

**“THE IMPACT OF RELOCATION OF INFORMAL
SETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES INTO NEW GREENFIELDS
HOUSING PROJECTS IN THE ETHEKWINI MUNICIPAL
AREA”**

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DECLARATION

This study is entirely my original work, where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The study will focus on the effects of relocation, from established informal settlements to new greenfields housing projects, on people's lives. The study will be mainly focussing on the before and after effects, i.e. life in a shack and life after relocating to a starter house.

Prior to the 1980's the concept of greenfields housing development projects was promoted and people were forced to relocate to such projects. During the 1980's a new concept of upgrading existing informal settlements began to be promoted. This was seen as a response to the fact that millions of the urban poor were living in informal settlements in and around South Africa's urban areas and clearly some of them could be relocated to greenfields projects due to undevelopable state of the land that they are situated on and in most cases many settlements could not be moved but had to be upgraded where they are.

Due to South Africa's history, in-situ upgrading of these informal settlements was not an accepted practice in South Africa as this was seen as giving black people tenure in urban areas. This is evident in the Urban Areas Act of 1923, where blacks were only seen as temporary in urban areas as the reserves were set aside to accommodate the majority of the population.

Relocations to new housing projects were last implemented in South Africa between the 1950's and the 1960's and Umlazi was the last township to be developed, where the majority of the occupants were relocated from the Cato Manor area, Umkumbaan. In-situ upgrade projects were ignored, despite international evidence of its potential, and in effect this led to the destruction of many informal settlement communities and the removal and relocation of residents, with little provision of alternative accommodation. This is evident in the removal of some people from Cato Manor-Umkumbaan to the north of Durban, Inanda where tents were erected with the intention of temporarily housing Africans.

Where relocation projects have occurred, in other countries and authorities had intervened in this way, households often found themselves unable to afford the alternative housing options provided, and most were forced to settle illegally elsewhere or resettle in the previous areas as it had happened in the Durban's city centre, from Brook Street -to-Westrich Relocation Housing project in Newlands West where beneficiaries sold houses and went back to the streets.

Most housing projects are often located far from job opportunities, on the city's peripheries, and poor families had no option but to sell and abandon their new accommodation in favour of better located squatter settlements closer to urban centres where job opportunities are found and transportation costs are low. There is a great need to evaluate the approaches and consider potential greenfield sites that are closer to where the existing informal settlements are located. During the late 1980's and early 1990's, the Urban Foundation, along with several others, promoted the policy of in-situ upgrading and became involved in the upgrading of three very large informal settlements, - Soweto on Sea in Port Elizabeth, Bester's Camp in Durban and Freedom Square in Bloemfontein/Mangaung.

A number of other non-governmental organisations initiated smaller scale upgrade programmes, for example, the Built Environment Support Group (BESG) in Luganda and PLANACT in Tamboville is evident that there is a pressing need to address problems of existing informal settlements and also that policy makers are being confronted with the reality of a massive housing backlog and a growing population that is producing thousands of new households that need new housing each year. The current government's approach is to direct the resources of the state to the production of mass state housing programmes to subsidise poor households into basic accommodation; namely a serviced site with a very modest starter house which a beneficiary can improve the starter house incrementally over time.

Relocations to greenfield housing projects are meant to improve the quality of life of the poorest of the poor in terms of health and safety. A wider process of development that goes beyond the mere improvement of the physical condition of infrastructure and accommodation is needed to create viable communities out of informal settlements. Ultimately the concern with relocations to greenfields housing projects should be to initiate a process by which not only physical, but also family and social development can take place in a continuous manner, namely that a sustainable development process is set in motion.

The creation of sustainable communities in informal settlement relocation projects require not only the building of adequate and properly serviced houses but also the provision of such amenities as clinics, schools and recreational facilities. Sustainable development depends also on the integration of the community into the wider city through access to employment opportunities and services and through full involvement within its systems of governance.

Ultimately, for an informal settlement relocation programme to be successful, it should initiate a process of development which leads to the gradual and continuing improvement of individuals, households, and the natural and built environments, not only for the present, but also for future generations.

The overall purpose of this study is therefore to examine the impact of relocations on informal settlement communities after the process. This will determine whether or not these processes are in fact mobilising the resources required to provide for the needs of the poor in informal settlements and thus answer the broader question whether or not people's lives are improved or worsened.

The results of the survey that has been undertaken will thus be of significance, particularly in the current context where some commentators, especially politicians, appear to be opposing the relocation of informal settlements to greenfields housing projects. Whereas there seems to be broad recognition of the reality of informal settlements, and of the need to improve health and safety conditions for these communities.

To most people, there is still a sense that existing informal settlements are somehow temporary, and their residents should be relocated into greenfields housing projects on the peripheries of cities once these become available. In such a context the question arises: 'Is relocation a desirable thing to do and what can we learn from the actual experience of relocating communities in South Africa's recent history'. Housing is seen as a product of human endeavour and fulfills a basic human need, and it plays a vital part of integrated developmental planning which is integral to the socio-economic well-being of the nation. It is important to see it within this context.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

Informal settlements are generally located in areas where future development is unlikely to happen. The residents of such settlements have generally the lowest income levels in the city, living in extremely unhealthy conditions in areas of high potential risk, which among other consequences, threaten the well-being and safety of these families. Baskin (1998) cites that low income households are forced to continue living with family, rent or build a shack within an informal settlement or invade unprotected private land. This creates a growth in health and safety problems as well as structural social conflict between private land owners and the urban poor (Baskin, 1998).

This situation has a particular relevance to this study as there are major plans that are being executed to meet the urgent and growing housing problem prevalent in this country. These plans are carried out by the eThekweni Metropolitan Council in conjunction with the Provincial Department of Housing, and the programme is referred to as 'Slums Clearance Programme - 2001'.

There existence of informal settlements can be attributed to a number of reasons. Apart from discriminatory legislation which resulted in the largely African population being made landless or forced into unproductive land, there have also been instances where families have escaped political violence to settle in such settlements, where overcrowding in townships became unbearable with the need for independence and where urban areas afforded better socio-economic opportunities. However, without formal access to land or sufficient accommodation, people were forced to settle in these circumstances to survive.

To these people, the conditions in informal settlements was not an issue in comparison to their lives which was threatened by political violence in most areas of KwaZulu-Natal. After a number of years, it is expected that any population tend to settle in an area irrespective of whether the area is stable or not in terms of development.

The concern to the informal dwellers at this stage is employment, access to facilities, access to potable water and a housing opportunity elsewhere is the least in terms of their priorities, unless the improvement of their lives will occur in-situ. Relocations in most cases have negative impacts on established communities.

These may include: - the destruction of the existing bond between formal communities and the settlement, and the place itself. It also affects the existing political and socio-economic relationships that they enjoy; their current close proximity to facilities such as educational, recreational, industrial, commercial areas where there are job opportunities as they enjoy walking distance between home and work. In the new areas most of these opportunities do not exist, there will be transportation costs.

Naidoo (1999) argues that housing is regarded as a critical component in addressing the challenges facing many countries throughout the world. Naidoo (1999) further states that the United Nations has reported that approximately 500 million people are either homeless or living in unfit housing that is life threatening. The prognosis, according to the global report on human settlements, *An Urbanising World*, is likely to worsen since the population in urban areas is expected to double to five billion by the year 2025.

The United Nations added that 10 million people were dying annually in densely populated urban areas from conditions produced by unfit housing and poor sanitation. Baskin (1998) argues that the problems facing the housing sector, therefore, are those that affect housing delivery and those that impact on urban quality.

Strategic responses need to be formulated and implemented in addressing several crucial challenges relating to housing and improving people's lives. In some ways, the authorities will need to respond quickly to people's needs; maintain and build capacity; access and secure funds for housing; and improve the quality of homes and the environment, to improve people's lives (Baskin, 1998).

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

What kind of impact do relocations have on people's lives?

This poses a lot of questions that this study will hope and attempt to address such as, whether relocations are necessary, what the impact is on established informal settlement communities, or whether communities are educated and told at the early periods after settling illegally the consequences of building in such areas and the implications thereof.

1.3 SUBSIDIARY QUESTIONS

- (i) Are these impacts mainly spatial in nature or as well as social?
- (ii) Despite these short term disruptions, are informal settlement communities benefiting from these projects in the long term?

(iii) To what extent will these projects improve peoples' lives, economically, socially and politically?

(iv) What are the perceptions of the relocated households about the new environment?

(v) Was the reason to relocate the Canaan informal community to Quarry Heights justified?

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

In the short term, communities are disrupted, but there are long term benefits and community needs can be addressed.

However,

- relocations of established informal settlement communities in the form of providing an alternative accommodation far from the present location does not address the problem of clearing up slums in the inner city;
- the degree of involvement of the informal settlement communities in decision-making and planning does not always receive adequate attention and;
- the choice of informal housing is a manifestation of affordability levels.

It is believed that in most cases relocating established settlements have negative impacts on people's lives as it tends to temporarily disorganise communities.

1.5 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

1.5.1 Specific Objectives of the Study

A key objective of the study is to determine whether informal settlement communities benefit from being relocated to greenfields housing projects in the long term and what are the short term benefits if any, so that the kinds of interventions required for successful relocation projects might be identified.

Of concern are the material improvements, if any, made in the living conditions of the new residents of the new greenfields areas. Another issue is how viable the projects are from a financial and social point of view and how sustainable from a broader developmental view.

To answer these questions, the following objectives are set in undertaking the study:-

- Provide a description of the case study in point, within the context of the wider urban system in which it is located so as to improve our understanding of informal settlement characteristics and dynamics in general.
- Describe the interventions undertaken to promote relocations generally.
- Draw up a definition of 'successful' relocations to greenfields housing projects derived from the views of the various stakeholders.
- Establish to what extent relocation programmes actually improve living conditions for the targeted inhabitants of informal settlements.

- Determine whether or not relocation projects are a viable strategy, from a project as well as a macro point of view, from enabling the poor to access acceptable housing.

In answering the questions posed, and satisfying the objectives, the research results are meant to:

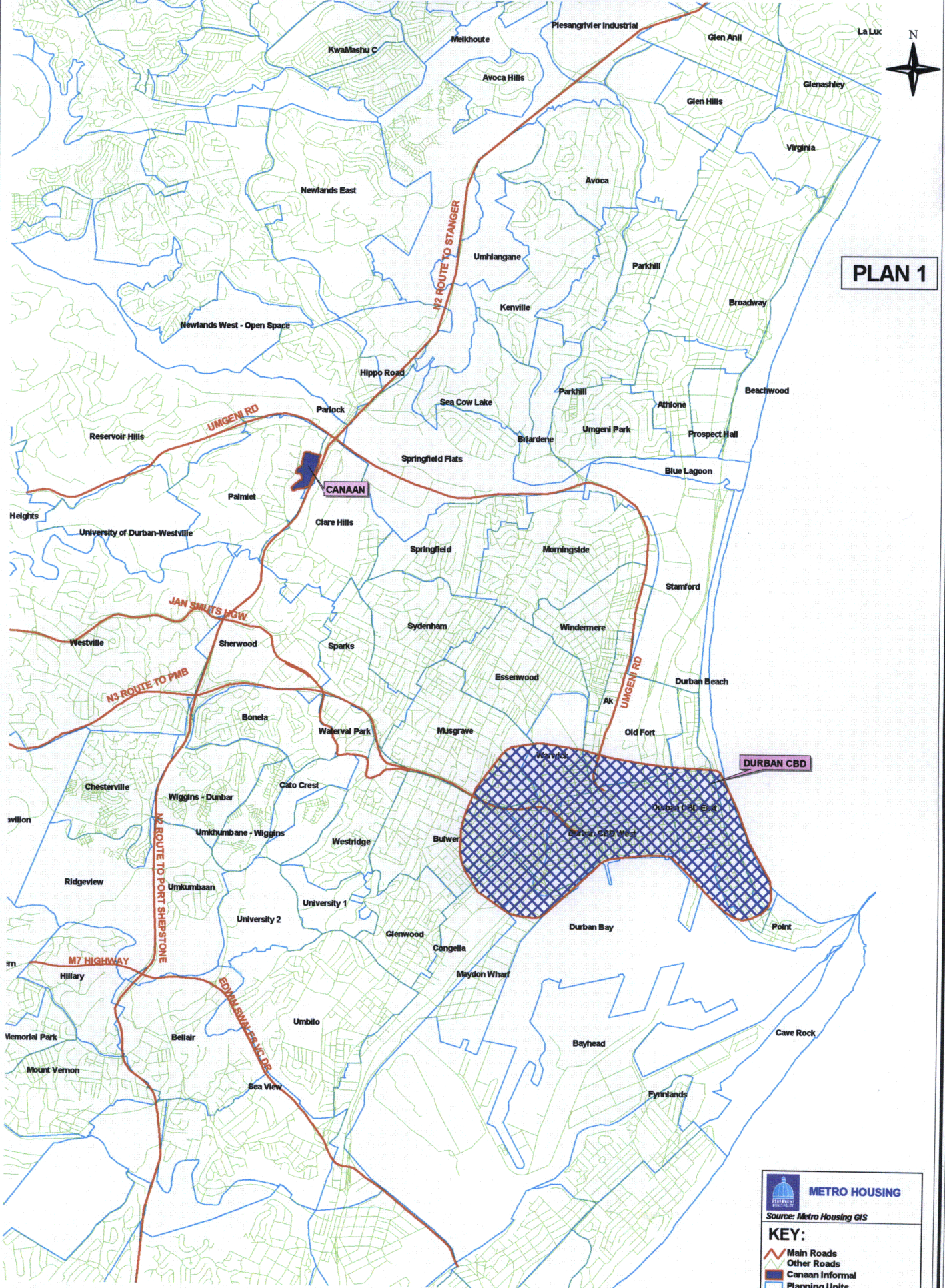
- Inform and influence the activities of all role players involved in the relocation initiatives.
- Enable the development of new policy or refinement of existing policy in the light of concrete, “on the ground” experience.
- Inform government housing policy at all levels with particular emphasis on policy toward informal settlements.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

1.6.1 Choice of Case Study

The case study centres on the informal settlement of Canaan (See locality plan 1). This is due to its history, closeness to facilities and activities, employment opportunities in the Durban Metropolitan Area. Canaan was relocated to a greenfields housing project known as Quarry Heights.





