to immerse herself in the analysis, and gain greater familiarity with the data (Pope, et al., 2020).

After that, the data was stored, managed and analysed using NVivo software. NVivo allowed the researcher to create visualisations of coded words which frequently appeared in the data (see Figure 3.2). These codes were used to create nodes which represented critical themes in the research. Each theme contained detailed information extracted from the raw data.

Figure 3.2 Visual Representation of Coded Thematic Analysis (Source: Author)

The following section identifies the ethical considerations for this study.

3.8   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical issues may arise throughout the research process and could be due to the type of research collected or the environment in which data collection occurred (Cohen, et al., 2007). Research in social science inevitably carries ethical issues because scientists collect data from human subjects (Punch, 2009), often regarding their lived experiences. In this case, the researcher was investigating the lived experiences of vulnerable victims of forced removal.

The researcher was cognisant of the participants' personal history of homelessness, vulnerability and forced relocation. Therefore, data collection needed to be conducted in a transparent and morally sound manner to uphold the rights and dignity of those who had experienced human rights violations. The researcher adopted several steps to ensure transparency and the protection of human rights. At the outset of the study, participants were informed that the research project would not produce any direct benefit for them. Participants were made aware that the study intended to highlight the injustice of their experience.

After that, a letter of informed consent provided the participants with details of the research study (see Appendix 1). The letter provided clarity on i) the details of the project, ii) the rights of participants, iii) the role they would play in the study, and iv) the potential risks (Cohen, et al., 2007). The letter also informed the participants that the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee approved this study (see Appendix 2).

Lastly, the researcher's responsibility was to ensure that no inadvertent secondary victimisation occurred through the power differential between investigator and participant (Patton, 2015). Thus, the researcher handled all interactions sensitively and professionally.

3.9   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There were two limitations to this study. These limitations stemmed from the resettlement having occurred some 16 years ago. In 2004, one hundred households resettled in Welbedacht. However, as time passed, many families relocated, which limited the sample size.

Secondly, the research was, in part, reliant on the participant's memory of events that occurred 16 years ago. As such, the limitation was that participants might have forgotten essential issues or misconstrued memories of events.

3.10   CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the design of the research methodology. A mixed-method approach provided multiple avenues to investigate the research problem and meet the objectives of the study. A case study design was selected for its ability to provide a narrative on the Ark's history and the lived experiences of those displaced.

The chapter explored the various study areas and enlightened the reader on the reasons for incorporating these regions into the study. Moreover, the sample size and sampling techniques were explained. After that, the chapter explored the methods of data collection and analysis. The chapter concluded by explaining the ethical considerations and limitations of the study. The following chapter presents the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ARK

4.1   INTRODUCTION

The Ark homeless shelter was established in 1982 in Durban's notorious Point Precinct. In 1999 the eThekwini Municipality (EM) and the Department of Housing (DoH) proposed that the Ark is relocated to make way for development projects in the Point area. To assist with the church's relocation, the DoH offered a resettlement grant of R10.8 million. The Ark had to undergo a two-year accreditation process (from 1999-2001), to establish if the homeless shelter was capable of housing and rehabilitating the poor. As part of the accreditation process, the ACMC registered *'The Durban Ark Concept'* as a Section 21 Company to receive the promised funds. In South Africa, this is a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO). By 2001, the shelter had passed the accreditation process, and the DoH made available a grant of R10.8 million to relocate and re-establish the Ark Christian Ministries Church. However, the funds were diverted from the Ark and placed with the eThekwini Municipality. The Ark was summarily shut down, and the inhabitants were evicted and left to fend independently.

This chapter provides the historical background of the Ark homeless shelter. The chapter is comprised of nine sections and presents data from both primary and secondary sources. The first section provides context to the Ark's establishment and how it supported and rehabilitated the urban poor. The chapter then discussed the internal and external threats, which resulted in the church's demise. Section three provides a synopsis of the resistance tactics used to stay the eviction and oppose resettlement. After that, the chapter offers a demographic profile of the resettlers. Sections five and six offer an analysis of the resettlement experience and the relocation site in Welbedacht, respectively. After that, the chapter analyses forced resettlement protections in South Africa. Section eight discusses the on-going battle to resurrect the Ark, and the chapter concludes with a discussion on the current state of development in the Point Precinct.

4.2   A BRIEF HISTORY AND THE ROLE OF THE ARK HOMELESS SHELTER

The parastatal company Transnet owned most of the land in the Point Precinct. However, the company neglected to maintain the properties, and in the 1980s, the area became decrepit. The dilapidation worsened with the white capital flight to northern suburbs

(Desai & Bond, 2019). In time, the Point Precinct became notorious for high crime rates, homelessness, and dilapidated buildings. Substance abuse, unemployment, and the disintegration of families were collectively responsible for the extent of vagrancy in the Point Precinct. In 1982, Pastor Derich de Nysschen established the ACMC to address the growing social problems in and around Durban. The ACMC was a religious organisation located in the Point Precinct, South Beach, Durban. Impoverished people in Durban (and the country as a whole) sought refuge at the church. The current chairman of the Ark, Dr Peter Munns, described the Ark's target population in the Point Precinct:

> *"You've got prostitution, you've got drug abuse, you've got drug addicts, you've got drug dealers…also a whole basket of offerings for people who had social disorders and problems…There was nowhere else to go; there was nowhere else to go for these people. So, they established this, built it up, and basically satisfied the needs of the homeless people"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019)*.*

The church assisted those who had fallen prey to poverty, homelessness, substance abuse, and prostitution. Initially, Pastor de Nysschen funded smaller premises, which facilitated the rehabilitation of the indigent. Dr Mark Haskins, a former volunteer at the Ark, explained the process the church followed:

> *"…what they used to do is walk down the beachfront at night and pick up all the bums, all the guys that were sleeping on the beach, everybody. They initially started with their funding…but, the need for greater premises within the space of a year was astronomical because there were so many homeless people"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

The Ark was a household name and attracted homeless people throughout the country. By 1989 the need for larger premises led the Ark's leaders to occupy a compound located between Timeball, Albert Terrace, Camperdown, and Brown Street in the Point Precinct (see Figure 4.1). The premises were leased from the *South African Railway and Harbours*, more recently known as Transnet.[2] The Ark's sole purpose was to address homelessness and substance abuse by reintegrating problematic individuals into society. By providing various support mechanisms to the inhabitants, the Ark helped thousands of individuals and families reintegrate into society.

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[2] de Nysschen, D.J, 2004. First affidavit on behalf of the ACMC (5 April 2004), Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*

Legend

- ● Ushaka Marine World
- 📌 South Beach
- 🏫 Schools
- Ⓟ SAPS Stations
- ‡ Places Worship
- Municipal Offices
- Libraries
- H Clinics/Hospitals
- ● THE ARK
- 🏛 Banks
- Shopping centres
- — Roads
- 1,2 Km buffer
- Suburbs
- Wards

0   200   400   800

Meters

Scale: 1:9 500

Figure 4.1 The Location of the Ark in the Point Precinct

60
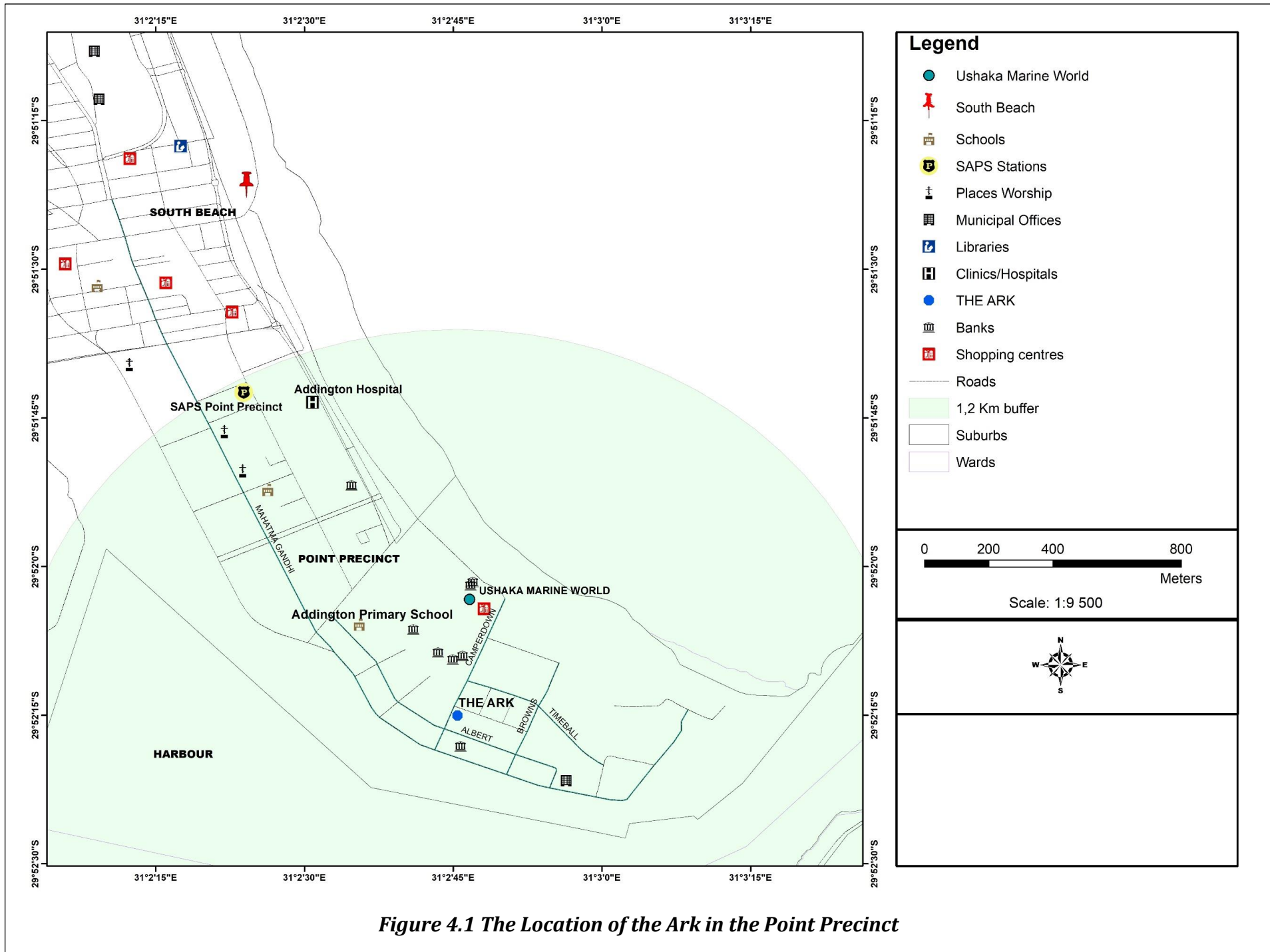
The church received praise from the University of South Africa[3] and the acting mayor of Durban, Mike Lipschitz,[4] for the invaluable services it provided for the needy, which the city had failed to do. The Ark assisted in several domains, including housing, water and sanitation, food supplies, rehabilitation opportunities, and job creation. By 1992, the church had established a 550-bed shelter and was preparing 50 000 meals a month.[5] As it grew, it offered various services, including primary school, bible college, skills development, and relief from drug and alcohol abuse. During this stage (1989-1992), the Ark helped 6000 destitute individuals restore their lives and livelihoods. From 1992-2002 the Ark grew to provide a 900-bed shelter and prepared 2700 meals a day. For more than two decades, the church provided refuge and rehabilitation to 34 000 persons.[6] A former resident of the Ark still spoke fondly of the church and the role it played in the lives of many:

> *"A lot of people went there to change. They used to smoke drugs, some of them used to be thieves, but they changed. They* [Ark councillors] *turned them* [residents] *into a pastor. They taught them to fear God. I did not know anything about God, but when I got there, I started realising if God can change the other person, me too, I can change. So, there were a lot of sports; there were a lot of things we did…The Ark was a good place. I'll be honest"* (Participant 41, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020).

The church played a pivotal role in restoring the lives of those who suffered from an array of socio-economic problems. Due to what de Nysschen referred to as the *"Ark's relentless policies,"* the church successfully reintegrated 80% of the residents back into society.[7] In time, the Ark became a landmark in the Durban community specifically and the country more generally. The Ark set such an example that it grew to be a catalyst for similar institutions. Peter Munns confirmed this:

> *"The Ark reached out to outside, and they created more than 50 satellite stations including Arauna Ark at Hammersdale…it didn't matter where you were in the country; it was a household name. If you had nowhere else to go, you went to the Ark"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019)*.*

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[3] UNISA, 1993. Testimonial Letter on behalf of the ACMC, Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[4] Lipschitz, M, 1995. Testimonial Letter in support of the ACMC, Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[5] Waterton, J, 1992. (HM Consul), Testimonial Letter on behalf of the ACMC, Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[6] de Nysschen, first affidavit, *op .cit.,* p.59.
[7] Ibid.

It was a pinnacle of hope for Durban's homeless, and it grew to be the largest shelter on the East Coast.

4.2.1   LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN THE ARK

The services offered were needed to rehabilitate the indigent and provide them with the skills to sustain their livelihoods once they were ready to depart. The Ark restored the lives and the souls of the residents by providing various services such as welfare and charity, rehabilitation, a clinic and creche, social responsibility, adult education, life skills, employment opportunities, and spiritual enlightenment (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Services Rendered by the Ark

Welfare and Charity	The Ark provided the necessary resources which were conducive to restoring livelihoods. These included shelter, clothing, food, counselling, and after-care for the needy.
Rehabilitation Centre	Many persons who sought refuge at the Ark were substance abusers. The Ark catered for these individuals by providing an in-house rehabilitation centre under the management of a pastor.
Clinic and Sick Bays	The clinic provided various services to those in need and included: first-hand consultation, post-treatment care, nurses, dental care, medicine dispensary, general surgery, and sickbay beds.
Creche	The Ark provided a creche and play area for children of sick or working parents and those abandoned.
Social Responsibility	A core function for the rehabilitation of persons is their ability to reintegrate into society. The Ark provided several skills programs that focused on morals, character building, leadership, entrepreneurship, and social skills.
Adult Education	The Ark provided reading and writing skills to the illiterate.
Life Skills	The Ark provided education and training for the staff and the residents to improve skills and employment opportunities.
Employment Facilitation	The Ark acted as a facilitator and advisor to provide employment for those ready to reintegrate into society.
Spiritual Enlightenment	The shelter provided a renewed spirit for individuals and families by facilitating a new sense of hope.

(Source: Munns, 2019)

When viewing the Ark's services, it is clear that the church invested in the lives and souls of those who were experiencing various social pathologies. The ACMC had the capacity and resources to offer charity and welfare for abandoned children, the elderly, those who were ill, and substance abusers. Munns and Haskins spoke of the role the Ark played in restoring the lives of those in need:

> *"It goes without saying, the whole thing* [church] *was all about restoring lives, 'bringing people back to life,' restoring their dignity, reintegrating them back into*

society in a dignified way, getting estranged family members back to their families" (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

 "... [the Ark played] a massive role, oh massive, massive, massive. I can't explain to you how many people would have been dead, how many families would have been [destroyed]*...Those people, loads of those people actually got their families, they got jobs, they got their families, the Ark was important, it was a milestone in the rehabilitation of many people who would be dead. Many families would have been disbanded and ruined, ruined, completely ruined* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

Despite operating under the apartheid regime, the Ark provided refuge to all who required assistance, regardless of race, culture, occupation, or religious affiliation. This was confirmed by the participants of the study when they stated that:

 "...Ark has taught me something very good that I'm colour-blind you white, you black you pink, or you're navy, you are a human being..." (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

 "85% were black, but you were treated equally, nobody would say the Ark is for white people, and then you treated like that" (Participant 41, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020).

 "There was never a race barrier. There was never a religious barrier. There were people from all...You didn't have to be a Christian to go there, and you certainly didn't have to be a Christian after you left" (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

While the Ark was a Christian-run organisation, the church did not require inhabitants to evangelise. Instead, the Ark leaders introduced religion merely as a logic of correction. The founder Derich de Nysschen believed Christian principles would facilitate corrective behaviour.[8] Nevertheless, if residents chose to evangelise, they were able to do so:

 "There was a disciple school that encouraged, mentored and assisted people who were interested in evangelising or spreading the gospel" (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

Residents experienced spiritual enlightenment. Many occupants stayed on as pastors after their rehabilitation and were subsequently employed by the Ark.

The Ark's locale, coupled with the church's services, were pivotal in restoring the lives of those who required assistance. The Ark leaders recognised the different functions that comprise a livelihood, including human, financial, natural, social, and physical capital.

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[8] de Nysschen, first affidavit, *op .cit.,* p.59.

The church expanded *human capital* by providing the residents with various courses and apprenticeships, which focused on skills development. The restoration of human capital had an economic function as it would provide the Ark residents with skills for the workforce. Haskins spoke of the role the Ark played in creating a skilled population:

> *"He* [Derich] *got skilled artisans because the premises was massive. At the back, it was massive. He had like* [a] *trade school with qualified, certified people teaching…you've got bricklaying, carpentry, welding, most of the trades that you could do, they had it there. They even had panel beating, mechanical engineering, everything"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

Enriching the human capital of the residents had a dual function. Training programmes provided skills to an unskilled population, which enhanced the livelihood opportunities for the residents by improving their prospects and access to employment. Thus, skills development facilitated the restoration of *financial capital*. Those who participated in the questionnaire indicated that the Ark was instrumental in securing employment opportunities. Ninety-six per cent stated that the Ark authorities sought out and procured employment. After obtaining employment for the residents, the Ark continued to provide support to the dwellers. Participants of the study confirmed this:

> *"People used to have jobs, Derich organised jobs for them. They used to go to work, the busses would take them to work and bring them back later and take other staff for the night shift"* (Participant 41, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020).

> *"And when they do get the job, the Ark people would then see to it that these people had lunch to go to work, bus fare to get there until they were on their feet"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

Upon securing employment for the residents, the Ark required 40% of wages from the dwellers who chose to continue their stay. The church used the stipend to assist in monthly expenses. Participant 4 confirmed this in the focus group discussions:

> *"…in the Ark, there was a system, there was a system where they used to take us and get jobs for us, and then there was a percentage* [paid to the Ark] *which that percentage we were happy with that percentage because you can't sit. We were contributing towards* [Ark expenses]*, and then we were happy about that with our salaries"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Commenting on the stipend, Munns said this imparted a newfound dignity and sense of responsibility unto the residents: *"I think it's an excellent thing you know because it helps them to budget and to manage their affairs and everything. So, I think it was essential…*

[for] *discipline, management,* [and] *responsibility"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

Such characteristics (discipline, management, and responsibility) could function collectively to aid residents in both their personal and professional development. Those of working age who participated in the questionnaire were divided into three categories: Employed, Unemployed, and Volunteer at the Ark, and is depicted in Figure 4.2.
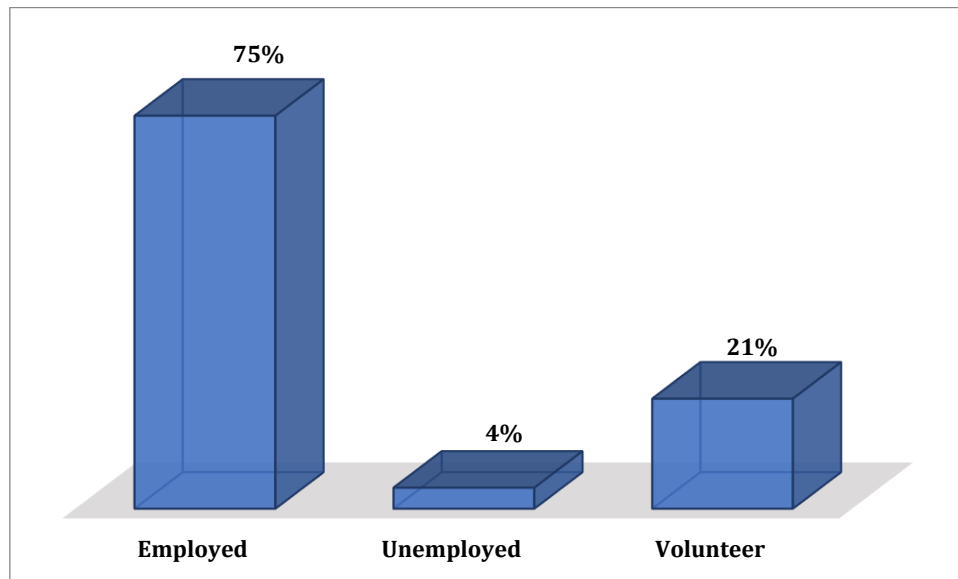
Figure 4.2: Status of Employment in the Ark

Seventy-five per cent stated that they were employed when they resided at the Ark, while 4% reported they were unemployed. Twenty-one per cent said that they volunteered at the Ark. Volunteering opportunities were considered employment and included caregivers, cooks, and teachers. For example, Participant 18 said: *"I was working in the Ark, cooking in the kitchen and teaching bible studies and Sunday School"* (Participant 18, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

Respondents indicated that the Ark's location was pivotal in retaining employment. Ninety-six per cent of respondents reported that the city and the accessible resources were responsible for sustaining their livelihoods. The respondents indicated their most essential resources were: i) employment options, ii) social networks, and iii) transport services. Again, the Ark's location was an advantage due to its proximity to the beachfront. A form of *natural capital,* the beachfront was a place of employment and recreation. This was evident from the questionnaire responses:

> *"Everything was there* [along the beachfront]*, the school, hospital, a clinic, and I could trade there"* (Participant 11, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).

> *"I could walk to the beach, see friends and go fishing"* (Participant 16, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

Proximity to the beachfront played an invaluable role in the lives of the poor and was advantageous for access to facilities, income-earning opportunities, recreation, and subsistence.

Most of the Ark residents sought refuge at the church because they lacked the *social* and *physical capital* needed to sustain themselves. Many had lost contact with family members or were fleeing from abusive relationships. They were destitute and needed social networks and shelter. The Ark provided residents with the physical capital (accommodation) required as the first step towards rehabilitation. The church also provided an opportunity for residents to establish connections with members who suffered similar social pathologies. Many respondents stated that they were a family in the Ark, and it was such bonds that helped unify and unite them in their effort to restore their lives. Participant 11 spoke of this in the focus group discussion: *" The Ark was my true family. They stuck with me. They stuck with me and my two children"* (Participant 11, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). The questionnaire reiterated the notion of the Ark family with comments such as: *"In the Ark, we were a family"* (Participant 2, Welbedacht questionnaire, 2 December 2019); and the interview at Ekuphilieni Clinic, *"…we were one"* (Participant 41, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020).

The occupants built social connections where they could share in each other's experiences while building familial bonds. Also, with the help of the Ark leaders, residents established social networks in the workforce. In-house employees sought out opportunities, *"…they* [the Ark] *had bookies there that got the people jobs…"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht questionnaire, 20 December 2019). Also, local volunteers assisted the employment process through social networking:

> *"I'll tell you how I did it. I would have a learner do the* [computer] *courses, Word Perfect, Lotus 123, right through Coral Draw, for a year. I would then issue them a certificate which is still recognised by SAQA* [South African Qualifications Authority]*…and then I would know where they are looking for people with those skills. I would phone them and tell them I've got two people who have just qualified, they're coming through for an interview, and they would get the job"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

The Ark's social networks were instrumental in securing employment. However, according to Haskins: *"…like with all good things, it went south"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

Notwithstanding its remarkable role in the city, internal and external threats led the Ark into a downward spiral. Such threats ultimately led to the demise of the Ark Christian Ministries Church and the displacement of her residents.

4.3 THE DEMISE OF THE ARK CHRISTIAN MINISTRIES CHURCH

4.3.1 INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL THREATS TO EVICTION

The ACMC had successfully operated in the Point Precinct for two decades. However, the city's misplaced priorities, especially in promoting elite mega-projects, coupled with the church's internal struggles, led to the demise of the ACMC and the eviction of her residents.

The ACMC's credibility was scrutinised when Pastor Derich de Nysschen was charged and convicted of the sexual assault of a minor. This questioned the integrity of the entire church. However, at a later stage, the court found that the allegation was fabricated by the de Nysschen family, particularly his former wife, Judy de Nysschen, and their children. She had invented the rumour so that she could take control of the Ark. As reported by the Independent Online:

> *"After the conviction – just prior to him being sentenced – his lawyers said new evidence had come to light and that three new witnesses would testify about a plot hatched by de Nysschen's now-former wife, Judy, and her children, to frame him so that she could take control of the Ark shelter. The charges were fabricated because of an on-going power struggle between the couple for control of the homeless shelter; it was alleged"* (Broughton, 2004a)*.*

Durban's Regional Magistrate confirmed the fabrication and exonerated Pastor Derich de Nysschen (*The State v. Pastor Derich de Nysschen Case No. 41/37/15/97*)*. However, the damage to both the public reputation of de Nysschen and the ACMC had already occurred. The cause of the power struggle was due to the growth of the ACMC and increasing public donations. Allegations of corruption also threatened the credibility of the Ark. According to Mark Haskins:

"…when they [ACMC] *moved from there to the Ark, understand now, it's bigger premises. There* [are] *more sponsors, more goods* [are] *coming in, there's more money…The infrastructure was good, but those pastors themselves, you must remember, came off the streets. They all had histories of crookedness in various degrees…a few of them got long fingers, and that's how the decline started. It started with the head, and there was a ripple effect…I had seen trucks…coming down the road, going right past Browns Road – those trucks are full of furniture – to the corner just before where Thirsty's used to be. One of the pastor's cars is standing there. The truck is redirected, it never reaches the Ark, all that furniture is sold, and a few people were getting the money…I would go to Pastor Derich, and low and behold, he was in on it* [the corruption]. *Afterwards, he was in on it all. He was riding Harley Davidson motorbikes, Mercedes Benz convertible, BMW"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

While an internal battle waged within the Ark's walls, the church likewise faced the threat of removal from developers. External threats to the Ark included:

i) the buildings were in the way of development;

ii) media condemnation of the building which housed the Ark residents; and

iii) the Ark was an obstacle to marketing Durban as a world-class sporting destination (Maharaj, et al., 2006; Vermeulin, 2004; Bouillon, 2002; Ross, 2002).

The threat of displacement began with developers stating that the Ark's geographical location was an obstacle to the Point Precinct development. According to Haskins: *"…the developers maintain*[ed] *that because of the Ark's geographical positioning… it* [the Ark] *was in the way,* [but] *the building is still there"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019). Munns provided similar commentary: *"The Ark was in the immediate way of development, and they* [developers] *needed an eviction order to get rid of them…*[but] *it* [the eviction] *was avoidable because the Ark wasn't in the way of any development and the buildings are still standing"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019). Significantly, sixteen years after the eviction, the buildings remain.

Therefore, Haskins contended that, in the eyes of developers, it was the people who were the problem and not the buildings: *"It was the people…You're a dog. You're in the way. You need to be put in a kennel"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

The need to eradicate both the buildings and the people led to an array of media publications. The media described the Ark as '*uninhabitable'* (Broughton, 2004b), as it had *"sunk into its most desperate situation, because of a lack of funds and crumbling*

buildings" (Ross, 2002)*.* de Nysschen argued that developers would demolish the buildings, and he saw no purpose in investing funds to maintain the compound (Ross, 2002). In a Television show titled *'I beg to Differ'* (2020)*,* the show's presenter, Jusuf Ismail, interviewed Dr Peter Munns. Ismail stated that the eThekwini Municipality claimed the relocation was to protect the residents from hazardous conditions in the shelter. He then requested Munns to comment on the Municipality's allegations: *"*[The ACMC] *went through a two-year accreditation process from 1999-2001, so it wasn't a place of disrepair, it was a fully functional place of worship."*[9]

Munns argued that the ACMC would not have passed the accreditation process if the church subjected residents to such dire conditions.

In a similar health-related tactic, Haskins contended that the media were told that the Ark's proximity to the railway was a health risk to the residents due to the metal fillings inhaled from the degraded railway line:

> *"Their reason* [for eviction] *that they* [eThekwini Municipality] *gave to the press…it was medical…being so close to the railway line…they said…look at the build-up of the… metal fillings that come off the rail*[way]*s, it's a health hazard, and it's clogging up their lungs.* [Still]*, the people are living down the road there in the complex"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

Although the Ark was in a dilapidated area, developers considered the Point Precinct a prime locale, and there was an impetus to redevelop the region. Durban was poised to become a world-class tourist and sporting destination (Maharaj, et al., 2006). However, the residents of the Ark were an obstacle to world-class status. Therefore, there was an impetus to remove them. The 2010 FIFA World Cup drove the relentless efforts to clean-up and market the city as a world-class sporting destination:

> *"Police would pull up there in four, five vans, in front of the gates. Guys who were walking home, towards the Ark, they* [policemen] *would put them in the van, drive out of the city and just leave them…People were too scared to come out of the gate, not because of the crooks, because of the cops. It was terrible…I'm still saying right up till today, the only reason why those unfortunate people are where they are now is because of the World Cup"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019)*.*

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[9] YouTube, 2020., Jusuf Ismail interviews Peter Munns on *I Beg to Differ:*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tP_TFULu9uE&list=PLudMAVVWDNRkXL7D-
_hziVn4Q6olMbFRl&index=47&t=867s

Proponents of the ACMC contended that the city made a political decision to close the Ark at the expense of the poor. However, the EM argued that the Ark was an obstacle to development. The EM further contended that they fully supported the Point Precinct's development and the anticipated financial contributions to Durban. The then city manager, Dr Michael Sutcliffe, stated: *"The Municipality considers that this development will play an extremely important part of the future social and economic activity, of not only the Central Business District but the whole city itself."*[10] Furthermore, the EM argued that the city did not intend to evict the Ark residents without providing alternative accommodation as this would perpetuate social ills in the region. The EM stated that the Ark was dilapidated and a health risk to occupants and they intended to offer improved living conditions for residents.[11]

Despite the EM's assurance, both the city and private developers advocated for the closure of the Ark, and this ultimately fragmented the church community and displaced the residents. The government, particularly the DoH, did make efforts to relocate the Ark with a resettlement grant. However, the eThekwini Municipality chose to evict residents instead of resettling the church. While many factors played a role in the Ark's demise, the church's most significant threat was the public-private partnership between eThekwini Municipality and Rocpoint (a private Malaysian consortium). These two entities formed the Durban Point Development Company (DPDC).

4.3.2   DURBAN POINT DEVELOPMENT COMPANY V. THE ARK CHRISTIAN MINISTRIES CHURCH

The Point Precinct had for decades been a space of contention. While the area is in a prime locale near Durban's South Beach, the harbour, and the Central Business District (CBD), investors were reluctant to invest in the region. The lack of interest in the area was apparent in the dereliction and neglect that epitomised the Point Precinct. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, developers recognised the region's potential as a tourist node and catalyst for economic growth (Robbins, 2005).

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[10] Sutcliffe, M, 2004. Former City Manager for eThekwini Municipality. Second affidavit on behalf of the eThekwini Municipality in support of DPDC (25 March 2004). Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[11] Sutcliffe, M, 2004. Former City Manager for eThekwini Municipality. First affidavit on behalf of the eThekwini Municipality in support of DPDC (18 March 2004). Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*

In 1994, Transnet sold the land development rights in the Point Precinct to a Malaysian-led consortium, Rocpoint (the parent company being Renong). Rocpoint then sought and obtained an eviction order on the 7th of July 2000 (case 4881/2000) to remove the ACMC from the premises located at 15 Browns Road. In the interim, the EM and the DoH approached the ACMC regarding their relocation from 15 Browns Road, as stated by Munns:

> *"Then in 1999, the City Council and also the Department of Housing approached them* [the Ark] *and said that they were actually in the way of the development and would they be interested in moving. So, they had been there for all this time, and they said, 'well sure'"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

In 1999, the Department of Housing offered the church a relocation grant of R10.8 million to facilitate the resettlement and re-establishment of the Ark. To receive the funds, the ACMC had to undergo a two-year accreditation process to ensure that the church was capable of housing and rehabilitating such a large number of persons (Noelene, 2015). By 2001, the DoH completed the ACMC accreditation, and the church registered *The Durban Ark Concept* as a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO). After that, a resettlement grant was made available by the Department of Housing.[12] The DoH approved funds for the relocation of nine hundred people. Although the Durban Ark Concept was the entity registered to receive the funds, in 2001, eThekwini Municipality's Metro Housing confirmed receipt of R10 867 500 from the DoH.[13] The funds were diverted from the Ark and placed with Metro Housing.

Meanwhile, the development of the Point Precinct failed to take-off. The aftermath of the 1997 Asian financial crisis stalled the project (Robbins, 2005), briefly thwarting the threat of eviction. It appeared that the only way to get the flagship project off the ground was for Rocpoint to join forces with the eThekwini Municipality (Robbins, 2005). In 2001, the development of the Point Precinct was revived with the establishment of the *Durban Point Development Company* (DPDC). The DPDC was (and is) a PPP between the eThekwini Municipality and Rocpoint (Brink, 2007). The DPDC launched the flagship

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[12] de Nysschen, D.J, 2004. Second affidavit on behalf of the ACMC (25 April 2004). Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[13] Copley, J, 2001. James Copley of Metro Housing wrote to Derich de Nysschen to confirm receipt of R10 867 500. Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*

Point Waterfront Development (PWD), a three-phase mega-project which sought to revitalise the Point Precinct. This joint venture reaffirmed the need to relocate the ACMC.

The eThekwini Municipality continued its efforts to relocate the Ark. The *inner Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme* (iTRUMP) under project leader Richard Dobson, was tasked to consider options. From May 2001, a 30-month investigation ensued, and iTRUMP identified 26 properties for the possible relocation of the Ark. However, iTRUMP reported that none of the options was acceptable to the ACMC:

> *"...notwithstanding the important role of the Ark in support of inner-city homelessness, due process is necessary with respect to all planning approvals. iTRUMP's facilitation deliberately guided the Ark towards those properties or sites it believed the Municipality would support in the event of a formal submission by the Ark for planning approvals...these properties would have replicated the institutional environment currently experienced by the Ark, particularly with respect to open space and accommodation and ancillary activities, e.g., workshops, creche, etc*...[however] *none of the properties identified within these 'corridors' (or beyond) were readily acceptable to the Ark."*[14]

In October 2003, Richard Dobson, on behalf of the eThekwini Municipality, wrote to the ACMC and stated: *"our attempts to facilitate the relocation of the Ark have been unsuccessful...iTRUMP can no-longer be of assistance in the relocation of the Ark."*[15]

However, de Nysschen contended that iTRUMP deliberately withdrew from the relocation process in hopes that the Ark would disappear and disintegrate. He said the ACMC never received any correspondence from the eThekwini Municipality except for the letter mentioned above of iTRUMP's withdrawal from the relocation process:

> *"...the eThekwini Municipality never once communicated with The Ark on anything save a letter from Richard Dobson Project Manager for iTRUMP on the 27th of October 2003 that stated iTRUMP withdraws from the relocation process."*[16]

De Nysschen stated, *"iTRUMP never was interested to relocate the Ark."*[17] Nevertheless, with iTRUMP's withdrawal from the relocation process, the EM noted that there were only two available options to resettle the Ark. The first option was the *Durban South*

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[14] Dobson, R, 2003. Project Co-ordinator for iTRUMP. Letter releasing iTRUMP from the relocation process. Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[15] Ibid.
[16] de Nysschen, first affidavit, *op .cit.,* p.59.
[17] Ibid.

Military Headquarters located at 176 Blamey Road and 102 Bangay Road, Montclair. The second option was two separate sites, namely *Strollers Overnight Facility* (Mansell Road, Durban Central) and the *Ekuphileni Clinic* (Vusi Mzimela Road, Wiggins).[18]

i)   *Option 1: Durban South Military Headquarters*

The Military Base in Montclair would have been a permanent facility capable of housing the ACMC at one venue. The size of the military base could accommodate all those displaced by the development in the Point Precinct and the ever-increasing newcomers that continually sought refuge at the Ark. The total cost for resettling the ACMC at the army headquarters would have amounted to R9.8 million. The cost of which was as follows:

- R6.5 million to purchase the property;

- R125 000 for relocation costs;

- R975 000 for legal costs (e.g., transfer fees); and

- R2.2 million for alterations and refurbishments.[19]

Despite the Ark's preference to relocate to the Military Base, Montclair residents contested the move. The Montclair Ratepayers Association threatened to sue the City Council if the Ark relocated to Montclair (Bisetty, 2004d; Mbanjwa, 2004c). According to Participant 29:

> *"The first people that refused us were the people by the army camp in Montclair. There's an army base. They wanted to put us there. It's no more an army base. It's just vacant. Those people signed a petition that they don't want us there"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

Due to Montclair resident's contestations, the eThekwini Municipality contended that Option 2 (Strollers and Ekuphileni Clinic see Figure 3.1), was the only suitable choice for relocating the ACMC (Broughton, 2004c).

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[18] eThekwini Municipality, 2004. Report to executive committee. Relocation of the Ark to new premises. Court records, *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[19] Ibid.

ii)   *Option 2: Strollers and Ekuphileni Clinic*

Again, option two could not house the occupants of the ACMC in one venue. Strollers Overnight Facility, located on the CBD periphery, had dormitory-style accommodations with a capacity for 370 individuals. Both the EM and the private sector favoured the facility due to its proximity to employment opportunities. Ekuphileni Clinic also supported for its proximity to the CBD and its access to transport services, had a capacity for 250 individuals. The total cost for resettlement at these locations was significantly less than Option 1 and amounted to R4.2 million:

- R650 000 for acquiring Strollers;

- R3 million for acquiring the Clinic;

- R150 000 for refurbishment costs at Strollers; and

- R400 000 for refurbishment costs at the Clinic.[20]

The DPDC resorted to the legal option to evict the Ark residents.

4.3.3   THE LEGAL ROUTE

While the EM sought accommodation for the Ark's relocation, the DPDC devised a way to continue the development plans initially delayed by the Asian Financial crisis. On December 11th, 2003, the DPDC revived the original Rocpoint Eviction Order (case 4881/2000) under case 10796/03. After that, the battle between the DPDC and the ACMC commenced under case 2139/2004.

i)   Arguments for the Applicant: The Durban Point Development Company

The DPDC public-private partnership required the eviction of the ACMC for purposes of (re)developing the Point Precinct. The joint venture meant that the Ark faced the power of both the eThekwini Municipality and the private sector. Such roles were filled by Dr Michael Sutcliffe, former City Manager for the eThekwini Municipality, and Cornelius Paul Brink (DPDC director) for the private sector. The DPDC sought out an eviction order on the grounds that:

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[20] eThekwini Municpality, report to executive committee. *op. cit.,* p.73.

i) the Applicant – DPDC – owned the property situated at 15 Browns Road;

ii) the residents had been in unlawful occupation of said property;

iii) continued residency by the ACMC would cause severe damages and loss to the DPDC, investors, persons employed by the project, and the eThekwini Municipality;

iv) the Applicant had no other means of ensuring the development of the Point Precinct other than evicting the ACMC;

v) alternative arrangements were in place to accommodate the residents; and

vi) the DPDC had fulfilled its obligations regarding the *Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, 1998*.[21]

Both Brink[22] and Sutcliffe[23] argued that the continued occupation of the ACMC at 15 Browns Road would threaten the PWD's viability. They contended that the Ark was delaying the PWD by raising unfounded defences to prolong the proceedings and continue their unlawful occupation (Broughton, 2004b). Both parties claimed that the Ark was an eyesore, a health hazard, and an embarrassment.[24] For these reasons, the DPDC secured a demolition order for the buildings post-eviction.[25]

ii) Arguments for the Respondent – The Ark Christian Ministries Church

The ACMC had occupied the premises in the Point Precinct since 1989. The church had acquired considerable rights in terms of the *PIE Act of 1998.* According to the PIE Act (1998), the Ark residents' rights were particularly pertinent as most occupants had inhabited the premises for longer than six months. Also, the occupants comprised of vulnerable groups recognised under the PIE Act (1998). These included minors, the disabled, mentally and physically ill persons, female-headed households, and the elderly.

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[21] DPDC, 2004. Legal proceedings served unto the ACMC on behalf of the DPDC. Notice of motion to evict the Ark in terms of the PIE ACT (1998). Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) v Ark Christian Ministries and Two Others Case No 6134/2004).*
[22] Brink, C.P, 2004. Project Director of the Durban Point Development Company. First affidavit on behalf of the DPDC (1 March 2004). Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[23] Sutcliffe, second affidavit, *op. cit.,* p.70.
[24] Sutcliffe, second affidavit, *op. cit.,* p.70 and Brink, first affidavit, *op. cit.,* p.75.
[25] Brink, first affidavit, *op. cit.,* p.75.

In attempts to resist the eviction, the ACMC launched two applications, namely:

- *The Ark Christian Ministries v Durban Point Development Company (Pty) Limited Case No. 134/04;* and

- *Esther Mhlongo and 475 others v Durban Point Development Company (Pty) Limited Case No. 141/04.*

Both applications launched on the 9th of January 2004. Case 134/04, of the ACMC, sought immediate intervention from the court to prevent the DPDC (under Revival Order case 10796/03) from evicting the church from 15 Browns Road. The Ark residents likewise adopted such resistance measures. Esther Mhlongo, who, at the time, was a 63-year-old pensioner, represented the Ark residents under Case 141/04. As with case 134/04, Mhlongo sought to stay the eviction by rescinding the Revival Order.[26]

While the applications were in motion, de Nysschen encouraged the residents to resist the eviction by protesting at the High Court. Participant 1 from the focus group discussion confirmed this:

> *"Yes, there were* [protests]*, and I remember…the pastors, especially Pastor Derich, asked the people to go and protest in court"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019)*.*

Collective mobilisation may have been successful in staying the eviction. However, these were vulnerable people. Health and socio-economic difficulties plagued many residents, and therefore, they did not have the physical strength or financial or political clout to resist their eviction. This was confirmed by Munns when he stated that:

> *"I think that their hands were tied. They left it up to management. They left it up to Derich de Nysschen to deal with lawyers. What can you do* [as] *homeless people? It's not really an army of people who can make any difference. You can toytoy* [protest]*, but they were vulnerable. Some of them were sick, some of them were terminally ill, some of them had AIDS...So, what can they do? That's not an army. They were vulnerable people"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019)*.*

This sentiment was echoed by Haskins when he argued that vulnerable people do not have the resources to defend themselves against the elite. Likewise, the church

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[26] Seger, C. 2004. Christine Seger, legal representative of Garlicke and Bousfield provided letter of clarification to Couglan Pather (Head of Housing) notifying him of the cases in relation to DPDC v ACMC. Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) v Ark Christian Ministries and Two Others Case No 6134/2004).*

community who stood to defend the Ark against eviction did not have the financial muscle to resist the removal. Nevertheless, Haskins stated that the church community protested against the eviction:

> *"…Oh, there were loads of protests…* [but] *the people protesting were poor. If they were influential millionaires, it would never happen, but it's always the downtrodden* [who are powerless to eviction]. *So, the people who were protesting would be the Christians, churches who normally skimped* [and scrapped] *they're broke, they have no money – you know what I mean? And these guys* [DPDC] *have got zillions, they stampede you"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

Similarly, highlighting the Ark's helplessness against the powerful elite, de Nysschen stated: *"…The Ark is a victim of consequence with no finances to fight an empire of 13 Billion Rands."*[27] Despite the efforts of the church and Ark residents, their protests proved futile against the elite. Also, Haskins lamented that the media did not publish their acts of resistance (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019)*.*

Advocate Mercia de Clerk represented the Ark and was named *Curator ad litem*. In other words, Advocate de Clerk represented those who had no legal capacity to defend themselves, namely the Ark residents. Her argument centred on two primary points. The first argument was the agreement made between the DPDC and ACMC, whereby the former stated that the eviction would not occur until cases 134/04 and 141/04 had concluded:

> *"*[I]*t is recorded that the Respondent* [DPDC] *herein gives the Applicant* [ACMC] *an undertaking not to proceed with the ejectment until such time as this application is finalised."*[28]

de Clerk argued that the DPDC had conferred upon them (the Ark) rights to occupy the building at 15 Browns Road, South Beach, Durban. Secondly, de Clerk argued that the Applicant (DPDC) had not adhered to South African legislation in that it did not afford the Respondent 14-days-notice period (before the hearing) as per section 4 (2) of the PIE Act (1998, p. 6):

> *"At least 14 days before the hearing of the proceedings contemplated in subsection (1), the court must serve written and effective notice of the proceedings on the unlawful occupier and the municipality having jurisdiction."*

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[27] de Nysschen, first affidavit, *op .cit.,* p.59.
[28] Ibid.

According to de Clerk, 14 court days do not include weekends or public holidays. Therefore, de Clerk argued that the DPDC had contravened the PIE Act (1998) in that the church had not received sufficient notice. Furthermore, the ACMC argued that while the DPDC had complied with the PIE Act (1998) in providing alternative accommodation, Option 2 (Strollers and Ekuphileni Clinic) was not viable because the sites were too small and too far apart. The ACMC invoked section 21 (subsections 1-4) of the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution (1996), stating that everyone has the right to *Freedom of Movement and Residence* and was prepared to accept relocation to Option 1, the Military Base in Montclair.[29] The ACMC said they were never against the redevelopment of the Point Precinct and were willing to relocate to Montclair:

> *"The Ark has never been against the redevelopment of the Point area…the eThekwini Council, in full knowledge of the wish of The Ark to relocate to Montclair, again dragged its feet as the City Manager, Dr Mike Sutcliffe, opposed the move and would not release the subsidy of the Provincial Government. It seems as if they* [EM] *promoted the disintegration of The Ark Church."*[30]

Despite the Ark's willingness to relocate to Montclair, the EM *'dragged its feet'* and instead sought to evict the residents without re-establishing the church. The defence of the ACMC, in general, was that the church had successfully thwarted social ills in Durban by providing shelter, rehabilitation, and restoration opportunities to the less fortunate. However, they argued that so-called public interests jeopardised their efforts as the PPP threatened the church's destruction in its entirety. Instead, development invoked for public-interest and private gain, took precedence over the needs of the poor.

iii) The Judgement

On the 30th of April 2004, Judge Galgut declared the Judgement under *Case No. 2139/04*, *Durban Point Development Company (Pty) Limited v Mercia de Clerk and 720 others.*
The first argument put forward by the ACMC was that the Applicant (DPDC) had provided an undertaking that *'the ejectment'* would not occur until the court finalised cases 134/04 and 141/04. However, Judge Galgut dismissed this argument on a technicality; he stated that *'The'* referred to specific cases in which the Ark Christian Ministries Church (case 134/2004) and Esther Mhlongo (case 141/2004) were the Respondents. Therefore, Galgut stated that the Applicant (DPDC) did not agree to refrain from *'any ejectment'*.

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[29] de Nysschen, first affidavit, *op .cit.,* p.59
[30] Ibid.

Hence, the Respondent under the current application (case 2139/2004), namely, Mercia de Clerk and 720 others, were still eligible for eviction.

Likewise, Galgut dismissed the second argument because 14 Court days do not represent business days, that is, Monday to Friday. Instead, Court days include all days, and therefore, the Applicant (DPDC) had met the requirements of section 4(2) of the PIE Act (1998).

Further, the Judge argued that de Clerk had failed to produce any merits for her case. Instead, the two preliminary arguments were both dismissible. Nevertheless, Judge Galgut contended that the Respondent was eligible for minimal protections as per the PIE Act (1998). He stated that:

> *"A court is therefore required to consider all of the relevant circumstances, including whether land has been made available by the Municipality for the relocation of the unlawful occupiers, and to decide whether it is just and equitable that they be evicted."*[31]

After considering all such circumstances, Galgut argued that the Applicant's case was overwhelming in light of the massive developments underway in the Point Precinct. He explained that the Point Waterfront Development would create thousands of jobs and was in the public's interest (Mbanjwa & Broughton, 2004). Galgut stated that the eviction of the ACMC was just and equitable. He ordered that the ACMC residents relocate to Strollers and the Ekuphileni Clinic and that the eThekwini Municipality bears the relocation costs.

As per section 4(8) of the PIE Act (1998), Judge Galgut had to fix a date upon which the eviction would occur. He ordered that the ACMC remove itself from the premises on the 15th of May 2004. If all the ACMC occupants had not vacated the premises by the 17th of May 2004, the Judge authorised the Sheriff and his deputies to evict such persons with whatever force necessary.[32]

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[31] Galgut, D.J.P, 2004. Judgement. Court Records, *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) Limited v. Marcia de Clerk N.O and 720 Others Case No. 2139/2004).*
[32] Ibid.

4.4 RESISTANCE TO RESETTLEMENT

In recognising the advantage of the Ark's locale, former City Manager, Dr Mike Sutcliffe, stated that: *"…The Ark's occupants derive an income from working within the Central Business District of Durban and therefore require to live within close proximity thereto…".*[33] However, despite recognising the pivotal role the city played in sustaining livelihoods, there was a disconnect in that Head of Housing, Couglan Pather, stated that family units were encouraged to occupy low-cost housing in Welbedacht East (Mbanjwa, 2004a). While Judge Galgut ordered the Ark's residents to rehouse in Strollers or the Clinic, such housing could not accommodate all occupants (Bramford, 2004). Also, the facilities were dormitory-style accommodations and not suitable for rehousing family units. Thus, residents relocated to several locations, including the Ekuphileni Clinic, Stollers Overnight Facility, and RDP accommodations in Welbedacht East.

Some residents willingly relocated to their respective accommodations. However, according to court records: *"…many persons, including the first three respondents* [ACMC, Derich de Nysschen and his son, Andre de Nysschen]*, intended to remain in the Ark…".*[34] Ark authorities and residents continued to contest the resettlement because they disapproved of the relocation sites. They contended that these options were too small and would fragment the Arkian[35] community (Mbanjwa, 2004b).[36]

The Ark authorities continued their resistance and defiance by i) encouraging new residents to take-up occupancy at the shelter, ii) persuading original Arkians not to be concerned with the eviction order, and iii) threatening residents who were willing to relocate. Consequently, the DPDC began preparations to assist the Sheriff with the resisting Ark community (residents and authorities) and stop the inflow of new persons.[37] However, according to court records, when attempting to place security personnel at the Ark premises, DPDC officials were met with resistance from the church:

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[33] Sutcliffe, first affidavit, *op. cit.,* p.70.
[34] Symonds, M, D, 2004. Rocpoint Employee. Affidavit on behalf of the DPDC. Court Records *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) v Ark Christian Ministries and Two Others Case No 6134/2004).*
[35] The Ark community collectively refer to themselves as 'Arkians'.
[36] de Nysschen, first affidavit, *op .cit.,* p.59.
[37] Symonds, affidavit. *op. cit.,* p.80.

> *"Their* [ACMC] *internal security (personnel armed with whips) was called, and it was obvious that if we did not leave the premises, violence would ensue…being intimidated, we left the premises."*[38]

Persistent resistance from the ACMC led the DPDC to seek a Court Order to stop the inflow of new residents and enable the DPDC to post a security presence at the Ark premise (Gangaram, 2004b). According to the records, the court i) authorised the DPDC to disperse security personnel at the Ark, ii) restrained the ACMC from allowing anyone occupancy at the church, save those listed in case 2139/04, and iii) prohibited the ACMC from using intimidation tactics toward those willing to relocate.[39]

Original residents were allowed occupancy until midnight of 16 May 2004.[40] Couglan Pather stated that if residents continued to resist the move, it would be the responsibility of the DPDC to remove those who opposed the eviction (Mbanjwa, 2004a). Hence, project co-ordinator of the DPDC, Neels Brink, stated that: *"The court-order was very clear that if they haven't moved by Monday* [17 May 2004]*, they will be moved forcibly, if necessary"* (Mbanjwa, 2004a).

The ACMC continued their resistance to the eviction by applying for leave to appeal the judgment and eviction order of 30 April 2004 (Gangaram, 2004a). Judge Galgut denied the appeal on the 17th of May 2004 (Oellermann & Bolowana, 2004). The Sheriff and his deputies were authorised to evict the ACMC residents with whatever force necessary. Hundreds of residents vowed not to leave the Ark (Chetty & Sookha, 2004; Mbanjwa, 2004a). The authorities forcibly removed those who resisted. Former volunteer Mark Haskins and participants of the study confirmed this:

> *"They were beaten, they were brutally beaten by police…Broken collar bones, broken arms…brutally, brutally beaten"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019)*.*

> *"The last batch were accosted… they refused to leave"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> *"They were pushed* [out]*, the securities, they came with the donkerries* [batons]*…they beat them. They were beaten, and the dogs were after them to catch them, to put them* [in] *the truck. Guys, you remember the truck? The truck was not*

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[38] Ibid.
[39] Alkema, A, J, 2004. Court Order *(Durban Point Development Company (PTY) v Ark Christian Ministries and Two Others Case No 6134/2004).*
[40] Ibid.

the normal truck. That truck was that truck that the municipality uses to take the dirt" (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Those who resisted were forcibly removed to several locations, including the Ekuphileni Clinic, Stollers, and Welbedacht East. Families who resettled to Welbedacht East are the focus of this study. The following sections describe the demographic profile of those in Welbedacht, the resettlement experience, and the relocation site.

4.5 PROFILE OF RESETTLERS IN WELBEDACHT

In 2004, 100 families resettled in Welbedacht East. Given the time-lapse since relocation, a field survey determined that of the 100 resettlement houses, 36 remain occupied by the Arkians. Of the 36 families who stay in Welbedacht, 26 households participated in the study, and demographic data were obtained for 96 household members.

The average family is comprised of 3.7 persons. The smallest household had one individual, and the largest had ten. Of the 96 household members, 55% were female, and 45% were male. The population was youthful, with an average age of 29 years. The majority of the household members were descendants of the Ark residents, possibly accounting for the young community.

Seventy-six per cent who participated in the study indicated that they had not completed high school. Lastly, 12% of the respondents stated that they had some form of disability.

Overall, the demographic data indicated that i) there was a more substantial female presence in Welbedacht, ii) the age group was youthful, iii) with low educational achievement v) and a marginal incidence of disability. The following section discusses the resettlement experience.

4.6 THE RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCE

The resettlement experience was plagued with human rights violations and devoid of social justice. Those displaced from the city were excluded from the benefits of development and forcefully removed to the urban periphery. Table 4.2 summarises the participants' perceptions of the resettlement experience.

Table 4.2 Perceptions of the Resettlement Experience

Resettlers Perceptions of the Resettlement Experience		Yes	No
i.	Did all your friends and family members move with you from the Ark?	6%	94%
ii.	Were you well informed in advance that you would be relocated to Welbedacht?	40%	60%
iii.	Were you happy to leave the Ark and relocate to Welbedacht?	22%	78%
iv.	Would you say your human rights were violated when you were displaced from the Ark?	80%	20%

i) Community Disruption - *"We were split up"*

Many of the former Ark residents sought shelter at the church as they had severed their social networks and had no alternative support structures. While housed in the Ark, the residents restored their spirits and livelihoods by forming social connections in the church and the city through employment networking. Many participants said that the Ark residents were a family. Bonds forged in the struggle for rehabilitation. Thus, before the eviction, the ACMC requested that the residents relocate to a single venue for continued *"community togetherness and rehabilitation"* (Mbanjwa, 2004b). A former Ark resident echoed the plea for togetherness and stated: *"If we go, we must all go together"* (Broughton, 2004c).

Despite the plea to relocate to one venue, 94% reported that the eviction process segregated their community. Respondents argued that residents of the Ark resettled at different sites based on specific criteria. Single people relocated to Strollers. The sick, elderly, and the youth moved to Ekuphileni Clinic. Family units and single mothers relocated to Welbedacht:

> *"…they took all the sick people and the children, and they moved them here"* [Ekuphileni Clinic] (Participant 41, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020).

> *"Singles moved to Strollers. The sick went to Mayville* [Ekuphileni] *Clinic"* (Participant 2, Welbedacht questionnaire, 2 December 2019).

> *"These houses* [in Welbedacht] *were only for mothers with children"* (Participant 17, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

The Ark community experienced social disruption as residents relocated to different sites. The eviction of the ACMC and the residents' segregation fragmented the Ark community's social capital. The Arkians continued to express sadness toward the

disintegration of their *'family',* despite the eviction of the church 16 years ago. The Welbedacht residents described how they felt when their community fragmented:

> *"I didn't feel good because why I lived with them in the Ark like family. I mean, I had problems with my family you see because I was thrown out of my family's house, that's the truth…"* (Participant 11, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

According to Participant 4, some former Ark members continue to reside along the beachfront: *"We were split up. Most of them are still on the street. They're homeless at the beach, around Addington* [Hospital]*"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019)*.* The researcher confirmed this statement when she located Participant 39 along Durban's South Beach, mere meters from the old ACMC. Participant 39 and her child were seeking medical attention at Addington Hospital at the time of eviction. Upon returning from the hospital with her child, Participant 39 found the Ark disbanded:

> *"I was in the hospital because my son was sick, and by the time we came out, the Ark was cleaned* [out]*, and we were chased away. I missed out"* (Participant 39, South Beach interview, 9 January 2020).

Participant 39 had no alternative housing and continues to endure homelessness. She relies on selling seawater to tourists as a livelihood strategy. To secure accommodation at an overnight shelter, she must sell seven 5-litre bottles of water, to earn R35 to pay for daily accommodation:

> *"We live by selling these 5 litres of* [sea] *water. Sometimes when the Metro Police see us, they take them* [the bottles]*, but that's how we survive in town. At least we can sell these here to survive…I'm staying in a shelter down there, we pay R35 a night, and then 8 a.m you have to be out. Only when you have* [the] *money you can go in. You can sell five containers and then that money you use to stay. If you got no money, you can't stay"* (Participant 39, South Beach interview, 9 January 2020).

According to Participant 39, the homeless shelter is an overnight facility and provides no additional services like those offered at the Ark.

ii) Lack of Consultation - *"Nobody asked me what I wanted"*

The issue of whether authorities informed the Arkians in advance of their relocation is confusing. Those who resettled knew of their impending eviction. However, they were unaware of where and when they would relocate:

> *"The one day they came into the hall and told us that we* [were] *going to move, and they came with papers and said you must fill in your names and whatnot, and we*

were to be given houses. And we asked: 'Where are these houses?' And they wouldn't tell us. They just kept quiet, and then the next thing we know, we being moved" (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

"...they called all of us at the Ark to tell us that someone bought the property around there. So, they [were] *going to look for adequate accommodation for us....we were never informed where they* [were] *going to move us to, we were just informed that they* [EM were] *going to move us, but they didn't say where"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

The EM authorities did not involve the former Ark residents in the decision-making relating to their resettlement. The respondents described the ejectment as rushed, with no explanation given on what to expect:

"...it was rush, rush, rush. It was crazy. It wasn't like okay today we are moving" (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

"They should have given a chance to explain where we were going and what's going on. It was just a quick thing; we didn't know where we were going or what was going on" (Participant 37, Welbedacht questionnaire, 19 December 2019).

"You know, when you [are] *moving somebody to somewhere, at least give them notice, one week notice or even a day's notice so they can pack their stuff, get the stuff ready to move, there was nothing like that. People that were at work, they had to come and find the truck was there* [to remove them]*"* (Participant 24, Welbedacht questionnaire, 12 December 2019).

The participants had no time to prepare for their relocation. They had no time to pack their belongings or mentally prepare themselves for the move. Instead, the DPDC forcefully removed them when they returned from work.

iii) Location and Accessibility - *"All the opportunities were there in town, not here"*

Seventy-eight per cent of the participants indicated that they were not happy to relocate to Welbedacht. The participants argued that the Ark was in a prime locale and had access to various essential services and facilities. Likewise, employment opportunities were diverse and more readily available, and recreational facilities were abundant:

"Everything was convenient in the Ark where we were well supplied. We had happiness. We had joy. We had everything close by schools, hospitals, clinics, everything was available for us..." (Participant 18, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

"Everything was convenient, like schools and shops, everything was there for us" (Participant 31, Welbedacht questionnaire, 15 December 2019).

> *"Everything was perfect...we had beaches; we had transport...the hospital and parks for children to go* [to] *the parks and play on the swings...even the police station was close by now you must wait forever"* (Participant 34, Welbedacht focus group, 18 December 2019).

The participants exhibited a sense of euphoria toward their previous location, stating: *"everything was perfect"* and *"convenient."* The remoteness of the new location and the disconnection from urban amenities was aptly summarised by Participant 23 who asked: *"Why come and dump us in the corner away from everything and everyone?"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

Nevertheless, according to Table 4.2, twenty-two per cent of the respondents stated that they were happy to leave the Ark and relocate to Welbedacht. One of the main reasons was that they were grateful to live as independent family units:

> *"I was one of those that was happy because I could live with my children the same children that I couldn't live with at the Ark, you see, that was a starting point"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

They were also thankful for the accommodation and the sense of security their (re)housing provided:

> *"... I have a place of my own. I don't have to pay rent anymore. I have my place, and I can make something of it. If I don't have a job, I still have a roof over my head"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

Despite the gratitude expressed by some resettled community members, the majority continued to hold negative feelings about their resettlement to Welbedacht, especially loss of self-esteem and dignity.

iv)   Loss of Self-Esteem - *"I felt I had no dignity left"*

The forced relocation to Welbedacht directly violated the individual's constitutional right to freedom of movement (The South African Government, 1996). Also, the combined effects of i) forced removal, ii) community segregation, iii) lack of consultation, and iv) exclusion from the benefits of development challenged the rights of those removed from the ACMC.

Participant 23 asserted that authorities viewed him as *'nothing'* because of his lower-class status: *"My dignity was violated. If I'm a down and out person, I'm just* [classed as] *nothing"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019)*. Similar class-based

exclusions were reiterated by Participant 19. He argued that: *"Just because we are from the Ark, we are classed as a different kind of people"* (Participant 19, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019)*.* Significantly, Participant 4 likened the resettlement experience to that of being thrown in a *'dungeon'*. The authorities failed to relocate the Arkians in a dignified manner or provide them with the choice of resettling to Welbedacht:

> *"I think I deserve to be treated like any other human, equally. We were isolated and then thrown in a dungeon. We were not given a choice to move to Welbedacht. We were just pushed"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019).

The Point Precinct experienced social genocide, and the poor's removal violated their right to human dignity and equality.

4.7   THE RESETTLEMENT SITE

A significant challenge with urban resettlement involves the restoration of wage-based livelihoods, often tied to a central location (IFC, 2002). Previously, the Arkians relied on the central urban environment where their livelihoods depended on access to income-earning opportunities in the city. However, they resettled to an area classified as peripheral/rural due to the isolation, underdevelopment, and lack of transport or essential services. Resettlement expert, Greg Huggins, provided his view on urban displacement to peripheral/rural areas:

> *"We've never done a project where we've had to resettle people from an urban area into a rural area. I mean, that doesn't happen. We've resettled people from urban areas into urban areas. We'd never resettle people from urban areas into rural areas. We would resettle people from rural areas in urban areas...there would have to be a good reason why you would resettle people from an urban* [to rural] *area... it's* [the resettlement] *a replicant of...apartheid-based planning, moving people from functioning urban locales to a non-functioning urban locale is a fact that people were probably placed in an area that was expedient rather than an area that was selected for its ability to be able to house the people who were living in the Ark. So, in other words, it* [Welbedacht] *was picked because it happened to be available..."* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

It was evident from the resettlement expert that urban to peripheral/rural resettlement was not the norm, was unusual and reflected apartheid-based planning. Typical relocation projects include rural-to-rural, urban-to-urban, and rural-to-urban movements (Wang, et al., 2020).

Although the relocation took place some 16 years ago, the participants could still recall the state of the resettlement when they arrived in Welbedacht. Table 4.3 indicates the community's perceptions of the resettlement site upon their arrival.

Table 4.3: Perceptions of Welbedacht in 2004

Perception of Welbedacht in 2004	True	False
Welbedacht had good essential services (water, electricity, sanitation, etc.)	3%	97%
Welbedacht had a lot of resources in the area (schools, clinics, employment)	3%	97%
Welbedacht would be a good place to start over	24%	76%
Welbedacht was accessible for transport	0%	100%

In 2004, Welbedacht comprised dirt roads and one hundred unfinished RDP houses: *"When we came here, they were only busy building these houses, when we moved in here they were still busy building the toilets"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019). Houses were incomplete, so most participants (97%) indicated that Welbedacht was not equipped with essential services such as water, electricity, and refuse removal. Relocation to an underdeveloped site denied residents their right to basic services. Participant 21 was thirteen at the time of resettlement. He argued that, before resettlement, residents should have been informed of the absence of essential services in Welbedacht: *"When people say that you* [are] *going to be relocated, they should have explained that there would be no water or electricity"* (Participant 21, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019). Instead, the respondents endured two years (2004-2006) without access to essential services:

> *"Absolutely no services, we had to wait two years to get our* [services]*…"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> *"…we were given these houses with no water, no electricity…"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019).

The participants used natural resources in Welbedacht as they did not have access to running water: *"We even had to go bath in the river, you take your soap and things and bath with your clothes on, you must bath like this cause we didn't have any choice"* (Participant 34, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). Also, the absence of electricity meant that those who relocated at night did not know where they resettled:

> *"We were moved in the night…we didn't know where the place was …I could only see the next morning because there were no lights…"* (Participant 7, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019).

"We came in the night here...There was no power, no nothing. They left us in a ditch here" (Participant 27, Welbedacht questionnaire, 13 December 2019).

Welbedacht was described as a '*ditch*'. Other words used to describe the site include '*dungeon*' and '*hole*'. Such descriptions point to the participants' negative perception of the resettlement site, largely because of the absence of resources, essential services, and income-earning opportunities. The lack of services in the area was indicative of the expediency of the eviction and relocation to Welbedacht. Hence, 97% of the participants stated that upon arrival, they did not have access to social services: *"... [There was] no clinic [and] no school for our children"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019). Instead, the residents experienced a loss of access to common property resources as the resettlement site lacked social amenities and facilities (Patel, et al., 2015).

Former Municipal consultant, Visven Reddy, was tasked with assisting the Welbedacht residents with their challenges following their removal. However, in a 2004 newspaper publication, Welbedacht residents described Reddy as a *"bully boy control freak who threatened to assault"* the former Ark dwellers (Bisetty, 2004e). The former Ark residents turned to the Christian Help Centre (CHC) for assistance (Bisetty, 2004e). Reverend Krish Naidoo of the CHC stated that the municipality was aware of the challenges in Welbedacht and questioned the haste of relocating *"these unfortunate people...to such a place..."* without providing remedial facilities (Bisetty, 2004e). Significantly, the lack of services, facilities, and recreational activities in Welbedacht encouraged juvenile runaways:

"When we came from the Ark, there was nothing here...Can you imagine, I was 13 years old, and I ran away from here [Welbedacht]*. I went to stay back in town by myself...when I went back* [to the Point Precinct]*, I went back to nothing...I used to sleep there at Addington Hospital by the bus stop, for like one year, until I met some guys who took me in...If I was still in the Ark, I wasn't going to be this who I am today. I became a criminal at a young age"* (Participant 25, Welbedacht questionnaire, 12 December 2019).

Participant 25 resettled to Welbedacht with his parents. However, he stated that as a child, he chose to be homeless in the Point Precinct rather than housed in Welbedacht. He continued to hold the shelter in high esteem and contended that he would not have resorted to criminality if he remained in the Ark. Instead, he resettled to a site with '*nothing*'. The majority of the respondents (76%) agreed that Welbedacht was not suitable for starting over. They argued that it was not advantageous or sustainable to

resettle urban inhabitants to a peripheral/rural environment: *"Because I am a city person, all my life I have lived in the city. You can't take someone who has been living in a city and put them on a farm"* (Participant 2, Welbedacht questionnaire, 2 December 2019)*.* Due to the remoteness of the resettlement site, all participants indicated that Welbedacht did not have a functioning transport network at the time of relocation. Greg Huggins provided his opinion on the absence of established transport services:

> *"…that's a flaw in terms of how…people were moved*… [you need to] *be looking at creating the conditions under which there would be a functioning transport network…"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

The resettlement authorities failed to ensure there were preconditions for creating a functioning transport network – this restricted access to the former employment sites of the newly relocated residents. The lack of transportation services in Welbedacht required residents to access the Umlazi transport network, the community adjacent to Welbedacht (see Figure 3.1). Upon resettlement, the Arkians endured intense hostility and violence from the surrounding community as the Umlazi residents witnessed the construction of housing and presumed that they would be the beneficiaries of the RDP accommodations in Welbedacht:

> *"People hated us when we moved here"* (Participant 31, Welbedacht questionnaire, 15 December 2019).

> *"Yes, there was a lot of fighting and arguments. For example, the Umlazi people told us when they gave us a look; they said: 'Ay, the Bosmans must go back to Point'. They told us this is their houses; we are moving into their homes. We had to call the police, the Chatsworth police, to come and tell these people we didn't come here out of our own; the municipality brought us here. It happened hundreds and thousands of times. You see these Umlazi people living in these Chondolas* [points to shacks], *they said these are their houses, it was built for them"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

These statements point to racial tensions, hatred, and uncertainty the community faced upon relocation. The Arkians defended their presence in Welbedacht, stating: *"…we didn't come here out of our own; the municipality brought us here."* While the participants had already faced social exclusion from the city authorities at their previous location, the surrounding residents in Umlazi further marginalised the Arkian community. Not surprisingly, 78% of the participants indicated that the surrounding community was not happy and welcoming. The Arkians were viewed as outsiders, possibly competing for scarce resources in the area.

One of the respondents argued that their rejection at the resettlement site was made worse by the stigma attached to their Arkian community:

> "…there is this stigma that was following us [from] that neighbourhood [Point Precinct]. People from the neighbourhood [Umlazi] were told that we were like wrong people. We are thugs from the street. We are HIV positive. We are prostitutes. We are from parole from jail, all that story…the people [from the] neighbourhood [Umlazi], they told us that they were told that we are wild, we from the street, we not allowed to mix with other people" (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The residents' history of homelessness perpetuated the stigmatisation and criminalisation of their community. The lack of integration and the constant threat of conflict with the Umlazi residents led authorities to erect a fence around the one hundred houses provided for the former Ark occupants. The enclosure secured the Ark residents but simultaneously hindered their integration with surrounding communities. For three months, armed security forces guarded the houses and introduced a pass-like system. Residents of the resettled community had to present a card with their photo and a unique identifying number. Only then were they able to pass in and out of the fenced area (see Figure 4.3):

> "We were given photos, like ID photos…It was like an ID number with a photo, if you want to go somewhere, if you want to go to work, you must show them the ID, and if you come back, you must come back with the photo. If you didn't have the photo on you, you couldn't come back in the gate you would stay outside" (Participant 7, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> "…they fenced all these 100 houses, and then they put the securities, we [were] looked after like criminals" (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> "I must have a 'door pass' to come in and out like I'm in jail" (Participant 27, Welbedacht questionnaire, 13 December 2019).