MAP SHOWING THE LOCALITY OF CANAAN IN RELATION TO THE CBD



PLAN 1

METRO HOUSING
 Source: Metro Housing GIS

KEY:

-  Main Roads
-  Other Roads
-  Canaan Informal
-  Planning Units

The study area is situated within the eThekweni Unicity Municipality, in the former North Central Local Council, between KwaMashu C, Newlands East and Avoca residential areas. (See attached locality plan 2) There are important variations between relocations which have taken place in Durban, which include the patterns of movement and settlement which led to the formation of the settlement, previous relations with the local authority, internal divisions within the community, political violence and history of local power struggles.

1.6.2 Research Methodology

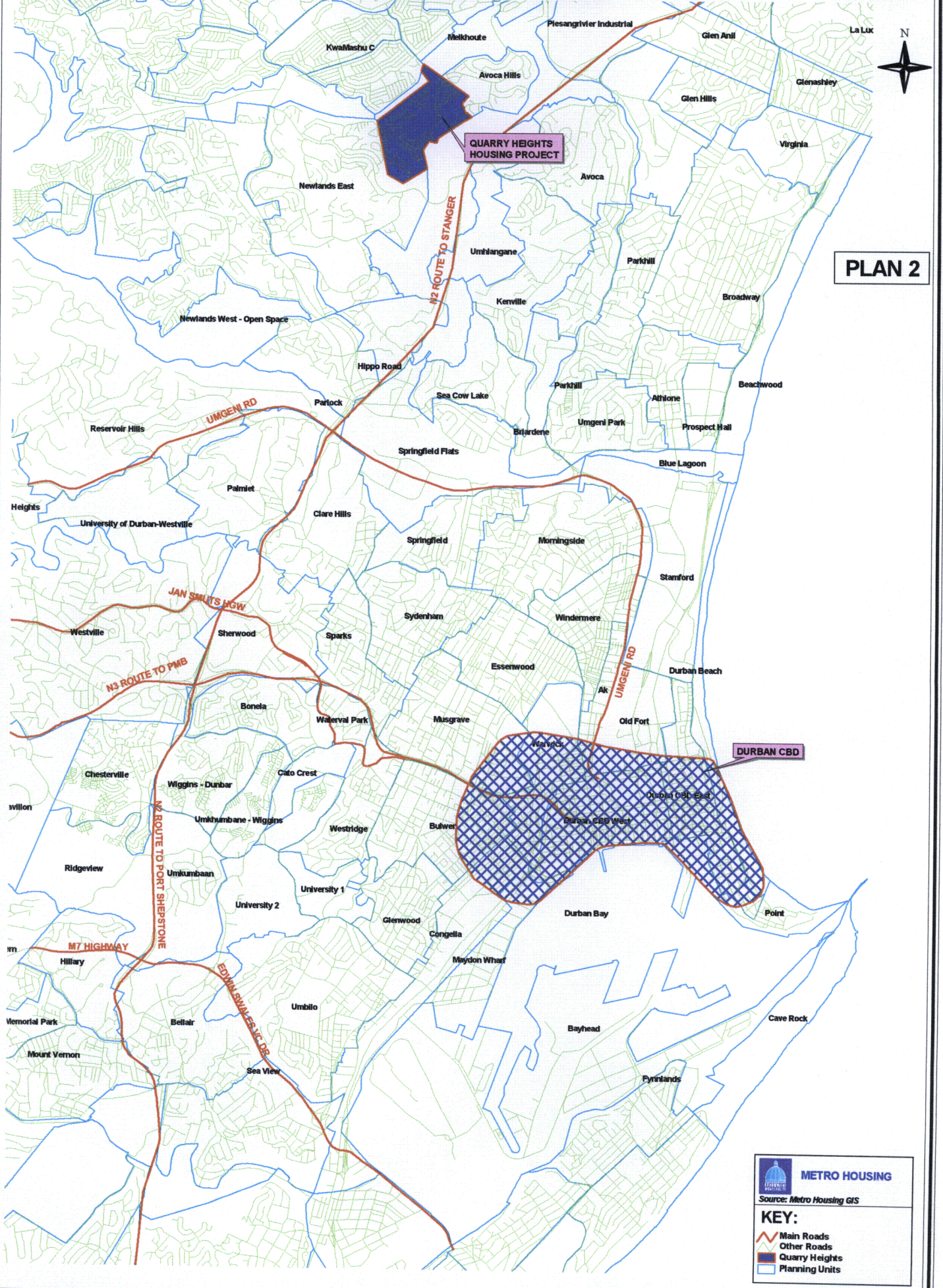
1.6.2.1 Introduction

The research methodology outline used here, will explain the exact steps that have been taken to research this topic. It has helped the researcher to set boundaries beforehand and not waste too much time on irrelevant information. The researcher has used a number of methodological tools in undertaking this research.

The research methodology has been both qualitative and quantitative, largely community based, also with housing agents involved in the relocation process. The general approach upon which this research has been based is the qualitative approach as it is deemed to be the most appropriate method to be used when dealing with people's perceptions, attitudes and options.

The researcher has drawn on a variety of methods in order to arrive at a more balanced picture. Both secondary and primary resources were used to arrive at the desired result. Secondary research includes reference to reports on the project, other case studies of relocation.

MAP SHOWING THE LOCALITY OF QUARRY HEIGHTS IN RELATION TO THE CBD



PLAN 2

METRO HOUSING
 Source: Metro Housing GIS

KEY:

- Main Roads
- Other Roads
- Quarry Heights
- Planning Units

It should also be mentioned that this research has also been based on the practical experience one has been exposed to, working as an official in Durban's Metro Housing. The findings required to construct this study has been obtained from methodological tools at the disposal of the researcher. These tools have been used to arrive at a concise and empirical analysis of the study. In order to achieve the research objectives, a case study will be used, i.e. Canaan/Quarry Heights. The case in point provides an opportunity to investigate whether the relocation from Canaan to Quarry Heights has any impact on people's lives and to what extent has the project addressed community expectations.

In an attempt to do this, numerous interviews were conducted with key role players in the project, namely; the officials from Durban Metro Housing, officials from non-governmental organisations who have had different experiences which relocations, and community leadership. Lastly, a residential survey was conducted with the Quarry Heights residents, originally from Canaan only.

1.6.2.2 Data Sources

The data for this study has been drawn from various sources which included articles, books, journals, internet, papers and published and unpublished documents. Also relevant government departments, as well as non-governmental organisations (NGO's) have been visited, where interviews were conducted with officials involved in housing projects and relocation in general.

A site visit to the study area was conducted. A sample survey has also been conducted and a questionnaire has also been administered to beneficiaries.

As mentioned above, the research methodology has involved primary and secondary research. The primary research has also involved a survey of the targeted resident population of the Quarry Heights low income housing development.

1.6.2.3 Primary data

1.6.2.3.1 Sampling method

Questionnaires were administered to find out whether relocation had a negative or positive impact on people's lives with regard to social, economic, and political as well as the demographic dynamics of residents of the case study. A systematic sampling technique has also been used to generate a sample of respondents. The case study consists of approximately 2000 residential units, and a sample size of 64 has been used, so every 31st residential unit has been surveyed to get the targeted sample size.

The researcher also used two student trainees from M L Sultan Technikon's Town and Regional Planning Department, who were currently undertaking their in-service training with Metro Housing. Each student and the researcher put together teams comprising two members of field workers from the case study area. All members were from within the study area and also originated from Canaan, this helped in speeding up the survey as they knew the target respondents. The teams questioned household heads within each family using the questionnaire and the average age was 27 years.

In this way an effort was made to engage local people in the research effort and spread resources into the study area while retaining the necessary degree of research impartiality through supervision mainly by the researcher assisted by the two student trainees.

All in depth interviewing with key respondents was done only by the researcher. Closed and open ended questions have also been used in the questionnaire. Open-ended questions have been used as it is a more effective way of obtaining qualitative information on the subject matter.

1.6.2.3.2 Interviews

A series of interviews has been conducted with housing professionals from different sectors. Interviews were conducted with at least 2 people from each sector in order to get an adequate response:-

1. Officials from the Durban Metro Housing which included *Mr Maurice Makhathini, Executive Director, and Mr Kenneth Mngadi, Projects Liaison Officer.*

Mr Makhathini has been selected as one the respondents, since he has been involved in decision making with regard to relocating the case study settlement.

Furthermore, his experience and knowledge of housing issues has made him the researcher's number one candidate to be interviewed. He has written a lot of published and unpublished papers on informal settlements and housing issues.

Mr Mngadi has also been interviewed due to his direct involvement in assisting on the establishment of development community structures in Canaan, where there was none at the time. He has worked with this community for a number of years, and has been like a father to them in terms of advising the community either through their structure or by addressing the community through community meetings.

His dedication in assisting the Canaan informal settlement community relocating to Quarry Heights in difficult conditions and situations has seen him winning an award as the Council's best person of the year - 1999.

2. *Members from the NGO sector, Consultant and Lecturer (Part Time)University of Witwatersrand
Ms Sarah Charlton, ex-Metro Housing Project Manager.*

Ms Charlton has vast experience and knowledge of relocations and has managed a number of successful projects within the eThekweni Municipality. Her direct involvement in the relocation project of Canaan informal community to Quarry Heights has made her one of the key people to consider. Her direct involvement in this project, i.e. the case in point, has seen her becoming the Housing Person of the Year - 1999, and getting national recognition.

3. *Ms Heather Maxwell, Manager: Housing, Cato Manor Development Association (CDMA).*

Ms Maxwell has also been an important person to include in attempting to get different opinions from different sectors. She works for CDMA as a Housing Manager. Her direct involvement in relocating informal communities to new housing projects within the CDMA area of jurisdiction and beyond is valuable.

She has been involved in relocating people from Cato Manor into greenfields project such as Riverdene in Newlands West. Her experience and extensive background has made the researcher include her to put her views in the research representing the non-governmental organisations.

4. *Canaan/Quarry Heights Development Committee*
Mr Region Sokhela, Chairman.

Mr Sokhela has been the chairman of the Canaan informal settlement for many years and a re-election took place in the new area of Quarry Heights and he was reinstated to the position. He knows the community well as he has been working for them for a number of years, and he has helped them in many ways. He is one the key people that has been interviewed, and without his opinion the research would have not been successful and would have had no meaning or direction. Interviews has also been conducted with the residents and residents development committee members. Interviews comprised of both structured and open ended questions.

5. *KwaZulu-Natal Department of Housing,*
Ms Sibongile Zwane, Director: Municipal Support.

Ms Zwane has worked for a number of non-governmental organisations such as the Centre for Community Labour Studies, CCLS, as well as eThekweni Housing Department as a project manager, and now she works for the Provincial Department of Housing as Director: Municipal Support. This is an interesting respondent due to her involvement as a project manager for Metro Housing greenfields and relocation projects. Her opinion has been seen as a vital one as she worked for the local and provincial housing departments.

This category of respondents has been vital in such that it brought different views from people that originally came from Canaan and relocated to Quarry Heights. The data analysis will explain this issue in detail.

1.6.3 Secondary Sources

The secondary sources are listed in the bibliography and have been used in the case study. These sources has included reports, policies and other case studies, where possible.

1.6.4 Evaluation of data

All closed questions that is the statistical data (i.e. age, number of children, etc) have been tabulated and shown graphically. All open ended questions have been weighted accordingly.

1.6.5 Research Summary

This combination of methods, it was felt, would provide a good mix of qualitative and quantitative information allowing both depth of insight especially into the experiences of relocation into greenfields projects of the key actors and comparative material of a demographic and attitude nature from householders. The main aim of the in-depth interviewing is to gain insights into project experience at the relocation project coal face, while the aim of the household surveys is to test the perceptions and experiences of community beneficiaries and recipients of the relocatees and to gauge the extent to which it sets in motion complementary development processes.

In depth interviewing was focussed primarily on community leadership on both the existing and new areas and the local authority - the developer. Some interviews were conducted with the community representative, the non-governmental organisations and a range of development professionals including the project managers, planners, and other consultants. In addition to people involved directly with the projects, a number of key informants with wider knowledge of the capital subsidy schemes or greenfields programmes were also interviewed. The researcher began most the interviews during the June/July vacation and continued up until October 2002, the delay was due to unavailability of the selected key persons.

The household surveys were conducted on three consecutive days, with three field workers employed to do this exercise and this was in July, 5,6 and 7; 2002.

It is necessary to record that the researcher was warmly welcomed in the study area, and there was no time wasting in terms of gaining access to the community. Of course there were some reservations by some beneficiaries, and in some cases where the researcher was using the trainees, was called in to intervene and explain, but that did not have a major impact on the exercise as the researcher knew that there will always be some people with a different opinion.

1.6.6 Limitations of the Study

The major contribution of this research lies in having assembled a range of important experiences and lessons on the aspects of informal settlement relocation project, on the interface between development professionals and community leadership and the perceptions and circumstances of households previously residing in informal settlement and later relocated to greenfields housing project.