Figure 4.3: Pass Identification in Welbedacht (Source: Participant 4, 2019)

One could draw comparisons to past injustices related to the apartheid pass system where persons could not move freely without their 'pass identification' (Savage, 1986). Arguably, the strong security presence reinforced the perception of criminality, further stigmatising, and excluding the Ark community.

There was no consultation with the resettled population regarding the fence or the pass-like system which was implemented soon after they arrived in Welbedacht. Instead, participants stated that they went to work and returned to a caged area:

> *"There was no fencing when we came. Then we came from work and all of a sudden; there's a fence"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The respondents stated that the looming threat of violence from Umlazi residents restricted their right to freedom of movement as no-one was allowed out of the fenced area:

> *"No-one was allowed out…because they said that the Umlazi people said: 'Why are they bringing the Ark people here next to Umlazi?' The Umlazi people didn't want us here"* (Participant 34, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The participants expressed a sense of 'dehumanisation' when they stated that the fence caged them off from society as though they were wild animals: *"They put a fence around us to make us like animals"* (Participant 38, private conversation, Welbedacht, 19 December 2019)*.*

Both the relocation process and the resettlement site were fraught with acts of injustice. It appeared that authorities had failed to ethically relocate and rehabilitate the displaced. Hence, it was necessary to examine resettlement policy and legislative protections in South Africa.

4.8   POLICY REFLECTIONS

Following the analysis of international guidelines described in 2.4.1, this section identifies the protections in South Africa. Resettlement procedures are much dependent on the context under which development occurs. In other words, procedures are dependent on whether resettlement occurs in a rural or urban setting. The expert opinion suggests that i) rural projects have a larger footprint and ii) urban resettlement is immensely costly and rarely undertaken (Amirtahmasebi, et al., 2016). Therefore, resettlement guidelines make more significant reference to restoring rural livelihoods:

> *"Most projects that have* [a] *major displacement footprint impact take place in rural areas…That is in essence, I think, why the guidelines…do make greater reference to rural livelihoods…urban resettlement is massively expensive, so it's very seldom done…so you may find that the experience of people who wrote* [the resettlement guidelines] *was more influenced by rural experience…"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

Major footprint displacements occur in rural areas and are attributed to mines and hydrological developments, for example. Huggins argued that because the guidelines make more significant reference to rural livelihoods, resettlement specialists should base urban relocation on *'duty of care'*. Using 'duty of care', resettlement experts need to mitigate negative impacts and ensure adequate attention to maintaining the livelihoods of the urban poor: *"You have a duty of care to replacing livelihoods …you need to demonstrate that you have taken adequate care to be able to ensure that people can continue their livelihood structure"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

However, mitigation measures to safeguard livelihoods are far more involved in urban resettlement projects than rural. Whereas rural livelihoods depend on fixed assets such as land, water, and forests, urban livelihoods are more involved in that they operate off various skillsets. Hence, urban livelihoods are harder to restore because resettlement experts need to ensure resettlers maintain access to various economic activities, post-resettlement. Also, resettlers need uninterrupted access to economic activities to sustain their livelihoods:

> *"…land-based livelihoods operate off a fixed parameter; in other words, the land is there, you know what the functionality of the land is. You know what people's access to land is. You know what the productivity of the land is, you can measure the kind of basis on which people can earn a livelihood. Wage based livelihoods are* [a] *completely different entity. Wage based livelihoods are predicated on people's access to skills and the opportunities that the employment base offer and those are not controllable. Land is much more controllable in terms of there being a measurable entity that you can say: 'this is the value of that entity'. Wage based livelihoods are completely different. They are controlled by the economic environment and people's ability to access the economic environment"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

Urban resettlement would require relocation specialists to resettle communities in an alternative central environment which would give project-affected-persons access to similar economic activities on which they previously relied:

> "[I would] *look at what the kind of linkages was around people and employment and what locale meant in terms of…access to employment. We would then be looking at replacement urban areas that were either not going to disturb that or disrupt that ability to access the locale, which might have a distance implication in terms of thresholds of transport and what people can afford in terms of transport if they are going to commute from one area to another…"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

According to the resettlement expert, access to locale plays a central role in restoring and maintaining urban livelihoods. Therefore, the developers' responsibility is to prevent landlessness and, subsequently, the loss of access to common property resources. Also, 'good practice' requires resettlement experts to monitor the resettled community until a social completion audit is undertaken. Resettlement experts complete such audits several years after resettlement. The purpose of a social completion audit is to determine whether affected persons have restored or improved their livelihood outcomes and to assess whether the requirements set out in the Resettlement Action Plan were met (IFC, 2002):

> "[monitoring occurs] *until the* [Social] *Completion Audit has satisfactorily demonstrated that the conditions under which resettlement… was postulated and the conditions that were required to be fulfilled have been fulfilled"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

However, 95% of the respondents indicated that no social audits took place in Welbedacht. Thus, by expert standards, this resettlement project was not considered 'good practice': *"…I wouldn't consider it* [the resettlement] *good practice"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019). As per international guidelines, the resettlement procedure failed to protect the rights and livelihoods of those displaced by the Point Waterfront Development project.

Huggins disclosed the provisions in place to protect the rights of people vulnerable to DIDR in South Africa. He argued that South Africa does not have any policy to guide resettlement and restore livelihoods. Nevertheless, the nation does have vigorous legislation which protects the rights of illegal occupants:

> *"So, South Africa doesn't* [have a resettlement policy]. *South Africa has much more rigorous legislation in terms of PIE and ESTA, which would protect the bulk of cases"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

These legislative protections include the *Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act* (PIE) (1998) and the *Extension of Security of Tenure (EST) Act,*

(1997). Both Acts provide that no unlawful occupiers are removed without authority granted by a competent court. The court may eject individuals if it is just and equitable to do so. A court may only deem an eviction order just and equitable when it has considered all relevant factors including:

i)   the rights and needs of the vulnerable groups, including the elderly, the disabled, children, and female-headed households[41];
ii) the conditions which led to the unlawful occupation;
iii) the period in which the unlawful occupiers occupied the premises; and
iv) whether illegal occupiers are provided with suitable alternative accommodations (The South African Government, 1998; 1997).

South Africa's rights-based Constitution provides the foundation for these laws.

Due to the history of forced removals in South Africa, the nation has a political climate which condemns illegal evictions. Legal provisions exist to protect the rights of vulnerable people. However, South Africa does not have a policy framework to guide resettlement when forced displacements occur.

There is a general trend of excessive development-induced displacement across the global South. Various nations, including India, China, Brazil, Sri Lanka, Mozambique and Kenya have developed country-specific guidelines to resettle project-affected-persons (Kamakia, et al., 2017; Roquet, et al., 2017; Perera, 2014; Indian Government, 2013; Jing, 2000). Given South Africa's history of forced removals and the current rate of urban development within cities, it would be advantageous to develop a framework which ethically guides the resettlement of those affected by urban development-induced displacement.

The following section describes the current attempts to re-establish the Ark. Despite the demise of the church and the relocation of residents 16 years ago, the battle to resurrect the Ark continues.

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[41] These vulnerable groups comprised a large proportion of Ark residents.

4.9   THE RESURRECTION OF THE ARK?

In October 2004, the leader of the Ark, Pastor Derich de Nysschen, suffered a heart attack and passed away (Bisetty, 2004c). In June 2005, the trustees of the ACMC approached Dr Peter Munns and requested that he continue the struggle to re-establish the church. Munns conceded to their request and with that began a David and Goliath battle to resurrect the Ark:

> *"Since 2005, I went to every single Municipal Manager. I went to every Mayor. I went to every Premier, looking for a righteous man or woman, and I said: 'Here's the plight, I'm chairman of the Ark, we rebuilding it, can you please release the money* [grant funds promised] *so we can at least get that?'"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019)*.

However, city authorities did not hear his plea to release the funds (Noelene, 2015). In seeking to rebuild the church, Munns set out to sue the eThekwini Municipality for R528,369,297. He determined the amount by calculating: i) the cost of re-establishing the Ark in an area which could offer similar services and facilities as the Point Precinct, ii) damages incurred for not releasing the promised funds (R10 867 500), iii) interest obtained for the current and historical rate, and iv) costs incurred from the lawsuit (Erasmus, 2019).

Legal proceedings began in 2012 when Munns served the eThekwini Municipality a summons notifying the relevant authorities of his intentions to sue the city. Munns served the summons on behalf of *The Durban Ark Concept,* the registered and accredited entity to receive the promised grant funds in 2001. However, the plaintiff was the Ark Christian Ministries Church, as was stated by Munns:

> *"The initial summons, when we issued the notice to proceed against the City Council, that was done in 2012…In 2012, the Durban Ark Concept was* [still] *established* [registered]*…it was registered* [initially in 2001] *to receive money which it never received. The Durban Ark Concept was the entity that was established to receive the money. The plaintiff is the Ark Christian Ministries Church."*[42]

A three-day trial was scheduled from the 11th – 13th of February 2016. However, the defendant – the eThekwini Municipality – called for a three-week hearing, to which Munns conceded. However, two years elapsed with no trial. In August 2018, Munns appeared before Judge Lopes in the Durban High Court and pleaded for his days in Court.

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[42] Munns interview, I beg to differ, *op. cit.,* p.69.

Judge Lopes conceded, and an eight-day trial was to commence on the 25th of November 2019. In the lead up to the court hearing, the researcher interviewed Munns to ascertain his views on the impending court case:

> *"This claim and why I'm proceeding against the Durban City Council to claim R528 million is also a moral imperative. It's an example actually for the abuse of human rights, it's a perfect example of skewed priorities…It's a lack of respect for life, property and human rights…and we want* [the] *truth, justice and righteousness, we want restorative justice…"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019)*.*

On the 25th of November 2019, Munns appeared in the Durban High Court with no legal representative. Together with several former Arkians and news reporters, the researcher was present in the court for the David and Goliath battle.

Unfortunately, the plea made by Munns for restorative justice was delayed by a technicality put forward by the defendant – the eThekwini Municipality. Council for the defence, JP Broster, argued that in 2019 neither the Ark Christian Ministries Church nor the Durban Ark Concept was currently registered as a Section 21 (NPO) company, and therefore had no legal rights to claim (Comins, 2019). Although sympathetic to the cause, Judge Anton Van Zyl stated that his only option was to remove the case from the roll, thereby allowing Munns to amend his documents:

> *"*[This is a] *sad case with a long history…the plaintiff is not officially before the Court, once the exercise of re-registering the plaintiff company has been completed then in law its rights would revive. The only order I can make which is relevant and recognised in law is to simply remove the matter from the roll. There is a misconception that if I strike the matter from the roll instead of removing it, that it is the same thing. Striking it shows the Court's displeasure…if it is removed, it can be re-enrolled at the appropriate time"* (Judge Van Zyl quoted from Comins, 2019).

The researcher acquired a statement from Munns after the ruling. He alleged that the defendant's call (mentioned above) for a three-week trial in 2016 was a delay tactic that allowed the eThekwini Municipality time to deregister The Durban Ark Concept. He further contended that justice was delayed, not denied**:**

> *"We gave them* [the eThekwini Municipality] *a 3-week trial in 2016, but they didn't want time to prepare after we had given them the evidence, they wanted time to deregister The Durban Ark Concept…This was a good ruling because it hasn't been struck off the roll, it's been removed, it gives us the opportunity to amend our documents, which we're going to do…justice has been delayed. It hasn't been denied…"* (Munns, interview, 25 November 2019)*.*

Although the Ark faced another setback, the ACMC's re-establishment could play a significant part in addressing homelessness and social ills across the city. The potential role of the homeless shelter was especially pertinent during the current COVID-19 global pandemic. The current COVID-19 crisis has forced city officials to take cognisance of the extent of homelessness across the city and the dire need to establish facilities that meet the needs of society's most vulnerable and provide opportunities for rehabilitation (Ardé, 2020).

4.10   THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE POINT PRECINCT

The Point Waterfront Development was a three-phase mega-project that sought to rival the Umhlanga Precinct, North of Durban, and the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town (Mkhize, 2015). Located approximately 100 metres from the old Ark premises, Ushaka Marine World – phase one of the PWD – stands as a stark reminder of Ark's demise (Erasmus, 2019). Phase two comprised a canal system, and phase three – a small craft harbour.[43]

Despite the desire to recreate and re-invent the Point Precinct, the mega-project had failed to deliver the anticipated economic benefits (Hannan & Sutherland, 2015). Instead, property developers characterise the region as a proverbial ghost town. These were the sentiments offered by the host of '*I Beg to Differ'* (2020), Yusuf Ismail:

> *"…property developers and certainly people within the property market are suggesting that the Point Waterfront Development had been a total and utter failure. It's been a total failure. I mean, most of the new buildings are totally empty…you travel through the Point Waterfront, and it's like sometimes travelling through a perpetual ghost-town."*[44]

Empty waterfront apartments, some gentrified streets, and derelict buildings characterise the Point Precinct. Despite the demolition order obtained for the Ark premises, the buildings remain mostly vacant, and intact.

Ironically, in 2019 the premises which housed the former shelter became home to Durban's monthly *I Heart Market*[45] when the eThekwini Municipality was once again at the centre of forced removal. The Market, which previously rented space at the Moses

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[43] The Durban water sports community voiced a strong outcry against the development of the small craft harbour (Carnie, 2009), and so the DPDC failed to commence with phase three of the PWD.
[44] Ismail, *I beg to differ* interview, *op. cit.,* p.69.
[45] The Market occurs on the first Saturday of every month.

Mabhida Stadium, relocated when the EM increased the monthly rent by more than 600%[46] (Dawood, 2019). The Figures (4.4; 4.5; 4.6) below were taken at the first-ever monthly Market held at the former Ark compound on the 7th of September 2019. Although evicted some 16 years prior, there remained a reminiscence of the Arkian presence.

Figure 4.4:'I Heart Durban' Monthly Market held at the Former Ark Compound (1)
(Source: Author, 2019)

Figure 4.5: 'I Heart Durban' Monthly Market held at the Former Ark Compound (2)
(Source: Author, 2019)

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[46] The EM gave traders 12 days' notice that they would be increasing the monthly rent from R6 508 to R 48 300.

Figure 4.6: Reminiscence of the Arkian Presence (Source: Author, 2019)

On the 6th of October 2020, the *I Heart Market* announced that they were seeking alternative rental accommodations.[47] According to the Point Waterfront Realty (2020), the Ark compound can rent as office space. Now an office park, the former church premises is available for lease for R120 per meter. However, some 16 years post-eviction, the compound remains mostly unoccupied (see Figure 4.7) and according to Participant 9: *"…the Ark is a white elephant now"* (Participant 9, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019).

Figure 4.7: The Former Ark Compound 'To Let' in November 2020 (Source: Author, 2020)

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[47] Facebook, 2020., I Heart Market Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/iheartmarket

Notwithstanding the many challenges associated with the Point Waterfront Development mega-project, in 2018 the DPDC launched a R35 billion investment project in the Point Precinct. The masterplan includes six phases of development, expected to cover 750 000 square meters and create 6750 permanent jobs. Construction began with a R380 million promenade extension at Durban's South Beach. Upcoming development projects are multifaceted and expected to boost tourism and stimulate economic expansion in the Precinct (eThekwini Municipality, 2020; de Villiers, 2018).

Despite the potential benefits of the proposed development, Munns argued that the city's misplaced priorities continue to be at the expense and welfare of society's most vulnerable people, the homeless. The neoliberal agenda of a world-class city had resulted in a humanitarian crisis where the desire for profit-seeking superseded the needs of the poor:

> *"We're talking about a humanitarian crisis. When promenades and film studios and football stadiums take precedent over a person's life – you've got to start looking at their* [eThekwini Municipality's] *slogan where they say, 'We are a caring city.'"* [48]

Munns contended that the country had experienced a decline in morality and described the extent of forced removal and human rights abuses in the democratic era as being worse than the apartheid regime:

> *"...If they think that the forced removal of the so-called apartheid regime was bad, that was a Sunday school picnic compared to what is taking place* [today]. *Especially in areas of poor and homeless people. There's manipulation, there's bullying, they have no rights"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

Capital accumulation had taken precedent over human rights. More specifically, the right to freedom of movement and residence, human dignity, equality and inclusion was superseded by the desire to create a world-class city. The Point Precinct continues to be a site of speculative investment and highlights the contestations between race, class, and space in the democratic era (Desai & Bond, 2019).

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[48] Munns interview, I beg to differ, *op. cit.,* p.69

4.11   CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed the establishment of the Ark, its contribution to assisting needy and vulnerable persons in Durban, and its demise. The Ark restored the dignity of the impoverished and offered various skills development programs that widened inhabitants' employment opportunities. The Ark also attracted qualified volunteers who taught specific skills. Perhaps one of its most significant advantages was the Church's proximity to the Central Business District, the Harbour, and the Beachfront. City resources were instrumental in providing access to employment, amenities and recreation. However, one hundred families from the Ark were forcibly resettled to the periphery in Welbedacht East.

The chapter analysed the eviction from the Ark, the resettlement experience and the challenges at the relocation site. This chapter also indicated that South Africa does not have a policy to effectively resettle and rehabilitate persons affected by development-induced displacement. Instead, protections are limited to legislations which focus on the rights of affected groups and not their rehabilitation. Despite the Ark's removal some 16 years ago, the struggle to resurrect the church endures. The following chapter will discuss the current status quo in Welbedacht and whether those who relocated to Welbedacht had adapted and restored their livelihoods.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESETTLEMENT AND LIVELIHOOD STRUGGLES

5.1   INTRODUCTION

Those displaced from the Point Precinct relocated to different sites including the Ekuphileni Clinic, Strollers Overnight Facility, and Welbedacht East. One hundred families moved into RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) housing on the uMlazi riverbanks in Welbedacht East. The livelihood struggles of those resettled to Welbedacht are the focus of this chapter. Data was incorporated from primary (key informant interviews, questionnaires, and focus group discussions) and secondary (news articles) sources.

This chapter draws from the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, 2001) and the Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction model to assess the livelihood outcomes in Welbedacht. The findings indicate that despite basic housing provision, resettlement in the periphery had adverse livelihood impacts for the poor. The risks presented in the IRR model had adversely affected the development of this community's social, physical, human, financial and natural capital. Livelihood challenges are intergenerational, and the Arkians remain in a state of precarity.

5.2   LIVELIHOOD CHALLENGES IN WELBEDACHT

This study's core objective was to identify the livelihood challenges in Welbedacht and determine whether those resettled could adapt and restore their income-earning opportunities. Various assets play a role in contributing to sustainable livelihoods. It is not only a matter of obtaining financial security. Instead, a prosperous livelihood comprises a combination of social, physical, human, financial and natural capital. These assets function collectively to sustain the livelihood of an individual or community. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the Ark residents had all the necessary means to restore and maintain their livelihoods in the Point Precinct. The following section assesses whether those assets had been re-established in Welbedacht 16 years post-resettlement.

5.2.1   SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital contributes to livelihoods by stimulating an individual's wellbeing through networking and connectedness (Serrat, 2017; DFID, 2001). Access to networks and participation in social activities enables networking and connectedness. This section assessed whether social capital was restored by analysing the sense of community and sense of place in Welbedacht.

i)   Sense of Community in Welbedacht: Social Networks and Activities

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the Ark residents – who collectively referred to themselves as the Arkians – had formed significant social bonds and connections while they resided at the church. The study sought to investigate whether those relationships had been retained and strengthened or disintegrated at the resettlement site. Table 5.1 indicated the difference in community interaction and co-operation in the Ark and Welbedacht.

Table 5.1: Community Interaction and Co-operation in the Ark and Welbedacht

Will you receive or provide assistance in the following cases	The Ark		Welbedacht	
	YES	**NO**	**YES**	**NO**
Emergency (medical, fire, house break-in)	89%	11%	41%	59%
Family dispute or disagreement	78%	22%	32%	68%
Child Care	84%	16%	27%	73%
Phone Call	65%	35%	49%	51%
Transport	73%	27%	41%	59%
Cash Loan	51%	49%	43%	57%
Borrow eggs, sugar, milk etc.	68%	32%	49%	51%
Check on you in the mornings	76%	24%	22%	78%
Keep an eye on your things or property (crime awareness)	49%	51%	38%	62%
Total	**70%**	**30%**	**38%**	**62%**

While residing at the Ark, residents had access to an abundance of resources, and survival did not necessarily require community dependence. By contrast, Welbedacht is a

community characterised by poverty, underdevelopment, a lack of resources, and limited services. Thus, community dependence would be favourable for the overall socio-economic development of the residents. Nevertheless, it is evident from Table 5.1, that there is significantly less community interaction and co-operation in Welbedacht than the Ark across all categories.

It was apparent that despite residing alongside one another for 16 years, there was limited community co-operation and interaction in Welbedacht. Thirty-eight per cent of the participants stated they would ask for community assistance in Welbedacht. In contrast, 70% indicated that they were comfortable to ask their neighbour for aid in the Ark. The difference was succinctly summarised as follows: *"You ask here because you don't have a choice, you asked in the Ark cause you wanted to, but there was no need to ask"* (Participant 8, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019).

The integration and sense of community co-operation they once had at the Ark had fragmented in Welbedacht. Instead, the participants experienced social disarticulation as they were no-longer the 'family' they once were in the Ark:

> *"The spirit of sharing and loving was always there in the Ark. There's nothing for nothing in this place"* (Participant 35, Welbedacht questionnaire, 18 December 2019).
>
> *"It's a different community. You can't go to them* [for help]*, it's different"* (Participant 20, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).
>
> *"You can't visit, no-one wants you to come visit them, they think you want something. Here, it's every man for themselves"* (Participant 8, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019).

These excerpts highlight the contrasting environments. The Ark was described as a place of *'sharing'* and *'loving'*, thereby embodying community bonding and unity. However, Welbedacht is described as a *'different community'* where survival is dependent on self-reliance. Social networks and co-dependent relationships dissipated. The fragmentation of social systems occurred for several reasons. Firstly, the participants argued that the spirit of unity, community dependence, problem-sharing, and openness, which embodied their previous residence and fostered social capital is not experienced in Welbedacht:

> *"It's not like how we were in the Ark. We no-more together like we were in the Ark...it's not like before, I won't lie, in the Ark, we used to be open, I'll tell you my problem, I come to Participant 4, I cry, I tell you where I came from, what's my*

problem, she will tell me what happened. Now, I don't go tell Participant 4 my business and Participant 4 doesn't come [to] *tell me her business"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

 "There was unity over there [the Ark]*"* (Participant 11, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

 "There is no unity here [Welbedacht]*…we don't share… I wanted to share because when I look back at life* [in the Ark]*, life was so good, I would take this T-shirt of mine and give it to somebody.* [Now] *I feel very bad when I see that Participant 10 is selling that T-shirt…That's why we* [are] *not sharing, even me I have stopped"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Arguably, the disintegration of community bonds was due to the 'survival of the fittest' mentality, where each family focused on the needs of their kin only. Secondly, despite operating under the apartheid regime, the Ark fostered a unique identity as the church encouraged a spirit of togetherness regardless of diversities in race, culture and ethnicity. English was the universal language, and residents did not experience racial, cultural or language barriers. However, diverse communal relations were not present in Welbedacht. Instead, the participants argued that divisions had formed in Welbedacht due to cultural, racial and language barriers:

"They don't really want to be together; there are racial issues" (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

"There's apartheid here. They [the community] *whisper about you in their language…We have a cultural and language barrier"* (Participant 9, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

A third reason for the community's social disarticulation was their displacement to a remote place of isolation. The Ark was in a bustling city centre which provided ample transport resources and recreational activities. However, the peripheral resettlement site is secluded and more rural. The participants argued that their social networks severed due to the isolation of the resettlement site. More specifically, they claimed that their families had difficulty locating the resettlement site:

"Even my mother, when she comes from Cape Town, she doesn't want to come here because it's so far from everything. She said: 'Participant 3, I don't even know how to get down to you, you have to give me directions, and in most cases, I get lost'" (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019)*.*

Also, families refused to visit the area due to the lack of resources and recreational activities in the vicinity:

> *"My children don't even want to come [to] visit me. They said: 'No-one wants to come [to] visit there's nothing in that place'. They don't even want to come [to] visit me for one day. They [say]: 'There's nothing in that place'...they say: 'It's a farm, it's too far'"* (Participant 34, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The participants complained about accessibility in the remote peri-urban location. Family and friends experienced great difficulty reaching the resettlement site due to the area's remoteness and inadequate public transport facilities.

Lastly, the lack of resources in the region added to the community's social disarticulation. The peri-urban area had no support, services or income-earning opportunities. The resettled group had no means to sustain themselves, and as a result, those in a precarious economic position started to victimise the Arkians who had more financial security. The lack of resources in the area led them to start *'abusing each other'*, which in turn destroyed the harmonious community bonds they once had with one another:

> *"...the people started to struggle to get food for their family and themselves. So, then what started happening at that time, the crime started...and the break-in among ourselves houses started to happen, to steal clothes, kettles and go sell. Then they can survive – we started abusing each other in this place"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Munns argued that criminal actions and internal patterns of abuse are a product of deprivation: *"So imagine that you don't have any support or you don't have any means, then your crime becomes crimes of opportunity or crimes of necessity"* (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

Hence, there were varying levels of poverty, and some suffered more than others. There was no longer the level playing field like that in the Ark where all residents had equal care and resources. Instead, a hierarchy emerged in Welbedacht, which was based on class and social differentiation. Those with a slightly better financial position began to discriminate against the rest:

> *"There's a lot of jealousy and hate"* (Participant 30, Welbedacht questionnaire, 15 December 2019).

> *"People have changed in this place"* (Participant 31, Welbedacht questionnaire, 15 December 2019).

Social networks established in the Ark disintegrated in Welbedacht due to i) the lack of unity and co-operation in the resettlement site; ii) the emergence of racial, cultural, and language barriers; iii) the isolation of the relocation area; iv) the lack of resources and

income-earning opportunities and; v) the formation of social hierarchies in Welbedacht. The result was a socially fragmented community which no-longer exhibited neighbourly dependence in times of need.

The lack of integration amongst the resettled community was likewise evident in the minimal number of respondents who currently participate in social activities at Welbedacht. Reasons for the marginal participation in social activities were somewhat similar to that attributed to the severed social networks (i.e. social divisions, social barriers, isolation and lack of resources). Table 5.2 compared the extent of community participation in social activities at the Ark and Welbedacht.

Table 5.2: Comparing Participation in Social Activities in the Ark and Welbedacht

Social Activities	The Ark		Welbedacht		Reason for Change
	YES	NO	YES	NO	
Socialising with friends, family & neighbours	97%	3%	41%	59%	Severed Social Networks
Prayer meetings	100%	0%	27%	73%	Social Barriers & Lack of Facilities
Choir practice	83%	17%	8%	92%	Environment, Lack of Interest & Facilities
Attend church	100%	0%	51%	49%	Social Barriers & Lack of Facilities
Sports	70%	30%	0%	100%	Lack of Facilities
Volunteer (soup kitchen etc.)	70%	30%	24%	76%	Isolation – Nothing to Volunteer for
Walk around town	95%	5%	16%	84%	Isolation, Substance Abuse and Crime
Visit library	76%	24%	19%	81%	Lack of Facilities
Stokvel/savings committee meetings	3%	97%	14%	86%	Financial need arose in Welbedacht
Social organisation meetings	68%	32%	16%	84%	Social Barriers & Lack of Facilities
Ceremonies (weddings, traditional)	78%	22%	14%	86%	Financial Restraints
Total	**76%**	**24%**	**21%**	**79%**	

Table 5.2 indicated a significant decrease in the participation of social activities since relocating to Welbedacht. Whereas 76% of the respondents stated that they participated in some form of social activity at that Ark, only 21% indicated the same for Welbedacht. In contrast to the Ark, community members live a secluded life in Welbedacht with limited social interaction.

Choir Practice, *Sports*, and *Walking around Town* had the most significant changes in participation. The respondents indicated that they no-longer participated in choir practice as the environment is not conducive for such activities. Instead, they argued that the youth engaged in substance abuse:

> *"The environment is terrible for that* [choir practice]*, girls and boys just want to drink"* (Participant 13, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"Young kids are busy with drugs and alcohol, young kids!... There are no recreational facilities for our children. That's why they get up to nonsense. Idle hands do bad things. There's nothing here at all"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

Substance abuse was a problem because there was a general lack of recreational and sporting activities for the youth. All participants stated that they did not participate in sports because they did not have access to sporting facilities in Welbedacht. Instead, both youth and adults engaged in substance abuse as a means of recreation, a short-term escape from their harsh social and economic realities.

The participants identified three core reasons why 84% of the population no-longer walked around the area. The most prominent response was a concern for their safety as violent crimes were common in the area:

> *"Because it's too dangerous to go anywhere. We are prisoners in our own homes"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

> *"No ways! You get shot and die in broad daylight"* (Participant 33, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019).

> *"It's not safe with the gunshots here"* (Participant 35, Welbedacht questionnaire, 18 December 2019).

Participants likened their confinement to their houses to prison. They stated that it was too dangerous to walk around the neighbourhood because of a fear of crime and assaults. Secondly, the isolated site meant there was nowhere to go and nothing to see:

> *"There's nowhere to go"* (Participant 24, Welbedacht questionnaire,12 December 2019).

> *"Once you look one side and then look the other side, it all looks the same, nothing different"* (Participant 19, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).

The site comprises a single street with RDP houses, without any aesthetic appeal. There was a general tendency for Welbedacht residents to sit alongside the road and

overindulge in alcoholic beverages and drugs. This was invariably followed by unruly and inappropriate actions. Hence, participants stated that they were afraid to walk in the street:

> *"The environment – people sit on the road and drink, or they interfere with you, they want to fight or rob you, and they touch young girls in the wrong places"* (Participant 13, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"People's reactions when they see you* [are] *walking around because they sit there and drink…"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

Hence, the youth were socialised into believing that such public displays of inappropriate behaviour were normal.

Not surprisingly, 68% of the respondents indicated that they did not feel a sense of community among the resettled families in Welbedacht. This could be attributed to the high levels of crime and substance abuse in the area. The following section analyses the relationship between the relocated residents and their host community. It assesses whether the Arkians were able to adapt to their new environment and integrate with residents.

ii)   Sense of Place in Welbedacht: Adaptation and Integration?

This study investigated the extent of adaptation and community integration at the resettlement site to assess whether the residents had adjusted to living in Welbedacht. The first step was to determine the rate of turnover in RDP housing at the resettlement site. In other words, of the one hundred families resettled in 2004, how many remained *in situ* at the time of data collection in 2019. Resettlement expert, Greg Huggins, stated that if the turnover was low, this would be an indicator that the resettled community had somehow managed to restore their livelihoods:

> *"…if it's been limited turnover then that in itself is fascinating because that means that people would have in some way or another, been able to reconstruct their livelihoods"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

By contrast, a high turnover would indicate that those resettled had not adapted to their environment and were subsequently unable to re-establish their livelihoods. With a community leader's assistance, a field survey indicated that 36% of the resettled households remained in Welbedacht. The resettlement expert's perception of the high turnover was as follows:

> "...it's because people have liquidated that asset [house] *because they haven't been able to replace their livelihoods*" (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

Huggins argued that participants sold their houses as they were not able to secure an income in Welbedacht. During the focus group discussions, it emerged that those who left the resettlement site were not able to adapt to the rural/peripheral environment:

> *"We* [needed] *help to adapt from city life to this life, which I don't know, its half rural and then its half city, it's not full in it, it's half/half. So, we were not helped to adapt, so it was only the survival of the fittest. That's why most of our brothers and sisters are back in the street, and then some of our brothers and sisters they needed that help...is there any help from the Ark that did follow us to this place? No! nothing!"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The absence of support structures and income-earning opportunities resulted in a mass exodus as only the *'fittest'* could survive in Welbedacht. Sixty-four per cent of the resettled community sold their houses. During the focus group discussions, Participant 32 stated that those who left Welbedacht had failed to provide for their families:

> "...*they couldn't make it here* [in Welbedacht]*, they couldn't provide for themselves, and so they preferred to move, they sold their houses, and they left..."* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Participant 4 added that the families who sold their houses (64%) returned to the Point Precinct, and continue to reside on the streets outside Addington Hospital (see Figure 4.1), mere metres from the former Ark compound:

> "*Most of them they are* [homeless] *down there by Addington Hospital, most of them they in that vicinity by the beach, you'll find them there"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The claim of homelessness was further supported by participant 41, who was interviewed at the Ekuphileni Clinic. He argued that the former Welbedacht residents who sold their houses were unable to adapt because they were not ready for independent habitation:

> "*Nobody was ready for the house at that time, but they forced them to go to the house. So now, some of them, they sold the house, they went back to the street"* (Participant 41, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020)*.*

The researcher confirmed the claim of homelessness when she located a former Ark resident along the beachfront. Participant 39 (mentioned in Chapter Four) stated that

many of the Arkians returned from Welbedacht as they were not able to adapt to the environment:

> *"They said it was hard. They said that they couldn't make it* [in Welbedacht]. *Some of them sold the houses…They came to* [the city to] *try and fend for themselves…"* (Participant 39, South Beach interview, 9 January 2020).

The Welbedacht community struggled to adapt or restore or maintain financial capital at the resettlement site. Hence, forced resettlement to Welbedacht inevitably led to homelessness as 64% of the community sold their houses and returned to the Point Precinct for the socio-economic mobilities offered in the city.

However, according to Participant 39, the authorities forcibly removed the former Welbedacht residents from the beachfront and placed them in a vacant court-turned-shelter in Hammersdale: *"…then when they were here* [Point Precinct], *they were packed* [up] *again to that place in Hammersdale where now they are all dumped. They can't come here now. It's too hard. Imagine it was hard* [to come back] *from Welbedacht how much more hard now so far away, it's even worse"* (Participant 39, South Beach interview, 9 January 2020). Such tactics, used to filter out and erase all signs of poverty (Broudehoux, 2015), violated their constitutional right to freedom of movement and are reminiscent of the draconian apartheid era.

Notwithstanding the challenges in Welbedacht, 36% of the households remained in the area. Table 5.3 indicated the extent of adaptation of the sample population interviewed at the resettlement site.

Table 5.3: Adaptation to Welbedacht

I don't like living in Welbedacht, and I wish I were still living in the Point Precinct.	**35%**
I miss the Point Precinct because I still feel out of place in Welbedacht.	**3%**
I miss the Point Precinct, but I'm adapting to life in Welbedacht.	**24%**
I miss the Point Precinct sometimes, but Welbedacht feels like home to me now.	**24%**
I don't miss the Point Precinct, and I think of myself as a Welbedacht resident.	**14%**

According to Table 5.3, 38% of the population indicated that they had not adapted to Welbedacht. Given that resettlement took place some 16 years ago, it is significant that 38% of those who remained in Welbedacht had not adjusted to the region.

Nevertheless, 62% indicated that they were in the process of adapting or had already adapted to living in the resettlement site. Although a more substantial proportion of the population leaned toward adaptation, a common thread throughout the data indicated otherwise.

More specifically, all participants, whether they had adapted to Welbedacht or not, indicated a significant detachment to their living environment. Throughout the research study, participants would exhibit a coldness toward the resettlement site by continually referring to Welbedacht as *'This Place'* or *'Down Here'.* Pay no mind to the context of the statements below, but rather, the reference to '*This Place'* and *'Down Here'*[49]:

> *"There's nothing down here"* (Participant 21, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).

> *"Living down here is so hard"* (Participant 31, Welbedacht questionnaire, 15 December 2019).

> *"The worst thing is to have a daughter in this place"* (Participant 35, Welbedacht questionnaire, 18 December 2019).