But it must be noted at the outset that the study has some clear limitations:

- It cannot in a strict statistical sense be regarded as representative of the full range of informal settlements relocated to new housing projects, nor does it claim to encompass the full richness of experience that has occurred in all such areas that have experienced a relocation programme. The generalisations that arise from the study are applicable mainly to settlements located in undevelopable land on the peripheries of major urban centres.
- The project under review here is one of the largest relocation projects in the country, of over 2000 families.

Although no precise calculations of relocation volumes have been made for the country as a whole, it is estimated that there are over a million informally housed households in South Africa, this is a significant impact.

- What is examined here is how people have interpreted their recent relocation experiences in a context of relatively limited housing alternatives, and only in places where it has been technically appropriate to do in-situ upgrading.
- The study was essentially project based in conception. This meant that the question of the position of the settlement within the wider urban fabric was not as fully pursued as it might have been.

- The sustainability of a relocation to greenfields project in the longer term will depend not only on the internal nature of the new settlement but also on the access its inhabitants gain to opportunities outside the settlement, including incoming earning opportunities, access to educational facilities, health services, transport services and so on.

In short the sustainability of a relocation project depends to a considerable degree on its spatial, social, economic and political integration into the wider city.

The researcher also encountered some problems in getting complete feedback from the KwaZulu-Natal Housing Department official, Ms S Zwane. During the interview on 17 October 2002, Ms Zwane was interrupted and urgently had to leave for an unscheduled meeting. Ms Zwane promised to respond via e-mail, however no response has been received as yet. Attempts to set up a follow up interview were unsuccessful.

1.7 KEY CONCEPTS

The following key concepts are relevant to this research:

- Relocation projects
- Informal settlements
- Poor communities

1.7.1 Relocation

Relocation projects = areas where informal settlement communities are relocated from to new greenfield housing projects.

Relocation projects apply to households which are in life threatening situations or when conditions in settlements warrant immediate intervention in order to avoid disasters. Relocations may also be due to settlements which are located on land earmarked for some strategic development which would benefit a far greater population or which leads to significant economic investment. Relocations refer to instances where the entire settlement needs to be relocated due to its location, for example settlements within 1 in 50 year floodline, on oversteep slopes, environmentally sensitive areas, unstable soil conditions etc.

In some other cases relocation projects are due to the major roads construction; educational facilities such as schools, creche; health facilities such as clinics; water reservoirs etc. In an in-situ upgrade project, partial relocations may also need to occur for de-densification purposes and also in instances where a portion of the land is unsuitable for development for whatever reason resulting in the need for a number of households to relocate.

For example, it is possible that 25% of structures in such settlements will require relocation and the remaining households in the settlement will be considered for an in-situ upgrade project.

1.7.2 Informal Settlements

Informal settlement = informally residential area created by individuals on a vacant piece of land for residential purposes. These communities settle with or without a permission or consent of the landowner or township establishment. Urban Foundation (1991) defines informal settlements as settlements where communities are housed and located initially in informal housing.

The emergence of these settlements generally reflected increased needs or desires to live closer to main urbanising centres either on a temporary or permanent basis. In South Africa, it must be stressed that the history of racial segregation and repression contributed in large part to the current situation. The term 'informal' is often used to explain the spontaneous development of these settlements with no formal planning or management and therefore not necessarily conforming to the standard building norms and legal standards prescribed in the 'formal' sector. Generally these settlements are not regarded as part of the city's serviced area, especially with regards to amenities such as proper sanitation and electrical installation. Squatting takes many forms in various countries.

What constitutes an informal settlement?

An informal settlement is easily characterised by the nature of its rudimentary structures, built of cardboard, plastic, wood, tin or whatever is easily available. The structures are often developed in an unplanned fashion with no adherence to building standards. The land itself is usually illegally occupied. Basic services to each structure or shack is non-existent with perhaps only standpipes for water being provided.

1.7.3 Poor Community

This sector of the community is the one that is poverty stricken, high unemployment rate, lack of basic services such as potable water, sanitation; and so on. The first way station on the road for these communities to a better life is by establishing themselves in areas of strategic points, which are frequently areas of danger, areas that are subject to flooding etc. Type of people = poorest of the poor, unskilled, no or little income, mainly Africans, limited or no formal education and so on.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This dissertation consists of five different chapters. The chapters have been structured in a free flow manner where one chapter feeds to the next as outlined below.

Chapter One: Introduction

This is an introductory chapter that outline the research topic, research problem, research question and subsidiary questions, followed by the hypothesis and the methodology that the research will take.

Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework: International Literature and Case Study Review

This chapter will focus on the conceptual framework of the research taking into account South African literature and experiences and also international literature with regard to informal settlements, relocation and housing theory.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework: South African Literature and Policy Review

This chapter will focus and explore South Africa's housing policies and relocation policies, an overview of the past and current policies. This chapter will also explore the urbanisation process which has led to many poor people become urbanised hoping to improve their lives.

This will assist in understanding the current policies with regard to their impact on the beneficiaries of the programmes outlined in such policies. This will in turn set the basis for analysing issues that are deemed important and such issues are to be addressed in the subsequent chapters of this document.

Chapter Four: The Case Study and Research Findings

This chapter will briefly give the historical background of the case study, how the project was initiated and why. It will also discuss the findings of the study which will subsequently be analysed in the next chapter. Also this chapter findings of the study will be analysed and interpreted in order to give an indication as to whether people's lives are improved or negatively impacted upon as outlined in the hypothesis of this study.

Chapter Five: Analysis, Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter will summarise the whole study and a conclusion based on the findings of the study will be made. Lastly, recommendations with regards to the whole exercise will be eluded to.

1.9 Conclusion

The above chapter has introduced the reader to the whole study by pointing out the research problem and the research question, subsidiary questions and the hypothesis that the whole study seeks to prove or disprove. In addition, it highlights the research methods used in conducting the study.

In employing the various research techniques discussed above, the researcher attempts to extract information from the community and development professionals involved in housing delivery. This information would allow the researcher to assess the impact of relocation into greenfields housing projects on people's lives. The issue is whether relocations are justified and the housing provided has the effect of being an enabling mechanism rather than a mechanism that reinforces the perception that the state is forcefully and tactically moving poor people out of the city centre.

Chapter Two

Conceptual Framework: International Literature and Case Study Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will focus on international debates on urbanisation as well as case studies. Attention will also be placed on informal settlements and different country's interventions in dealing with informal settlements. In addition, housing intervention through housing policies will also be visited and these include informal settlements upgrading, relocations to new greenfield projects and so on. International experiences with regard to issues such as urbanisation are deemed to be good informants to developing countries like South Africa. In turn, South Africa's experiences will be dealt with in the next chapter.

2.1 International Perspective: Urbanisation Debates

In this part, attention is focussed on the major characteristics of urbanisation and urban change in the developing countries. While the individual urbanisation experiences and conditions of various developing countries are richly varied, certain more general characteristics are in evidence. An examination of the comparative international record of urbanisation provides a useful guide to the essential policy issues which arise from a situation of growing urbanisation. This section's objective is to unpack contemporary trends of urbanisation in the developing world and the key challenges confronting policy makers.

According to Satterthwaite (1990), the issue of how fast or slow a city is growing is of less importance to the overall performance of the city than three other key issues, namely:

- whether economic change is increasing or decreasing the proportion of the urban population with adequate livelihoods;
- whether government agencies at national, regional and local levels are increasing the proportion of the urban population who are protected against the preventable diseases and who have access to safe and sufficient supplies of water, secure housing, education, health care, and the provision of hygienic means of disposal of household and human wastes; and
- whether governments are raising the funds needed to manage urban environments from the individuals, companies and corporations who derive most benefits from the city and its population.

Satterthwaite (1990) argues that in developing world cities, it is the evident failure or limited achievements of most governments on the second issue of social provision and the third issue of recapturing costs which is far more to blame for urban problems than the rate at which cities have grown. Equally important, “most of the really serious problems of poverty, very poor housing conditions and environment destruction in and around major cities need not have risen if *per capita incomes* were higher and more equally distributed if governments had the power, resources and personnel to cope with the rapid growth” (Satterthwaite, 1990:19).

The one very common response in the 1960s and 1970s to the growth of large cities under conditions of accelerating urbanisation was the introduction of different types of spatial policies designed to restructure the national settlement system. For example, would include programme for the decentralisation of industry, improving the prospects of lagging regions and introducing rural-urban migration through a mix of rural development strategies.

The ability of spatial policies to adequately address the problems and needs of large cities has, however, been limited. Across the developing world, programmes for decentralisation emerged as one of the most favoured policy instrument for taming accelerated urban growth. Rogerson (1986) argues that in South Korea, the government sought at considerable cost and with little success to stimulate new industrial towns in country's undeveloped areas.

In Columbia's capital city of Bogota the majority of decentralising firms were mainly only short distances in response to operations of land and other markets (Lee, 1985 & 1989). Lee (1989) suggests that the implication of such findings is clearly to underscore that spatial policies to decentralise population and economic activities are "not good substitutes for better internal management of city growth" (Lee, 1989:8). "The Bogota study serves to underline the dangers of imposing poorly conceived spatial policies in circumstances where decentralisation processes may already be occurring" (Lee, 1989:8).

Overall, the international experience shows that spatial policies cannot be an adequate replacement for implementing good management practices in large cities.

Lee (1988) argues that in Thailand, for example, what is needed for reducing the existing congestion is not a spatial policy but instead the more efficient internal management of city growth. The urbanisation did not only lead to congestion in large cities but also to establishment of informal settlements in and around the larger cities. These informal settlements are significant in most urban areas around the world, in particular the developing countries.

Sesele (1994) suggests that in order to understand why these settlements are continuing to grow, it is important to look at factors which influence their development. "The informal settlements have been mentioned as firstly, the rate of population increase in the developing world" (Sesele, 1994:20).

The rate at which urbanisation has been taking place in developing countries is regarded as "unprecedented in the history of man" (Rondinelli et al, 1988). Ultimately, this growth has led to migrants establishing themselves in vacant pieces of land closer to city centres and this has put more pressure on urban services and resources. Governments needed to intervene as we will from now on examine the response of the Brazilian experience.

In Latin America, over the past four decades, as is the case in South Africa, there has been a paradigm shift in the theory and practice of development planning and management of urbanisation. It is argued that during the 1960s and 1970s, two Brazilian cities, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro with their wealth and accompanying opportunities, attracted massive inward migration (Van Niekerk, 2000).

There are many striking parallels between Brazil and South Africa, a large country of widespread social, educational and financial inequality. Van Niekerk (2000) argues that in South Africa, this was due to our apartheid laws, this influx happened somewhat later, but the result was the same as in Brazil, like overcrowded formal inner city housing and sprawling informal settlements. (Van Niekerk, 2000: 7)

2.2 International Perspective

2.2.1 Informal Settlements

Historically in South Africa, the African majority have traditionally been regarded as rural outsiders, given only partial and highly controlled access to urban areas, where regional planning has had racial separation as a major objective.

It is the above dynamic that is responsible for the proliferation of informal settlements in South Africa, particularly since the 1970s. By the end of the decade, almost every city had its satellite informal settlements and they were also growing apace in some of the homelands as resettlement gathered momentum.

Against the scenario sketched above, this section reviews the debate on the informal settlement phenomenon in the developing world and lessons of practical import that can be learnt for South Africa. It was assumed in the 1960s that only government could provide shelter for the low-income population. On the other hand informal shelter in the third world cities was becoming increasingly visible.

Government's response to the erected structures in the city would be either to neglect these settlements or demolish the existing settlement structures.

Pillay (1998) has noted that major policy shifts began, in the late 1960s, to take place with the focus of international debate moving away from arguments for and against informal housing. Turner's self-help advocacy rapidly became the conventional wisdom and informal settlements were now recognised by many observers as settings for the creation of household capital through seat equity. Pillay (1998) argues that research in low-income groups and settlements in developing countries revealed the ability and potential for self-build urban development.

According to Pillay (1998), this research focussed primarily on attempts to understand housing issues and the development of squatter settlements through a series of theoretical constructs and also analyses of a body of statistical and empirical data of the housing and squatter problems on the neighbourhood and the projection of future housing needs.

Site and service schemes initiated by most developing countries were somewhat disappointing, with a particular concern about the slow rate of consolidation. Other concern was due to the lack of provision of secure tenure, the inability to acquire small loans for home improvement, and the lack of community mobilisation among these residents. These schemes, as noted by Pillay (1998), were found not to serve the poorest of the poor but the lower middle class. Many of the problems associated with site and service schemes are often cited as common difficulties facing 'in-situ' upgrading programmes. Accumulating international evidence suggests that a crucial determinant of consolidation in site and service schemes and 'in-situ' upgrading initiatives in the developing world is the extent of community participation in the formulation, construction, and management of projects.

2.2.2 Informal settlement Upgrades in Brazil

Informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro were located on hillsides, river banks, and other dangerous areas in the city neighbourhoods and this was a problem in terms of providing required services. The housing conditions in which people lived in are below minimum standards and resulted in urban degradation. As in South Africa, these areas were seen as hotbeds of crime.

According to Van Niekerk (2000), many of these settlements were located in areas of best advantages such as nearby labour markets and easy access to the city centre. Densities within these settlements tend to be high. "The current housing policy in Rio de Janeiro is based on the principal concept of broadening access to a decent urban lifestyle for all residents through the more equal distribution of water and sanitation infrastructure and social infrastructure. The municipal administration is now responsible for reversing the degradation of the land and implements all projects within these policy parameters" (Van Niekerk, 2000: 7).

In most Brazilian cities, problems of overcrowding and high densities appear to be more severe, than the South African context. Van Niekerk (2000) adds that "the principal of integrating informal settlements into existing surrounding neighbourhoods without community disruption is done through in-situ action - infrastructure upgrades or verticalisation" (Van Niekerk, 2000: 7)

The difference between Brazil and South Africa is that in Brazil no funding is provided for the construction of housing except to facilitate relocation in certain limited circumstances, while in the South African context the funding provided caters for both infrastructural services and the top-structure.

2.3 International Case Studies

2.3.1 Housing In Karachi, Pakistan

Karachi is a city in Pakistan and the majority of this city's population is poor. It is argued that these low income groups have no access to the official housing market and stay in informal settlements in and around the city centre. Van der Linden (1983) argues that the low-income groups are denied access to housing credit, as is the case in South Africa, cannot obtain plots in locations of their need and are subjected to a resettlement as our case study suggests.

In Pakistan, Karachi was the first area to start large-scale industrial development. The abundance of unskilled labour, earn low wages, have long working days, and in order for them to be able to compete on labour market, they have to minimise costs of shelter, transport, etc.

As a result, the informal settlements came into existence around the highly developed city centres. The uncontrolled growth increasingly hampered the efficient functioning of the large scale production process. Streets became narrower as some people lived on pavements and became inaccessible to traffic. All the open spaces within the city centre were occupied illegally and these slums were an eyesore.

The intended usage for the land was hampered by these invasions, and a plan was launched to create new low-income residential areas. The existing settlements could be demolished.

According to Van der Linden (1983), this plan envisaged both the provision of houses plus services and the creation of employment (Van der Linden, 1983:15). A number of informal settlements were bulldozed and the inhabitants were relocated to the new built-up areas. The programme was discontinued as it did not achieve its aims, particularly the lack of employment opportunities in such areas which was a major cause for concern and the majority of the population were eventually forced to go on working in city centre.

This meant long travel times and high transportation costs and many ended up selling their houses and tried to find again a place close to the centres of job opportunities. It is argued that the best approach which utilises the investments made by the informal dwellers to a maximum and which minimises extra contributions by government and individual families is legalisation and upgrading of spontaneous informal settlements.

2.3.2 Relocation of informal settlement to new areas - International Perspective, the case of Guarapiranga, City of Sao Paulo

This research will focus on the social aspect of the relocating informal settlement communities involuntary. The Sao Paulo City developed a development framework in order to identify and tackle some of the serious social problems affecting the benefiting households.

It should be mentioned that the programme was developed for both partial upgrade and relocation as the settlement was too big and some families had to be relocated due to a number reasons that appeared to be threatening the well-being and safety of families.

The main criteria in determining the households affected by the relocation were families located in areas of high risk, situated in flooding zone, etc. But for the benefit of this study, the researcher will focus on the relocation of some households into new areas called compounds. Families that had to relocate were those living in hazardous areas or intended for the building of sites. In dealing with this situation, the City of Sao Paulo created carefully designed methods.

The Guarapiranga Programme as it was known, was led by a group of social workers. The success of the Programme and its acceptance by society at large are linked to a great extent to positive reactions by the first beneficiaries themselves.

An extensive community participation was also considered and it was one of the key areas of development that led to a success of this Programme.

According to Mello et al (2000), "the Guarapiranga Programme was designed on the basis of a broad principle of respect and participation of the local population, through dissemination of information and involvement in all stages of work, aiming at reducing impacts on their daily lives" (Mello et al, 2000: 222).

The location of the new area where these families were to be relocated was well thought out as the programme was also designed in such a way that families were relocated in areas as close as possible to their original location. The idea behind this was to prevent informal sales, i.e. reselling of new homes, and the subsequent return of the benefiting families to inadequate housing conditions.

Mello et al (2000) argue that “the work with residents starts with a recognition of formal and informal leadership structures, an inventory of the existing social equipment, a record of the evolution and organisation background of the area and a knowledge of the community dynamics and its relationship with the surrounding neighbourhoods” (Mello et al, 2000: 222). This is no easy exercise as at first difficulties emerge when the necessary relocations of households in risk areas is proposed and this lead to an extensive explanation and negotiation.

Relocations in this instance mean transfer of the affected community to housing units designed for them. At this stage an assessment of social and economic conditions, determined through a survey on the place of work and schools they attend. According to Mello et al (2000), “the social team of the City of Sao Paulo supervises the entire process of removal of families into the new apartments. The reception of new residents and follow-up after occupation remain under the City’s responsibility”. In addition, lodging facilities are designed to receive families awaiting to move to new housing compounds.

These lodging facilities are a temporary arrangement for those that have been removed from areas of risk. Importantly, assessment of these cases is conducted through an evaluation of the social and economic profile of the families, as well as an appraisal of the conditions of the homes to make sure that they are adequate to receive households in order to prevent potential risks to the new residents. After relocating the community, individual families are visited through the social follow-up activities.

Generally, relocations of an informal settlement community has consequences to residents, requiring a certain behaviour, the learning of the new collective living rules and the undertaking of responsibilities completely unknown to them in their daily lives. It is, therefore, vital that a consistent social follow-up is carried out aiming at reducing the impacts and creating a sense of organisation and participation in collective living, which constitute essential elements for the interaction within the new area.

According to Mello et al (2000) the new housing areas are well located, situated in neighbourhoods with social facilities, such as schools, health centres and hospitals, near shopping areas and educational facilities. In these new areas, there is particularly good public transportation system available, and its of easy access to other areas in the city and that is an advantage to new residents.

The social follow-up activities offer conditions for residents to adapt to the new situation, advising them to adequately use the facilities in the surrounding, and establish new and adequate relations with neighbours. The work also seeks to identify and promote leadership potential among residents and fosters discussions about feeling of citizenship through respect of rights and duties.

It is common, that there are families who move into the new housing areas envisaging a conscious and concrete change, a leap in the quality of life, the triggering of a process of transformation leading to profound changes in housing conditions. Beneficiaries see this opportunity with a mix of expectation and drive, as the new home constitutes the possibility of becoming someone.

However, other families are only physically transferred from one home to the other, maintaining the same habits, behaviour, culture and values, without having previously experienced a process of evolution, or assimilated the importance of these changes, looking at their transfer as an isolated event outside their personal development.

Mello et al (2000) also argue that there families who, over time, cannot adapt to new ways of living and they are criticised and sometimes rejected by the rest of the new community. In other words, they start to undergo pressure from their peers, when they realise that they have been rejected, they ask to leave the new area and return to the informal settlement.

2.3.2.1 Analysing the Guarapiranga Programme

The study has found that residents are adapted to the new area, compounds, valuing and using their units in an adequate way. It appears that they are proud of themselves because they now have an address and shown significant changes in behaviour, expressing interest in training and their children and the use of resources in the neighbourhood. They seem to have acquired favourable attitudes toward collective living, in a process of growth and development.

In analysing the work implemented throughout the years, it may be said that the Guarapiranga Programme has led to a significant improvement in living standards of residents of the informal settlements, with positive impacts on the surrounding neighbourhoods. These improvements are illustrated by gains in hygiene and health conditions, through the basic sanitation; improved access and movement of residents with the construction and paving of roads and the alleyways.

Also access to neighbourhood resources such as schools, health centres and commercial areas; access of vehicles, waste collection and identification of streets and alleyways, facilitating postal deliveries. Standards in the homes have considerably improved, both through direct work by the Programme and the initiative of residents. The experience of the Guarapiranga Programme reveals the need to implement relocation alternatives adaptable to the characteristics of the removed population.

2.4 Conclusion

Although, many relocations are meant to improve living conditions in the informal settlement areas, they can sometimes be regarded as a nuisance to people's daily lives. Nevertheless, an extensive local community involvement throughout all stages of the programme leads to a high degree of acceptance by targeted communities that later overcomes the problems. Relocations are a complex and delicate issue due to the necessary involvement and direct contact with the community who are forced by circumstances to move permanently. At this stage it is important to have numerous meetings where discussions are held with the affected community.

Chapter Three

Conceptual Framework: South African Literature and Policy Review

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will examine the South African experiences and history of urbanisation, that led to the creation of informal settlements and which has informed the current housing policies. It should be noted that the South African experience has its uniqueness due to apartheid policies, and there are lessons that can be learnt from South Africa, especially through the current housing policy.

3.1 Urbanisation (South African context)

3.1.1 Contextual Background

Up to the early 1980s, the general response to informal settlements on the part of authorities was to consider them a blight and to raze them wherever possible. Since the early 1980s, however the permanence of many informal settlements has been acknowledged and attempts have been made to address poor living conditions in many of these settlements. Smit (1996) cites South America as an example, it is "increasingly being recognised that in-situ upgrading almost always involves enormous ongoing management inputs primarily to deal with the conflicts that are part and parcel of the process ... the recognition has dawned that community leaderships often have different priorities than the intended beneficiaries, but in an upgrading it is very difficult to side-step the leadership structures and deal with beneficiaries directly..."

As a consequence... local authorities are no longer focussing efforts on upgrading but are instead drawing out beneficiaries out of existing shack settlements into 'greenfields' projects elsewhere ...

In existing shack settlements, housing interventions are limited to relatively top-down inputs to secure health and safety and full-fledged upgrades are seldom attempted” (Smit, 1996: 11).

In the 1980s and 1990s analysis of the form of South African cities noted that these areas were characterised by urban sprawl, fragmentation, and separation, with consequently many negative impacts affecting in particular the urban poor (Dewar, 1992).

These impacts included gross inefficiency in movement systems, impoverished dormitory living areas with few services, and sterile, monotonous environments. Because of the particular political history of South Africa under apartheid, the poor and disadvantaged who were most affected by these impacts were overwhelmingly African people.

3.1.2 Informal settlements in the Ethekewini Municipality

There are approximately 240 000 informal dwellings in the Ethekewini Municipal Area (EMA) including dwellings which can be described as rural or traditional in nature. Some of these dwellings are in the process of being upgraded. The large majority of these rural dwellings were incorporated into the EMA through the demarcation process. (Durban Metro Housing, 2000)

Urban informal dwellings account for approximately 195 000 dwellings of which approximately 143 000 require some form of housing intervention. In terms of population size, the total urban informal population translates to approximately 780 000 people (assuming a household size of 4). This in turn constitutes a quarter of the total EMA population.

There are approximately 550 informal settlement communities within the EMA excluding the rural communities. These range in size from a few dwellings to over 10 000. The average informal settlement in the EMA comprises approximately 350 dwellings. The largest concentration of informal dwellings (approximately 65 000) is found within the former township areas of KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda. However the largest number of informal settlement communities (approximately 220) is found scattered within Umlazi, the second largest township in the country after Soweto. Thus the EMA has a number of large sprawling informal settlements as well as countless small informal settlements interspersed and in between formal settlements. (Durban Metro Housing, 2000)

The large majority of households living in informal settlements have a household income of less than R1500 per month and are almost entirely reliant on the housing subsidy to meet their housing needs. Unemployment rates are high and bank loans virtually non-existent for these households.

Given the magnitude of this challenge, Metro Housing, a service unit of the eThekweni Municipality, embarked on developing an Informal Settlement Programme (ISP) very soon after its inception in 1997.

The ISP's ultimate aim is to achieve more effective co-ordination of development, management and control of informal settlements within the EMA with all the relevant Council service providers and stakeholders. Its goal is to create a sustainable programme which will systematically upgrade and relocate (where appropriate) informal settlements and give residents at the end of the queue some tangible signs of development via the provision of certain basic levels of services.

The ISP represents the Council's proactive attempt in addressing the informal settlement challenge and it is the first known comprehensive programme established for informal settlements at a metropolitan scale i.e. covering over 550 settlements and approximately 195 000 dwellings. The ISP has also been the key initiative informing the Council's Housing Plan which has been conceptualised to effectively meet the housing backlog in the EMA over a 15 year period assuming a delivery rate of 16 000 housing opportunities per annum. (Durban Metro Housing, 2000)

The phenomenon of squatting is particularly prevalent among black people and Durban is regarded as the city which has the largest number of free standing shack settlements in South Africa. An understanding of the nature, needs and dynamics of informal settlements is critical if the present need and future development of settlements are to be addressed.

To enhance understanding, the squatter situation is contextualised against the wider background of influx control which exists in South Africa. It is argued that there are three key themes in the history of black migration in KwaZulu-Natal region as being the conflict over land; the demand for a labour supply; and the apartheid policies. Hindson and McCarthy (1994:8) in their examination of recent migration in KwaZulu-Natal concur that the apartheid regime had failed to stop the flow of black migration.

Hindson and McCarthy (1994) also view the increase in the number of informal settlements during the 1980s as the result of weakening power of the black local authorities and tribal authorities and the increase in political violence in the area. With the unbanning of political organisations and the increase in political activity and violence, there was a movement of people from settlements on the urban periphery to core city areas, where they were also nearer to job opportunities (Hindson and McCarthy, 1994:8).

It is also noteworthy that these settlements consist mainly of black people who are unemployed.

Local literature recognises that squatter areas are primarily comprised of poor households searching for better living conditions. Shelter is recognised as a fundamental in the Constitution, therefore housing in South Africa is a powerful indicator of national inequalities and a critical contributor to the quality of life experienced by individuals. With the current housing policy there is now a political will to assist the poor with their housing needs.

3.1.3 Restructuring South Africa's Apartheid City

South African cities are still characterised by inefficiencies, fragmentation, inequalities and unsustainability caused by the combined application of apartheid policies and traditional planning practices. Durban cannot be restructured over a short period of time. Alleviating the plight of the urban poor requires more than just infrastructure provision and upgrading, it requires spatial interventions to restructure the apartheid city and thereby assist in reorienting its socio-economic dynamics.