> *"Whatever you do wrong in this place, you picked on for that all time"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> *"Because we were fragile in this place"* (Participant 8, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

During the focus group discussions, the participants referred to Welbedacht as '*This Place*' twenty-three times. Most significantly, this trend was not unique to Welbedacht. Instead, the sense of detachment was likewise evident at Ekuphileni Clinic when Participant 42 stated: *"I'm* [16] *years in this place. I am not happy about this place"* (Participant 42, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020).

In Welbedacht, detachment may be attributed to the lack of integration with surrounding Umlazi residents. Sixty-eight per cent of the participants indicated that they did not have any interaction with the host community. The participants stated that this was due to their marginalisation by the locals.

Surrounding communities continue to exclude the Arkians and refer to them as *'Point People'* and their resettlement site as *'Point'*. The Arkians were not integrated with the

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[49] Although clearly outlined here, the reference to 'this place' is present throughout this chapter and not only in this section.

surrounding residents and continue to be referenced as *'Point People'* some 16 years post-resettlement:

> *"Here, you still from 'Point' and they treat you bad...they still call us the 'Point People'"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019).

> *"They label you as 'Point People'. 'People from the Ark'"* (Participant 24, Welbedacht questionnaire, 12 December 2019).

Participant 28 contended that the label attached to the Arkians originated during the resettlement process and had become an intergenerational issue: "*From the first time they said we were leaving, society labelled us, and that label was brought with us here. You were labelled, and now it comes here to our children. Here, we are referred to as 'Point'"* (Participant 28, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019). During the focus group discussions, Participant 32 commented on the lack of integration and the continued marginalisation of their community:

> *"...the people that we live with that are not from Point, not from the Ark, they still call us 'Point', they still call us 'The Ark', they don't call us as you know, 'together'. They still put us aside...in Umlazi you're Umlazi people, it's not about where you come from, it's supposed to be Welbedacht, we all living in Welbedacht, it's not supposed to be you from there, you from there. So that's showing that we not together, they will always be that, and we will always be that"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The Arkians remained a socially marginalised community. The participants argued that the negative connotations associated with the Welbedacht community and the stigma attached to the Ark perpetuated their marginalisation:

> *"We have the brand of the Ark here. We get stigmatised here and always get called names"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019).

> *"It's not our home. No-one wants to know you because you live in Welbedacht, this place has such a label"* (Participant 9, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the Arkians were marginalised by surrounding community members when they arrived at the resettlement site in 2004. This was due to their stigma of homelessness and because the surrounding Umlazi community assumed they were to be the beneficiaries of the RDP housing which the Arkians received. It appeared that the social exclusions they faced upon arrival had eternalised and solidified a segregated relationship between host and resettlers. Again, such exclusionary practices

were not unique to the Welbedacht resettlement site. Instead, similar trends were apparent at the Ekuphileni Clinic. The participants indicated that they continue to be ostracised by the surrounding community: *"They've never accepted us from the first day we came until now…"* (Participant 41, interviewed at Ekuphileni Clinic, 14 January 2020)*.*

The Arkians failed to create a sense of place within the resettlement site. Instead, the community was marginalised and continued to endure social disarticulation because they: i) had severed the social networks they once had among themselves, ii) lost contact with social networks outside of the Ark, iii) were detached from their environment, and iv) had failed to integrate with the surrounding communities. Social capital fragmented in Welbedacht. Instead, forced resettlement ripped at the seams of this closely-knit community and stripped residents of their ties to place and people. The following section assesses the extent of physical capital in Welbedacht.

5.2.2   PHYSICAL CAPITAL

Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and personal assets that enable sustainable livelihoods. Personal goods and physical infrastructure function collectively to improve the livelihood outcomes of individuals. Also, basic infrastructure plays a significant role because it directly affects human capital. If there is a lack of necessary infrastructures such as education and health facilities, this may impede human development within an area. Physical assets were measured in this study by:

i)   assessing the size and quality of the housing supplied to the resettled community;

ii) providing a comparison of access to physical amenities in Welbedacht and the Ark; and

iii) evaluating the extent of the personal assets of the sample population.

i)   Housing

Housing is a basic human need that provides stability, security, and shelter from the elements. Housing procurement is a fundamental step in building a functioning and sustainable livelihood. Together, the South African Constitution (1996) and the PIE Act (1998) allow for access to shelter and the protection of housing rights. While the Constitution provides the right to adequate accommodation, the PIE Act ensures that no person is arbitrarily evicted without the provision of alternative housing.

One hundred eligible families that resettled in Welbedacht were all provided with RDP accommodations. In South Africa, RDP housing is low-cost accommodations offered by the government. Such accommodations seek to tackle the housing shortage across the nation. Said houses, often situated on the urban periphery, typically comprise a single open-plan room and a separate toilet.

RDP houses are small and not conducive for larger families. Those relocated were family units, and so the respondents rated the size of their home. The majority (92%) were dissatisfied with the size of their resettlement house. The respondents stated that the house's size was challenging for several reasons (and had impacted the human capital of the population discussed in section 5.2.3). Firstly, during the focus group discussions, the participants indicated that the open-plan structure of the house was problematic due to overcrowding and lack of privacy between adult and child:

> *"...you all just squashed up in one house, and there's no privacy, so that's a big problem"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> *"It's like you are in a hostel, we've got no privacy, we've got nothing"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Respondents in the questionnaire echoed similar sentiments: *"They* [EM] *made my life hell because they took away all my resources and gave me a matchbox house...The set-up of the house is wrong. It's just a single room which is so wrong..."* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

Secondly, the design of the house and the proximity of the ablution area to the cooking facilities were problematic. The participants argued that this was a health hazard for their families:

> *"Because there in the toilet, in our bathrooms, there is a gap there... And health-wise, maybe I'm cooking, and then my husband is doing number two, yes, the door is closed. Still, on top, it's not closed...people were sick with different disease*[s] *because health-wise the house* [was problematic]*"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Third, participants argued that the housing design did not consider the needs of the displaced. Instead, the structure was simply a shell and did not have the facilities they required. Participants contended that municipal officials made many promises to extend their houses and provide the necessary infrastructure within the home:

> *"They* [EM Councillors] *made so many promises since we moved here. For one thing, they said they* [were] *going to get rid of the asbestos and put tiles – we're waiting still. And we will have sinks in our kitchens, we still waiting for that as well. The built-in cupboards, we are still waiting for that – they made so many promises"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> *"They* [EM Councillors] *made us sign to say okay they would put an extra room for us as well"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

However, municipal officials failed to provide structural improvements. Also, participants were reluctant to expand their houses. They feared they would be displaced within the resettlement site as the Department of Housing (DoH) stated they would reshuffle the community. Nevertheless, participants refused to move:

> *"Then they* [DoH] *told me they* [were] *going to move me to another house…I said there's no way…I don't want to move"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

Furthermore, the structural integrity of a house plays a fundamental role in the health of its occupants. However, 70% of the participants indicated that they were dissatisfied with the quality of their house. Participant 20 argued that due to the resettlement site's peripheral location, the government was not concerned with the homes' quality. He claimed that if the site were in a central location and within the purview of tourists, the government would have made more effort to beautify the housing:

> *"I am not happy with the quality of the house here. You see, the government build houses where tourists can see, those they make nice with wooden fences…The house was not in a* [good] *condition, not plastered, nor tiled, nor was electricity connection installed…water too was an issue"* (Participant 20, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).

Also, Participant 34 questioned the city's misplaced priorities and stated: *"They* [eThekwini Municipality] *even built that* [Moses Mabhida] *stadium with so much money, but they gave us homes like this? No!"* (Participant 34, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

At the time of resettlement, the single room structure comprised of:

i) cement floors,
ii) a bathroom basin, tap and toilet,
iii) a door at the entrance of the house and a door to the ablution facilities,
iv) electrical wiring and electric meter but no electricity,
v) solar geyser, and
vi) a plumbing system without any water supply.

The fixtures within the structure were limited. The researcher investigated whether the respondents added fixtures and if the existing features were problematic. As depicted in Table 5.4, several participants indicated that they had added kitchen sinks, basins and cupboards, floor tiles, a security gate and a boundary fence.

Table 5.4: Assessment of New and Existing Fixtures

Are existing fixtures in good condition?	YES	NO
Solar geyser	76%	24%
Plumbing (potable water and sewage systems)	57%	43%
Bathroom taps, basins, cupboards	76%	24%
Electrical wiring (incl. switchboard, wall sockets)	73%	27%
Electricity meter	89%	11%
Doors	35%	65%
Did you add fixtures?	YES	NO
Kitchen taps, basins, cupboards	30%	70%
Floor tiles	54%	46%
Security gates	51%	49%
Boundary fence	33%	67%

The participants indicated that of the existing features, their doors were the most run-down fixture. The second was the plumbing system. The researcher confirmed this during the fieldwork. After heavy rains, the resettlement site permeated faeces, compromising the population's general health and well-being.

The effects of heavy rainfall were also visible on the housing due to low maintenance. Ninety-seven per cent[50] of respondents indicated that housing maintenance was more expensive in the resettlement site. In the Ark, working residents paid a monthly stipend (40%) which covered all expenses. However, in Welbedacht, maintenance costs are unrelenting due to low-quality housing and are the homeowner's responsibility.

The majority of the participants indicated the size and quality of the resettlement house were problematic. The relocation site was also challenging because participants were dispossessed of basic amenities and services needed to support their livelihoods.

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[50] Children of the Ark were removed from the equation.

ii)   Physical Assets in Welbedacht

Common property resources, listed by Cernea (1997), is re-interpreted in this study to mean access to infrastructure (transport networks, for example) and facilities (such as hospitals and schools) and the social services provided therein. Facilities are a central component of physical capital and are vital for human development and improved quality of life. Limited access to facilities and the social services provided may impede the socio-economic development of a population. As mentioned, the Ark residents experienced a loss of common property resources when they relocated to Welbedacht in 2004. The study determined whether participants currently had access to the same amenities in Welbedacht as they did at the Ark, some 16 years later. As depicted in Table 5.5, the overwhelming response was 'NO' (85%), indicating that infrastructure improvements had mostly not occurred at the time of the study.

Table 5.5 Comparison of Amenities in the Ark and Welbedacht

Do you have access to the same amenities in Welbedacht as you had in Ark in terms of:			
Welbedacht	**Amenities**	**YES**	**NO**
	Schools	5%	95%
	Police services	11%	89%
	Hospital	5%	95%
	Municipal Services	43%	57%
	Transport services	46%	54%
	Library	3%	97%
	Shopping facilities	5%	95%
	Entertainment	3%	97%
Total		**15%**	**85%**

It is evident from Table 5.5 that infrastructure which favoured better in Welbedacht included transport and municipal services. However, both services were irregular. The consequences of intermittent municipal services are evident in Figure 5.1 in the case of waste management.

Figure 5.1: Waste Management - Service Delivery (Source: Author, 2019)

The respondents provided several reasons why the region was still underdeveloped. First, the participants stated that Welbedacht was initially a temporary relocation area: *"When we came they* [EM] *did say it was a place for the time being, I remember they did say it was for the time being and we still going to move somewhere else"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). Hence, the government made minimal effort to construct a resettlement site equipped with the necessary infrastructure to ensure rehabilitation: *"It's a rural area with RDP houses, and that's as far as they could go to help us"* (Participant 9, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019). Instead, the participants stated that the relocation to Welbedacht was only a rehousing strategy as authorities gave no attention to the i) restoration of livelihoods, ii) the provision of basic services and amenities, or iii) the impact of resettlement on the host community:

> *"This was just a housing project; there are no social services. If you move people,* [the] *government should have had people to help you restart. They should have had an office to support the community and children, and it should have been run by* [the] *government. If you throw people together from different areas, you create a big problem"* (Participant 20, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).

Secondly, the peripheral location of the low-cost housing did not cater to the needs of the poor: "*It's* [Welbedacht] *in the middle of nowhere. We're in a hole here* (Participant 33, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019). Instead, as with other peripheral housing schemes, Welbedacht was not destined to receive essential infrastructure that could improve the livelihood outcomes for the poor:

> *"We are not keeping quiet of asking the questions about development in this area. So, what their* [Ward Councillor] *answer was that this place was specialised for*

accommodating people, making houses for people, it was not planned for infrastructure, it was only for building the houses. So, whoever wrote the plan there it was not the plan to put the things that people are going to need like schools, like libraries and stuff like that" (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019)*.*

Again, the site only considered the housing needs of the poor. Table 5.6 provides a comparison of the residents' access to social amenities in the Ark and Welbedacht. It also depicts their mode of transport as well as cost and time to reach facilities.

Table 5.6: Access to Social Services and Amenities in the Ark and Welbedacht

Social Services and Amenities	Ark			Welbedacht		
	Mode of Transport	Time (minutes)	Cost (return)	Mode of Transport	Time (minutes)	Cost (return)
Clinic	None	0	R0	Taxi	37	R23
School	Walk	5	R0	Taxi	34	R15
Soup kitchen	None	0	R0	Walk	4	R0
Church	None	0	R0	Combi	32	R0
Cemetery	Walk	35	R0	Taxi	59	R38
Supermarket	Walk	15	R0	Taxi	35	R23
Café /tuck shop	None	0	R0	Walk	4	R0
Bank	Walk	13	R0	Taxi	34	R24
Doctor	None	0	R0	Taxi	42	R23
Pharmacy	None	0	R0	Taxi	43	R23
Hospital	Combi	5	R0	Taxi	37	R25
Municipality	Walk	17	R0	Taxi	63	R29
Police station	Walk	10	R0	Taxi	34	R23
Community hall	None	0	R0	Taxi	32	R24
Library	None	0	R0	Taxi	38	R23
Social grant/pension collection point	Walk	11	R0	Taxi	34	R23
Average		**14**[51]	**R0**		**35**	**R20**

Sixteen variables were used to compare access to social services and amenities in the Ark and Welbedacht. In all instances, facilities were more accessible in the Ark. Significantly, when they resided at the Ark, the respondents indicated that accessing all services, facilities and amenities bore zero financial cost. That was because i) several of the amenities (and the social functions they provided) were in the Ark, and ii) facilities or

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[51] This is the average for amenities located outside of the Ark.

services located outside of the shelter were within walking distance. Access to facilities required no form of transportation. The participants reiterated the importance of the Ark's location for their financial survival:

> *"The Ark was cheaper, we hardly spent money, and we all went walking if we wanted to go somewhere. It was better because of the location"* (Participant 15, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"I mean we didn't have to go by taxi to town, we could just walk. We could just walk to the beach. The children could walk to school, come home. They didn't have to use money. They didn't have to use any money"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The participants stated that there was a stark difference between the Ark and Welbedacht as there are no resources or amenities in the resettlement site: *"There's nothing here. We just have to survive"* (Participant 27, Welbedacht questionnaire, 13 December 2019). Also, resettlement authorities did not fulfil promises made to improve residents' access to infrastructure, recreational facilities and income-earning opportunities: *"They promised us jobs, shops, a playground for the children, nothing came"* (Participant 11, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).

Again, the municipality's failure to deliver on promises made left the Arkians in a precarious state. Today, residents in Welbedacht struggle to access common property resources such as shopping malls, financial institutions, municipal services, and health and educational facilities. Instead, those who remained in Welbedacht said: *"Chatsworth became our town"* (Participant 20, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019) because the resettlement site lacked access to common property resources. Figure 5.2 indicates the absence of common property resources in Welbedacht and the distance to reach such facilities in Chatsworth.
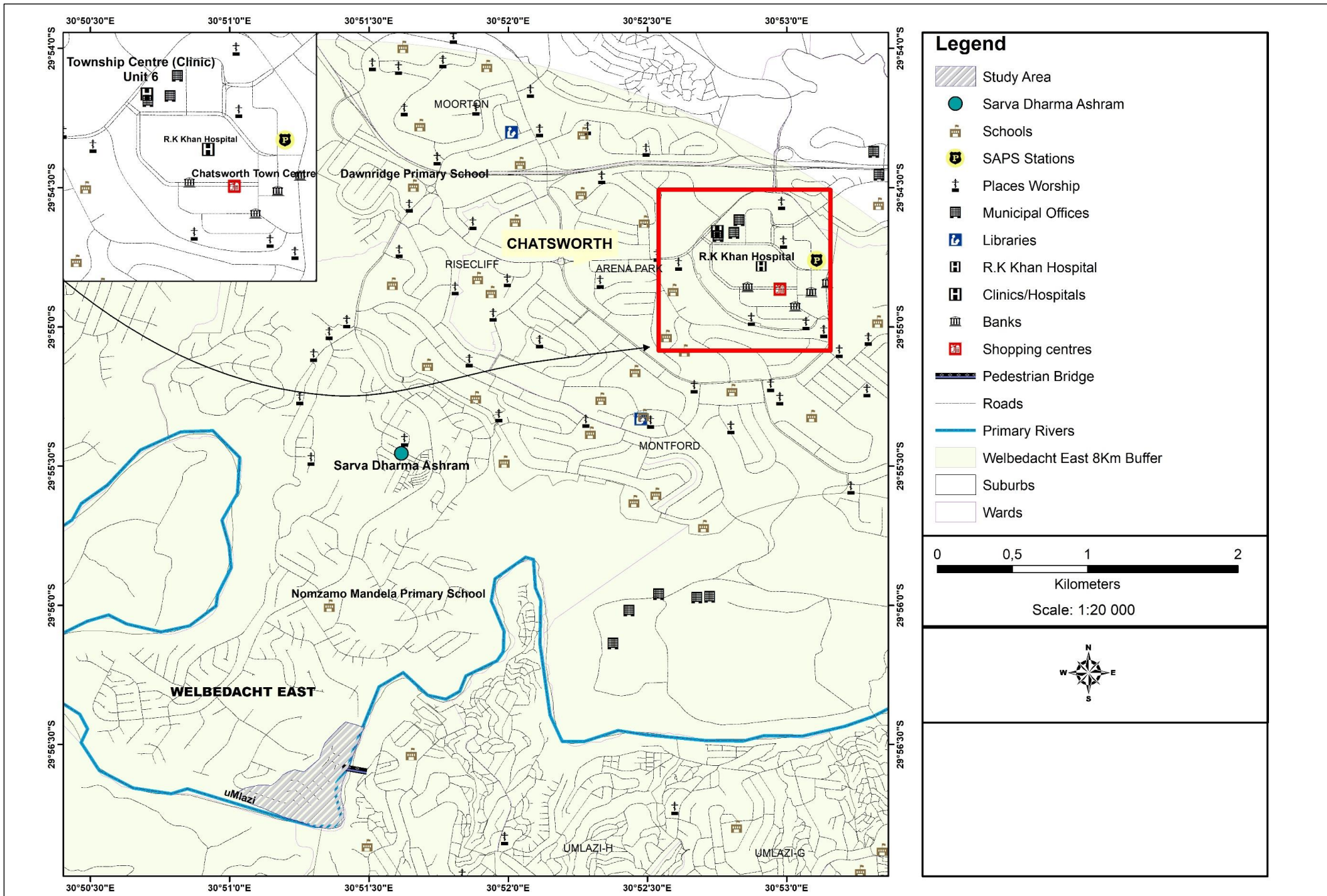
Figure 5.2: Map of the Study Area and Distance to Facilities

Again, the sense of being abandoned is prevalent as residents reiterated that the municipality *'dumped'* them in a *'hole'* and failed to provide them with access to life-sustaining resources:

"Over here, we were dumped away from services and social amenities" (Participant 21, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).

"I miss access to everything and being busy. There was always something to do in Point. Here, they just threw us in a hole" (Participant 8, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019).

Lastly, they argued that the area was poorly developed due to the lack of political will to improve and upgrade the site, and corrupt officials:

"Improvement is very slow due to lack of political will…the problem that we [are] *having with the life we have now, the problem that we* [are] *talking about – the things like the services that are not coming to people from the Ark – is corruption. The corruption is so bad. Everyone must look after themselves and their families. Most of us are suffering today because of the breaking down of the heart of* [not] *thinking about the people you are depriving"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Residents were unable to progress as they lacked access to essential infrastructure which authorities failed to deliver. Relocation from a resource-rich environment to a remote and underdeveloped area prevented residents from improving their livelihood outcomes. The relocation to Welbedacht denied participants access to essential resources or equitable development in the resettlement site, which was a form of injustice. The respondents argued that the dispossession of city resources, coupled with the slow pace of growth in Welbedacht, had given rise to an oppressed community where many resorted to substance abuse:

"…So, what I'm saying is the [slow] *process of developing the area is the one that is oppressing us more, more. Then we end up drinking and doing them* [drugs] *because there's nothing here, there* [are] *no libraries, there* [are] *no halls, there* [are] *no shopping centres…if they* [government] *developing it* [Welbedacht]*, we wouldn't be facing the problems that we* [are] *facing today…"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The lack of physical improvements in Welbedacht continues to impede the human development of this community. The absence of physical assets and the resultant impairment in human capital has emerged as an intergenerational issue affecting the youth in Welbedacht (see page 151). The lack of facilities (and the social functions they

offer) remains problematic and continues to deprive the community as residents struggle to reach the resource-rich city. Although Table 5.5 shows improved access to transport networks, 86% of the participants noted that the city (and the services therein) is inaccessible due to persistent transport issues. Participants argued that i) the isolation of the resettlement site, ii) high transport costs, iii) infrequent services, and iv) the time needed to reach the city were the reasons they struggled to access the urban core:

> *"From here to Durban takes too long. For a whole day, you can only spend limited time in the city because transport takes long whereas I used to spend the entire day there* [in the city]" (Participant 14, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"The taxis don't want to come down here. It's very difficult* [to get to the city]" (Participant 10, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).

> *"Because of the location and the lack of transport"* (Participant 11, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).

The persistent transport issues restricted their mobility and access to the city. Several participants stated that they remained isolated as they had not accessed the city in years:

> *"I haven't been to town in years…I'm locked in my prison cell here. I have no idea what's going on in the outside world"* (Participant 33, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019).

> *"I haven't been there in 13 years. I don't even know how* [the] *town is looking"* (Participant 26, Welbedacht questionnaire, 13 December 2019).

Participant 33 reiterated the notion of Welbedacht as a *'prison'*, arguably due to the isolation and restricted mobility that the residents endured. Eighty-nine per cent of respondents would have chosen to resettle in the Point Precinct and stated that the location was more conducive for livelihood support. They argued that the Point Precinct's locale and the built environment offered resources, services and opportunities:

> *"It would have been better* [in the Point Precinct]*. The house isn't a problem. It's the location that's wrong"* (Participant 14, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"It's a good environment there* [Point Precinct]*. It's convenient for us. The shops, hospital and police station, were right there"* (Participant 18, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

> *"Because everything is there. I would have my house and access to everything"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

> *"Everything you need was close by, schools, shopping centres, the hospital and job opportunities"* (Participant 19, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).

Accessibility was the central theme in these statements. Resettlement in the Point Precinct would have prevented landlessness and ensured access to common property resources, thereby offering increased prospects for livelihood restoration and asset accumulation.

Nevertheless, 11% of the participant's indicated they preferred to stay in Welbedacht. Significantly, all participants who chose Welbedacht as their selected resettlement site were pensioners, and therefore it is argued that they were content with the rurality of the area. For example, an elderly participant stated: *"It is a farm, and I don't mind it, I like it here"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). While most of the participants were dissatisfied with the resettlement site, some were content in Welbedacht.

Significantly, the researcher was able to identify an Arkian at the Strollers Overnight Facility (see Figure 3.1). As mentioned, Strollers is located on the CBD's outskirts and rehoused single people from the Ark in dormitory-style accommodations. Conditions at the shelter are dire. The shelter is overcrowded, dark, dirty and permeates of urine.

Initially, Participant 40 resettled in Welbedacht. However, she was forced to relocate sometime later as she did not have a family and therefore did not meet the Welbedacht housing criteria. Her input was invaluable as she had lived experience at two of the resettlement sites.

After having lived in both Welbedacht and Stollers, Participant 40 indicated that, despite the dire conditions, she preferred to reside at Strollers. The location provided ample access to common property resources. The absence of such resources in Welbedacht was not conducive for livelihood restoration. Participant 40 explained why Strollers is more beneficial for her:

> *"The facilities, I'm closer to a hospital, I've got the shops just around the corner, that kind of thing. In Welbedacht you have got to catch a taxi, you've got to go to Chatsworth, and this starts to add up you know, if you've got small children or if you need to go regularly the amount starts to add up. I myself am better off where I am…if I go back to Welbedacht, I am going to die because I cannot help myself at all…And there were things about Welbedacht that appealed to me. I mean, I loved to open my door, and there was this lovely valley in front of me…I loved that, but I wouldn't survive"* (Participant 40, Strollers interview, 9 January 2020).

Despite the 'simple life' appeal of Welbedacht, the lack of physical capital in the region had significant impacts on the resettled community and created an impetus for some residents to abandon the site. Those who remained in Welbedacht did so only because of the security that their shelter offered: *"The only thing keeping us here is the roof over our heads"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht questionnaire, 2 December 2019).

Again, it was evident that authorities only focused on rehousing and not rehabilitating the vulnerable. When displaced to Welbedacht, the participants experienced accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003b). The following section assesses the potential for asset accumulation in Welbedacht.

iii) Identifying Personal Assets of the Resettled Community

The accumulation of personal assets is an indicator of livelihood adaptation. An abundance of assets may improve the quality of life and help resettlers function more effectively. For example, private transportation can enhance access to amenities and income-earning opportunities, while cellular devices improve communication between social networks. Sixteen variables were used to ascertain the extent of asset accumulation in Welbedacht.

Table 5.7: Accumulation of Personal Assets in Welbedacht

Household Item	No. of Households
Car	2
Bicycle	1
Motorcycle	0
Television	25
Radio	10
Fridge	19
DVD/Video Player	15
Electric Stove	24
Gas/Paraffin Stove	4
Woodstove	0
Microwave	13
Washing Machine	10
Tumble Dryer	2
Dishwasher	0
Satellite Dish	17
Cell Phone	25

As depicted in Table 5.7 televisions (25 households), cell phones (25), and electric stoves (24) were common household assets. More costly items which would improve the quality of life among the resettled households were less prevalent. For example, only two families indicated that they had access to personal transport. Likewise, washing machines – a saver of time and energy – were only used in 10 households. While such assets are not essential for survival, they play a significant role in improving one's quality of life.

In conclusion, the poor were displaced to the periphery and continually struggled to access common property resources which were abundant in the city. The dispossession of physical capital created an oppressed society.

The following section illustrates how the lack of physical assets played a role in impeding the human development of the resettled community.

5.2.3   HUMAN CAPITAL

Human capital is essential to produce sustainable livelihoods. Skills, education and health function collectively to aid the sustainable development of a community. However, within this study, many factors impeded the development of human capital. This section assessed the extent of human capital in Welbedacht by analysing several indicators, including external support, health, and education. The social pathologies in the resettled community were also assessed as this impeded human capital.

i)   Government and Non-Government Support: Skills, Sustenance, Services and Compensation

Another objective of this study was to examine the extent of support from the government and other sectors post-resettlement. Assessing the degree of government support for the resettled community was complex. Although living conditions appeared to be dire in Welbedacht, the government had provided some financial aid for the entire ACMC's resettlement. As mentioned in Chapter Four, in 2001, a total of R10 865 million in grant funding was made available by the Department of Housing. However, the DoH transferred the funds to the eThekwini Municipality, and the church never received the relocation grant. Although the government had attempted to protect the vulnerable, the eThekwini Municipality did not release the funds. Nevertheless, the study sought to establish i) whether the resettled community in Welbedacht received support at the time

of their relocation, and ii) if that aid is currently available. Figure 5.3 indicates the percentage of the sample population who received support both in 2004 and presently.
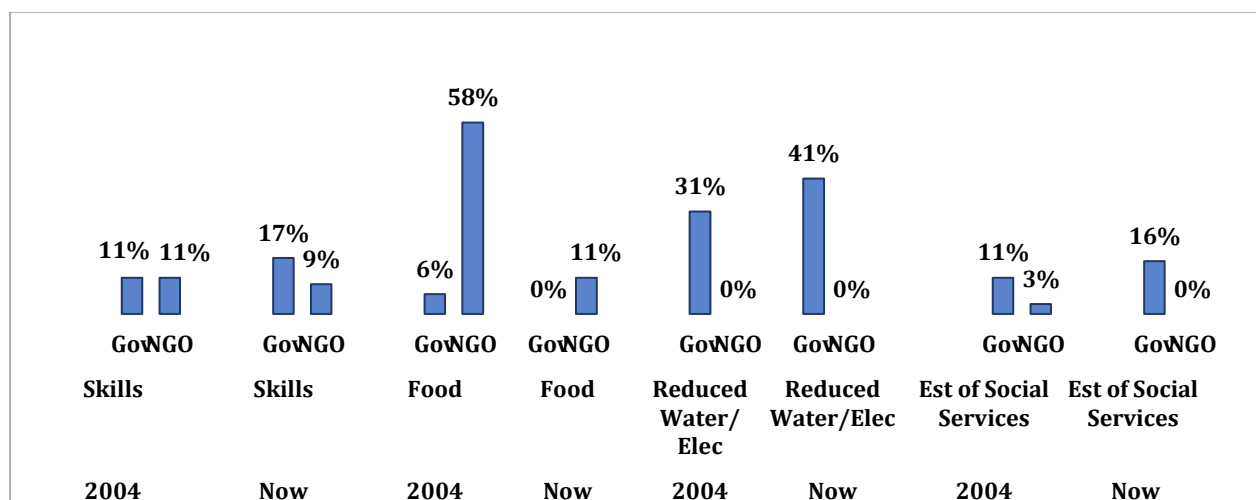
Figure 5.3: Government and Non-Government Support in 2004 and Now

a) Skills Development

Skills development is a central component of human growth. The expansion of skills and knowledge can facilitate improved living conditions by broadening livelihood opportunities. Likewise, skills development is multifaceted because such programmes can offer expertise in both a personal and professional capacity.

Figure 5.3 indicates that skills training had been available in Welbedacht since 2004. At the time of data collection (2019), government support programmes had increased by 6% while NGO (Non-Government Organisation) training had declined by 2%. The expansion of human capital through skills programmes is dependent on the willingness of the community to participate. Significantly, only 12 households participated in skills development, and all persons who took part in the training were female. Programmes with the most attendance included *Bead Work* and *Early Childhood Development.* Table 5.8 indicates the extent of support since 2004.

Table 5.8: Extent of Skills Development Since 2004

Skills Programme	Year	Certificate	Provider of Program
Home Based Counselling	2004	Yes	Gov – Child Welfare
HIV/AIDs Awareness	2008	Yes	Gov – Child Welfare
Financial Management	2011	Yes	Gov – Social Development
Project Management	2011	Yes	Gov – Social Development
Basic Computer Programming	2012	Yes	NPO – DPSA (Disabled People of South Africa)
T-shirt Printing	2013	Yes	Gov – Social Development
Agro-Ecology - Agricultural Development	2013	Yes	Gov – Member of Executive Council
Sewing	2015	Yes	Gov – Social Development
Beadwork	2017	Yes	Gov – Child Welfare
Recycling	2017	Yes	Gov – eThekwini Municipality
Fight against Drugs	2018	Yes	NGO – SANCA: South African National Council on Alcoholism
Early Childhood Development	2019	Yes	Gov – UNISA

As depicted in Table 5.8, since 2004, the level of support in Welbedacht was extensive. The programmes provided skills which enhanced the development of the resettled community.

Although skills play an invaluable role in developing human capital, it is challenging to reconstruct a livelihood with those skills when the conditions in resettlement site do not provide opportunities to utilise these skills. Hence, although skills training had been available since 2004, it was challenging to use those skills in Welbedacht where opportunities are virtually non-existent. That was the perception of the resettlement expert on skills development in Welbedacht: *"I think they play a role but, whether they actually play a meaningful role under these circumstances, I'm not sure"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

Of those who participated in the programmes, only one respondent indicated that she secured employment due to the skills training. Fifty-six per cent of the respondents reported that the skills training was ineffective. The respondents provided several reasons why they thought the programmes were unsuccessful. Firstly, they argued that although the government and other sectors provided multiple programmes, persons providing the training did not commit to completing the projects: *"People giving the programme start them and then don't come back"* (Participant 17, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019). Secondly, the respondents stated that skills

programmes were inconsequential due to the isolation and lack of opportunities or networking in the resettlement site:

> *"Because of our location. They* [programmes] *would have been successful in other places. There is no network here"* (Participant 2, Welbedacht questionnaire, 2 December 2019).

> *"The location and the lack of opportunities here"* (Participant 28, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019)

Lastly, the participants argued that there was bias in who was informed about the skills programmes. They contended that prejudicial treatment was centred on race, gender, and exclusion of the Ark people:

> *"None of the Ark people benefit, they failed the Ark people. A lot of it was only for women, it's unfair"* (Participant 24, Welbedacht questionnaire, 12 December 2019).

> *"We weren't told. We are the Arkians, and we got thrown in the bush…"* (Participant 27, Welbedacht questionnaire, 13 December 2019).

> *"I was never informed about them. There's a race thing. I'm the last person to get told anything"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

However, during the focus group discussions, Participant 1 – a prominent figure and pillar of the community – refuted the respondents' exclusionary allegations. She provided several reasons for marginal participation in skills training:

> *"There's a lot of things* [skills programmes] *that came here, but there is something like people they don't want to come up and say: 'I need that help'.* [Do] *you understand? They don't attend those things that we are bringing here…one person can talk negative and say: 'Oh, they* [outsiders] *coming here because they* [are] *going to gain something'. And then once one says that then they all* [say] *they tired of Participant 4, we tired of Participant 1 calling us for this…these people they are not prepared to leave their home and come and sit here…Some of our people don't trust anything anymore. They don't trust anything. Like they think they were thrown in this farm and they didn't want to come here, and stuff like that. And because of all those things they still believe that when you calling them that there is something that you going to gain, you understand? And then they stay away from those things"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht, focus group, 20 December 2019).

Again, the sense of abandonment is evident as Participant 1 likened the community's perception of forced resettlement to being *'thrown'* on a *'farm'.* Although various sectors provided a variety of programmes, many residents did not come forward and acknowledge that they needed assistance. Also, the injustice of forced removal continued

to influence the community's perception of outsiders. Hence, many Arkians refused to participate as they had become distrustful of outside assistance. Instead, they projected a sense of disinterest in personal progression and isolated themselves within the confines of their houses. What is perceived to be a form of 'disinterest' could be attributed to a sense of disillusionment associated with forced relocation.

During the focus group discussions, Participant 4 added that the Arkian community were reluctant to participate in the skills programmes because they did not value independence, self-development and growth. Instead, they preferred to live a life of dependence which they were accustomed to at the Ark: *"…most of the time we want the handouts…We don't want* [to] *change. Change is not easy for any one of us. Still, in the end, we have to change"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). Similar sentiments were reiterated in the questionnaire when Participant 9 stated: *"The Ark people are never happy no matter how much they get"* (Participant 9, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019). This would appear to be a harsh assessment by an 'insider'. Despite the vast provision of skills training, the community were plagued by the injustice of their forced removal. Arguably, this perpetuated their disinclination toward self-growth and independence. The result was an isolated and discouraged group.

b) Sustenance

Upon arrival in Webedacht, the Ark community had no means of sustaining themselves. They had no financial support, cooking facilities, utensils, or electricity. The statement below provides a contrast between living environments:

> *"We had everything at the Ark. When we relocated here, we had no water, no power and no means of sustaining ourselves. We had to rely on people to come* [to] *feed us"* (Participant 6, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019).

Whereas previously, the Arkians were housed and fed in a secure environment they were resettled in an area which lacked essential resources to ensure nourishment and adaptation. Fifty-eight per cent of the participants indicated that they received food support from an NGO when they arrived in Welbedacht. However, the support was not long-lasting:

> *"That part, the soup kitchen, we not sure how it long it was going to* [stay]*, but the very same people from our group, they took the sand, and they threw the sand in the pots* [of food]*. Two women, they took the sand, and they threw it in the food, in the*

people's food and then chased those people [the helpers]*, throwing stones* [at] *those people"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Several Arkians turned against those who were assisting them. This appeared to be a demonstration of anger and frustration stemming from the community's forced relocation to Welbedacht.

Today, 11% of the sample population indicated that they receive food support from the local Sarva Dharma Ashram in Chatsworth (see Figure 5.2) and other welfare organisations. However, the sense distrust (mentioned above) re-emerged. The participants stated that foundations providing sustenance were doing so for *their* gain. The respondents claimed that the support they received was periodic and that those who provided the food had ulterior motives:

> *"Whenever they open foundations or whatever, they come* [to] *take photos here. They bring us food and take photos and everything…they go back and say every day they feeding us and everything but they not, they'll come back to take photos you know, that's how they using us"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Arguably, the harsh treatment the Arkians experienced during forced removal created a sense of distrust toward external figures. Participants perceived outsider's to be taking advantage of their vulnerability. Consequently, the resettled group was uneasy about external assistance.

c) Basic and Social Services

Again, the resettled community lived without essential services from 2004 to 2006. Nevertheless, 31% of the participants indicated they received government support in 2006 once the basic services were provided. This support included an allotment of free access to water and electricity. Presently, 41% of the participants stated that they received government support for these services:

> *"…once a month they* [eThekwini Municipality] *give us 65 units* [of electricity]*…Once you finished that 65 units you on your own…And even water. Water it's 80L that's free"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

While this support extended to the entire community, many participants did not acknowledge the government's assistance in providing basic services. Despite the provision of essential services, several participants exhibited a lack of hygiene. The

reasons for this were twofold. First, during the fieldwork, the researcher observed the disinclination toward practices of self-care. Second, government support was marginal, and so participants often used resources (water) sparingly.

The participants rated the support they received from the government in establishing social services in Welbedacht. Although section 5.2.2 indicated limited fixed assets (hospitals, clinics, police stations) for social service provision in Welbedacht, there was still the possibility of mobile services. Sixteen per cent of the sample population indicated that they received government assistance in developing social infrastructure. The respondents stated that they had periodic access to a mobile clinic. The current status of the mobile clinic is discussed on page 136.

d) Compensation for Resettlement

It is good practice for those involuntarily resettled to receive compensation for resettlement from the relevant authorities[52] (The World Bank, 2017; Asian Development Bank, 2012; IFC, 2012). However, often informal dwellers are not given equal consideration when compared to those with legal property rights. Instead, forced removals of illegal occupiers regularly occur without due care or compensation for lost assets (Worden, 2015). Figure 5.4 depicts the extent of the compensation provided by the government.
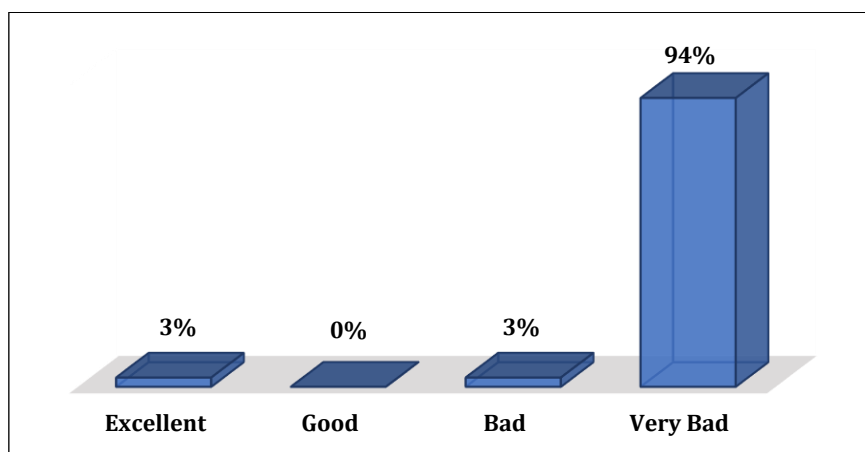
Figure 5.4: Rate the Support Received by Government: Compensation

As depicted in Figure 5.4, the overwhelming response to the compensation provided by the government was negative. While some argued that authorities provided housing as

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[52] The development in the Point Precinct was a joint venture between eThekwini Municipality and Rocpoint which formed the DPDC, thus both authorities would be responsible to compensate for forced resettlement.

compensation, the majority contended that their ownership was still questionable as they had not received Title Deeds for their property: *"They told us when we moved here that we're going to have our Title Deeds in 2008, we still waiting"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). Also, the participants stated that they had lost various assets during the relocation process. Authorities informed the community that they would receive compensation for lost property:

> *"I lost a lot of property during the resettlement"* (Participant 14, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"They just dumped me here. I lost my tools and my property. We were told we would be compensated, and it never happened"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

Those of lower economic status are less likely to have bountiful assets. Replacing such assets would prove difficult. Cash or in-kind compensation would have been necessary to replenish lost items. However, the participants indicated that resettlement authorities had failed to compensate affected persons for their assets.

ii)   Health

The health status of a population is significant because it determines the probability of contribution to human and financial capital. For example, poor health may limit the quantity of school-going children and working adults, thereby impeding human development and reducing employability and fiscal security. This section assesses the health of the resettled community by analysing:

a) access and quality of health facilities;

b) medical conditions; and

c) birth and death rates.

a) Access to Health Facilities in Welbedacht

Due to the Ark's location and the support services linked to the church, the residents had reasonable access to healthcare. The Ark offered an in-house clinic with medical staff who treated patients. Residents who could not receive medical assistance at the Ark sought treatment at Addington Hospital, approximately 1km from the church (see Figure 4.1). In-house treatments and proximity to Addington Hospital was a great advantage for the residents, as many had life-threatening ailments: "…*some of them were dying; some of them were on their death beds*" (Munns, interview, 18 November 2019).

Despite the need for healthcare facilities, the residents relocated to an isolated area that could not cater to the population's medical needs. The isolation of the resettlement site coupled with the absence of an established transport network rendered health facilities inaccessible. The lack of healthcare facilities resulted in homelessness as residents returned to the Point Precinct for proximity to Addington Hospital:

> *"...because of the health of George, because* [he] *was asthmatic and had one leg...he got Gangrene that was eating him...and then Eileen* [wife] *was taking it hard here because there was no hospital* [in Welbedacht]*. There was nothing. And then they went back to the street..."* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

In 2004, the absence and inaccessibility of healthcare facilities had dire consequences for the resettled group. Sixteen years later, the respondents stated they had access to a mobile clinic in Welbedacht. However, the overwhelming response was that the mobile clinic was only available intermittently and did not provide the required services.

Also, transport services are currently available. Thus, participants can access healthcare facilities in the neighbouring suburb, Chatsworth. Respondents utilise the local clinic (Unit 6) or R.K Khan hospital in Chatsworth (see figure 5.2). The respondents assessed the quality of healthcare at the Ark and Chatsworth. As depicted in Figure 5.5, 92% of the sample population indicated that health institutions were better in the Point Precinct.
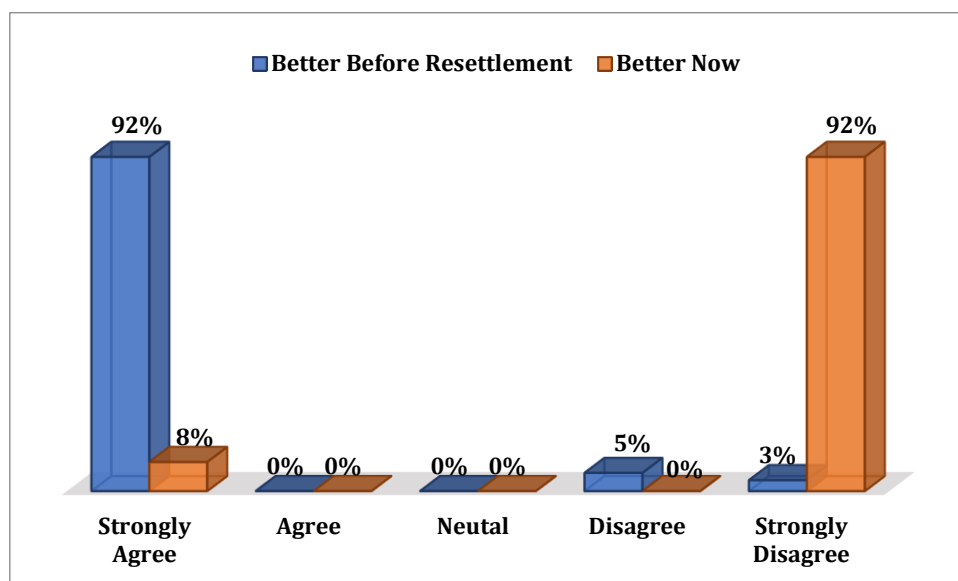
Figure 5.5: Comparing the Quality of Healthcare before and after Resettlement

During the focus group discussions, the participants stated that the stigma attached to their community compromised the quality of healthcare received in Welbedacht: *"…there is a stigma that is following us like in the hospital, you are treated differently…"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). Although access to healthcare facilities had improved since 2004, the stigma attached to the Ark community continued to present challenges 16 years later. Also, residents are burdened with time constraints and financial costs to access facilities in Chatsworth.

b) Medical Conditions

The study determined the extent of medical conditions by assessing the number of households with specific health-related illnesses since relocation. Table 5.9 indicates that the common ailments were cold or flu (21 households) and diarrhoea (18 households).

Table 5.9: Number of Households with Medical Conditions Post-Resettlement

Medical Condition	No. of Households	
	Yes	No
TB (Tuberculosis)	3	23
Respiratory ailment (e.g. Sinusitis; Bronchitis; Asthma)	12	14
Cold or Flu	21	5
Diarrhoea	18	8
Kidney condition (incl. kidney stones)	4	22
Hypertension or Hypotension	13	13
Diabetes	6	20
Heart condition	5	21
Skin condition (e.g. Eczema; Psoriasis; Acne)	8	18
Eye infection	7	19

Given the small living quarters and overcrowding, it was not surprising that these ailments were common among the resettled households. Likewise, hypertension, hypotension, and respiratory infections (Sinusitis, Bronchitis, Asthma) were also common among Welbedacht families. During the focus group discussions, the participants argued that these illnesses were frequent due to the asbestos roofing[53]:

> *"The roof, the asbestos, we have that problem… as I showed you, mine is green, that's how it looks, it's green inside those patches…and my child suffers from a heart*

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[53] During the fieldwork, many participants spoke to the researcher about the impact that the Asbestos roofing had on the health of the children.

problem, and I've also had chest problems" (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Given the Cardiovascular and Pulmonary related health risks linked to asbestos (Frost, et al., 2008), it is not surprising that participants suffer heart-and-lung associated illnesses. After their relocation to Welbedacht, the community experienced increased sickness and mortality: "*...since we came here, there are a lot of deaths. There are a lot of infections; there are a lot of people that are sick"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Also, during the focus group discussions, it emerged that many of the resettled community members had developed mental health problems: "*...some are stressed, some are depressed...they close themselves you know, you don't know what to do. You don't know who to take your problems to, you just shut yourself down, and yet it's killing you slowly, slowly"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). Arguably, stress and depression were a product of resettlement. Those affected by the development-induced displacement lost access to convenient health facilities and networks that provided important social support when required.

c) Birth and Death Rates

The size of a population plays a significant role in the sustainability of an area, mainly when resources are scarce. This study determined whether the population was increasing or decreasing by comparing the birth and death rate in resettled households.
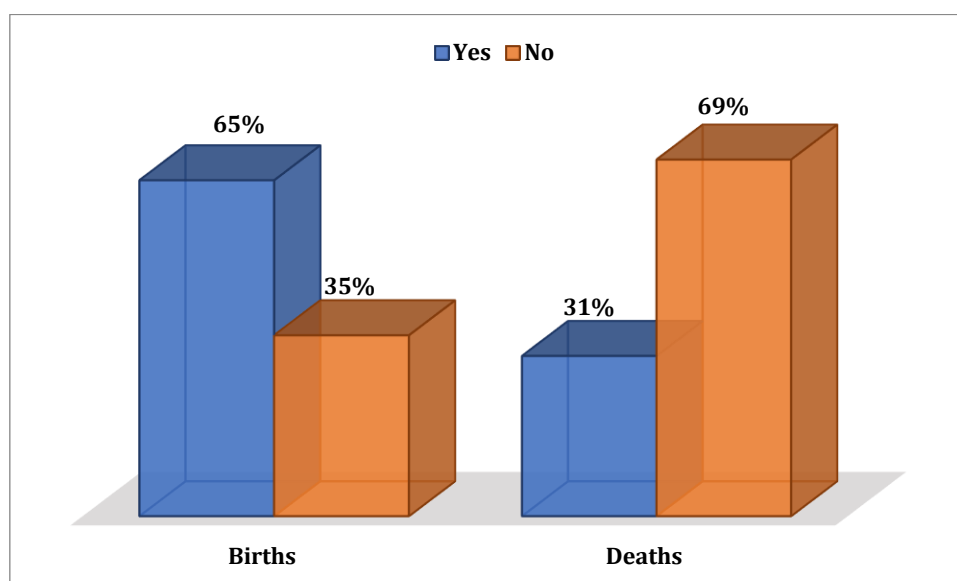
Figure 5.6: Birth and Death Rates Post-Resettlement

As depicted in Figure 5.6, families indicated that the birth rate was far higher than the death rate. Sixty-five per cent of households reported a birth among members, while 31% reported a death. Population growth could be attributed to two key variables. Firstly, the population was youthful, with an average age of 29 years. Secondly, the rate of teenage pregnancy was significant (see page 152). Teenage pregnancy is a serious problem in South Africa (Mkwananzi, 2017).

iii)   Education

Education plays a significant role in human capital as it advances the socio-economic growth of a community. There are two central components in assessing education, that is quantity and quality.   Hence, it is essential to determine the number of educated individuals in a community, and the quality of education received.

The Welbedacht community comprises three generations, namely i) adults of the Ark, ii) children of the Ark and iii) their descendants. Of the first generation, the 'Ark Adults,' most (79%) indicated that they had not completed high school (secondary education).

According to Patel et al. (2015) resettlement impedes access to education. Such impediment may be due to i) disruptions that arise during the relocation, ii) the resettlement site's location, and iii) the lack of resources in the area of resettlement. This study identified the effect of resettlement on education by analysing the:

a) quality of education services at the Ark and Welbedacht;
b) impact of relocation on the Ark children's access to education; and
c) socio-economic factors currently impeding school attendance in Welbedacht.

a) Quality of Education: Ark Vs Welbedacht

Access to, and quality of, education is an essential component of human capital because it directly affects an individual's employability, thereby enhancing a family's socio-economic status. Five variables were used to assess the quality of, and access to, educational services in the Ark and Welbedacht. These variables included: i) satisfaction with education services, ii) reliability of teachers, iii) availability of teaching and sporting equipment, iv) building maintenance, and v) distance to education facilities.
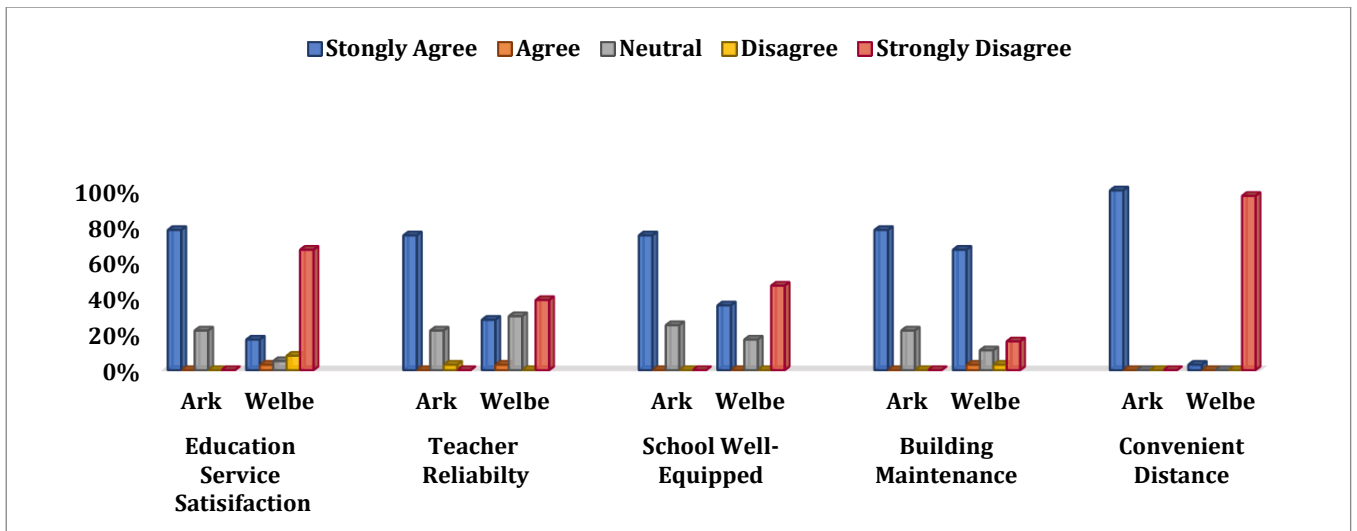
Figure 5.7: Assessing Education Services in the Ark and the Resettlement Area

Figure 5.7 indicated that there was greater satisfaction with the quality and access to education in the Ark. Most of the respondents (67%) were not satisfied with the education services in Welbedacht.[54] Teacher reliability (39%) and school equipment (47%) also received a less than satisfactory response. Building maintenance received a positive response where 70% of the participants agreed that education facilities were well maintained. The preservation of education facilities enhances human capital as well-maintained buildings safeguard the health and safety of students.

Nevertheless, the most striking variance was between the distance of education facilities at the Ark and in Welbedacht. While 100% of the sample population indicated that education facilities were a convenient distance from the Ark, 97% of the respondents did not report the same for Welbedacht. Education facilities were within walking distance (less than 1km) from the ACMC (see Figure 4.1). However, in Welbedacht, residents travel an average of 9km to access education facilities in Chatsworth and surrounding areas (see Figure 5.2). The distance to education facilities in the resettlement site had severe implications for the children displaced from the Ark.

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[54] Welbedacht does not have a school for English-speaking children. English learners attend schools in Chatsworth and surrounding areas. This graph represents participants' perceptions of schools in Chatsworth and surrounding areas.

b) Children of the Ark: Resettlement Effects on Education

This study surveyed 26 of the remaining (36) households in Welbedacht. Thirteen families indicated they had children of school-going age at the time of resettlement (2004). Children at the Ark attended the Addington Primary School (APS), located less than 1km from the church (see Figure 4.1). However, once resettled to Welbedacht, 12 (of 13) households indicated that their members had to change schools. Distance to APS was the primary reason cited for the change in educational facilities.

After resettlement, Couglan Pather, Head of Metro Housing in 2004, contended that schools in the area had been consulted and were willing to accept learners for enrolment (Gangaram, 2004b). However, participants stated that there were no schools in Welbedacht, nor transportation services to reach educational facilities in surrounding areas:

> *"...the people complained that there* [were] *no schools...We were struggling a lot when we came here with the transport for the children to go to schools and stuff like that"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019)*.*
>
> *"I left Addington because it was too far, I had to wait a year before I could go back to school...when we came here there was no school for us..."* (Participant 12, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).
>
> *"When we got here, I couldn't go to school for two years because there was no transport"* (Participant 13, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019)*.*

Despite the statement made by Couglan Pather, there were no accessible education facilities. Due to the absence of education facilities, Participant 4 reiterated her perception of Welbedacht as a *'dungeon'* as the site had *'nothing'* to help them adapt: *"That's why I said we were dumped, and we were left in a dungeon, and then there was no help...there was no school for our kids, there* [was] *nothing"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019).

The lack of physical capital in Welbedacht, specifically the absence of education facilities and an established transport network, created difficulty accessing schooling facilities. This prevented most learners from attending school. As a result, some parents opted for their children to resettle at the Ekuphileni Clinic (see Figure 3.1). As mentioned, single residents, the elderly and children relocated to the Clinic. Although Participant 33 was originally part of the Welbedacht rehousing scheme, her parents preferred she resettle at the Clinic for educational purposes. According to Participant 33, the Ekuphileni Clinic had

private teachers who ensured that the Ark children had sustained access to education.[55] Hence, she was separated from her parents and had no networks or support:

> *"I had to move to Mayville* [Ekuphileni Clinic]*…In the same building we lived in, there were private teachers…I had to stay there while I was in school…I was alone. I had nobody. I had no support"* (Participant 33, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019).

Participant 33 was 13 years old when she resettled at the Clinic and longed for social networks and support. Therefore, she did not remain at the Clinic to complete her secondary education. Instead, she returned to Welbedacht in search of employment prospects.

The absence of financial and social capital in the resettlement site also contributed to the decline in school attendance.

From an economic perspective, many parents experienced joblessness when they relocated to Welbedacht. The loss of finances meant learners were unable to attend school for an extended period: *"My mom didn't have income, so I waited two years to go back to school because there was no money…"* (Participant 13, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

From a social perspective, the community faced many challenges when they relocated from the Ark. The Ark was stringent in its rules and regulations. Such rigorous discipline and oversight ensured that learners were not absent from school. However, upon eviction, the residents were no-longer forced to comply with the guidelines put forward by Ark authorities. Instead, parental neglect and absenteeism were evident:

> *"There was no-one watching us here to make sure we went to school. In the Ark, we had Pastor Derich watching to make sure we went to school"* (Participant 17, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

Also, as mentioned, those who resettled from the Ark had endured discrimination from surrounding communities. The participants argued that education authorities re-enforced such discriminatory practices at the school. Specifically, participants stated that teachers and parents had excluded and victimised their children due to the negative perceptions about the residents from the Ark:

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[55] Participant 33 did not remain at the Clinic for an extended period. Therefore, she was unable to disclose how long the private teachers were available at Ekuphileni Clinic.

> *"…our kids in school* [were] *treated differently because the teachers and the principles they believe that these children grew up in an environment of thugs, prostitutes, HIV people…most of the time my daughter she wanted to go and play with other kids from Umlazi and the kids didn't want to play with her. They said: 'No, our parents don't want you because you are a bad behaviour from your parents'"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The absence of physical capital, coupled with financial and social disarticulation and the challenges related to access, impeded school attendance for the Ark children. As a result, eight of the 13 households indicated that their members had not completed their schooling career. Instead, the prospect of accumulating human capital and improving their generation's socio-economic status had declined in Welbedacht.

c) Socio-Economic Conditions Impeding Education of Descendants

Since 2004, access to education had improved in Welbedacht. The establishment of a transport network coupled with the construction of Nomzamo Mandela Primary School (NMPS) in 2013 (see Figure 5.2), had improved access to education in Welbedacht. However, several socio-economic factors continued to hinder school attendance in for the Ark descendants.

Although NMPS could aid in human capital development, the resettled population argued that the facility had done little to assist in their children's access to education. The participants contended that they were a diverse community, but NMPS did not appear to cater for English-speaking learners. Instead, the education facility only provided for isiZulu-speaking children. The school was too small, and construction was incomplete, presenting health risks for learners. The following statements were extracted from the focus group discussions, where parents spoke of language barriers and threats to health and safety:

> *"You can't even count that school* [NMPS] *because it's not a multi-racial school, we all are multi-racial over here, and it's* [school] *not multi-racial. We all different people here but they open the African school for children. Now most of the children have to go to Chatsworth and that school is small"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

> *"That school there Nomzamo you can't even count because it's so small it's even got the containers to accommodate those children. So, it doesn't count. We still need the Primary School, never mind a High School"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

"It only for caters for the Zulu children…The Department of [Public] *Works, they only built phase one, and then, on the contract, they were given there's phase one, phase two, phase three, the school is not complete. The kids are squashed…they're squashed, and then you can go and look at the toilets…"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

NMPS was small, incomplete and did not cater to the diverse needs of this community. Instead, many English-speaking learners remain excluded and struggle to access education facilities.

Nevertheless, some isiZulu-speaking descendants of the Ark could attend NMPS. However, the learners' pathway to access the facility was dangerous and threatened the children's safety:

"…if we can take you to the path where the children [walk] *when they are going to school, it's scary, even* [for] *me as an adult"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Figure 5.8 depicts the path in the lead up to the 'danger zone'. While the trail itself is dangerous due to isolation and dense vegetation, parents were chiefly concerned that children had to cross the stream (danger zone) in Figure 5.9. Although the image does depict the stream, it does not demonstrate the depth of the gradient. During the rainy season, the stream is too rough to cross, and children scale the drainpipe in Figure 5.10.

Figure 5.8: The Pathway to reach NMPS (Source: Author, 2019)

Figure 5.9: The Stream ('Danger Zone') Children Cross to reach NMPS (Source: Author, 2019)

***Figure 5.10: The Drainpipe (red line) Children Scale when the Stream (blue line) is
too rough to cross (Source: Author, 2019)***

The red line in Figure 5.10 depicts the route children must take during heavy rainfall, and the blue line indicates the stream which runs beneath. Again, while the depth is not evident in the image, it was significant. Parents also expressed concern for their children's health due to poor sanitation and overcrowding at the school.

The health and safety concerns, coupled with the exclusion of English-speaking learners, meant that NMPS had done little to promote the education of the descendants of the resettled community. Instead, most parents indicated that their children attended Dawnridge Primary School in Chatsworth (see Figure 5.2).

Observations over one month during the fieldwork in Welbedacht allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the day-to-day living at the resettlement site. It was particularly enlightening for assessing the descendants' educational attendance. At various site visits, many learners were roaming the streets during school hours. During the focus group discussions, the participants revealed that the government child grant funds were insufficient to cover monthly transport costs. Thus, learners were frequently absent from school:

> *"Some mothers can afford it, some mothers cannot afford it, and that's the reason the children you find them on the road because the grant is too little. When the transport is R320 a month, sometimes R365, what's left? It's nothing! You can't even put a loaf of bread on the table"* (Participant 18, focus group discussion, 20 December 2019).

In South Africa, low-income families are provided with government social grants intended to assist in child-rearing. However, while some parents could not send their children to school because grant funds were insufficient, others failed to do so because they misused government support. Parental delinquency meant children were often neglected. The participants contended that some parents used grant funds to support their drug and alcohol addiction:

> *"Some of our parents take the grant, the government grant we drink it down and smoke drugs. Then at the end of the day, the children don't have money to go to school, and then yes we are doing wrong to our kids…and then some of the stigmas, we go there, we build up that* [stigma] *to the neighbourhood"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Social ills impeded the accumulation of human capital and perpetuated the stigmas attached to the community. Insufficient physical, financial, and social capital in Welbedacht had restricted access to education for the Ark children and their descendants. Perhaps the greatest threat to the development of human capital was the social pathologies in the community.

iv)   Social Pathology: Substance Abuse and Criminal Activity

The ACMC sought to restore the lives and souls of refuge seekers as many recovered from a life of crime and drug addiction. The church catered for the indigent and substance abusers and aimed to address the various social pathologies that plagued the residents. This study identified various social ills afflicting the resettled community, which were being transferred from one generation to another and had serious implications for the youth. Eighty-one per cent of the sample population indicated that their households were more vulnerable to crime in Welbedacht compared to the Ark. Poverty, substance abuse, and a negligible police presence were the drivers of criminal activity. Income-earning opportunities are limited in Welbedacht, so residents "*steal to survive"* (Participant 26, Welbedacht questionnaire, 13 December 2019). Also, many of the Ark residents sought rehabilitation for substance abuse. However, with the absence of social structures, rehabilitation programmes and church support in Welbedacht, substance dependencies re-emerged. Ninety-four per cent of the respondents stated that the prevalence of substance abuse is higher in Welbedacht than it was in the Ark. The community attributed their high dependence on substances to their isolation and lack of resources and social activities in the resettlement site:

"Its [substance abuse] *worse here because people here have nothing to do. There are no social activities, so people drink morning till night. Also, drugs are cheaper here than town and dagga* [cannabis/ weed] *come for free because it grows in your yard"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, December 2019).

"...there's nothing to do here, there's nothing to do here! All we do is smoke, drink alcohol, and we just go and do our own thing because there's nothing here. We in a hole, we want to get out of here – we in a hole. No, honestly, it's the truth. Because they just dumped us here" (Participant 38, private conversation, Welbedacht, 19 December 2019).

Again, the notion of abandonment was evident as Participant 38 stated the Arkians were *'dumped'* in a *'hole'*. Arguably, abandonment perpetuated substance dependencies. It would appear that those who were not prone to substance abuse in the Ark had also started abusing drugs and alcohol in the resettlement site: *"Its* [substance abuse] *more here, people that weren't drinking in the Ark* [weren't in recovery] *are drinking here"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019). Widespread substance abuse perpetuated criminal behaviour as those without the financial support for narcotics *"want to attack you to get money for drugs"* (Participant 16, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019). Crimes are violent and frequent because *"police don't care here; they don't patrol or see what's happening in the area"* (Participant 13, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019). The participants stated that criminal activities were so regular that gunshots had become music to them. Also, it had become common to find corpses, including dead babies, in the resettlement site:

"You [the researcher] *heard the gunshots. It's like the music to us; it's like the music to us...* [an Arkian] *was shot at night. He didn't do anything wrong to anybody. He was walking past my house, as he was passing my house, these guys came and shot him. Today, he can't walk, he's in a wheelchair...next to my house...I found the foetus. It was late at night and* [was wrapped] *in the baby's t-shirt...*[the Police] *told me that it was not one baby, there were two babies, and then I asked them, and they said: 'No, these babies were not twins, they* [were] *from different mothers'...* [it] *was two months back, not long ago...*[also] *they dumped a dead body at night. It was a young boy. They smuggled him* [from] *one of the taverns, and then they dumped him there"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Participant 4 spoke of these violent crimes in a normal tone of acceptance. The frequent occurrence of violence normalised acts of criminality. Welbedacht is a high crime zone and participants described the resettlement site as: *"...a ditch for bodies..."* where children often come across corpses: "*The children were looking because they had a project with these bread packets, and they found, when they opened the packets, there was a baby inside"*

(Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). While violence and criminality in Welbdacht extended beyond the resettlement zone, the 'stigma' which plagued the Arkians meant that they were often falsely accused of criminal activities, *"...even sometimes if something* [criminal] *happens they say: 'Ay, these Point People'"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The trauma of displacement and widespread poverty resulted in a socially disorganised community. Mark Haskins, who has experience in rehabilitating substance abusers, argued that social disorganisation is a product of hopelessness:

> *"...the worst condition that any human being can find themselves in is not penniless or homeless, its without hope. Have you looked into a person's eyes who has no hope? They're dead already; they're just breathing!... When all hope has left you...you haven't eaten for a week, you're dirty, you're cold, you're ill, your family is dead, there's no hope: 'Man, let me have this drink at least I'll pass out...rather give me that pipe let me smoke it'. These people wish they were dead. Their self-esteem is so low"* (Haskins, interview, 14 November 2019).

The most serious impacts of social pathologies were on children – both as victims and perpetrators. The descendants of the Ark were raised in a socially disorganised and stigmatised environment. Deficiencies in parental care, education and social activities, coupled with the prevalence of substance abuse and the normalisation of crime, created a delinquent generation. Hence, children engaged in criminal activity from a young age. Such crimes included theft, substance abuse and sexual assault, to which children were exposed and socialised at an early age by their parents' negligent conduct.

There were several causal factors at play. Firstly, as stated above, resources are scarce in Welbedacht, and people steal to survive. Second, there is a lack of recreational activities, leaving substance abuse as the primary recreation past-time. Third, the small house size and lack of privacy meant children were exposed to sexual activity from a young age. Thus, theft, substance abuse and early sexual activity were normalised, everyday occurrences. As a result, children burglarise houses: "...*its small children who are breaking-in to people's houses..."* (Participant 32, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019), and abuse substances: *"young kids are busy with drugs and alcohol, young kids!"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019). Kids also engage in sexual assault:

"The problem now we [are] *having here, the children are starting to hurt each other. We got cases now where we have children rapping children in this place…Even our dogs, they're raping dogs. Even raping dogs, children raping dog's backside"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Thus, young children were assaulting each other and animals. Such violent acts are indicative of serious social pathologies. Also, there was an increase in teenage pregnancies when the Arkians relocated to Welbedacht:

"What is affecting our children is teenage pregnancy… it started when we came here. The first girl was nine years old" (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The above statement points to the extent of the problem as the youth are bearing children. Again, teenage pregnancy is a serious issue in South Africa (Mkwananzi, 2017). The participants provided several reasons for the high rate of pregnancy among the adolescent population. First, parental neglect, poverty and food insecurity were the primary contributing factors:

"It's poverty and hunger, because the children, instead of getting whatever they want like cell phones, food, they had to sleep with men most of the time. Because we parents, we take all the money, and then we [are] *drinking, and then there's no food in the house, and that's when the children they go out and sleep with the wrong people"* (Participant 10, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Parental neglect was an issue as substance dependencies took precedent over the needs of children. Secondly, the participants stated that children have too much freedom in Welbedacht, again pointing to negligence in parental care: *"There are children still roaming the street at 10 p.m. Small children, toddlers"* (Participant 3, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). Lastly, the absence of social programmes and recreation compromised children's wellbeing as they did not have age-appropriate social activities. As a result, they found other sources of entertainment:

"The environment. There are no social programs. There is nothing for them to do… The child here, five years old and doesn't even know a swing, doesn't even know a park" (Participant 24, Welbedacht questionnaire, December 2019).

The majority stated there would be fewer adolescent pregnancies at the Ark as children were placed under the care of church leaders: *"Because they* [children] *were kept within the care of the council of the Ark. They would advise children and keep them disciplined. We had a system. We didn't have children getting pregnant at 13, like here. We had order there"*

(Participant 9, Welbedacht questionnaire, December 2019). Also, there were social activities, rules, regulations and educational programmes at the Ark:

> *"It* [teenage pregnancy] *was controlled by educational programmes which there are none here"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

> *"There were a lot of activities at the Ark for them* [children] *to do"* (Participant 31, Welbedacht questionnaire, 15 December 2019).

> *"The Ark was strict and safe. You knew the rules. Now, everyone is just doing their own thing. Some parents are not taking care of their kids, and their kids are just doing their own things. Kids are drinking and drugging"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019).

The disciplined and caring environment at the Ark, coupled with the available social and recreational activities promoted positive prospects for the youth.

Participants also acknowledged the extent of anger-related issues among adults. They stated that anger issues had contributed to the harm and neglect of their children. The participants attributed anger-related problems to the community's neglect and the absence of spiritual welfare in Welbedacht. This was an intergenerational issue that affected psychological development in adolescents. Hence, Participant 4 called for anger management programmes in Welbedacht:

> *"I think the programme for the anger management problem, we need that in this place. Because it comes up from us parents, and then we drop it to our kids, and then our kids most of the time we are discriminated, and they are discriminated because we've got this angry attitude towards other people, like 'don't care attitude' toward other people, like we are neglected like we missing something like to be loved, to be shown the way. Because in the Ark what has motivated us – I think in your research, most people were saying something good about the church. Because you can seek the flesh, you can give me food and everything, but if the soul is not filled with information, with something correct* [good] *that's where everything goes wrong, we don't have a church here our souls are lost"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

The neglect felt by the Arkians and the absence of spiritual welfare continued to hinder their development. The social ills that plagued the Ark residents in Welbedacht had affected the youth's psychological development and behaviours. Hence, participants were concerned that more children would turn to crime in the future: "... *I am worried about more crime that will come from the children"* (Participant 10, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019). It was evident that prospects for the accumulation of human capital

in Welbedacht appeared very limited. The next section assessed the financial capital of the resettled community.