A more compact and rationally restructured city form could be achieved by the promotion of higher densities, infill and redevelopment in and around the urban core and other activity nodes. But there is danger of merely densifying our cities without diversifying them, if residential development is emphasized to the exclusion of creating job opportunities, social interaction and recreation.

From a planning perspective one of the solutions to the problems of the form of the apartheid city was seen to be the compaction of the city through infill development rather than peripheral development which pushes the boundary of the city further out (Dewar 1992, Corbett 1992, Hindson et al 1993).

This approach was seen to have a number of advantages, including the opportunity to provide the poor with better access to job opportunities, social facilities, and transport networks, as well as to contribute to the long term sustainability of the city with respect to service delivery, infrastructure provision and maintenance. Clearly low-income housing as a land use was one of the tools through which to achieve this compaction.

Through such residential development, great potential also existed for class and racial integration, as well as physical integration. At the same time it must be acknowledged that while notions of compaction, integration and infill still have much currency, it has also become apparent that new imperatives are diffusing this focus and are now starting to shape the trajectory of city development (Todes 1998).

While there is ostensibly commitment to the compaction notion, in practice the focus is on delivery, generally to where the people currently are, and constituency politics prevails, weakening support for complex projects in central areas. (Todes 1998)

In addition the very terms “compaction” and integration” can be interpreted in a variety of ways and in a variety of contexts, resulting in differing outcomes.

3.1.4 Durban’s Spatial Structure

Notions of compaction and integration in Durban need to be understood against the background of the spatial form of the city. The Durban Metro area can briefly be described in physical terms as having developed economically along a T-shaped transport pattern, consisting of the north-south coastal freeway, and, located at right angles to this, the highway inland to Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg.

The formerly *white* residential areas are located in close proximity to these axes, the CBD and other amenities with the *African* townships located less conveniently from the networks and at some distance from the commercial and industrial nodes. Formerly *Coloured* and *Indian* areas have tended to act as buffers between the African and White areas.

This spatial form has been extremely costly both in direct economic terms (long commuting distances, high transport subsidies etc) and in social terms (segregation, inequalities in service levels, social conflict etc) (Makhathini & Bedford, 1998).

The pattern of informal settlements in relation to this form reveals a high concentration of established informal settlements on the periphery of the city, particularly in the Inanda, Umlazi, Southern Pinetown and the Inner City area. This pattern needs to be understood in relation to the political dynamics and areas of jurisdiction that existed prior to 1994.

Firstly the proximity of tribal and freehold land to the African townships of Durban meant that influx control was far more difficult to control than in other metropolitan areas of South Africa (Hindson et al 1992).

Subsequently the weakening and collapse of black local authorities in the 1980s also led to land invasions and occupations in and around township areas, a process that was given further impetus by the abolition of influx control in 1986 (Hindson et al 1992). The appearance of huge squatter areas on the periphery of the Durban metropolitan area had the effect of powerfully reinforcing residential apartheid and hence the racial geography of the city. The continued application of residential controls under the Group Areas Act ensured that impoverished Africans were confined to the urban peripheries. (Hindson et al 1992).

By 1987 the informally housed African population comprised 50% of the total African population (Hindson et al 1992). The late 1980s witnessed the first flow of squatters from periphery to core as pockets of squatters occupied land, in some instances areas left vacant by apartheid removals. In the climate of growing political instability local authorities became increasingly reluctant to remove these groups despite the continued existence of apartheid and anti-squatter laws. By 1994, about one-third of Durban's population lived in informal settlements. (Hindson et al 1993).

3.2 South Africa's Post Apartheid Housing Policy

In 1990, after the unbanning of political organisation - no legitimate structure was in place as the Nationalist Party government was not allowed to implement any policy. This led to ministries of National Housing and Public Works, and Local Government establishing a working group with the view of developing a national housing policy.

This working group was led by De Loor and a report was submitted in 1992. The report had some recommendations and one of them included that community participation should be ensured and that the community should form an integral part of the formulation of housing policy and strategy in the future.

In addition, a National Housing Forum, NHF, was formed in 1992 to create the conditions necessary for a national consensus on housing. In October 1994, a national housing summit (also known as the Botshabelo conference) was held and the Housing Accord was signed by all key role-players in housing. During the transition period (1991 - 1994) housing became a central issue of national concern and several measures were introduced and embodied in the government white paper of 1994. The 1994 White Paper on Housing was adopted by parliament in December 1994. In this White Paper, seven housing strategies were identified and are as follows:-

1. Stabilising of the housing environment.
2. Creation of housing support structures.
3. Creation of capital subsidy programmes.
4. Identification of issues pertaining to land and services.
5. Mobilisation of credit and savings.
6. Demarcation of functions between the national, provincial and local government levels.
7. Co-ordination of public funds and development of activities between the various arms of government.

3.3 Financing of Housing Projects

A capital subsidy system to assist qualifying beneficiaries in meeting their housing needs was an essential component of the new national housing policy.

The primary objective of the new subsidy system was to provide security of tenure and access to basic services and possibly a rudimentary 'starter' formal structure to the very poor. Below is an outline of the national housing subsidy structure:-

Table 1: Provincial Housing Board Subsidies

Monthly Household Income	Subsidy Amount	Subsidy Amount (Incl. 15% Geotech.)
R0 - R1500	R16 000	R18 400
R1501 - R2500	R 10 000	R11 500
R2501 - R3500	R 5 500	R6 325

Sources: Department of Housing and Metro Housing, 1999

Subsidy structure up to 31 March 2002.

The above amount may be adjustable by up to 15% on an area at the discretion of the relevant Provincial Housing Board for locational, topographical or geo-technical reasons. The criteria used to determine the qualifying beneficiaries is outlined below.

People qualify for a capital subsidy if:

- they are married or living with a long term partner,
- they are South African citizens or have a permanent residence permit,
- their monthly household income is R3500 or less,
- they are single with dependants and 21 years or older,
- they or their spouse have not received housing assistance from the government to buy a property,
- they and their spouse do not own and have never owned any property.

Projects may take place in numerous ways as the new housing policy of 1997 has a number of different subsidies that may be applied and these include:

- Individual subsidies
- Project linked subsidies
- Consolidation subsidy
- Institutional subsidy

According to Naidoo (1999) South Africa's security and well-being depends on the creation of healthy housing environments, alternatives need to be found to complement the present subsidy structure so as to enable all sectors of the community to house themselves adequately.

Financial institutions do not provide credit to the unemployed and underemployed who make up a significant percentage of the population.

Naidoo (1999) further argues that it is important that finances and initiatives other than subsidies are mobilised and these should include:

- Individual savings to augment the residual from the subsidy,
- Saving clubs for short term loans and investments,
- Funds accessed from micro-lenders,
- Utilisation of household or community labour to decrease the labour costs of building a home,
- The creation of housing institutions to provide access to credit for low income families. (Naidoo, 1999: 88)

3.4 The Housing Act No. 107 of 1997

In 1994 the new housing policy came into implementation, allowing for a once-off capital subsidy to deliver housing and services to the poor. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which embodied the government's framework for socio-economic policy, stipulated that housing should be suitably located with respect to economic and social facilities (RDP 1994). The political imperative of the time focussed on delivery to the poor and marginalised, and the target of a "million houses in 5 years" became a catch phrase. With a relatively substantial budget allocation to it, low income housing was poised to be the most rapid physical intervention into urban areas. As such housing could be seen to be the lead sector in restructuring the spatial form of the city (Makhathini & Bedford 1998).

However within a few years of the housing policy coming into effect it became apparent that for a variety of reasons the majority of housing projects could be seen to be reinforcing the apartheid form.

In the new Housing Policy, there are significant changes which revolved around several key principles which include:

- Housing is a right within a democratic form of government,
- It is a means of promoting people-centred development,
- Effective housing delivery relied on a partnership between government, non-governmental organisations and private enterprise,
- The participation and involvement of civil society is essential to housing development,
- Housing is a means to the equitable distribution of resources and to the creation of a stable political climate,
- Housing development is seen as a means to the solution of socio-economic problems, such as unemployment, and
- The government is responsible for co-ordinating its various sectors involved in housing development. (Naidoo, 1999)

For the facilitation of a sustainable housing development process, the Housing Act has the following principles:

- that housing developments should provide a wide choice of housing and tenure options. They should be economically, fiscally, socially and financially affordable and sustainable. They should also be based on integrated development planning; and be administered in a transparent, accountable and equitable manner, and uphold the practice of good governance.

- that housing developments should promote the empowerment of communities and create conditions in which all role-players meet their obligations in respect of housing development. Housing developments should ensure healthy living conditions so that slums are prevented and eliminated. They should also provide measures to prohibit discrimination on the grounds of gender and other forms of unfair discrimination in the housing delivery process. They should ensure the optimal use of land and services for higher density development and meet housing special needs including those of the physically and mentally challenged. Housing development should provide community and recreational facilities in residential areas and should express the cultural identity and diversity of the population.
- that housing developments should give priority to the housing needs of the poor.

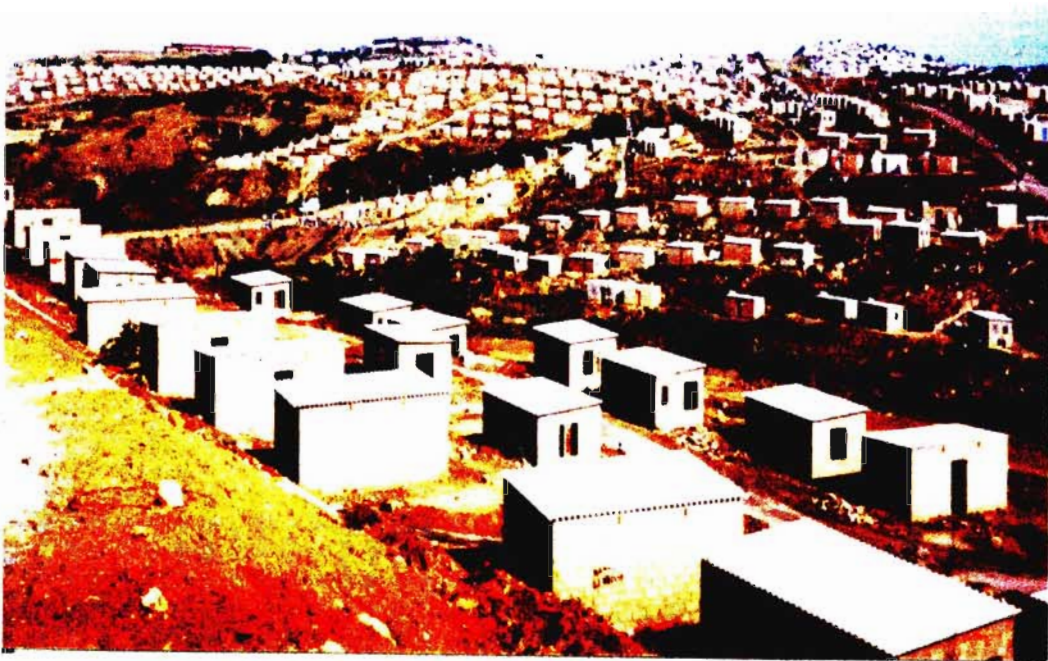
In addition, it is worrying that many new housing scheme settlements remain characterised by cramped, small, but free-standing houses rather than reminiscent of the 'matchbox' houses built during the scale local authority township house-building programmes of the 1950's. The difference is that resources are at last being targeted towards the black majority, the housing becoming available is now attached with security of tenure and ownership rights and it is largely privately provided. The scale of the task ahead remains daunting. In the circumstances, housing policy needs to be regularly reviewed against broader development objectives. In turn, this requires more extensive and improved information on scheme outcomes and systematic evaluation research.

3.5 Evaluation of the Subsidy System from 1994 - 2002

Since the introduction of the new housing subsidy system in 1994, there has been gradual improvements. This indicates that the subsidy system was not static as the subsidy amount has increased from R15 000 (1994) to R16 000 (1999). Recently, the subsidy amount has been increased from R16 000 to R20 300 with effect from 1 April 2002. The improvement in the subsidy amount in recent years, has also led to the improvement of the end product, i.e. the top structure. The photographs below reflect the improvement in the quality of the top structure.

SLIDE 1:

The photograph below shows the houses built in Quarry Heights in 1998 with no windows and doors fitted at a R15 000 subsidy amount.



SLIDE 2:

The photograph below depicts a R16 000 top structure house from 1999/2000.



SLIDE 3:

The above photograph depicts a top structure with the new subsidy regime as at 01 April 2002 (Maximum subsidy amount = R20 300).

3.6 Ethekwini Municipality's Current Policy with Regard to Informal Settlements

EThekwini Council's Housing Unit was established in 1997 to specifically deal with the housing backlog in the Municipality. This included informal settlements. Within a year after the establishment of this unit, a large informal settlement known as Canaan was relocated to Quarry Heights.

In 1998, Metro Housing hosted a conference where it shared its ideas with other role players in the field as well as other municipalities. Arising out of conference a strategic programme to deal with informal settlements was developed. The Informal Settlement Programme entailed the systematic and programmed upgrade and relocation of informal settlements. This Programme incorporated all informal settlements within the Metro boundary and prioritised each settlement using technical criteria.