5.2.4   FINANCIAL CAPITAL

Financial capital refers to the monetary assets that individuals use to sustain their livelihoods. Such assets include income sources such as salaries, wages, grants, savings and remittances (DFID, 2001). Financial capital is significant in that it can directly achieve multiple livelihood objectives. For example, persons could use cash compensation to purchase or build a house, thereby securing shelter and increasing the community's physical capital. The study assessed the resettled community's financial capital by analysing key indicators such as employment status (after resettlement and now), sources of income, and expenditure.

i)   Employment Status

As mentioned in Chapter Four, 75% of the sample population were employed when they resided at the Ark. However, job-loss was a prominent feature among the resettled group. The community provided several reasons for joblessness at the time of resettlement. First, the leaders of the Ark actively sought out employment opportunities for the residents. However, the relocation to Welbedacht meant there was no-longer a facilitator for employment: *"The Ark organised jobs. So, no Ark, no job!"* (Participant 6, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019). Sustained access to employment opportunities provided by the Ark's social connections could have aided the rehabilitation of this resettled community. However, social networks that previously assisted in providing jobs disintegrated, and residents had to fend for themselves. Secondly, the participants argued that their previous location was prime in that it offered abundant employment opportunities:

> *"I was sad because all the opportunities were in town, not here* [Welbedacht]*. We knew the minute we leave Point Road* [now Mahatma Ghandi] *we going to lose our jobs. In the Ark, myself and my husband were working at L & G Tools and Machinery, and it was right in Point Road"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

Residents were displaced from central locations, thereby affecting their access to income-earning opportunities in the city. Third, Couglan Pather contended that the Arkians could

seek employment opportunities in the Pinetown industrial area[56] (Gangaram, 2004b). However, the isolated resettlement site, coupled with the absence of an established transport network in Welbedacht, further limited their employment opportunities:

> *"Because of our location, it was too far to travel"* (Participant 14, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"We didn't know how to get there because there were no taxi's coming down here before"* (Participant 15, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

> *"We didn't know how to get in and out of here. There was no transport"* (Participant 29, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

Lastly, participants argued that the resettlement site lacked infrastructure and amenities for convenience (such as shopping centres, for example) which could also offer employment opportunities:

> *"…* [residents] *must have the shopping centre in most places so that they can buy food. Also, those structures can also be used for people to get jobs in the area.* [Do] *you understand? So that they can pay for their water and electricity, stuff like that, and that was not in the books for this* [area] *which I think that is also very wrong"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

At the time of resettlement, there was a lack of income-earning opportunities in Welbedacht. Resettlement expert, Greg Huggins, argued livelihood restoration in Welbedacht should have been the responsibility of the developer (in this case the DPDC - eThekwini Municipality and Rocpoint):

> *"…you would need to know whether there was a replicable set of livelihoods in the area that they were resettled to. And the answer to that, I would imagine is 'no'. You cannot create economic conditions in an area that doesn't have economic fundamentals for those conditions…It's the responsibility of the developer to mitigate the circumstances under which people are prevented from accessing those opportunities and make decisions based on those opportunities"* (Huggins, expert interview, 11 November 2019).

Thus, because economic conditions could not be recreated at the resettlement site, the developer's responsibility was to mitigate the adverse effects of relocation by ensuring that the displaced community had access to employment opportunities. Instead, authorities approved relocation to an area that lacked employment opportunities or access to jobs in other areas.

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[56] 18km from Welbedacht

The study sought to investigate whether the community's employment status had improved some 16 years after resettlement. The employment status of the sample group was delineated into five categories (see Figure 5.11), namely, those who were:

- employed and therefore not seeking employment;
- employed but seeking alternate employment[57];
- unemployed and seeking employment;
- unemployed but not seeking employment; and
- pensioners.
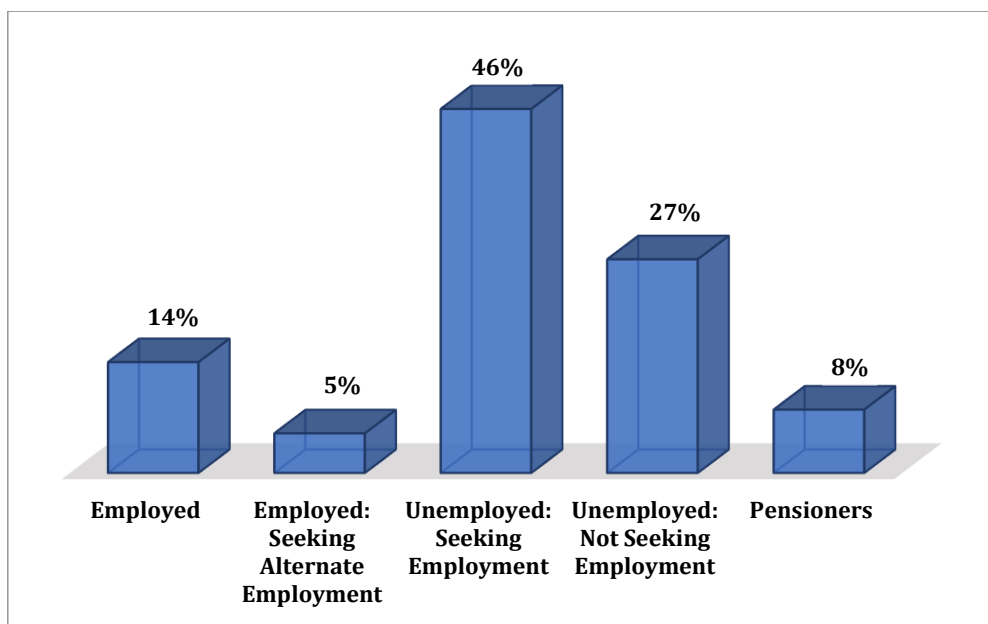
Figure 5.11: Current Status of Employment in Welbedacht

According to Figure 5.11, 73% of the respondents were unemployed. Forty-six per cent of this group indicated that they were unemployed and actively seeking employment. The respondents identified several reasons for persistent joblessness in Welbedacht. First, employment opportunities are mostly non-existent in the area: *"There are no jobs"* (Participant 10, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).

Second, while the introduction of a functioning transport network may have improved access to income-earing opportunities in the city, residents remain immobile due to increased time and financial constraints: *"Everything is far. From the Ark, it was easy. Here you have to pay twice to reach town because of the location"* (Participant 10, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019). The third and most significant reason for persistent joblessness is the continued marginalisation of the Ark community. Participant 4 stated

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[57] These participants were informally employed and seeking better prospects.

that the Arkians continue to endure economic exclusion due to the stigma attached to their community:

> *"The reason why we are battling to get* [a] *job while we are here in Welbedacht it's because here there is this stigma…every time you go there, and you ask for employment, and then you mention 'Ark' then the boss doesn't want to know anything about you – that's the reason"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Twenty-seven per cent of the sample population were content with their unemployed status and were not actively seeking income-earning opportunities. During the focus group discussions, there was some self-reflective criticism about the complacency of the Arkians:

> *"We don't want to work for ourselves. We don't want to grow up as a parent. We don't want* [to] *change…You want the job while you sitting here, go out there and look for the job. The job is not going to come from the mountain and just drop here"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Apathy, disillusionment, alienation and lack of social cohesion are hallmarks of dislocated communities. The lack of opportunities in Welbedacht constrained those who were seeking employment. Thus, joblessness endures, and financial capital is lacking in the resettled community. This study attempted to determine the economic strategies adopted to sustain this resettled community.

ii) Sources of Income

A key indicator of economic sustainability is the strategies used to secure income. Therefore, the study investigated the methods used to derive primary sources of revenue. As depicted in Figure 5.12, 51% of the participants relied on government grants. The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) provides financial aid to low-income families. Social grants offer support to single mothers, the unemployed, persons with disabilities and the elderly. The high unemployment rate and limited economic opportunities exacerbated the dependence on state support in Welbedacht.

Sixteen per cent indicated that they were financially dependent on their family members. These participants received monthly stipends from their families. Only 11% of the respondents stated that they were economically self-sufficient in that they derived their income from formal employment. Piece jobs, including tiling, plumbing and painting, supported 11% of the participants, while informal employment, including domestic work

and informal trade, carried 8% of the respondents. The average household income was R3513.
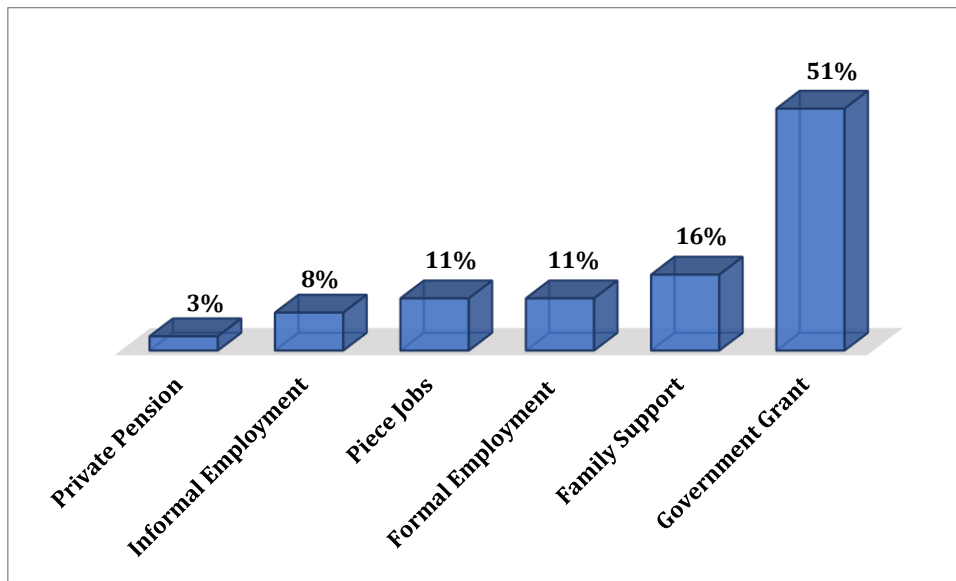
Figure 5.12: Financial Strategies in Welbedacht (Per Person)

Figure 5.12 shows the various strategies adopted for financial security. However, most of these financial strategies were unsustainable. In this impoverished community, the majority (51%) depended primarily on government grants. Figure 5.13 showed that 21 households received government grants. Child grants were most prevalent (10), followed by disability grants (5), and state pensions (2). There was an overlap in that four households received multiple grants. In all, 21 of 26 families relied on government support.
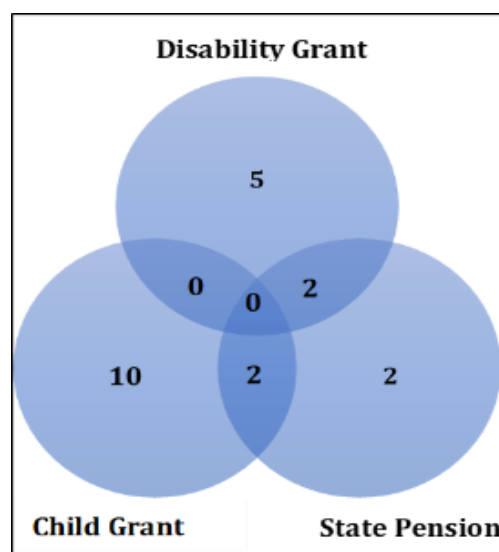
Figure 5.13: Households that receive Government Grants

Further analysis indicated that 22 households had a fixed income derived from either government support or formal employment. Only six households derived income from formal employment. Of those, one household relied solely on formal employment. Five households relied jointly on formal employment and state support. Significantly, 16 households derived their fixed income from state support (pension, child or disability grants) with no formal employment income.[58] As a result, 81%[59] of the sample population reported that their income had worsened since their relocation to Welbedacht. The participants attributed their financial challenges to the lack of access to income-earning opportunities which were abundant around the Ark in the city:

> *"It* [income] *would be much better in the Ark. There were more opportunities. Here everything is* [far] *out. The distance makes it harder; it's cheaper to live in town"* (Participant 21, Welbedacht questionnaire, 10 December 2019).

> *"In the Ark, I could just walk out and get piecemeal jobs for R400-R500 a day. Here, I can't do anything"* (Participant 23, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

Displacement and relocation continue to constrain their income-earning opportunities. Nevertheless, 19% of the sample group contended that their financial status had improved. Significantly, most of the respondents stated that their incomes had appreciated due to government support:

> *"Because I'm getting grants"* (Participant 5, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019).

> *"Better because the grant has increased"* (Participant 15, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019).

Most of the sample population had failed to secure sustainable financial capital in Welbedacht. Participants argued that poverty had become intergenerational and continued to impede the human development of the population:

> *"So, it's still the stigma of poverty that's even blocking the people from going from the bottom to the next step because financially it's a problem because you can't move anything. You can't move if you don't have the finances, that's the thing…of course, us parents are having a problem. But what about our kids? We can't move forward because we parents don't have* [the] *finance to help these children to go up the next steps"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

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[58] Four households remained. One received a private pension, three had no fixed income and depended on piece jobs or family support.
[59] Those who were children at the time of resettlement were removed from the equation.

The cycle of poverty endures from one generation to the next as financial deficiencies continue to constrain this community's socio-economic development. Persistent financial struggles led participants to adopt unsustainable survival strategies. First, dependence on government grants was widespread. Second, participants borrowed money from unscrupulous loan sharks as a survival strategy: *"We borrow money from the loan shark. Everyone is in debt now"* (Participant 14, Welbedacht questionnaire, 6 December 2019). Lastly, in order to survive, some women have been forced into prostitution: *"Because of the lack of jobs, women go into prostitution, and the children get taken away to the safety home"* (Participant 1, private conversation, 20 December 2019). Although relocation took place some 16 years ago, the location, isolation and lack of opportunities in the resettlement area continued to constrain the income-earning capacity of the participants.

iii) Expenditure

Table 5.10 depicts the expenditure of the resettled community. The average spending per household was R3381 and was on par with the typical income of R3515. The sample population were not spending beyond their means. The most costly were *Food and Household Items* (43.2%), *Transport* (13.9%), *Electricity* (5.7%), and *Clothes* (4.5%). Participants stated that they experienced increased expenditure due to the high cost of living in Welbedacht and expensive transport services:

> *"Everything is expensive here, and there's no employment"* (Participant 7, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019).

> *"Transport is high because of the location"* (Participant 22, Welbedacht questionnaire, 11 December 2019).

This section explored employment status, sources of income and household expenditure. Most of the respondents failed to secure sustainable sources of income. Instead, relocation had resulted in joblessness, impoverishment, and dependency on government grants.

It is challenging to sustain financial capital in impoverished areas. In poor communities, there is a greater reliance on social, physical, human, and natural assets.

Table 5.10: Expenditure per Household

Expenditure Sources	Rand - Total	Percentage of total income spent
Food and household items	R37980	43.2%
Water	R3165	3.6%
Electricity	R5012	5.7%
Refuse and sanitation	R0	0%
Rates and taxes	R0	0%
Clothes	R3975	4.5%
Education	R2947	3.3 %
Airtime	R2710	3.1%
Furniture	R1340	1.5%
DSTV	R1345	1.5%
Insurance policies (medical aid, household insurance)	R1894	2.2%
Money to relatives	R3500	4%
Transport	R12177	13.9%
Burial societies and churches	R2563	2.9%
Entertainment	R2795	3.2%
House maintenance and repairs	R3340	3.8%
Other (Specify)	R3131	3.6%
Average expenditure per household	**R3381**	
Total	**R87874**	**100%**

The following section assesses the extent of natural capital in Welbedacht.

5.2.5 NATURAL CAPITAL

Natural capital plays a significant role in sustaining livelihoods, particularly for rural households who derive their sustenance from naturally occurring resources. Natural assets include land, water, wildlife, forests, and oceans (for example) that function collectively to sustain communities (DFID, 2001). According to Cernea (1997), resettled rural communities are at risk of landlessness and loss of common property resources when relocated. However, in urban studies, landlessness is substituted to mean a loss in

access to central locations and the common resources therein (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015; Patel, et al., 2015). In this study, landlessness and common property resources had a dual function. Residents experienced a loss in i) access to locale and the associated resources, and ii) natural assets. Section 5.2.2 discussed the implications of inaccessibility to central areas and resources. This section will focus on landlessness and common property resources in the traditional sense.

The Ark was in a prime locale, not only for the livelihood opportunities in the immediate surroundings but also because of the church's proximity to South Beach (see Figure 4.1). This source of natural capital in the immediate region played a significant role in the lives of the poor because it offered recreation, subsistence fishing and a place of trade.

In Welbedacht, resettled households had natural resources that included individual land parcels on which their houses were constructed, and the uMlazi River (common property resource). However, household dependence on natural capital was not extensive in Welbedacht. Nevertheless, this section will assess i) the amount of support (government and NGO) for farming, and ii) the extent of agricultural practices in Welbedacht.

i) Support for Farming

Upon relocation, residents experienced a contrast in environments. While the bustling urban Point Precinct was economically developed, Welbedacht was isolated and peri-urban, with livestock roaming the streets. This remote location with almost no employment opportunities meant that livelihood restoration would depend on capitalising on natural assets. Crop production and livestock rearing had the potential to reduce vulnerability and support food security. Against this background, the participants indicated whether they received any support for agricultural practices from government or NGOs.

Six per cent of the respondents indicated that they had received NGO support for seedlings for planting at the time of resettlement. Significantly, there was no support from the government. Respondents argued that they relocated to a farm-like environment with no tools, skills or training to support them in their new environment:

> *"The problem is I'm not a farmer, I've lived in the city all my life. I'm not a farmer. I don't know how to farm. I don't know cause I've never, ever* [farmed]*"* (Participant 34, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

"There is no support from the system [government] *for small* [agricultural] *businesses"* (Participant 10, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).

"I don't have the skills or training for farming" (Participant 9, Welbedacht questionnaire, 4 December 2019).

The lack of tools, skills and training prevented most of the resettled community from capitalising on natural assets in Welbedacht.

ii) Crop Production and Livestock Rearing: Extent, Challenges and Coping Strategies

a) Extent

The study sought to determine the extent of farming practices in Welbedacht. Only three households capitalised on natural assets by producing fruits and vegetables and rearing livestock simultaneously. All three families raised chickens, with one home generating both chickens and rabbits (see Table 5.11).

Less than half of the surveyed resettled households (12) indicated that agricultural practices contributed to their livelihood strategies. More specifically, eleven households indicated that they currently produce crops. Six families stated that they cultivate one or more fruits or vegetables. Three homes exclusively cultivated fruit, while two only grew vegetables. Common fruits grown were Banana (6 households) and Avocado (5). Prevalent vegetable crops included Spinach (5 families) and Pumpkin (4).

Table 5.11: The Extent of Farming Practices in Welbedacht

Household	Type of Fruit	No. of Households	Type of Vegetable	No. of Households	Type of Livestock	No. of Households
1	Tomatoes	4	Spinach	5	None	
	Chillies	2	Cabbage	1		
			Butternut	1		
			Pumpkin	4		
2	Avocado	5	None		None	
	Peach	1				
	Pawpaw	2				
	Naartjie (Tangerine)	1				
	Banana	6				
	Lemon	2				
	Orange	1				
	Apples	1				
	Strawberries	1				
	Granadilla	1				
	Loquat	1				
	Tomatoes	4				
3	Avocado	5	Potato	2	Rabbits	1
	Pawpaw	4	Spinach	5	Chickens	3
			Beetroot	2		
4	Avocado	5	Pumpkin	4	None	
	Banana	6	Green Beans	2		
	Mango	2	None			
	Mulberries	1				
	Tomatoes	4				
5	None		Spinach	5	None	
			Green Beans	2		
			Peas	1		
6	Banana	6	Spinach	5	Chickens	3
			Carrot	1		
			Beetroot	2		
7	Banana	6	None		None	
	Avocado	5				
	Tomatoes	4				
	Chillies	2				
8	Lemon	2	Pumpkin	4	None	
	Banana	6				
9	Mango	2	Pumpkin	4	None	
	Banana	6	Spinach	5		
10	None		Potatoes	2	None	
11	Avocado	5	None		None	
12	None		None		Chickens	3

b) Challenges

Households that participated in farming reported that this helped to alleviate food shortages. Participants also sold produce to buy food staples such as rice: *"I sell eggs to help during food shortages. I sell vegetables too and use that money to buy rice or mealie meal"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht questionnaire, 3 December 2019).

However, although farming supported some families, most of the respondents indicated that they experienced food shortages every month. Farming practices did not aid many participants as they faced several challenges in producing crops and maintaining livestock. Landlessness prevented them from capitalising on the natural assets:

> *"If it was a farm, they should have given us land, a little bit of land so that land we can generate the income and look* [after] *ourselves. But here you can see, this is a house, this is another house, how can you plant vegetables here?"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Also, participants argued that the soil and the terrain were not favourable for farming practices: *"The ground is like clay"* (Participant 17, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019). An added challenge was that many houses did not have a boundary fence. The absence of a boundary fence presented great difficulty in agricultural production for two reasons. Firstly, poverty and parental neglect meant that children stole livestock to meet their nutritional needs:

> *"...parents, they take the money that's supposed* [to] *buy food,* [and] *they buy alcohol, and then the children are hungry, and then they steal the chickens..."* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Secondly, participants argued that roaming cattle frequently ate their produce: *"Cows eat the crops..."* (Participant 17, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019). Figure 5.14 indicates the terrain and sandy soils, and Figure 5.15 depicts the roaming cattle to which participants referred.

Figure 5.14: Uneven Terrain and Infertile Soil (Source: Author, 2019)

Figure 5.13: Roaming Cattle (Source: Author, 2019)

Also, participants argued that the cost of water was high. Financial constraints required them to use their second source of natural capital, the uMlazi River (see Figure 3.1). The uMlazi River was a significant source of natural capital in that it offered a supply of fresh-water, and opportunities for recreation and subsistence fishing. However, due to the strong river currents, many participants were reluctant to use this asset. During the focus group discussions, respondents argued that the river was a threat to their human capital as it had claimed many young lives (Nofemele, 2012):

> *"And then what I remember that has affected us the most – our kids – the river down there. It is a very deep river. Small kids six years, five years, seven years, up to 15-16 years they used to swim there. We've lost a lot of lives there. The police they used to pick them out, dead. And then nothing was done about it"* (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019).

Thus, challenges in agricultural production included: a lack of skills and training, landlessness, infertile soil, roaming cattle, and the *cost* of water. A lack of income, coupled with agricultural production challenges, resulted in a community vulnerable to monthly food shortages.

c) Coping Strategies during Food Shortages

As mentioned, farming practices only alleviated food shortages in some households. The majority of families were vulnerable to food insecurity. Moreover, because all other assets (social, human, physical, and financial) were compromised, participants did not have sustainable coping mechanisms. Instead, respondents indicated that they relied on food support from the local Hindu religious organisation, the Sarva Dharma Ashram (see Figure 5.2) and school feeding schemes:

> *"The Ashram gives us food on Mondays and Thursdays"* (Participant 32, Welbedacht questionnaire, 17 December 2019).

> *"Feeding scheme at school…"* (Participant 1, Welbedacht questionnaire, 2 December 2019).

Also, some reported that they depend on outside family assistance during food shortages: *"I get support from my sister in Shallcross"* (Participant 16, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019). Strategies which were self-dependent were male-dominated and infrequent and included fishing at the uMlazi River and partaking in piece jobs:

> *"I fish at the river"* (Participant 25, Welbedacht questionnaire, 12 December 2019).

> *"You become a handyman and just do piece jobs"* (Participant 28, Welbedacht questionnaire, 14 December 2019).

Many participants had no mechanisms to relieve them in times of hardship and lived for the day. Many stated that they often go without food as they do not have the means or access to social networks for assistance:

> *"We just live one day at a time. Some people don't even have a plate of food on the table for them to eat"* (Participant 18, Welbedacht questionnaire, 9 December 2019).

> *"I suffer it out. Sometimes I go to sleep with nothing"* (Participant 28, Welbedacht questionnaire, 18 December 2019).

> *"I just manage, what must I do? Here, you can't ask anyone because they say you're a burden"* (Participant 11, Welbedacht questionnaire, 5 December 2019).

The social networks that were once present at the Ark had dissipated. Community reliance was rare as participants saw to the needs of their kin only: *"We don't share. If I go there and hunt, it's like you go there and hunt, I don't hunt for Participant 10, I don't hunt*

for Participant 32, I don't hunt for anybody. I hunt for my family only…"[60] (Participant 4, Welbedacht focus group, 20 December 2019). The lack of community support, coupled with inadequate coping strategies, meant human capital was vulnerable to malnutrition and increased sickness due to food shortages. While natural assets in Welbedacht could play a role in relieving threats to health and wellbeing, respondents indicated that they did not have the skills to capitalise on natural resources. Instead, their primary coping strategies relied on outside assistance and were unsustainable.

The following section provides a comparison of the livelihood outcomes in the Ark and Welbedacht.

5.2.6   QUALITY OF LIFE: COMPARING LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES

The objective of this section was to analyse the livelihood outcomes before and after resettlement, considering critical variables which included: income[61], well-being, health, education, vulnerability, asset-accumulation[62], high status in the community, livelihood adaptation[63], resilience, and access to natural resources (see Figure 5.16).

Figure 5.16: Comparing Livelihood Outcomes before and after Resettlement

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[60] 'Hunt' was used as a metaphor to describe the search for food. Participants did not partake in hunting practices.
[61] Children of the Ark were removed from the equation.
[62] ibid.
[63] ibid.

Across all variables, participants indicated improved livelihood outcomes before resettlement to Welbedacht, indicating a better quality of life in the Ark. Access to income-earning opportunities in the city allowed participants to generate income (71%), thereby enhancing their abilities to secure financial capital and accumulate assets (75%).

Such resources enhanced the livelihood adaptation (64%) capabilities of the Ark residents. Moreover, improved quality of and access to healthcare (84%) and education (92%) in the Point Precinct enriched the community's human capital. Also, the services and sense of care provided at the Ark, fostered increased wellbeing (73%), reduced vulnerability (80%) and ultimately enhanced the resilience of the population (61%).

Significantly, all variables rated negatively in Welbedacht. The quality of education services was the variable with the most significant change after resettlement. Changes in natural capital had the least deviation in that residents had access to South Beach in the Point Precinct, and the uMlazi River in Welbedacht.

5.3   CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed the challenges that the Arkians encountered after relocation in Welbedacht. A key concern was whether those resettled to Welbedacht were able to restore their livelihoods. Based on the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, the chapter analysed the resettlers' Social, Physical, Human, Financial and Natural assets. The study found that the resettled community experienced all eight risks identified in the IRR model, which ultimately impeded their ability to restore and sustain their livelihood assets.

Social capital had disintegrated in Welbedacht. Social networks had fragmented within the resettled community, and resettlers had failed to integrate with surrounding communities. Instead, social disarticulation endures as the former Ark residents remain marginalised.

The resettled community experienced landlessness and were dispossessed of the vast common property resources they once had in the Point Precinct. The lack of physical capital had, in turn, created an oppressed community. Deficiency in physical assets negatively affected the human capital as residents experienced increased sickness and

death. Also, the absence of education and recreational facilities, for example, had restricted the growth of human capital.

Joblessness and limited financial assets in Welbedacht had created an impoverished community which was primarily reliant on government social grants for survival. Lastly, although relocated to a farm-like area, the community lacked the skills required to capitalise on natural assets and prevent food insecurity. In all instances, the different forms of capital needed to create a sustainable livelihood had failed to materialise in Welbedacht.

Instead, the risks identified in the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model (Cernea, 1997) continue to hinder this resettled community's rehabilitation. Such risks may have been mitigated if South Africa had a policy which guided the relocation process and monitored the community after resettlement. However, protections are limited to legislation that focuses on affected persons' rights and not their rehabilitation. Hence, South Africa could benefit from a resettlement policy which seeks to secure sustainable livelihood outcomes. The final chapter evaluates the research findings and provides a conclusion to this study.

CHAPTER SIX: EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

6.1   INTRODUCTION

Historically, the city was a place of refuge for the urban poor. City streets facilitated livelihood strategies, and abandoned buildings offered a place for habitation. However, the neoliberal turn dispossessed millions of their right to the city as urban space was appropriated and commodified to benefit the elite. In the global South, this was particularly evident when mega sporting events were hosted. In such instances, public-private partnerships facilitate land grabs under the guise of 'pubic-interest' (Onyebueke, et al., 2020; Shmaryahu-Yeshurun & Ben-Porat, 2020; Boland, et al., 2017).

Forced removals, through evictions, clean-up campaigns and development-induced displacement result in the 'hygienisation' of public space and the 'violent un-homing' of vulnerable communities (Garmany & Richmond, 2020; Elliott-Cooper, et al., 2020). Residents, communities and civic organisations resist evictions and struggle for the right to remain in the city (Yiftachel, 2020). Invariably the urban poor are displaced to the urban periphery which creates serious livelihood difficulties as they struggle to access the city.

While the act of displacement is well documented (Brickell, et al., 2017; Maharaj, 2017a; 2017b), there is limited academic focus on the impacts of forced peripheral resettlement (Gebre, 2014; Abebe & Hesselberg, 2013), and the lived experiences and livelihood challenges of the poor.

This thesis examined the implications of forced resettlement on the survival strategies of those displaced from the Ark homeless shelter in Durban. This final chapter presents an evaluation and conclusion to the study. The chapter begins by reflecting on the theoretical relevance of the study. After that, it evaluates the objectives of the thesis, which were to:

- Analyse livelihood strategies of residents in the Ark;
- Briefly review the revoking of urban rights, the displacement of the homeless and the nature of resistance to the move;
- Assess the nature of adjustment and adaptation after relocation in Welbedacht;

- Examine the livelihood challenges in Welbedacht, and whether those displaced restored their income-earning opportunities in their new location;

- Evaluate the extent of support from government and other sectors after relocating to Welbedacht; and

- Analyse international best practice policies regarding forced resettlement, and identify whether South Africa has any safeguarding policies of the like.

This chapter concludes with policy recommendations based on this study and identifies areas for future research.

6.2   THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS

The city is a creative public space that provides an opportunity for socio-economic mobility (Lees, 2004). In the South African context, the post-apartheid city is not only a centre for opportunities but also advances human rights as enshrined in the South African Constitution, at least in theory (Kajiita & Kang'ethe, 2016; Coggin & Pieterse, 2012; Smith, 2005; The South African Government, 1996).

However, rights and social justice in the city is increasingly contested owing to neoliberal developments. The transition from the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) to a macroeconomic policy known as Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), saw a policy shift from one predicated on social justice to one prioritising economic growth   (Smith, 2005; Bond, 2000). Historical patterns of inequality in the city re-emerged as the post-apartheid era transitioned from race-based to class-based configurations (Smith, 2005). This was illustrated in this study with reference to the Point Precinct.

Strategies to attract private investment in the notorious, derelict Point Precinct was a key post-apartheid neoliberal redevelopment project in Durban (Desai & Bond, 2019; Bond, 2000). Several public-private partnerships served i) to meet the development plan of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, ii) as a catalyst for future growth, and iii) as a mechanism to build the infrastructure required for a neoliberal world-class city (del Cerro Santamaría, 2019; Wood, 2019).

The Point Waterfront Development was a catalytic mega-project plan which sought to attract international wealth, tourism and major sporting events (Lootvoet & Freund, 2006). As the city forged ahead with the Point Waterfront Development and prepared to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the Point Precinct formed a territory of exclusion (Broudehoux, 2017; 2015). The study found that authorities forcibly removed the homeless as they did not meet the aesthetic appeal of a redeveloping 'world-class' city (Dehkordi, 2020).

Notwithstanding various public-private partnership combinations over the years, the Point Precinct had experienced creative destruction where redevelopments had creatively destroyed existing spaces of public consumption and instead criminalised poverty and diversity (Harvey, 2007a).

Nevertheless, the second circuit of capital accumulation has re-entered the Point Precinct (Desai & Bond, 2019). Recently, the region has experienced further developments. Dilapidated buildings continue to be demolished (Kubheka, 2019), and the Point Precinct is poised to become the Dubai of South Africa (Desai & Bond, 2019). The wavering fortunes of the Point area over the past two decades is an apt illustration of how:

> *"The urban fabric wavers between devaluation and revaluation, crisis and speculative binge, a ravaged built form and a renewed built form—and a fresh basis for capital accumulation"* (Merrifield, 2006, p. 84).

This study found that private capital investment strategies in the Point Precinct had dispossessed the poor when the DPDC removed them from the city. Urban displacement and redevelopment is a common trend in the global South (Lukens, 2020), in the quest to create world-class cities (Leon, 2017).

Following the extensive scholarly literature, this study identified several forms of direct and indirect displacement. Foremost, residents of the Ark experienced *Physical Displacement* (Marcuse, 1985; Grier & Grier, 1978) or what Zuk et al. (2017) referred to as *Forced Displacement* when they were evicted and forcibly removed from the church. They experienced *Economic Displacement* as joblessness was a product of resettlement (Grier & Grier, 1978). Moreover, the residents endured *Exclusionary Displacement* (Marcuse, 1985) or what Davidson (2008) referred to as *Indirect-Economic Displacement* as the eThekwini Municipality had failed to relocate the participants to affordable and suitable accommodation within the city.

The study found that the Point Precinct had undergone *Social Displacement* (Chernoff, 1980), where the poor community from the Ark were replaced by the urban elite. As a result, the Ark residents experienced *Temporal Displacement* (Kern, 2016) where urban transformation resulted in the privileging of certain groups and the marginalisation, exclusion and displacement of the former Ark dwellers. Such expulsion violated the rights of the Arkians to the city. Also, the study identified a new form of displacement. *'New-Place Displacement'* refers to the inability to adapt to the new environment or integrate with surrounding communities. Instead, respondents remained in a constant state of alienation.

Those displaced experienced all five dimensions identified in the new conceptual framework for understanding displacement (Hirsh, et al., 2020). First, the *power* struggle between the elite and the proletariat inevitably resulted in removing the poor who were defenceless against public-private partnerships advanced under the guise of 'public interest'.

Second, the *positionality* of the Arkians was grounded in their city identity. However, once displaced, they experienced 'place-based dispossession' as they were no longer tied to their physical surroundings (Hirsh, et al., 2020). Instead, they experienced re-identification as they relocated from a bustling city to a peri-urban area.

Third, *eligibility* criteria determined who was fortunate enough to receive rehousing. Fourth, *temporality* – which refers to the timeframe from the initial decision to displace until the actual removal – placed the Arkians under psychological strain as they lived with the imminent threat of displacement. The Ark initially experienced the threat of removal in 1999; however, the DPDC only evicted the church in 2004. Thus, the Arkians remained in a state of uncertainty for several years.

Lastly, there was *resistance* and contestations against displacement and relocation, including legal action and recourse to the courts. However, their efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, and those eligible for rehousing were forcibly removed and relocated to different sites (Hirsh, et al., 2020). Those who resettled in Welbedacht lost their right to access and appropriate urban space (Lefebvre, 1996).

Since 1968, Lefebvre's seminal work on the *right to the city* (1968) was influential in analysing and understanding the complicated relationship between rights and spatial

transformations. Lefebvre (1996) argued for the equal appropriation of space and inclusion of the masses in urban transformations. This *right* is, therefore, not an exclusive entitlement for the elite. Instead, it extends to include marginalised and disenfranchised persons (Marcuse, 2012).