3.6.1 Slums Clearance Project

During the latter half of 2001, the former MEC for Housing in KwaZulu-Natal, Dumisani Makhaye, requested the Ethekwini Municipality's Housing Unit to produce a business plan for a short term informal settlement programme specifically targeting clusters of high risk settlements. The total funding being made available by the MEC was R200 million. The MEC had identified "slum clearance" as a priority programme within his ministry. Having pro actively developed its Informal Settlement Programme to inform its overall Housing Plan, Ethekwini Housing was in a position to immediately respond to the MEC's request. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

Phase 1 of the slums clearance project addresses the needs of approximately 13 600 families from nearly 70 informal settlements. These settlements are located within the central area of Durban where the large majority (60%) of informal settlements are currently located. Some of the affected areas include Palmiet, Clare Hills, Sydenham, Springfield, Sea Cow Lake, Kenville, Inanda, KwaMashu, Lamontville, Umlazi, Chatsworth, Clairwood and Seaview.

Of the 13 600 families affected, approximately 8 300 or 60% will be relocated to suitable greenfield projects while the remaining 5 300 or 40% will remain in their settlements and be part of an in situ upgrade project. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

To date settlements such as Ironstone, Sunset Avenue and Angola in Chatsworth, Danluce Road in Cato Manor as well as portions of Vukani in Reservoir Hills and HH Community in Kwamashu have already been successfully relocated to new homes in suitable greenfield housing projects. In terms of greenfield housing projects on the go, construction of houses in KwaMashu C, comprising 408 houses and Welbedacht, comprising 7900 houses has already begun. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

In addition the first houses in the Mzomuhle (Parkgate) project, comprising a total of 1530 houses, will be ready in February 2003. It is anticipated that an average of 540 houses will be constructed per month over the next 18 months for all the three housing projects in progress. This excludes the additional greenfield projects being planned by the Council once land evaluations and negotiations for acquisition have been finalised with a number of land owners. The anticipated yield from these projects is in the region of 7000 sites. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

During 2003 and 2004, all the remaining settlements earmarked for relocation would have been relocated. With regard to the in situ upgrade projects, project implementation teams have already been appointed for projects in Umlazi, Lamontville and Inanda. These projects should be implemented early in 2003. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

The completion of Phase 1 of the Slums Clearance Project will represent a significant milestone for the Council's Informal Settlement Programme since all settlements earmarked for complete relocation in the north central area of Durban would have been relocated while over half of the settlements earmarked for complete relocation in the south central area would have been relocated.

In addition to the above, Council's track record of addressing high priority informal settlements is impressive with the successful relocation of over 2000 families from the Canaan informal settlement located on unstable land along the N2 as well as the relocation of families from the Durban Station and North Coast Road settlements. The relocation of the Clairwood Park settlement located alongside a railway line on which dangerous chemicals are often transported, is imminent.

In all these relocations, the Council has successfully entered into partnerships with the affected land owners ranging from national departments, parastatals to big businesses who have contributed financially towards the relocation and accommodation of the families. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

About one third of all settlements were in need of relocation due to hazardous nature of their location, such as fire risk, risk of flooding, unstable soil etc.

Another third were deemed to be too small for a viable upgrade project, that is where the land parcel was too small to accommodate the entire settlement and one fifth needed to be moved due to location on environmentally sensitive land. Other reasons for relocation included areas earmarked for infrastructural development and other mitigating circumstances. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

One problem relates to the very high density of settlement which characterises most informal settlements. In the quest for space, informal dwellers locate their dwellings in close proximity to each other, with more people per square metre than is desirable or feasible for an in-situ upgrade. This requires that a certain proportion of families will have to relocate to accommodate a project on that site. These projects are referred to as partial upgrade and partial relocation, where some households are relocated elsewhere and others remain in the area for upgrade.

De-densification is required to effectively and efficiently provide infrastructural services to the settlement. Furthermore, many settlements are located in hazardous areas such as close to dumping sites, on river banks, on oversteep land and on unstable land. This has serious negative implications on the health and safety of inhabitants in such settlements and put them at risk of disaster such as floods. During heavy rains, in Durban, the rivers frequently overflow flooding the surrounding areas including settlements that are located on their banks.

Settlements located on river banks are a high priority for relocation due to potential loss of shelter, possessions and even life that may result from a flood. In areas like Umlazi Q section, a settlement called Q8, there have been reported cases of people falling in and drowning while crossing over the Isipingo river, using a sewer pipe. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

In addition, Metro Housing does not merely facilitate the allocation of housing subsidies, but also undertakes various support activities to enhance sustainability of projects. This is done by providing beneficiary household heads with training on the relocation process, the subsidy system, and home ownership, including the rights and responsibilities of home owners. The training is compulsory for every beneficiary household head, and an attendance register is kept for record purposes.

During relocation, the new home owners are transported from the informal settlements to their new houses at no cost. In some previous relocations, beneficiaries were expected to make their own arrangements for transporting their belongings. Many had difficulties because they had to pay for transport, depending on their load and number of trips made. This has been improved with the Slums Clearance Project as Council provides beneficiaries with free transport.

After relocation, in an attempt to take effective control of invasions and resettlement, as soon as the beneficiary households have moved out, the Metro Land Invasion Unit moves in, demolishes the shacks and removes the building material. One problem which has emerged is that those who do not qualify for the subsidy may be left homeless by the relocation due to a lack of policy on dealing with non-qualifiers in such developments. This issue is currently being investigated by the Metro Housing Unit and requires urgent resolution. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

Once, the material has been removed, the area is rehabilitated to an acceptable state. This means that there will be no visible sign of any informal settlement having ever been located there. On Council owned land, Council's Parks Department revive the soil to make it suitable for vegetation and so on, whilst on privately owned land, the onus is on the owner to protect and rehabilitate such land.

The work of the Metro Housing does not end with the construction of houses and relocation of households to new project areas, but also extends to facilitating the provision of basic services and other facilities. The Unit assists and coordinates certain after care responsibilities with relevant Council departments, provincial departments such as education, and other external service providers such as Telkom.

This involves arrangements for:

- the enrolment of relocated children in local schools or the provision of new schools,
- the provision of water and sanitation, and electricity,
- the provision of parks and recreational facilities, and
- the provision of health care centres, shopping centres, telecommunications and so on.

Beneficiaries in the past raised concerns regarding the disturbance that relocations had on their children's schooling. The timing of the relocation was frequently in conflict with the school time table. Consequently, school children have had to either abandon school or be separated from their families in order to remain behind for schooling, as has been the situation with the case study.

3.7 Conclusion

Many lessons from international cases could be learnt for countries like South Africa and other developing countries facing urbanisation. Experience from relocations undertaken in the late 1990s indicates that beneficiaries are not always happy about the location of new housing developments.

This had been mainly in cases where the development is further from the city and other areas of economic opportunity than the informal settlement had been. People complained that they had been moved away from places where they were able to secure casual jobs, where they were familiar with the area, and had established a good reputation with their informal employers. Furthermore, due to the location of new greenfields developments in far away areas, many beneficiaries were subjected to higher transport costs between residences and areas of economic opportunity. (Durban Metro Housing, 2001)

People also complained that the distance to and from taxi ranks, bus stops, and train stations had increased due to relocation. Some households ended up far from transport routes. The Slums Clearance Project has had the benefit of past experience and has taken into consideration the issues arising from previous housing developments. Many of the problems experienced by various beneficiaries have been taken into account in the planning.

Every effort has been made to ensure that the new developments are located as close to economic opportunities as possible, in order to increase employment prospects for the beneficiaries. It is hoped that this will also reduce the burden of transport related costs. Nevertheless, the lack of available land has required people to move further from the central city than they previously were.

Chapter Four

Case Study: Quarry Heights and Research Findings

4.0 Introduction

The Quarry Heights housing project, which has accommodated the approximately 2000 families from Canaan, has been identified as the study area. As a result of the historical factors that have brought to bear in a specific way, this area has been seen as the most appropriate in addressing the issue of improving people's lives.

4.1 Brief Historical Background of the Canaan Informal Settlement

Canaan, one of the largest settlements in Durban, was located in the Clare Estate area and was easily visible from the N2 freeway. (See Locality Plan 1 and an aerial photograph Plan 3) Plan 3 shows the settlement in 1997, before relocating to a greenfields project in Quarry Heights (Plan 5). Plans 3 and 5 also depict what the space was like prior to the relocation. While, plans 4 and 6 indicate the after relocation spatially, as the land in plan 4 was cleared and filled in in plan 6. The settlement was located between the N2 freeway and Clare Road. This settlement also received widespread media coverage and attention from various stakeholders over the years due to its visibility from the N2 freeway as well as precarious location on geotechnically unstable land. It was reported in the Natal Witness newspaper on 12 December 1990, that the ground on which Canaan is settled consists exclusively of ecca-shale which is considered to be very unstable. This ground is believed to slide without much warning and the ultimate consequences to life and property would be devastating (See Photographs on Slides 4 & 5 below).

SLIDES 4 & 5:

Below are photographs depicting results of the land slides that occurred in Cnaan informal settlement in 1997.



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF CANAAN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN 1997



PLAN 3

METRO HOUSING

Source: Metro Housing GIS

KEY:

-  Roads
-  Planning Units
-  Canaan Informal

This has however did not deter residents from living at Canaan and the Daily News newspaper in October 1991 reported that the settlement proved to be extremely popular. Various studies have been conducted in the area and these have shown that Canaan was part of an intra-urban migration before relocating to the area.

Ardington (1992) argues that “a commonly held view is that homelessness and increasing informal or squatter settlements are the result of the continuing influx of people from rural areas in search of employment in the metropolis” (Ardington, 1992: 47).

The majority of Canaan residents relocated to this area because of political violence at their previous places of residence. The employment rate in Canaan was reported to be high as almost all households had at least one person being employed.

Squatting in Clare Estate has taken on phenomenal proportions. It seems as if the formal residents are almost oblivious to the influx of squatters as this area has seen a lot of informal settlements established over the years. The opinion of the formal residents in the area have not been expressed either positively or negatively in any noticeable manner. Perhaps it is this notion that presents Clare Estate as an attractive choice for people who have been exposed to much violence in their previous areas.

This opinion is unqualified as no previous research known to the researcher has been undertaken to investigate the residents' attitudes with regard to squatting in the Clare Estate area.

MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF CANAAN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN 2000



PLAN 4

METRO HOUSING
Source: Metro Housing GIS

KEY:

- Roads
- Planning Units
- Canaan Informal

4.2 Quarry Heights

Quarry Heights is a project of some 2100 households located on 119ha of land some 15 kilometres from the Central Business District. Quarry Heights is an infill development surrounded by the suburbs of Newlands East, a formerly Coloured residential area, Avoca Hills, a formerly Indian residential area, and KwaMashu, a formerly African township.

Durban Metro Housing became involved in the development as a result of a need to urgently relocate some 2000 households (over 10 000 people) from Canaan, which was located on unstable ground. This highly visible informal settlement of Durban (See Locality Plan 1 and Plan 3), had been in existence since the late 1980s, and had grown into a densely inhabited area with an almost complete lack of services - no refuse removal, informal sanitation and only two water stand-pipes.

In November 1997, after an unusually prolonged period of rainfall, the land at Canaan started slipping, resulting in the need to urgently relocate residents. Two strategies were followed, one being the establishment of a transit camp to accommodate those families in immediate danger, and the other being the fast-track development of a greenfields project for the permanent relocation of the settlement.

Metro Housing approached a private developer who had already secured a Project Linked Subsidy approval for the Quarry Heights project and completed much of the design work on the project (Charlton, 2000). The Council then struck a partnership agreement with the developer whereby bridging finance, assistance with bulk infrastructure and project approvals were facilitated in exchange for Council allocating beneficiaries from Canaan to the Quarry Heights project.

MAP SHOWING QUARRY HEIGHTS HOUSING PROJECT SITE IN 1997



PLAN 5

 **METRO HOUSING**
Source: Metro Housing GIS

- KEY:**
-  Roads
 -  Planning Units
 -  Quarry Heights

MAP SHOWING QUARRY HEIGHTS HOUSING PROJECT IN 2000



PLAN 6

METRO HOUSING
Source: Metro Housing GIS

KEY:

- Roads
- Planning Units
- Quarry Heights

In this way residents of Canaan began to have access to housing opportunities within 6 months. The site provided many technical challenges in its steepness, the rocky nature of the soil and the proximity to environmentally sensitive areas. In searching for suitable land of sufficient scale within reasonable proximity to the existing settlement, it became clear that most available land was only undeveloped because of such difficulties that had prevented development in the past.

Charlton (2000) states that both the temporary transit camp and the permanent housing project provoked fierce reaction from the surrounding development. In the case of the transit camp the opposition came from businesses in the vicinity who mounted a Supreme Court challenge to the Council, arguing that the camp was not within the zoning of the area ('municipal') and would impact negatively on business. The challenge was dismissed on the grounds that the municipality was within its rights to use municipal land to protect life and limb, and in fact no discernable impact on any business was reported during the year-long lifespan of the project (Charlton 2000).

In the case of the permanent housing project at Quarry Heights, the challenge came in two forms: the first was the "Not In My Back Yard" (NIMBY) syndrome. It was vociferously argued that the housing project would have a negative impact on surrounding property values - adjacent development varied from Council rental flats, and basic "township" housing to private ownership where considerable investment had been made. Notwithstanding the fact that the area was developed exactly in accordance with its zoning in terms of the town planning scheme (i.e. special residential 180 square metres), class, racial and social differences were highlighted and brought to the fore by neighbouring residents who felt the development on their doorstep was entirely unjust.

This protest was lead largely by the Coloured community of Newlands East, who used an environmental impact assessment associated with a project bus route to effectively bar any formal road linkages between their area and the adjacent project.