This is not a legal right, but rather a moral claim for social justice in the realisation and advancement of human rights in the city (Huchzermeyer, 2018b; Marcuse, 2012; Harvey, 1973). Such rights include, for example, human dignity, access to essential services like health and education, inclusion in decision-making, information, employment, freedom from displacement or eviction and the right to a safe and healthy environment.

Given that South Africa has an apartheid history devoid of social justice, the right to the city promoted a path of restorative justice. However, neoliberal transformations had taken precedent over human rights. This study found that the neoliberal agenda violated the poor's rights as poverty was peripheralised to advance a world-class city agenda in Durban (Nogueira, 2019; Hammar, 2017). Despite the extensive obligations to human rights set out in the South African Constitution (1996), the de facto approach to such development schemes has been eviction, demolition and relocation (Chenwi, 2012).

According to Chapter Two of the South African Constitution (1996), the resettlement experience denied residents their constitutionally enshrined rights to freedom of movement and residence, human dignity, and to live as equals in society. Instead, the commodification and appropriation of previously public space led to the 'violent unhoming' of the urban poor (Elliott-Cooper, et al., 2020). The Point Precinct experienced 'social cleansing', thereby sanitising and sterilising previously public space (Broudehoux, 2019; 2018; 2015). The desire to recreate the city of Durban superseded the rights of the poor. Instead, the homeless were displaced and subjected to exclusion, dehumanisation, and isolation.

This absence of social justice referred to by Khan (2004, p. 5) as a moral economy of 'normlessness' was evident among city officials. Social justice provides that: i) benefits and burdens are dispersed equally ii) political decisions preserve rights, and iii) human beings are treated with dignity and respect (Jost & Kay, 2010). However, society's most vulnerable, the homeless, were not afforded such protections. Instead, benefits accrued

to the elite, burdens fell squarely on the poor, and political decisions violated society's most vulnerable constituents' human dignity and constitutionally enshrined rights.

Following Harvey (2003b), the displacement of the Ark illustrated a case of accumulation by dispossession – how the constitutionally enshrined rights of the Arkians were sacrificed for the appropriation of urban space by the political elite. Unfortunately, there are many international examples of forced displacement and relocation. Throughout the 20th century, and in the first two decades of the 21st century, massive population displacement took place globally (Cernea & Maldonado, 2018; Terminski, 2015). Cernea (1997) formulated the Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model to identify, predict and counteract the negative livelihood impacts of forced resettlement. The IRR model identified eight impoverishment risks related to forced resettlement. These included *landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property resources*, and *social disarticulation* (Cernea, 1997).

Also, this study adopted the Sustainable Livelihood Framework and identified assets that support a community. Such assets enable communities to deal with shocks (such as involuntary resettlement, for example) and included *social, physical, human, financial and natural capital* (DFID, 2001).

This study found that those displaced from the Ark experienced all eight of the impoverishment risks identified in the IRR model. This had severe implications for the assets identified in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Thus, the impoverishment risks endure today and created a community incapable of restoring their livelihood assets. Instead, the Arkians remain in a constant state of precarity.

6.3 LIVELIHOODS AND RESISTANCE IN THE ARK

The Ark was a prominent landmark in Durban's notorious Point Precinct. The celebrated work of the church acted as a catalyst for the establishment of similar centres for rehabilitation. During its period of operation, the ACMC had developed a successful framework for the rehabilitation of the homeless, substance abusers, and those with physical and mental health disorders. This section evaluates the livelihood strategies adopted in the Ark and their resistance to displacement.

i)   Livelihood Strategies in the Ark

Leaders of the ACMC based their framework for livelihood restoration on several core values and services. Welfare and charity was the foundation of ACMC which offered shelter, food, clothing, counselling and care for the needy. A rehabilitation centre catered for the recovery of substance abusers. A clinic and sick bays offered healing for the ill, with a free medical dispensary for residents' convenience. The church provided a creche for the children of working parents or those enrolled in the substance abuse program.

Central to the resident's re-integration into society was the social responsibility provided by the church. The Ark offered several skills development programs which focused on the expansion of personal and professional skills. For example, life skills training, adult education and trade school. Such skills, facilitated by the business sector and local volunteers, fostered the personal and professional development of society's most vulnerable, the homeless (Lee & Ferguson, 2019).

Crucial to the livelihood restoration of the poor was the role the Ark played in reducing idleness and joblessness through volunteer work and assistance in securing job opportunities (Groton, et al., 2017). The locale, coupled with the Ark as a facilitator of employment, created immense opportunities for the ACMC residents. Lastly, the Ark leaders used Christian principles to promote corrective behaviour, improve mental health and provide spiritual enlightenment (Knabb, et al., 2019). In doing so, the Ark leaders facilitated a renewed sense of hope for individuals and families.

The Ark's rehabilitation framework restored the different forms of capital required for a sustainable livelihood. In the Ark, many residents either did not have social connections or were fleeing from them. In other words, while some had lived a solitary life with no familial bonds, others were escaping abusive relationships. Hence, residents came to rely on one another and formed connections and family bonds. Their struggle for restoration forged strong social networks, which helped create communal solidarity, a form of social capital (Uddin & Gutberlet, 2018).

Human capital is a central component in the SLF and refers to the skills, education, and health of a population (Serrat, 2017; DFID, 2001). Often those who sought refuge at the Ark had limited skills and were in poor health due to the homelessness they had endured. Also, some residents had a history of imprisonment (Uddin & Gutberlet, 2018). The clinic,

rehabilitation centre, adult education, and trade school functioned collectively to enhance their dignity and human capital. Likewise, life skills and spiritual enlightenment restored the mental health of the residents. In all, improved psychological and physical health, coupled with educational programs, created renewed employment opportunities. The Ark restored financial capital through the church's ability to seek out and secure employment for the Arkians.

Those who sought refuge at the church often did so because they did not have access to shelter themselves (Serrat, 2017; DFID, 2001). The Ark's physical capital had a dual function in that the residents were provided with shelter and were in immediate proximity to the city's resources, amenities, and facilities. The locale was a crucial asset in the restoration of livelihoods. Improved access to resources facilitated human and financial capital through access to health and education facilities and employment opportunities (Uddin & Gutberlet, 2018).

Natural capital plays a central role for persons whose primary livelihood strategy is derived from naturally occurring assets such as land, forests, oceans and freshwater bodies (Serrat, 2017; Bazaz, et al., 2016; DFID, 2001). While residing at the Ark, access to natural assets was limited to Durban's South Beach. Although natural capital was not in abundance in the city, South Beach played a central role in the lives of the Arkians as it offered a source for recreation, subsistence fishing and informal employment opportunities.

For 22 years, the ACMC's values and services functioned collectively to restore the lives of thousands. Such persons comprised society's most vulnerable and marginalised citizens, including the elderly, female-headed households, the sick and abused, and homeless children. Attempts were made to resist displacement.

ii)   Revoking Urban Rights: Resistance to Eviction

When city officials and private developers first approached the Ark's leaders with the plan to redevelop the Point Precinct, the church did not oppose the development of the area. Instead, the Ark welcomed both the PWD and the relocation funds made available by the Department of Housing. However, tensions rose when the eThekwini Municipality and Ark authorities disagreed on an alternative permanent residence for the ACMC.

Fearing the looming threat of permanent displacement of the ACMC and the eviction of its residents, both the church's leadership and residents considered resistance strategies.

Resistance measures and tactics included legal action and attempted public protest and mobilisation. Central to the success of resistance measures are mobilisation strategies which incorporate solidarity across various sectors. However, despite the ACMC's efforts, the church had failed to garner civil society's support. This could be attributed to the fact that those resisting evictions included vulnerable, sick and poor residents, with limited influence.

While the media can play a central role in publicising evictions, the ACMC leader stated that the eThewkini Municipality had prohibited him from making statements to the press (Bisetty, 2004a). Such media censorship and restrictions are a common thread in mega-event development projects (Horne, 2018; Bond, 2010). Moreover, rumours of corruption, sexual assault and decrepit buildings were the central focus of mainstream media. Hence, there was little public support or sympathy for the Ark and its residents (Broughton, 2004a; Mbanjwa, 2004b; Ross, 2002). The residents and leaders of the church launched applications in the High Court to defend their Constitutional rights (Koenig, 2015). However, the eThekwini Municipality *had* provided alternative accommodation – as required by both the PIE (1998) and EST (1997) Acts. Thus, the judge ruled in favour of the *Durban Point Development Company* at the expense of society's most vulnerable.

The ACMC continued their resistance by applying for leave to appeal the eviction order. Their attempts were unsuccessful, and the judge ordered residents to leave the premise by the 17th of May 2004. Notwithstanding, hundreds of residents continued their struggle by vowing not to leave the Ark (Mbanjwa, 2004a). However, Judge Galgut had authorised the Sheriff and his deputies to remove the residents should they continue to resist the eviction. Thus, on the 17th of May 2004, resistance was halted by police brutality, and resisting residents were forcibly removed from the Ark Christian Ministries Church. Several scholars have argued that the poor endure brutality and criminalisation during displacement (Horne, 2018; Broudehoux, 2017; Zaytsev, 2017; Kennelly, 2016).

The Point Waterfront Development failed to take-off. The rejuvenated Ark buildings remained a white elephant in the centre of a proverbial ghost town that is the Point

Precinct. Misplaced development priorities violate the poor's rights and result in costly white elephants (Müller & Gaffney, 2018; Maharaj, 2015; Müller, 2015b).

6.4   INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT: LIVELIHOOD RESTORATION?

Rural-rural and rural-urban resettlement projects have received prominent scholarly attention (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2020; Aiyar & Kaushal, 2018; Reddy, 2018; Wilmsen, 2018; Wilmsen & Van Hulten, 2017; Ahsan & Ahmad, 2016; Wilmsen, et al., 2011). However, resettlement studies from central urban space to the periphery are more nuanced. Strategies to attract investment to city centres, coupled with the need to improve and redevelop urban infrastructure, has often resulted in displacement. However, Wang (2020) argued that little is known of life after displacement, especially regarding the livelihood implications of resettlement (Easton, et al., 2020; Wang, 2020; Newman & Wyly, 2006).

This study sought to bridge the knowledge gap that exists in urban resettlement literature. More specifically, the study aimed to investigate the impacts of forced resettlement on the livelihoods of those displaced and whether restoration had occurred in the relocation site. In terms of the restoration of livelihoods, the researcher considered three objectives. These included i) assessing the nature of adjustment and adaptation to Welbedacht, ii) identifying the livelihood challenges and whether income-opportunities were restored, and iii) evaluating the extent of support provided by the government and other sectors.

This study adapted Cernea's (1997) IRR model and the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DFID, 2001) to determine livelihood outcomes post-resettlement. Table 6.1 presents a summary of these findings, which are evaluated in more detail.

Table 6.1 Livelihood Outcomes in Welbedacht

Asset (SLF)	Risk (Cernea)	Outcome (Findings)
Social Capital	Social Disarticulation, Marginalisation	Sense of Loss, Socio-Economic Hierarchy, Community Disintegration, New-Place Displacement, Lack of Integration, Detachment to the Environment, Social Exclusion, Discrimination
Physical Capital	Homelessness, Landlessness, Loss of Access to Common Property Resources	Loss of Access to Central Locale, Dispossession of Facilities and Resources, and Oppression
Human Capital	Increased Morbidity and Mortality, Food Insecurity	Low Status of Health and Education, Hopelessness, Parental and Juvenile Delinquency
Financial Capital	Joblessness	Economic Exclusion, Chronic Unemployment, Complacent Impoverishment
Natural Capital	Landlessness	Vulnerability to Malnourishment and Health-related Consequences

(Source: Developed by Author)

6.4.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL

This study assessed the extent of social capital among the residents in Welbedacht by analysing the sense of community and sense of place within the resettlement site. The sense of community evaluated the extent of connectedness and unity within the resettled population. Assessing the sense of place established whether those resettled had adapted to and integrated with the surrounding communities.

Initially, the Arkians experienced a sense of loss as they had shared close bonds and social networks in the Point. They lived co-operatively and communally in shared quarters and

were not accustomed to nuclear, individualistic living (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018). Today, the family-like relationships and networks had dissipated and fragmented in Welbedacht. Forced resettlement tore asunder the social fabric of this formerly united community as residents lost their long-standing social capital, which had previously provided support in times of adversity (Gebre, 2014).

In Welbedacht, a socio-economic hierarchy formed among the Arkians and separated those with more financial security from the impoverished. Several scholars have identified social disarticulation post-resettlement (Nikuze, et al., 2019; Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014). However, none have pointed to the formation of socio-economic hierarchies among the resettled.

The Arkians experienced community disintegration in Welbedacht and social barriers formed among the resettled group, which diminished community co-operation. Instead, social tensions and cultural clashes formed among the resettled group and the local community in Welbedacht (Kotadiya, et al., 2019; Cernea, 2004). Social ills perpetuated community disintegration and reduced interactions and gatherings among the Arkians (Van der Ploeg & Vanclay, 2018).

Together with community disintegration, participants lost access to the social networks outside of the Ark (Cernea, 2004). Social networks severed due to the isolation of the resettlement site and expensive transport services. Severed social networks are a prominent feature in resettlement studies (Nikuze, et al., 2019; Arrigoitia, 2017; Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014).

The study assessed the sense of place by investigating the lived experience of the displaced and identified *'New-Place Displacement'* as the inability to 'make-place' in Welbedacht. Marginalisation, hostility and stigmatisation inhibited place-making in Welbedacht (Stabrowski, 2014).

The Arkians were perceived *"by the host communities as a socially degrading stigma"* (Cernea, 2004, p. 22). The stigma attached to the Arkians in the Point Precinct was transferred to the resettlement site in what Wacquant (2008b, p. 169) referred to as *'Territorial Stigmatisation'.* The Arkians were perceived as urban outcasts and were met with hostility in the resettlement site as they competed for scarce resources (Wang, et al., 2020; Patel, et al., 2015; Wacquant, 2008b).

Hence, government authorities enclosed the community with a fence and armed security. Such discriminatory tactics violated their rights by physically excluding them from society and restricting their freedom of movement. This isolation tactic prevented social cohesion and integration between the host community and the Arkians (Kolling, 2019; Arrigoitia, 2017).

Today, this antagonism is expressed by the surrounding community's continual reference to the resettled group as *'Point People'* and their resettlement site as *'Point', s*uch labelling is not unique to this study (Kolling, 2019; Kotadiya, et al., 2019; Samarakoon, 2017).

In Welbedacht, the relocated community remained socially and economically excluded from the locals due to the stigma of homelessness and social ills (substance abuse, prostitution, HIV/Aids) attached to the Ark community. Such discriminations extended to the employment, health and education sectors.

Wang (2020) found that i) improved housing conditions, ii) good health, iii) sufficient income and iv) access to physical assets helped to compensate for feelings of inferiority and discriminatory actions and simultaneously advance integration. However, in Welbedacht, income-earning opportunities are scarce, housing quality is inferior, and residents struggle to access facilities. These conditions exacerbated the marginalisation, stigmatisation and discrimination experienced by the Arkian community. Subsequently, residents failed to adapt to Welbedacht and integrate with surrounding communities. Instead, the participants expressed a significant detachment from their harsh environment.

The study concluded that the community's social capital had fragmented in Welbedacht. The sense of community present in the Ark had disintegrated due to social hierarchies, barriers and stigmas associated with the Arkians. The failure to 'make-place' was aggravated by the prejudice from the local community towards the Arkians.

6.4.2   PHYSICAL CAPITAL

In this study, the evaluation of physical capital included an assessment of the resettlement site, the dwelling and the potential for asset accumulation.

The Arkians were displaced from the urban core and resettled in the periphery. In doing so, poverty was peripheralised (Nogueira, 2019), and residents experienced landlessness

in that they lost access to central locale. This also affected their access to common property resources such as education and health facilities and employment opportunities, which were abundant in the city. Hence, improved livelihood outcomes may have been possible if the Arkians were resettled within a five-kilometre radius in the locality of the Ark, ensuring continued access to life-sustaining resources, amenities and income-earning opportunities (Roquet, et al., 2017; Bazaz, et al., 2016; Patel, et al., 2015; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014).

However, the DPDC removed the Arkians from the resource-rich urban core to a secluded and underdeveloped location (Kotadiya, et al., 2019). The absence of common property resources, including access to basic services such as health and education, and a functioning transport network was a violation of human rights. (Abduselam & Belay, 2018). Hence, joblessness and school dropouts were a product of resettlement (Kotadiya, et al., 2019).

The dispossession of life-sustaining resources meant that many residents failed to adapt in Welbedacht. Instead, some of the Arkians 'sold' their houses and returned to the city to live a life of homelessness. Low household occupancy rates in Welbedacht were attributed to the inaccessibility, underdevelopment and lack of opportunities in the resettlement site, which is an international trend (Mahadevia, et al., 2013).

Physical capital in the city provides an abundance of resources and services that enhance and sustain the poor's livelihoods. However, this resettlement project failed to recognise the value of the Ark's locale and the advantages it provided for the working poor. The urban poor were relocated to an underdeveloped, underserviced, and resourceless area. Hence, such resettlement projects were simply rehousing strategies where well-being and livelihoods are forgotten or disregarded (Vanclay, 2017; Koenig, 2014).

The eThekwini Municipality provided alternative accommodations to meet South African legislation requirements and avoid the risk of homelessness as described in Cernea's (1997) IRR model.

In Welbedacht, there were several housing-related challenges. Authorities classified Welbedacht as a Temporary Relocation Area (TRA). Housing was incomplete, and the area lacked essential services. As Ranslem (2015) argued, resettlement sites classified as TRAs often become *de facto* permanent housing solutions.

While resettlement studies have indicated improved housing conditions post-resettlement (Kotadiya, et al., 2019; Nikuze, et al., 2019; Van der Ploeg & Vanclay, 2018), this study found that materials used for construction were detrimental to the health of the residents. Specifically, residents described the prominence of Cardiovascular and Pulmonary-related diseases, attributed to the asbestos roofing. Likewise, inferior plumbing resulted in blocked drains, which placed residents' health and well-being at risk.

Within a household, asset accumulation forms an essential part of the development process (Schuh, 2019). In Welbedacht, residents have not restored their financial capital sufficiently to allow for asset accumulation. Instead, assets which could enhance livelihood outcomes – such as access to personal transport – are mostly non-existent in Welbedacht.

This study concluded that Welbedacht is significantly deficient of the physical capitals which could have aided livelihood restoration. Furthermore, increased travel time and costs restricted the movement of the community. While marginal improvements occurred in providing necessary services (water & electricity), such developments did not satisfy the socio-economic needs of the resettled community. Therefore, participants likened their resettlement site to a dungeon. Those who remained in Welbedacht struggled to access necessary infrastructures such as health and educational facilities or income-earning opportunities. The dispossession of city resources, coupled with limited development and the lack of political will to improve infrastructure in Welbedacht had resulted in community oppression, which had severe consequences for the Arkian's social and economic advancement (see human capital). Hence, the Arkians expressed severe discontent toward political authorities as they felt powerless to effect change in Welbedacht.

6.4.3   HUMAN CAPITAL

This study identified the livelihood implications associated with the destruction of human capital. It revealed that the region's lack of physical assets (especially health and education) had severe consequences for the resettled group's social development. While the government and other sectors rendered support, such assistance was ineffective and

inefficient. Also, human capital in Welbedacht was undermined by the social pathologies within the resettled community.

Scholars have identified a sense of state abandonment (Arrigoitia, 2017) and betrayal (Kolling, 2019) in relocation projects. This was evident in this study where relocatees expressed a similar sense of neglect as government, and non-government assistance was ineffective and insufficient.

International development agencies contend those forcibly resettled should receive compensation for lost property (The World Bank, 2017; Asian Development Bank, 2012; International Finance Corporation, 2012). Despite having no legal title to a property before displacement, one hundred Ark families received compensation in the form of housing but remained disadvantaged for four reasons.

Firstly, the eThekwini Municipality selected the resettlement site without prior consent or consultation with displaced households (Nikuze, et al., 2019). Second, resettlement was to a remote location that contributed to their economic disadvantage (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018). Thirdly, residents did not receive Title Deeds and continued to question their 'ownership' status (Kotadiya, et al., 2019). Lastly, resettlement authorities failed to honour their pledge to compensate residents for their lost property (Worden, 2015), which was a violation of resettlement protocols.

In terms of health, persons resettled to Welbedacht experienced an increased risk of morbidity and mortality as they suffered higher levels of exposure and vulnerability to illness. Several studies highlighted reduced access to healthcare services in the resettlement site as the cause for increased sickness post-relocation (Nikuze, et al., 2019; Abduselam & Belay, 2018; Ambaye & Abeliene, 2015; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014). In Welbedacht unreliable and costly transport (Shaw & Saharan, 2018), coupled with under-resourced clinics (Arrigoitia, 2017), hindered the resettled community's access to healthcare.

The social stress and trauma associated with forced removal (Cernea, 1997), combined with financial distress, discriminatory treatment by officials and the hostile alienation from the local community, had collectively exacerbated the prominence of physical and mental health disorders in Welbedacht (Wang, et al., 2020).

Yntiso (2008) found that resettled scholars dropped out of school to support their families. In this study, social disarticulation, discrimination, marginalisation and financial stress were the cause of school dropouts for the Ark children. Authorities had failed to understand the implications of resettlement on the school attendance of youth. Those who dropped out of school in 2004 are now unemployed parents. Furthermore, inadequate access to education was perpetuated intergenerationally.

Social pathology is a term used to describe societal problems that result in disorganised and delinquent behaviours (MacDonald & Marsh, 2002). In the absence of social justice, societal challenges become a heavier burden for the poor. Many who sought shelter at the Ark had suffered social problems which included addiction, abandonment, abusive relationships, homelessness, criminal and violent behaviours, prostitution and illness. The Ark provided rehabilitative opportunities for the poor and deprived.

However, the forced removal of the ACMC had severe implications for the residents as they no longer had access to such restorative services. Hence, deviant behaviours re-emerged, intensified, and became an intergenerational problem in Welbedacht.

Crimes were perpetrated due to poverty and to support substance dependencies. Addiction to substances re-emerged and was widespread in Welbedacht. Residents used substance abuse as a mechanism for recreation and escapism from their hopeless social realities.

Furthermore, the frequency and normalisation of crime and substance abuse, coupled with the inherent anger among parents, contributed to the prevalence of delinquent behaviour among adolescents. Parental delinquency exposed children to anger, addiction, violence, substance abuse, adversity, and school absenteeism. Premature exposure to adversity contributed to psychosocial problems (Basto-Pereira, et al., 2016).

Juvenile delinquency was a product of the social and physical environment in Welbedacht and was a finding unique to this resettlement study. Criminal acts included substance abuse, theft, home invasions, and rape.

The study concluded that resettlement had eroded human capital. Government and non-government sectors had failed to provide effective and efficient livelihood support. Those resettled were exposed to inaccessible health and educational facilities, which led to increased sickness and failure to fulfil basic academic requirements. Furthermore,

substance abuse and criminal activity emerged as a product of recreation and poverty, respectively. Such learned behaviours had impeded the psychological development of children. As a result, substance abuse and vile criminal acts consumed the youngest generation – the descendant of the Ark children. Thus, the community were fearful of illegal activities to come.

6.4.4   FINANCIAL CAPITAL

This study assessed the extent of financial capital by analysing the community's income sources and employment status. Income generation in Welbedacht has proved challenging. Most of the population remained burdened by financial loss post-resettlement as income was irregular and insufficient.

Most respondents indicated that they were employed before resettlement. However, the displaced experienced joblessness as they lost access to locale and income-earning opportunities (Cernea, 1997). Several factors thwarted access to employment and rendered participants economically displaced (Kamakia, et al., 2018; Grier & Grier, 1978).

First, the loss of locational advantage meant that residents no-longer had access to the city's varied employment opportunities (Yntiso, 2008). Second, the increased distance to the city, coupled with unestablished transport networks inhibited employment access (Kotadiya, et al., 2019; Nikuze, et al., 2019). Third, the Ark acted as a facilitator for employment. Thus, the destruction of the Ark devastated employment opportunities. Lastly, resettlement authorities made no effort to create economic conditions for employment in the resettlement site (Cernea, 2000). Instead, this resettlement project was simply a rehousing plan as no strategies were implemented to secure the livelihoods of the displaced (Vanclay, 2017; Koenig, 2014).

As a result, the community adopted unsustainable and illicit strategies for survival. Poverty and social disintegration among the resettled group meant that the participants could not or would not assist their neighbours. Instead, in times of struggle, the community resorted to assistance from loan sharks. While this financial strategy met the impoverished's immediate needs, it placed considerable strain on the population's future financial capacity through debt accumulation (Chowdhury, et al., 2017) and financial exploitation (Rethel, et al., 2020).

Other sources of income were derived mainly from government grants, with marginal support from formal employment. Hopelessness and passivity led to increased dependence on government grants (Reddy, et al., 2017) and external family assistance (Gebre, 2014). The displaced lost their livelihoods and independence and relied on external aid (Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018). That created a *dependence syndrome* in Welbedacht (Kajiita & Kang'ethe, 2016, p. 101).

Poverty had a gender dimension in that many households were headed by females, and mothers resorted to prostitution to meet their family's needs. Significantly, the study found that this financial strategy was intergenerational in that children engaged in sexual acts to meet their own needs. This contributed to teenage pregnancy in Welbedacht. Families are burdened with additional costs when children fall pregnant, and the cycle of impoverishment continues.

Relocation negatively affected the financial capital of the displaced. A culture of intergenerational chronic unemployment had formed in Welbedacht. Joblessness endured due to the lack of income-earning opportunities in Welbedacht and transport-related issues (cost and time) to reach employment hubs. Furthermore, residents were economically excluded from potential job opportunities in Welbedacht due to the stigma attached to the Ark community. Chronic unemployment, coupled with economic exclusion resulted in an impoverished community. Moreover, due to the support provided by government grants, a culture of dependence formed, and residents became complacent in their state of impoverishment. The cost of resettlement endures as participants have failed to restore their financial capital.

6.4.5   NATURAL CAPITAL

Due to the urban-rural/peripheral relocation, landlessness, and common property resources in this study had a dual function. First, participants experienced a loss of central location where physical infrastructure (common property resources) was abundant (Kotadiya, et al., 2019; Ichwatus & Shaojun, 2018; Patel, et al., 2015; Patel & Mandhyan, 2014). Second, participants did not have access to arable lands and struggled to capitalise on common property resources in Welbedacht.

Those resettled previously relied on wage-based employment as a livelihood strategy. Relocation to a peripheral/rural setting would require transition to land-based livelihoods. According to Cernea (2000), the state must provide the displaced with resources for livelihood reconstruction. However, this study found that the government had not offered the resettled community training in agricultural production. Nevertheless, some residents did partake in agricultural practices.

Agricultural practices in Welbedacht consisted of both livestock rearing and crop production. However, few Arkians had the knowledge and resources to participate in both. Instead, the study identified several challenges which prevented participants from capitalising on natural assets. The primary challenge was landlessness (Cernea, 1997). Those who were able to farm were hindered by the absence of a boundary fence to enclose their properties. As such, roaming cattle and poverty-stricken youth often consumed their produce and livestock. Also, the cost of water was high. This required participants to make use of their second source of natural capital, the uMlazi River. The river offered a source of fresh water, recreation and subsistence fishing. However, many participants were reluctant to use this resource as the strong river currents had claimed many young lives and were, therefore, a threat to their survival (Nofemele, 2012).

6.5 RESETTLEMENT POLICY: REDUCING RELOCATION RISKS

This study's final objective sought to analyse international policies regarding forced resettlement and assess South African options.

6.5.1 INTERNATIONAL RESETTLEMENT POLICIES

Following the massive displacements in the 20th century, International Finance Institutions developed guideline policies to mitigate the impoverishment risks associated with forced resettlement. Prominent examples include included:

- The World Bank's Environmental and Social Standard 5: Land Acquisition, Restrictions on Land Use and Involuntary Resettlement (2017);

- The International Finance Corporation's Performance Standard 5: Land Acquisition and Involuntary Resettlement (2012); and

- The Asian Development Bank's Involuntary Resettlement Safeguard Policy Principles (2012).

These policies were developed to protect the rights of affected persons, guide the resettlement process, and provide a framework to restore livelihoods. However, this study found that guidance for resettlement and restoration focuses on land-based livelihoods. This concurs with scholars who argued that resettlement policies lack guidelines on urban relocation and methods to restore wage-based livelihoods (Koenig, 2018; 2014; Roquet, et al., 2017; Smyth, et al., 2015). The study found several reasons for the land-based bias.

First, results revealed that in the past, resettlement projects with a massive displacement footprint mainly took place in rural areas (Roquet, et al., 2017). Therefore, those who wrote the policies mostly had experience in rural practices. Second, urban resettlement is massively expensive. Third, rural livelihoods are less complicated because they operate off fixed parameters such as land, water, and forests. However, restoring urban livelihoods is complex in that they are varied, transient, informal and operate off various wage-based skillsets. Hence, resettlement experts have a 'duty of care' to ensure that they uphold best practice protocols in urban resettlement projects.

However, authorities did not provide a 'duty of care' to guide the relocation or restore the livelihoods of the Arkians. While scholars argued that authorities should monitor livelihood restoration for ten years (Smyth, et al., 2015), no monitoring or evaluation took place post-relocation to Welbedacht. Although the resettlement could have been an opportunity for development (Vanclay, 2017), poor practice instead led to rehousing instead of rehabilitating the poor (Koenig, 2014). The study confirms the international trend, which indicates that livelihood restoration is not adequately planned or implemented in resettlement projects (Smyth, et al., 2015). Instead, by disregarding affected persons' livelihoods, project authorities failed to recognise the rights of the displaced (Van der Ploeg & Vanclay, 2017).

6.5.2 RESETTLEMENT POLICY: SOUTH AFRICA

While international guidelines exist to protect those vulnerable to forced resettlement, such policies are only enforceable when developers borrow funds from IFIs. Developers are not required to utilise resettlement guidelines when IFIs do not fund projects. Under

such circumstances, national legislation centred on land acquisition, zoning, and compensation is adopted (Koenig, 2014). In the South African context, findings indicate that such legislation refers to the *Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land* (PIE) *Act* (1998) and the *Extension of Security of Tenure* (EST) *Act* (1997).

These laws uphold the rights of unlawful occupiers and ensure that no person shall be arbitrarily evicted without the provision of alternative accommodation. However, there are no measures to ensure that those forcibly resettled relocate in a dignified way and are provided with the necessary support to restore their living conditions.

The implications of this are the violation of Constitutionally enshrined rights – such as the right to freedom of movement, information, human dignity, security of persons, and access to religious institutions, education, employment, health, essential services and social security (The South African Government, 1996).

To uphold the rights of the poor, several countries in the global South have developed resettlement policies. These policies bridge the gap between national legislation and international resettlement policies (Roquet, et al., 2017; Cernea, 2005). Examples include Brazil, China, India, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, and Kenya (Kamakia, et al., 2017; Roquet, et al., 2017; Perera, 2014; Indian Government, 2013; Jing, 2000). South Africa should adopt the same.

6.6   RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations emanate from this study. First, efforts to improve and transform the city's spatial structure have seen countless urban residents displaced by development. A primary objective of international policies is to reconstruct the livelihoods of the displaced. However, South Africa has no resettlement policy to guide the relocation and rehabilitation of affected groups. The government, in collaboration with resettlement experts, developers, and previously displaced persons, should design a resettlement policy.

Second, the study recommends that the resettlement policy framework takes a human rights approach, predicated on international guidelines, the Bill of Rights and Batho Pele principles. In any potential relocation, the policy should:

i) Identify persons at risk including women, children and the elderly;

ii) Provide consultation and access to information to all affected persons. Resettlement practitioners must ensure transparent consultation with both resettlers and host communities;

iii) Developers should include affected persons in the decision-making when assessing suitable relocation sites;

iv) The human dignity of all parties should be respected;

v) The policy needs to give equal consideration to the restoration of land-based and wage-based livelihood strategies;

vi) The policy should provide mechanisms to ensure sustainable livelihood outcomes (including provisions for housing, tenure, income, services, food and social security, health, education and transport networks);

vii) All project-affected persons (including the resettlers and host communities) need to receive adequate resettlement compensation. Payment must include remuneration for the forced removal and lost assets;

viii) Grievance protocols need to be in place to deal with complaints throughout the resettlement process; and

ix) The policy must enforce monitoring and evaluation to manage the risks throughout the resettlement process and monitor livelihood restoration post-resettlement.

Third, there is an overwhelming emphasis on the socio-economic impacts of displacement and forced (mostly rural) resettlement. This study recommends that resettlement experts give more attention to the human dimension of resettlement.

Fourth, the study recommends that developers have a social responsibility to ensure that all staff are well-informed about the human rights violations that may occur throughout the development process.

Lastly, this study has shown that authorities failed to understand the importance of locale in sustaining livelihoods. This study recommends that resettlement authorities be cognisant of livelihood implications which arise when urban inhabitants lose access to

central locales. Hence, the location of the resettlement sites should not disrupt access to central employment hubs.

6.7   FUTURE RESEARCH

Several areas for future research emanate from this study. More research is needed to explore the role that locale plays in sustaining and improving livelihoods.

Further research should focus on the role of community contestation in improving livelihood outcomes – for example, resistance as a negotiation tactic to enhance compensation packages.

There is a need to investigate the role that developers play in the eviction and resettlement process and whether the combined efforts of both parties (public and private) could mitigate human rights violations.

This study has shown that resettlement results in adverse impacts on human capital. Further studies should pay closer attention to human capital and the intergenerational effects of resettlement on the relocated community.

6.8   CONCLUSION

Throughout the 20th century, massive displacements occurred as a result of mega-projects. As development-induced displacement and resettlement became more widespread, the phenomenon attracted increased attention. Researchers were concerned about the impacts of resettlement on the livelihoods of those displaced by development. However, as was evident in this study, scholarly attention and policies to alleviate risks primarily focused on the rural sphere. This thesis drew from the SLF and the IRR model to identify the livelihood implications of urban development-induced displacement and resettlement.

This study identified all eight risks recognised in Cernea's IRR model. In addition, all of the 'capitals' needed to support a sustainable and functioning livelihood had fragmented in Welbedacht. Instead, the community experienced dissolution and impoverishment.

The unity, familial bonds and community co-operation at the Ark were no-longer present in Welbedacht. Instead, social bonds disintegrated, and the Arkians adopted an 'every

man for themselves' mentality. Communal destruction was exacerbated by the social exclusion and prejudice from the surrounding communities in Welbedacht. The Arkians failed to integrate with the surrounding residents. Instead, they endured *new-place displacement* and expressed a significant detachment to their environment.

This was exacerbated by the absence of physical capital in Welbedacht. Residents experienced accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003b) and are still burdened by inaccessible facilities such as health and education. This, in turn, had severe implications for the development of human capital, which is also continually undermined by the social pathologies in Welbedacht

Also, the absence of income-earning opportunities in Welbedacht, coupled with the struggle to reach jobs in other areas meant the resettled group failed to restore financial capital. Instead, chronic unemployment endures and is an intergenerational challenge.

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APPENDIXES

Title: Abandoning the Ark in Durban: Development, Displacement, Resettlement and Livelihood Struggles.