The second challenge to the project came in the form of attempted invasions of the starter houses by those who felt aggrieved not by the nature of the project itself but rather that the beneficiaries of the project were not from surrounding areas - the "Only in my back Yard If For Me" phenomenon. This was most dramatically demonstrated by the African neighbours of KwaMashu, who disrupted work on the project on several occasions as they tried to occupy newly constructed houses.

Apart from these particular grievances, the issue that was repeatedly highlighted was the lack of consultation with the surrounding communities. It was true that the project did not engage in a negotiated social compact with neighbours; given the urgency of the situation the Council took a decision to fast track the relocation of people from Canaan to the area.

This raised the question of the role of local community representatives within Council in terms of communicating Council decisions back to their constituency. Charlton (2000) argues that in effect this situation demonstrated the tensions between the Metropolitan politicians who had the perspective of city-wide problems and options, and the local ward councillors whose mandate and survival depended on constituency politics. In this relocation project the matter of tenants subletting within shacks became an issue during the relocation. In the eyes of the project these tenants had no status and their rental arrangements with beneficiaries were expected to remain a private contract. For beneficiaries a relocation to a starter house usually meant a loss of income from these tenants that was resisted by all parties.

This demonstrates how the informal settlement community of Canaan were negatively affected in the short term through loss of rental income.

The research revealed that the acceptance of the Canaan residents in new area was also reported as a problem. The 'new comers' were often victims of criminal incidents. Their houses would either be broken into or they would be prime suspects whenever a crime occurred. It should also be mentioned that established residents were often favoured whenever there was a social conflict.

According to Hulley (2001), "Newlands East residents were concerned about the increase in crime in their area as a result of the new area, in fact 83% of the residents felt that crime had increased in the area" (Hulley, 2001: 53).

4.3 Research Findings

The research findings below will examine the impact of relocation on the former Canaan people, in terms of schooling, building structures, community organisations, services and facilities, transport facilities, employment, health and safety, and on general issues pertaining to people's lives. A survey (of 64 people) from Quarry Heights was conducted and has been analysed.

4.3.1 Schooling

In terms of schooling in the new area, no schools have been built to date and this should not be seen as a unique problem as there are numerous sites, reserved for schooling purposes, either lying vacant or which have been invaded due to lack of commitment from the Department of Education to build schools.

In the same breath, there are also schools that have been built but the schools are underutilised. As the survey in the study area and surroundings has indicated that there are schools within a 5 kilometre radius. This research indicates that there are few school going children in the in the Quarry Heights area. This may be due to the rate of unemployment and parents cannot afford to pay school fees and/or children not residing with their parents, may be living in areas beyond the Durban Metro boundary with the extended families.

Respondents that have school-going children living with them indicated that they did not experience any difficulties with regard to their children finding space in the neighbouring schools. In fact they were surprised when the schools accepted their children. This indicates that children in the study area did not experience difficulty in terms of finding a school in and around Quarry Heights.

Table 2 : Finding schools in the new area

Difficulty	No. of respondents	%
1. No problem	20	31.0
2. Schools were full	07	11.0
3. No school going children	34	53.0
4. School fees too high	03	5.0
Total	64	100.0

The figures in the above table show that 53% had no school going children. 31% of the respondents did not experience difficulties in finding schools in the surrounding areas.

Only 11% of the respondents indicated that schools were full when they moved in the area and 5% of the respondents cited the issue of school fees being higher than in the Clare Estate area.

Table 3 : Method of transport used to schools

Transport mode	No. of respondents	%
1. Walk by foot	21	33.0
2. Public transport	04	6.0
3. School bus	05	8.0
4. No school going children	34	53.0
Total	64	100.0

53% of respondents did not have school going children. The majority of the school going children (33%) walk to their respective schools. 8% use a school bus and only 6% use public transport.

Table 4: Travelling time to and from school

Duration	No. of respondents	%
1. < 30 minutes	22	34.0
2. > 30 minutes	8	13.0
3. No school going children	34	53.0
Total	64	100.0

As in the above table, 53% of respondents did not have school going children.

34% of respondents indicated that their children take approximately half an hour to neighbouring schools and only 13% walk or travel for more than half an hour.

Reaction of the new school's teachers and scholars to Quarry Heights children

The responses received from the survey indicated that the majority of children (34%) were welcomed and treated in a good manner like any other pupil in schools irrespective of their background.

In fact, only a fraction (8%) of pupil's claimed poor treatment, like other pupil swearing at them.

Table 5: Level of Adjustment

Adjustment	No. of respondents	%
1. Very well	27	42.0
2. Adjusting	3	5.0
3. No school going children	34	53.0
Total	64	100.0

53% of the respondents have no school going children. The table above depicts that an overwhelming number of respondents (42%) indicated that their children were coping very well in the new schools.

Only 5% of the respondents mentioned that the children are still adjusting to the new schooling environment.

Table 6: School drop-out rate

Number of children	No. of respondents	%
1. 1 or more children	4	6.0
2. None	26	41.0
3. No school going children	34	53.0
Total	64	100.0

The table above shows that 41% of the respondents found schools in the area when they moved in 1999. 6% of the respondents had their children dropping out because of the move.

Table 7: School Preference

Area	No. of respondents	%
1. Quarry Heights surroundings	11	17.0
2. Canaan surroundings	8	13.0
3. No school going children	34	53.0
4. No difference	5	8.0
5. Started schooling in Quarry Heights	2	3.0
6. No idea	4	6.0
Total	64	100.0

The table above shows that 17% of respondents prefer schools in the Quarry Heights surroundings, 13% of respondents prefer schools in the Clare Estate area. 8% of respondents saw no difference in schools in the area.

While only 6% had no idea as to which of the two areas, i.e. Quarry Heights and Canaan surroundings, had better schools.

Finally 3% of respondents' children started schooling in the Quarry Heights surroundings, which means they cannot compare. (This 3% could be attending school in the Quarry Heights surroundings but prefer another school)

4.3.2 Building Structures

Table 8 : How many rooms?

Number of rooms	No. of respondents	%
1. One room	60	94.0
2. Two rooms or more	2	3.0
3. One room extended with a shack	2	3.0
Total	64	100.0

While the starter homes provided in Quarry Heights project have only one room, beneficiaries have not made any extensions or improvements and this is indicative of 94% of the respondents stating that they only have one room.

Only 3% of respondents have extended their one roomed homes to two or more rooms. While a further 3% of respondents have resorted to extending with a shack.

Table 9: Sleeping arrangements

Arrangement	No. of respondents	%
1. All sleep in one room	60	94.0
2. Children sleep in separate rooms	4	6.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table indicates that an overwhelming 94% of respondents that have children, sleep with them in one room, while only 6% sleep separately from their children.

Table 10: Building structure preference

Building Structure	No. of respondents	%
1. Better in Canaan	4	6.0
2. Better in Quarry Heights	59	92.0
3. No difference	1	2.0
Total	64	100.0

This table indicates that a majority of 92% preferred a block structure that they are living in, in Quarry Heights, and only 6% of respondents prefer the shack structures.

While 2% of respondents indicated that it made no difference as they were in Quarry Heights for good, and saw no need to compare.

4.3.3 Community structures

All the respondents interviewed confirmed that they normally have community meetings in the area when necessary. Respondents believed meetings bring the entire neighbourhood together to discuss common issues that affect the community. People in or from informal settlements are organised communities as they have community structures where issues are directed and resolved.

4.3.4 Services and Facilities

With regard to schools in Quarry Heights, all respondents indicated that no school and health facilities like clinics have been built in Quarry Heights. But the respondents are aware that there are sites reserved for such purposes.

They have indicated that there are creches in Quarry Heights. They have also indicated that there are not enough schools in the area. In as far as a police station is concerned, one does not exist in the area. While residents are currently using Greenwood Park police station they are satisfied with the police's swift response to their problems.

With regard to sports fields in the area, none have been built and residents make use of the existing park in Quarry Heights. The survey indicates that 61% of the respondents are happy with the new area as their lives have generally improved tremendously in terms of health and safety. However 30% of respondents believed that their lives are static, i.e. have not changed as they see no difference between their lives (in Canaan) and now (in Quarry Heights). A further 9% of respondents indicated that their lives have worsened with very little improvement as no job opportunities exist in the study area.

Table 11: Services and facilities nearby - better or worse

Area (better services)	No. of respondents	%
1. Quarry Heights	17	27.0
2. Canaan	40	62.0
3. No answer	7	11.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table indicates that a 62% majority of respondents prefer Canaan as services and facilities were in close proximity compared to Quarry Heights. 27% of respondents prefer services in and around Quarry Heights. A further 11% decided not to commit themselves in this regard.

4.3.5 Transport Facilities

The survey has indicated that in Quarry Heights taxis are the only mode of public transport that is available and this has implications in terms of high fares as no other public transport competitors are found in the area.

Table 12: Access to transport

Transport	No. of respondents	%
1. Sufficient	24	37.0
2. Insufficient	40	63.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table indicates that an overwhelming 63% are dissatisfied with the taxi service. This dissatisfaction stems from waiting for long hours for taxis. 37% of respondents felt that there are enough taxis in Quarry Heights.

Table 13: Length of time to taxi/bus or train station

Duration	No of respondents	%
1. <10 minutes	46	72.0
2. 10-20 Minutes	10	16.0
3. >20 minutes	8	12.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table indicates a lot of people are within close proximity to the bus and taxi stops as 72% of respondents have indicated that they walk for less than ten minutes to the bus stop. 16% of respondents have indicated that they travel between ten and twenty minutes to the bus stop. A further 12% of respondents indicated that they walk for more than twenty minutes to the bus stop. This is due to the fact that some people make use of trains and walk for a longer time to travel to the train station in Effingham.

Table 14: Travel Time to and from workplace

Duration	No. of respondents	%
1. <30 minutes	21	33.0
2. > 30minutes	16	25.0
3. Unemployed	21	33.0
4. No idea	6	9.0
Total	64	100.0

Table 14 above indicates that 33% of respondents take less than half an hour to work. Another 33% of respondents do not travel to work as they are presently unemployed. 25% of respondents take more than half an hour as they commute with more than one transport mode a day to and from work. A further 9% take no cognisance of the time when they go to work and this suggests that they do travel to work and it is assumed that they are employed.

Table 15: Transport costs per week

Amount	No. of respondents	%
1. Nil -walk	2	3.0
2. < R20-00	1	2.0
3. R21-00 to R40-00	54	84.0
4. >R41-00	7	11.0
Total	64	100.0

The majority of the respondents, 84% pay between R21-00 and R40-00 to travel to work or to the city centre, while 11% pay over R41-00. The latter suggests that these are people commuting to work and take more than one mode of transport. Only 3% of respondents walk to work and shops. Finally, 2% pay less than R20-00 and this suggests that these are people employed and those who shop in the vicinity

Public transport preferences

With regard to the general view of public transport in Quarry Heights, most of the respondents (75%) appeared to favour the public transport in Canaan as they claim that it was very cheap.

Only 25% of respondents preferred the public transport (taxi's only) in Quarry Heights.

Mode of Transport Preference

44% of people interviewed preferred the use of buses in the area. Only 12% of respondents preferred a mixture of trains, buses and taxis to operate in the area as this would give commuters a choice.

9% of the respondents preferred not to respond to this issue. Only 8% of respondents mentioned trains as one of the transport facilities they preferred.

4.3.6 Employment

An overwhelming majority of respondents unanimously agreed that there are no employment opportunities in the Quarry Heights area. They claimed that in the Canaan surroundings, i.e. Palmiet, Sydneham and Reservoir Hills, there were a lot of job opportunities ranging from cardboard selling, garden jobs, kitchen assistance, working for food and so on.

Table 16: Has the move affected your job in terms of formal employment?

Affected	No of respondents	%
1. Yes	30	47.0
2. No	9	14.0
3. Unemployed - before & after	25	39.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table indicates that 47% of the respondents have been affected by the move to Quarry Heights in terms of their jobs. They claimed that this was mainly due to the increase in transport costs while the employers were not prepared to increase their salaries. Respondents also indicated that exorbitant transport costs led to many quitting their respective jobs.

Only 39% of respondents were not employed prior to the move. No real impact was felt by this latter category of respondents as they are used to not being employed. A further 14% of respondents are still employed by the same employers . Furthermore, some of the respondents indicated that they lost their jobs but were fortunate as they found other jobs in the vicinity of the study area. There are respondents that did not find new employment opportunities in the new area, but have not given up and are still looking for such opportunities.

Some respondents have indicated that they are still working for the same employers and salaries have also been adjusted to cater for the extra transport cost.

4.3.7 Health and safety

The respondents agreed that the most prevalent crime committed in the area include:
- rape, theft, robbery and house break-ins. They also mentioned that there is less crime in Quarry Heights than in Canaan as there were no street lights at night in Canaan which made it easy for organised groups of hooligans to commit crimes in the darkness.

Table 17: Safety perception

Perception	No. of respondents	%
1. Not safe	22	34.0
2. Very safe	40	63.0
3. No idea	2	3.0
Total	64	100.0

A 63% majority of respondents felt safe in Quarry Heights and this due to the lighting as well as the existence of the Community Policing Forum.

A further 34% of respondents indicated that there is a level of unsafety in the area, especially for single mothers. Finally, 3% of the respondents are not sure whether it is safe or not in the study area as they have not heard of any crime committed.

4.3.8 General

Table 18: Are you engaged in any business?

Business	No. of respondents	%
1. Not engage in any business	57	90.0
2. Sell metal	1	1.0
3. Sell cardboard	1	1.0
4. Sell nuts	1	1.0
5. Operate a tuckshop/ shebeen	4	7.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table shows that over 90% of respondents are not engaged in any form of business. And only about 10% of respondents are engaged in business activities either in the form a tuckshop or shebeen (7%), sell scrap metal (1%), sell cardboards (1%) and sell peanuts (1%).