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Tara Fitzgerald, and I am currently a student in the College of Agriculture, Engineering and Science (within the Geography Department) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard Campus). I am undertaking a research study in the hopes of attaining a degree in Doctor of Philosophy.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves researching the livelihood implications of development-induced displacement and resettlement. In doing so, the research intends to shed light on whether residents who lose their access to the city are able to restore their livelihoods after displacement occurs. The research requires me to conduct a focus group (8-12 people) and a survey questionnaire (minimum of 30 people) with those who are willing to participate in the study. The group discussion will be recorded for research purposes

The study may involve the following risks and discomforts; the recollection of painful memories. Unfortunately, this study will provide no direct benefits to the participants. However, your story will provide monumental assistance in uncovering the impacts of development-induced displacement and livelihood struggles. It is hoped that your participation will provide evidence to previously unanswered research questions which may, in turn, lead to future development projects which are more equitable.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number 00000183/2019).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions, you may contact the researcher at (218087625@stu.ukzn.ac.za) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

It is imperative that you know that you are not obligated to participate in this study. If you choose to participate in this study, you have the right to:
• Remove yourself from the study at any point.
• Request that the recorder be turned off at any point.
• Ask any questions relating to the study.
• Remain quiet should you not wish to answer a question.
• Request information on the research findings from me.

Should you want your identity to remain anonymous, a pseudonym will be applied

Consent to Participate

I _____ have been informed about the study entitled 'Abandoning the Ark in Durban: Development, Displacement, Resettlement and Livelihood Struggles' by the researcher, Tara Fitzgerald.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study are to understand the livelihood struggles of those who are displaced by development.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any consequences.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at 218087625@stu.ukzn.ac.za.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers, then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion   YES / NO

Use of my photographs for research purposes   YES / NO

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____
Signature of Witness   Date

_____   _____
Signature of Translator   Date

APPENDIX 2: LETTER OF APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU•NATAL

INWVESI

YAKWAZULU-NATALI

06 November 2019
Miss Tara Jade Fitzgerald (218087625)
School of Built Environment & Development Studies Howard College Campus
Dear Miss Fitzgerald,

Protocol reference number : HSSREC/00000183/2019
Project title: Abandoning the Ark in Durban: Development, Displacement, Resettlement and Livelihood Struggles

Approval Notification — Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

This letter serves to notify you that your response received on 21 October 2019 to our letter of 10 October 2019 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted FULL APPROVAL.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/lnterview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid for one year from 06 November 2019.
To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

Yours faithfully

..............████████████.....................
Professor Urmilla Bob
University Dean of Research

/ms

APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE WELBEDACHT RESIDENTS

QUESTION 1- OWNERSHIP STATUS

Q 1.1	Do you own this house?	YES		NO	
Q 1.2	How many bedrooms does your house have?				
Q 1.3	Do you receive any rental income from this property?	Yes		No	

QUESTION 2- HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Q 2.1 How many household members live on this property (including tenants)?	

Q 2.2	Household Head (tick)		RELATION TO Household Head	Sex	Age	EDUCATION STATUS (Highest grade completed)	OCCUPATION TYPE (coding sheet)	DISABILITY (coding sheet) Please state what disability
	Yes	No						
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								

Q 2.3 How did you make a living before you resided in the Ark?

Q 2.4 What circumstances led you to seek help at the Ark?

QUESTION 3 RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCE

Q 3.1 Were you informed well in advance that you would be relocated to Welbedacht? TICK √			
YES		NO	
Q3.2 if Yes for 3.1 Please state how you were informed			

1= The Ark Leaders 2= Local Authority (police) 3= Government Official 4= Other, State who	Circle relevant option 1 2 3 4

Q 3.3 How did you feel when you were first told you would be moved from the Ark? TICK √			
1. Happy	2. Sad	3. Angry	4. Hopeful
Q3.4 Please Provide a reason for your answer			
Reason			

Q 3.5 Did all your friends, and family members move with you from the Ark? TICK √		
1= Yes	2= No	
Q3.6 if no to 3.5, please state where your friends/family went		

Q 3.7 Please state true or false to the following: When you saw Welbedacht for the first time you TICK √		
	TRUE	FALSE
Thought Welbedacht was accessible for transport		
Thought there were a lot of resources in Welbedacht (employment, schools, clinic)		
Thought Welbedacht would be a good place to start over		
Thought Welbedacht had good basic services (water, electricity, sanitation, housing)		

Q 3.8 How do you describe your livelihood status before and after resettlement? [use codes] Choose Code: 5=better; 4=good 3= no change, 2=bad 1=worse	
Before Resettlement	After Resettlement

Q 3.9 Were you happy to leave the Ark and relocate to Welbedacht? (TICK √ selected response)			
Yes		No	
Q 3.10 Please provide a reason for question 3.9			

Q 3.11 Please describe your experience during the physical process of relocation from the Ark to Welbedacht (TICK √ selected response)			
RESPECTFUL	GOOD	HARSH	CRUEL

Q 3.12 Please tell me whether you think the following statements are TRUE or FALSE TICK √		
THE RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCE	TRUE	FALSE
Being relocated from the Ark to Welbedacht was a stressful experience		
Being relocated from the Ark to Welbedacht was an enjoyable experience		
The living conditions in Welbedacht are better than in the Ark		
Access to municipal services (i.e. water, lights and refuse removal) has improved		
There is a sense of community among the resettled households in Welbedacht		
I wish I could move back to the Ark		
I feel a sense of belonging in Welbedacht		
My life has changed for the better in Welbedacht		
THE WELBEDACHT HOST SITE		
My Welbedacht garden is too small		
The cost of living in Welbedacht is higher than it was in the Ark		
Welbedacht is noisier than the Ark (traffic, construction)		
There are no resources in Welbedacht		
My livelihood is harder to sustain in Welbedacht than it was in the Ark		
My household is more vulnerable to crime in Welbedacht		
The people living here before me were happy/welcoming when we moved here		
Drug and alcohol abuse is higher in Welbedacht than it was in the Ark		
I am satisfied with the quality of my replacement house in Welbedacht		
I am happy that I was relocated to Welbedacht		

Q 3.13 Please tell me in which ways you think your household is better off living in Welbedacht
1.
2.
3.
4.

Q 3.14 Please tell me in which ways you think your household is worse off living in Welbedacht
1.
2.
3.
4.

Q 3.15 Would you say your human rights were violated when you were displaced from the Ark? TICK √			
YES		NO	
Q 3.16 Please Provide a reason for your answer to Q3.15			
Reason			

Q 3.17 Would you say that you have lost access to the city?			
YES		NO	

Q 3.18 Please provide a reason for your answer to Q3.17
Reason

Q 3.19 Did you experience any violence from authority during the eviction/ resettlement to Welbedacht? Please tick		
Physical violence	Yes	No
Verbal violence	Yes	No

Q 3.20 Have any monitoring or social audit studies been conducted to determine whether you have been able to restore your livelihoods?	
Yes	No

QUESTION 4- EMPLOYMENT

Q 4.1 Were you employed when you lived in the Ark?			
YES		NO	

Q 4.2 IF NO to 4.1, please provide a reason for your answer

Q 4.3 Did the leaders of the Ark help you find employment?			
YES		NO	

Q 4.4 Were city resources useful to sustain your livelihood in the Ark?			
YES		NO	

Q 4.5 If yes to the previous question, please tick 3 of the city resources you depended on the most.	
Transport	
Social Networks	
Employment Opportunities	
Infrastructure	
Social services	

Q 4.6 Did you lose your job in the Ark after being resettled to Welbedacht? Please tick	
Yes	No
Q 4.7 if 'yes' to 4.6, please state why you lost your job	

Q 4.8 When in the Ark, did you receive any support from other sectors (welfare, church organizations, donations, etc.)?

YES		NO	

Q 4.9 If YES to the previous question, please elaborate on the support you received

Q 4.10 Are you currently employed?

YES		Go to 4.11	NO		Go to Q 4.12

Q 4.11 Please complete the table below for the household members who are CURRENTLY EMPLOYED (including tenants) NOTE: This may be formal or informal employment.

NO	OCCUPATION OR EMPLOYMENT STATUS (coding sheet)	EMPLOYER	LOCATION	TRANSPORT
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				

Q 4.12 Are there employment opportunities in Welbedacht?

YES		Go to Q 4.13	NO	

Q 4.13 What type of jobs are available in Welbedacht?

Q 4.14 Are you currently looking for Employment?

YES		NO		Go to Q 4.15

Q 4.15 If unemployed, how do you support yourself financially?

QUESTION 5- SKILLS DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORT

Q. 5. 1 Did any of the household members attend any skills training programmes?				
Full Name (Household members who completed the program)	Training Program	Year	Certification (yes/ no)	Provider of Programme, e.g. gov, NGO
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6				

Q 5.2 Were any of the above household members employed after completing the training program?			
YES		NO	

Q 5.3 In your opinion, do you believe that any of the community programs have been successful?			
YES	If yes, go to Q5.4	NO	If no, go to Q5.5

Q 5.4 Please state why you think the programs were successful

Q 5.5 Please state why you think the programs were unsuccessful and what should have been done differently

Q 5.6 State TRUE/ FALSE: I received the following support from government/NGO when I was first relocated to Welberdacht		
Food	Government	NGO

Reduced water and electricity fees		
Social services (police, clinic, education)		
Tools for farming		
Security		
Community Programmes		
Q 5.7 Are you currently receiving this support today? Please tick AND specify whether support is from Government or NGO		
Food	**Yes**	**No**
Reduced water and electricity fees		
Social services (police, clinic, education)		
Tools for farming		
Security		
Community Programmes		

Q 5.8 How would you rate the support received by the Government for the following: **Use code: 4 excellent, 3 good, 2 bad, 1 very bad**	
Item	*Code 1,2,3,4,*
Size of land	
Size of house	
Establishment of social infrastructure facilities (school, parks, police, clinic, library etc.)	
Restoring Financial Income	
Compensation for resettlement	

QUESTION 6- BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

Q 6.1 Do any of the household members own or manage a business?			
YES		**NO**	
Q 6.2 If YES, please provide the following information			
BUSINESS NAME		**TYPE OF BUSINESS**	
1			
2			
3			

4			

QUESTION 7-LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Q 7.1 Do you have any fruit / Vegetables growing on your Welbedacht Property?					
YES		Go to Q 7.2	NO		Go to Q 7.3

Q 7.2 Please state what fruits/ Vegetable are grown	
Fruit	Vegetable

Q 7.3 Please state why you don't grow fruit/ vegetables

Q 7.4 Do you have any livestock on your Welbedacht Property?					
YES		Go to Q 7.5	NO		Go to 7.6

Q 7.5 Please state what livestock you keep on your property

Q 7.6 What were your main livelihood strategies before (at the Ark) and after resettlement (Welbedacht)		
Select Code 1,2,3,4,5 1; formal employment 2; informal employment [trade, sewing, cleaning, creche] 3; farming 4; fishing 5; other (please specify)	Before Resettlement	Welbedacht

Q 7.7 During which month is food shortage severe, and why?
Answer:
Q 7.8 How do you cope during food shortages?
Answer:
Q 7.9 What challenges do you face when farming?
Answer:

Q 7.10 Does farming help alleviate food shortages?	
Answer:	

7.11 Sustainable Livelihood outcomes?		
Please state yes/ no to the following matters relating to livelihood outcome changes in the previous and new location **1 = yes; 2 = no**		
	The Ark 1 = yes; 2 = no	**Welbedacht 1 = yes; 2 = no**
More income		
Increased wellbeing		
Better health		
Better education		
Reduced vulnerability		
Asset accumulation		
High status in the community		
Livelihood adaptation		
Resilience enhanced		
Natural resource sustainability ensured		

QUESTION 8- SOCIAL SERVICES

8.1 Please tell me if your household members have received assistance from any of the following organisations		
AREA	**Ark** (YES or NO) 1 = yes; 2 = no	**WELBEDACHT** (YES or NO) 1 = yes; 2 = no
Soup Kitchen		
Church		
Home-based Care Project		
Child-Care		
Stokvel Committee		
Burial Committee		
Charity Organisation		
Government		
Other (please specify)		
Other (please specify)		

8.2 Please tell me about the difference between the Ark and Welbedacht in terms of your household's access to social services and amenities.						
	Ark			*WELBEDACHT*		
SOCIAL SERVICES AND AMENITIES	*MODE OF TRANSPORT*	*TIME (minutes)*	*COST (return)*	*MODE OF TRANSPORT*	*TIME (minutes)*	*COST (return)*
Clinic						
School						
Soup kitchen						
Church						
Cemetery						
Supermarket						
Café /tuck shop						
Bank						
Doctor						
Pharmacy						
Hospital						
Municipality						
Police station						
Community hall						
Library						
Social grant/pension collection point						

Q 8.3 Improved infrastructure and social service facilities before and after resettlement programme (use codes):1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3= neutral; 4= agree; 5 =strongly agree		
	Before Resettlement	*Welbedacht*
Better Health Institutions		
Improved schooling options (primary, secondary, high school)		
Electricity Department close by		
Telephone services introduced and expanded		
Postal services started		
Safe drink water supplied		
Veterinary (animal clinics) service		
Roads in good condition		
Credit facilities closely available		
Market access improved		
Microfinance institutions organized		
Improved access to religious institutions		
Permanent toilet facilities established		
Farmers training centre established and functioning		
Agricultural development centre established and functioning		
Others: specify		

QUESTION 9- SENSE OF PLACE

9.1 Do you have the same neighbours as you did in the Ark

YES		NO	

9.2 Would you feel comfortable to ask your neighbours to assist in the following matters?		
	Ark (YES or NO)	WELBEDACHT (YES or NO)
Emergency (medical, fire, house break-in)		
Family dispute of disagreement		
Child Care		
Phone Call		
Transport		
Cash Loan		
Borrow eggs, sugar, milk etc.		
Check on you in the mornings		
Keep an eye on your things or property (crime awareness)		

9.3 Please tell me about the social activities your household members participated in the ARK and Welbedacht.			
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES	The ARK (YES or NO)	WELBEDACHT (YES or NO)	REASON FOR CHANGE
Socializing with friends, family & neighbours			
Prayer meetings			
Choir practice			
Attend church			
Sports			
Volunteer (soup kitchen etc.)			
Walk around town			
Visit library			
Stokvel/savings committee meetings			
Political organization meetings			
Social organization meetings			
Ceremonies (slaughter animals, brew beer)			
OTHER (please specify)			

Q 9.4 Are there any communal activities in Welbedacht? For example, social gatherings, book club, bible studies etc., please tick	
Yes	No

Q 9.5 if yes to 9.4, do you partake in these activities? Please tick	
Yes	No

Q 9.6 if no to Q9.5, please provide a reason for your answer

9.7 in terms of living environments, please state which of the following statements is most accurate for you? (Please tick option chosen)	
I DON'T LIKE LIVING IN WELBEDACHT AND WISH I WAS STILL LIVING IN THE POINT	
I MISS THE POINT BECAUSE I STILL FEEL OUT OF PLACE IN WELBEDACHT	
I MISS THE POINT BUT I'M ADAPTING TO LIFE IN WELBEDACHT	
I MISS THE POINT SOMETIMES, BUT WELBEDACHT FEELS LIKE HOME TO ME NOW	
I DON'T MISS THE POINT AND I THINK OF MYSELF AS A WELBEDACHT RESIDENT	

QUESTION 10 CRIME

Q 10.1 Do you feel safer living in Welbedacht or the Ark? (Please tick option chosen)			
The ARK		WELBEDACHT	

Q 10.2 Have you or any of your household members been a victim of crime since you relocated to Welbedacht?					
YES		Go to Q 10.3	NO		

10.3 CRIME, please tick where you experienced this crime	ARK √	WELBEDACHT √	INCIDENT REPORTED (Yes Or No)
Theft/robbery – house/property			
Theft/robbery – car			
Mugging			
Physical assault			
Sexual assault			
OTHER (please specify)			
OTHER (please specify)			

10.4 Which of the following statements is most accurate for you? (Please tick option chosen)	
Social problems (crime, drugs, violence) has increased in Welbedacht and is greater than it was in the Ark	
Social problems (crime, drugs, violence) has decreased in Welbedacht and is less of a problem than it was in the Ark	
There is no difference in social problems (crime, drugs, violence) between Welbedacht and the Ark	

10.5 If you feel that there is an increase in social problems (crime, drugs, violence etc.) in Welbedacht compared to Ark, can you provide me with some reasons why you think this is so?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Q 10.6 Do you feel your access to police services is better in the Ark or Welbedacht?			
ARK		WELBEDACHT	
Q 10.7 Please provide a reason for your answer			

Reason:

QUESTION 11- EDUCATION

	Q 11.1 Please provide the following information for household members who are currently attending cheche, primary school, or high school.				
	FULL NAME	*SCHOOL NAME*	*DISTANCE (km rough estimate)*	*GRADE*	*MODE OF TRANSPORT* 1= walk 2= bus/ taxi 3= personal car 4= other, specify
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					

Q 11.2 Did any of your members change schools after the household relocated to Welbedacht?					
YES		**Go to Q 11.3**	**NO**		**Go to Q 11.4**
Q 11.3 Please provide a reason for the change in schooling					
Reason:					

Q 11.4 Do you recall if there was a change in academic performance when your family was moved to Welbedacht?					
YES		**Go to Q 11.5**	**NO**		
Q 11.5 Deterioration or Improvement in academic performance? Please TICK √					
Deterioration			**Improvement**		
Q 11.6 Please provide a reason for your above answer:					

Q11.7 Did you have to travel a long distance to reach education facilities?					
The Ark			**Welbedacht**		
1= YES; 2=NO		*Distance km:*	*1= YES; 2=NO*		*Distance km:*

Q. 11.8 Perception of resettlers on education service in the previous and new settlement site - *use codes:* **5=strongly agree, 4= Agree, 3=neutral, 2=disagree, 1=strongly disagree**

	Previous location 1,2,3,4,5	Welbedacht 1,2,3,4,5
I was satisfied with the overall education service		
Schools were a convenient distance from residence		
Teachers were reliable and available		
The school was well equipped in terms of the necessary teaching materials and sporting activities		
Teachers were courteous and helpful to students		
The buildings are in good condition and well maintained		

Q 11.9 The overall education experience in the Ark and Welbedacht?		
5= better; 4= good ;3= not changed;2=bad; 1= worst	<u>Previous Location</u>	<u>Welbedacht</u>

Q11.10 Were any of your household members forced to drop out of school due to resettlement? Please tick	
Yes	**No**

QUESTION 12- HEALTH

12.1 Please indicate whether any of your household members were diagnosed with one or more of the following medical conditions since relocation to Welbedacht.			
MEDICAL CONDITION	*YES (√)*	*NO (x)*	*NO. OF H/H MEMBERS DIAGNOSED*
TB (tuberculosis)			
Respiratory ailment (e.g. sinusitis; bronchitis; asthma)			
Cold or flu			
Diarrhoea			
Kidney condition (incl. kidney stones)			
Hypertension/ Hypotention (high/low blood pressure)			
Diabetes			
Heart condition			
Skin condition (e.g. eczema; psoriasis; acne)			
Eye infection			

12.2 Please provide information about the frequency of visits to the clinic in the Ark and Welbedacht (Please tick appropriate box)							
CLINIC	*ONCE A WEEK*	*SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK*	*ONCE A MONTH*	*SEVERAL TIMES A MONTH*	*MODE OF TRANSPORT 1= walk 2= bus/ taxi 3= personal cat*	*DISTANCE (time in mins)*	*DISTANCE (km)*

					4= other, specify		
The ARK							
WELBEDACHT							

Q 12.3 Is there currently a mobile clinic in Welbedacht?					
YES		**Go to Q 12.4**	**NO**		

12.4 If Yes – Can you please tell me which of the following statement most applies to your situation?	
The Mobile Clinic provides the service I expect and is available when I need it	
The Mobile Clinic is available at the appropriate times but does not provide the service I require.	
The Mobile Clinic provides the service I expect but is seldom available when I need it	
The Mobile Clinic is never available when I need it nor does it provide the service I require	

Q 12.5 Have there been any births in the household since your household relocated to Welbedacht?			
YES		**NO**	

Q 12.6 Have there been any deaths in the household since your household relocated to Welbedacht?			
YES		**NO**	

Q 12.7 Is there a high rate of teenage pregnancy?			
YES		**NO**	

Q 12.8 Do you think there would be less teenage pregnancies in the Ark?			
YES		**NO**	
Q12.9 Please Provide a reason for your answer?			
Reason			

Q 12.10 How long do you travel to your nearest health facility					
Time (hours)		**Distance (Km)**		**Rands**	
Q 12.11 Has any family member been seriously ill in the last year?					
YES = 1		**NO = 2**			

QUESTION 13- INCOME AND EXPENSES

Q 13.1 Please tell me how much money, if any, was received by your household from each of the following sources in the last month?	
INCOME SOURCES	***Rand***
Permanent Employment	
Formal Employment	
Temporary Employment	
Self-Employment: Income from own business or informal trade	
Livestock Sales	

240

Vegetable Sales	
State Pension	
Private Sector Pension	
Child Grant	
Disability Grant	
Rental from Tenants	
Remittances	
Other (Specify)	
No Response	
Total	

Q 13.2 Do you feel that the income that you now receive has changed since you left the Ark? YES/NO

YES		*NO*	

Q 13. 3 If yes, then can you give me some idea as to how/why this has changed and if it is better/worse?

Q 13.4 Please tell me how much money, if any, was spent by your household from each of the following sources in the last month?

EXPENDITURE SOURCES	*Rand*
Food and household items	
Water	
Electricity	
Refuse and sanitation	
Rates and taxes	
Clothes	
Education	
Airtime	
Furniture	
DSTV	
Insurance policies (medical aid, household insurance)	
Money to relatives	
Transport	
Burial societies and churches	
Entertainment	
House maintenance and repairs	
Other (Specify)	
No Response	
Total	

Q 13.5 Please tell me how you think the COST OF LIVING in Welbedacht compares to the cost of living in the Ark (Please TICK √ response)

COST OF LIVING INDICATOR	*WELBEDACHT COSTS LESS THAN ARK COSTS*	*WELBEDACHT COSTS EQUAL TO ARK COSTS*	*WELBEDACHT COSTS MORE THAN ARK COSTS*
Transport			
Water			
Electricity			
Food			
Health			
House and garden maintenance			

Q 13.6 Please indicate whether the following fittings, fixtures, or systems in your Welbedacht replacement house/property are in good working order (TICK √ YES or NO)		
FITTING/FIXTURE/SYSTEM	YES	NO
Solar geyser		
Plumbing (potable water and sewage systems)		
Kitchen taps, basins, cupboards		
Bathroom taps, basins, cupboards		
Electric stove		
Electrical wiring (incl. switchboard, wall sockets)		
Electricity meter		
Floor tiles		
Doors		
Security gates		
Jojo tank		
Boundary fence		

Q 13.7 If your residential property is also used for business purposes, please indicate the type of business (NOTE: more than one category can be selected √)	
BUSINESS TYPE	TICK √ RELEVANT OPTION
Workshop	
Tuck shop/Spaza shop	
Construction business (bricklayer, painter, carpenter)	
Beauty salon	
Hair Salon	
Liquor Outlet/Bottle Store	
Home industry (e.g. tailor, dressmaking, shoe repair, baking)	
Child care (crèche, after-care)	
Cellular providers (containers)	
Other (specify):	
Other (specify):	

Q 13.8 Please indicate which of the following household items are owned by your household (NOTE: Only include items that are in working condition)						
HOUSEHOLD ITEM	YES (√)	NO. OF ITEMS			YES (√)	NO. OF ITEMS
Car				Woodstove		
Bicycle				Microwave		
Motorcycle				Washing machine		
Television				Tumble dryer		
Radio				Dishwasher		
Fridge				Satellite dish		
DVD/Video player				Cell phone		
Electric stove				Other (Specify		
Gas/Paraffin Stove				Other (Specify)		

QUESTION 14- HOST COMMUNITY

Q 14.1 Do you feel as though you are part of the Welbedacht community after all this time? YES/NO TICK √			
YES		NO	
Q 14.2 Please provide a reason for your answer to Q14.1			

Reason

Q 14.3 Do you have access to the same amenities in Welbedacht as you had in Ark in terms of:			
Welbedacht	*Services/amenities/opportunities*	*YES*	*NO Please tick*
	Schools		
	Police services		
	Hospital		
	Municipal Services (e.g. waste collection)		
	Transport services		
	Library		
	Shopping facilities		
	Job opportunities		
	Entertainment		
Q 14.4 Please provide a reason for why you think things are different in welbedacht?			
Reason			

Q 14.5 Do you feel that the Welbedacht Community has accepted you as part of their community? YES/NO TICK √			
YES		*NO*	
Q 14.6 Please provide a reason for your answer			
Reason			

Q 14.7 Have you formed social or economic relationships with the Welbedacht community (those not from the Ark)? YES/NO TICK √			
YES		*NO*	
Q 14.8 if yes to question 14.7, please provide an explanation to your answer			

Q 14.9 Do you miss living in the Ark? YES/NO TICK √			
YES		*NO*	
Q 14.10 Please provide a reason for your answer			
Reason			

Q 14.11 If we went back to 2004 and you were given the choice of having your house in the Point or Welbedacht, which would you choose? TICK √			
THE POINT		*WELBEDACHT*	
Q 14.12 Please provide a reason for your answer			
Reason			

Q 14.13 Have you ever had any conflict with the surrounding community members (those not from the Ark) YES/NO TICK √			
Yes		*No*	
Q 14.14 if yes to Q 14.13, please state why			
Why			

QUESTION 15= RISKS, SHOCKS AND VULNERABILITIES

15.1 It is expected that resettlers may experience certain Risks /shocks/vulnerabilities. Have you experienced any of the following since you joined the resettle site? 1=Yes 0=No TICK √ number		
	The 1st year after resettlement	*Now*
Homelessness [Loss of dwelling or shelter]	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
Joblessness [Loss employment]	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
Landlessness [Loss of productive land]	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
food insecurity	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
Increased sickness or death	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
Marginalization	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
lack of access to common city resources	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
social disarticulation [sense of loss]	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
Loss of public services	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
loss of political participation [voting]	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*
Loss of income-earning assets and resources	*1= yes; 2= no*	*1= yes; 2= no*

Q 15.2 Which of the examples listed in Q15.1 was experienced the worst?
Answer;

Q15.3 Which mechanisms did you use to minimize these shocks/risks/difficulties? TICK √ number		
	The 1st year after resettlement	*Now*
Government support	*1=Yes; 2=No*	*1=Yes; 2=No*
NGOs support	*1=Yes; 2=No*	*1=Yes; 2=No*
Community support	*1=Yes; 2=No*	*1=Yes; 2=No*
Self-help	*1=Yes; 2=No*	*1=Yes; 2=No*
None	*1=Yes; 2=No*	*1=Yes; 2=No*
Others:		

Q 15.4 Regarding the above question, please state how you were helped
Government;
NGO;
Community;
Self-help;
Other;

Q 15.5 How do you see these risks now as compared to the 1st year after resettlement? Circle number	
5=better, 4=good, 3=no change, 2=bad, 1=worse	
1st year after resettlement	*Now*
1 2 3 4 5	*1 2 3 4 5*

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW WITH FORMER ARK VOLUNTEER, MARK HASKINS

1. For this interview, can you describe the role that the Ark played in Durban?
2. Could you please provide background information on the Ark regarding:
   - Who ran it, and how?
   - When did it open and was it funded?
   - What facilities did it offer to residents?
   - Who was able to seek refuge/ what were the conditions?
   - Ratio of men/women and children
   - how many people was it able to house at a given time?
   - What services were available for individuals to recover/ find employment etc.?
   - Of those working, were they required to pay a stipend to the Ark?
   - Who managed the relationship between the workers/ and the non-workers/ were there issues in terms of some working (and therefore paying) and others who weren't working – if so, who managed this relationship?
   - What was the nature of the relationship between the Ark and the municipality?
   - Who owned the building that housed the homeless?
   - What were the conditions that led the Ark to go to court/ what case did they present?
   - Who was the law firm that defended the Ark?
   - Do you perhaps have the contact information for the people you dealt with at the municipality during this time?
   - What happened to those who were evicted from the Ark?
   - Do you know any of their whereabouts today?
   - Who was responsible for the decision-making process, which led to some people being housed and others not?
   - Do you know what factors played a role in determining who got houses?
   - What were the reasons as to why Welbedacht was selected for the resettlement site?
   - Who had a hand in locating and choosing this site?
3. Why, in your opinion, was the Ark forced to close?
4. What was the reason given to you by officials?
5. Was the foreclosure enforced by the state or private developers?
6. Would you describe the foreclosure as peaceful resettlement or forceful eviction?
7. Could you provide the events that occurred in the lead up to the closure of the Ark?
8. What resistance measures were adopted by the organizers to resist the closure?
9. What resistance measures were adopted by the Arkians to resist the eviction?
10. How did the Ark organisation perceive the displacement? (was it warranted)
11. In your opinion, was the rights of the Ark residents violated? Please provide a reason for your answer.
12. Did your organization receive any support from government institutions?
13. What role did the government play in the Ark's relocation?

14. What livelihood strategies did the Ark adopt to restore livelihoods and rehabilitate occupants?
15. Have you heard of the concept 'the right to the city?
16. Do you think your organizations' right to the city has been revoked?
17. Some of the Arks occupants were resettled to Welbedacht (on the periphery of Chatsworth) were you involved with resettlement at all?
18. Do you think community programs, such as women empowerment (for example) play a significant role in restoring livelihoods? Or are they simply good sentiment?
19. When implementing such programs, what are factors which determine success or failure?
20. I am aware of some residents who were given houses and resettled in Welbedacht, do you know what happened to the other displaced residents?
21. Do you think a relocation site on the periphery of a city is a suitable location for persons displaced from a homeless shelter?
22. What challenges did you foresee for the occupants displaced from the Ark?
23. would you say that the persons displaced from the Ark were at risk of impoverishment, please give a reason for your answer,
24. Do you think the under-resourced area of Welbedacht (instead of the city) can cause impoverishment instead of rehabilitation? Please elaborate
25. If so, what resources in the city are better able to assist the Ark in rehabilitation?
26. The Ark assists people in restoring their livelihoods, mainly through its ability to find employment for the homeless, was securing employment made more difficult since your relocation to Cliffdale?
27. If given a choice, would you relocate back to the city?
28. Please provide a reason for your previous answer.

1. Could you provide the Ark's background (its establishment, demise, and city councillors)?
2. What happened to the residents who were not relocated in Welbedacht?
3. Are these people still residing at their respective relocation sites?
4. Who was responsible for the decision-making process, which led to some people being housed and others not?
5. Do you know what factors played a role in determining who got houses?
6. Who had a hand in locating and choosing Welbedacht site?
7. Can you tell me about the alleged corruption at the Ark?
8. Were the Ark residents required to pay for their accommodation?
9. Who managed the relationship between the workers/ and the non-workers/ were there issues in terms of some working (and therefore paying) and others who weren't working – if so, who managed this relationship?
10. What was the nature of the relationship between the Ark and the municipality? Who owned the building that housed the homeless?
11. Can you tell me about the court case?
12. In your opinion, why was the Ark forced to close?
13. What was the reason given to you by officials?
14. Was the foreclosure enforced by the state or private developers?
15. Would you describe the foreclosure as peaceful resettlement or forceful eviction?
16. Would you provide the events that occurred in the lead up to the closure?
17. What resistance measures were adopted by the organisers to resist the foreclosure?
18. What resistance measures were adopted by the Arkians to resist the foreclosure?
19. How did the Ark organization perceive the displacement? Was it warranted?
20. In your opinion, was the rights of the ark residents violated?
21. Did your organization receive any support from government institutions?
22. What livelihood strategies did the Ark adopt to restore livelihoods?
23. Have you heard of the concept the 'right to the city'?
24. Do you think your organisations right to the city has been revoked?
25. Do you think community programs such as women empowerment, for example, play a significant role in restoring livelihoods?
26. When implementing such programs, what are factors which determine success or failure?
27. Do you think a relocation city on the periphery of the city is a suitable location for persons displaced?
28. What challenges do you foresee for the occupants displaced?
29. Would you say the persons displaced from the Ark are at risk of impoverishment?
30. What resources in the city are better able to assist the people?

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW WITH RESETTLEMENT EXPERT, GREG HUGGINS

1. For the purposes of this interview, can you briefly describe your role as a resettlement practitioner and some of the major projects you've worked on?
2. How many years of experience do you have in this profession?
3. What is the largest population that you have resettled?
4. Would you say your experience is predominately in rural resettlement or urban resettlement?
5. A recent symposium conducted by the International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA) concluded that there is very limited guidance for urban resettlement projects, would you agree?
6. Recent scholars have stated that there is a rural bias set out in the World Bank and International Finance Corporation guidelines on resettlement, would you agree?
7. The resources and ways of life in urban and rural areas are opposites, would it be fair to use one set of guidelines for two completely different environments?
8. Would you agree that urban resettlement and rural resettlement have different implications or risk factors for livelihood restoration?
9. Would it be advisable to have two different sets of guidelines for resettlement, i.e. one for urban resettlement and one for rural resettlement?
10. When conducting a resettlement project in South Africa, what policy document do you adhere to to ensure good practice?
11. Does South Africa have a resettlement policy? If no (Q12)
12. Given the rapid rate of development in the country (particularly in urban areas), would you agree that South Africa needs to implement a resettlement policy?
13. If you were in charge of formulating this resettlement policy, would you have different guidelines for each setting (rural and urban)?
14. Who would you involve in the formulation of such a policy?
15. What are the biggest risks to livelihoods in an urban resettlement project?
16. How would you recommend these risks be overcome?
17. Do you make use of Michael Cernea's Risk and Reconstruction Model for resettlers?
18. As a resettlement practitioner, what is your opinion on resettling an urban community (Durban CBD) to a region 30km away in the semi-rural periphery?
19. Would this be considered 'good practice'?
20. If you were responsible for this community's resettlement, what measures would be put in place to ensure livelihood restoration?
21. Do you think community programs, such as women empowerment (for example) play a significant role in restoring livelihoods? Or are they merely good sentiment?
22. When implementing such programs, what are factors which determine success or failure?
23. How long after a community is resettled do you continue to monitor their progress?
24. Would you consider this an ethical resettlement project? Please provide a reason for your answer.

APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW AT STROLLERS, SOUTH BEACH AND EKUPHILENI CLINIC

Strollers Overnight Facility

1. How did you feel about the Ark closing down?
2. Did you go to Welbedacht?
3. Did you get a house?
4. How long did you stay there?
5. Do you know why you were moved here?
6. Do you know if there were people who were moved to Welbedacht and then taken somewhere else?
7. Were there services when you were in Welbedacht?
8. Do you think that your welfare and livelihood would be better off there or here in the city?
9. Are the living conditions better here, or in Welbedacht?
10. Would you say that your human rights were violated when the Ark was evicted?
11. How do you survive here in the city? What coping strategies do you have?

South Beach

1. Were you provided alternative accommodation when the Ark closed?
2. Do you have any accommodation now?
3. Was the Ark better than your current living conditions?
4. Did the people come back from Welbedacht? Why?
5. What happened to the people when they returned to the city?
6. How do you survive in the city?

Ekuphileni Clinic

1. Can you recall what happened on that day you were moved?
2. How many people stay here?
3. How did you end up at the Ark?
4. Who manages the building and what issues do you have with the structure?
5. Is anybody employed?
6. How do you survive?
7. How do you think your life would have been different if the Ark was still open?
8. How would you say your life has changed since you've been here?
9. Do you know that some people were moved to Welbedacht?
10. Would you say that you are better off here than the people in Welbedacht?
11. Has the surrounding community accepted you since you've moved here?