The latter figures do not fall under business activities but are survival strategies that the respondents are engaged in.

Table 19: What do you like most about your area?

Like the most	No. of respondents	%
1. Nothing	8	13.0
2. My house	11	17.0
3. Not too dense	1	1.0
4. Clean environment	36	56.0
5. Waterborne toilets	8	13.0
Total	64	100.0

The table above depicts that a 56% majority of respondents cited the clean environment in the area of study as the most important thing they like. 17% of the respondents appreciated their house structure as it is built with a block and asbestos material. 13% of respondents mentioned that they liked flush toilet as this is new to them and its very hygienic when comparing their lives before the move, where they made use of pits that smelt throughout the settlement.

A further 13% of respondents indicated that there is absolutely nothing that they like about the area due to its poor location in terms of access to job opportunities.

This group also complained about dampness that they experience in most of their houses. Only one percent of respondents cited low density as one of the things they like most in Quarry Heights.

Table 20: What do you dislike most about your area?

Dislike the most	No. of respondents	%
1. Far from town - CBD	7	11.0
2. Lack of transport	14	22.0
3. Lack of job opportunities	19	30.0
4. House on steep bank and far from the road	2	3.0
5. Little sewer maintenance	2	3.0
6. Nothing	9	15.0
7. Harassment by SAPS	2	3.0
8. Crime	5	9.0
9. No concrete slab	1	1.0
10. Rooms too small	1	1.0
11. No prompt response from SAPS, emergency services	1	1.0
12. Lack of schools in the area	1	1.0
Total	64	100.0

Table 20 above shows that 30% of respondents cited the lack of job opportunities in the Quarry Heights and its surroundings as a problem. The table also depicts that 22% of respondents complained about the inadequacy of different modes of transport, which leads to the use of one mode of transport and that becomes insufficient as there is no competition from other modes of transport. Only 15% of respondents had nothing that they do not like about the area.

A further 11% of respondents cited the distance from the CBD as an issue. 9% of respondents appeared to be concerned about the high rate of crime in the area. Only 3% of respondents complained about houses built on steep slopes and also being far from the major collector road, as they have to walk a few minutes before they can catch a taxi. A further 3% is concerned with the lack of maintenance of sewerage system, as when there are blockages and leakages it takes long for the relevant departments to attend to such problems.

Another 3% of respondents also complained about the harassment they receive from the South African Police Service (SAPS), and this only applies to respondents that are involved in selling beers. Where no liquor licences are produced, their beer stock gets taken away. Issues like lack of schools, no concrete slabs (foundations), no prompt response from emergency services/SAPS and the size of rooms being too small has also been a concern. All of these concerns share 1% each of respondents.

Table 21: What has improved since you moved in?

Improvement	No. of respondents	%
1. The house - doors, windows and painted houses	26	40.0
2. Living conditions	21	33.0
3. Services	9	14.0
4. Relation with neighbouring communities	5	9.0
5. Greening grass	3	4.0
Total	64	100.0

Table 21 above indicates that 40% of respondents believed that their houses have improved from being houses with no doors, no windows and not painted to painted houses with fitted doors and windows.

They claimed that their houses had none of the above when they moved in. A further 33% of respondents cited that the living conditions in the area have also improved, as there were no tarred roads, no drainage system when they moved in, now all roads are tarred with a proper drainage system. 14% of respondents indicated the installation of services, such as electricity, as an improvement, as no electricity was provided when they first moved in, no street lighting and all that has been provided ever since. A further 9% of respondents cited that there is now a better understanding and good relationship with neighbouring communities of Newlands East, KwaMashu and Avoca compared to the time when they moved in. Only 4% of respondents have improved their gardens by planting trees and grass.

Table 22: Has your life changed?

Life improvement	No. of respondents	%
1. Has worsened	5	8.0
2. No difference	8	12.0
3. Has improved	51	80.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table indicates that 80% of respondents have confirmed that their lives have changed in a big way. They appreciate the efforts made by the authorities in trying to improve people’s lives, the poorest of the poor in particular. Only 12% of respondents indicated that they have not yet seen an difference in terms of improvement of their lives when compared to the life they lived in Canaan. A further 8% of respondents cited that their lives have not improved but have worsened as there are no job opportunities in the area and its surroundings.

Would you have preferred to be upgraded in-situ or relocated elsewhere?

A 70% majority of respondents were under the impression that the settlement would be upgraded. Respondents were therefore surprised to hear from the authorities that they had to relocate due to unstable land. However, some respondents (30%) were aware of land slippages at Canaan and expected to be relocated.

How difficult was it for you in the first few months/years to adjust to your new life?

83% of people interviewed indicated that it was not easy to adjust to the new area. This is due to the fact that there were no doors and windows fitted in the houses, no transport and no idea of where to catch taxis and buses, and no shops around when they arrived. This category of respondents were in the first group to arrive in Quarry Heights, and a lot of difficulties were experienced by them. A further 17% of respondents have indicated that they did not experience any difficulties since they moved in as they were in the last group of people to relocate to the study area, and could easily adapt in the new area.

Table 23: If given a chance would you go back to Canaan?

Canaan as a Preference	No. of respondents	%
1. Yes	6	9.0
2. No	58	91.0
Total	64	100.0

Table 23 above indicates that an overwhelming 91% of respondents would not consider going back due to the experiences of land slides and poor living conditions they lived under and only 9% of the respondents seem to be considering going back to Canaan. The latter may have forgotten the poor conditions they lived under in Canaan for many years.

The other factor that contributes to the respondents not too keen to go back to Canaan is health and safety, while the others felt that there is no difference with regard to safety while the health side has improved since their move.

Table 24: Are you better off in Quarry Heights or nothing much has changed?

Area (better-off)	No. of respondents	%
1. Canaan	11	17.0
2. Quarry Heights	49	77.0
3. Nothing much has changed	4	6.0
Total	64	100.0

The above table indicates that 77% of respondents felt that they are better off in the new area of Quarry Heights when compared to the life in Canaan. While 17% of respondents indicated that they were better off in Canaan than in Quarry Heights. Only 6% of respondents believed that nothing much has changed with regard to the improvement of their lives. This survey informs us that people's lives have been improved in one or the other form as the majority indicated that they are better off in Quarry Heights.

4.4 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with the various key people that were directly involved as well as people that were not involved in this project but have experiences with regard to housing projects and policies as mentioned in the research methodology chapter.

Below are brief summaries of different key persons that were interviewed.

1. Executive Director: Metro Housing, Mr M Makhathini

2. Project Liaison Officer, Mr K Mngadi of Metro Housing

3. Private Consultant and Ex-Metro Housing Project Manager, Ms S Charlton

Interviews conducted with all the officials involved in the Quarry Heights project, including the ex-Metro Housing project manager indicates that the relocation of the Canaan informal settlement community was necessary. They argue that this was a reactionary kind of a project, where something had to be done urgently to house the entire community. And because it was an emergency not all important issues were addressed fully. Even the community, through their leadership do acknowledge that the local authority did its best in terms of saving people's lives as the situation was becoming uncontrollable. The main reason to initiate this project was due to the land slippage that occurred during November and December in 1997.

Since the relocation of Canaan informal settlement, no relocation of informal community has occurred in the Clare Estate area, including the Canaan Q section on the southern side of the former Canaan settlement.

This gives an indication that if the land was stable and no land slippage problems occurred the Canaan informal settlement would have still been there and living under conditions that were unhygienic, unhealthy and unsafe. Metro officials also acknowledged that since the project was a response to an emergency, some issues were overlooked in terms of employment, and the thinking was that Newlands's Quarry Heights was not that far and in terms of the Metropolitan context it was within the city.

It has been discovered that most people that were in receipt of income prior to the move have now lost their jobs and some just dropped out because of the heavy transport costs attached to being far from the Clare Estate area. This has had a negative impact on people's general day-to-day life, as now most are battling to survive, while in the Clare Estate area the option of survival strategies were available.

The interviewed City Council's respondents added that first option is to upgrade the informal settlement in-situ, and if it cannot be upgraded the other option at Council's disposal at the time will be exercised and this includes relocation. It has been stressed by the respondents that where relocations are necessary and where the lives of the poor people are threatened relocations will occur. This should not be viewed or perceived to be one form of forced removals that occurred in the past, in South Africa.

There will always be a dissatisfied section of the society even in in-situ upgrade projects, so the issue of dissatisfaction by beneficiaries or anybody else cannot be solved by any intervention, as there also problems that are experienced in most in-situ upgrade projects.

The relocation projects should not be treated as if they exist in a vacuum, they should be acknowledged and in time be accepted as one form of intervention for obviously good intentions.

However, there are also short , medium and long term benefits in the new residential areas. Under short term benefits, they cited that people in these greenfields housing projects get land tenure which is valued in many customs, especially African, as well as access to portable water, sanitation and clean environment. Apart from residents receiving title to the land and ownership of the houses they occupy, they will also enjoy the benefits of the Municipality's policy on non-rateable properties valued under R30 000 as well as receiving 6 kilolitres of free water a month. In terms of long term benefits, it has been indicated that in most greenfields projects, other departments and potential investors are approached in a continuous manner through other relevant Council departments. Currently construction is underway for the Riverhorse Valley industrial development, on the eastern side of the study area.

Also with the interviews carried out with the City Council officials directly involved in the project, it has been cited that the relocation of over 2 000 families and over 10 000 people was a nightmare. Firstly, it has been indicated that the project was not about relocating people only. Other normal development processes such as negotiating with the landowner to immediately release the land in order to fast-track the development were undertaken, while on the other side talks with the community of possible permanent solutions was also entertained.

Also in responding to the emergency call of land slippage, transit camps were established where the affected families were to be temporarily housed for a few months while the development in Quarry Heights was speeded up.

Respondents stated that in any informal settlement a feasibility assessment is undertaken to assess whether the land could be developed or not.

The instability of land in Canaan caught everyone by surprise and had to be addressed as a matter of urgency. All land close to Canaan was considered including the land in Quarry Heights. But due to the vastness of the settlement and the problem at hand, there was insufficient land adjoining Canaan that could have accommodated the approximately 2000 Canaan population.

The Quarry Heights land was ready for development as layout plans had already been approved to accommodate low income households. In addition, the total number of residential sites the project could offer was sufficient to accommodate all Canaan beneficiaries. The negotiations began and the project was handed over to Metro Housing to take over. In addition, people that were directly affected by land slippage were temporarily accommodated in the Springfield area. This area was designated by Council as a transit camp for emergency cases. This was not welcomed by the neighbouring business community. This issue had to go to court and the Council was found to be within its rights to protect people from danger and house them where it is safe.

With regard to relocation, it has been indicated that relocations are necessary in that not all land where informal settlement is situated is developable and added that mechanisms should be devised to educate and inform informal settlement communities of the development status of the land they occupy, as this will minimise the negativeness towards relocations, generally. It has also been evident from the survey conducted that community dynamics are difficult to resolve, Canaan was well-known in respect to crime.

In view of the emergency, City officials advised people to apply for Identity Documents as these are the main document that will see people accessing the government subsidy and is one of the requirements.

With this project, it was also proven that co-operation between the community and local authorities is very essential as it minimises differences and creates a platform for dialogue to achieve a common goal.

Respondents also mentioned that a building supplier was encouraged to locate closer to the community so that they can access building material in the area and in turn save in terms of paying for transporting the material. This research has also shown that most people, in Canaan, before the land slippage wanted to live in a cleaner environment and wanted a housing opportunity elsewhere as long as it was within the metropolitan area.

Quarry Heights beneficiaries were at first not welcomed by the neighbouring communities of Newlands East who wanted their share of housing allocation as well as the KwaMashu people. Some of the Newlands East people even wrote their names on walls indicating that the house belongs to them. Other people were complaining about the impact that this community will have on their property values. The KwaMashu people invaded the houses, and that led to houses being under security guard 24 hours a day.

In fact, in the Canaan area land slippage started in the 1960s and also in the 1970s. This included the area which is now part of the N2 Freeway.

With all the evidence available, people of Canaan felt the pressure and pushed for an urgent intervention by Council, and this contradicts the rumours that were spread that Council is pushing this informal settlement community out of the city centre as it was an eyesore to visitors. It was stated in November 1997, that the land slipped dramatically and it occurred for over three days and continued quietly in the next days.

In addition, two to three formal houses were also affected by the land slide.

The respondents further stated that the response to the situation was two-fold: - establish a transit camp in Springfield behind Makro; and - longer term solution - look for an alternative site that could accommodate all households and this was later identified as Quarry Heights. It has also been indicated that on a Metropolitan scale, Quarry Heights is a well located low income residential area, when compared to other areas like Inanda, Malukazi etc. and the only difference is that it is new, it is not in the Clare Estate area. The respondents also added that people had no obligation to go to Quarry Heights it was in their own free will, but Quarry Heights was an alternative and the bottom line was that people had to leave Canaan.

The Quarry Heights housing project offered beneficiaries an asset in various ways - they could either rent the rooms out and stay elsewhere or sell the house once a beneficiary obtains a title deed. The major problem with regard to the allocation of houses was the issue of shack lords as they demanded that they should also get a house while not staying in a shack, but the project was only for people staying in the settlement and could not be included.

With regard to cooperation from provincial departments, it is said that the layout plan has some sites for schools and other community facilities. Respondents also stated that there were numerous attempts to get provincial departments involved, but have failed. For example, the Department of Education was approached by Metro Housing to build a school in Quarry Heights and they responded by stating that no budget was allocated to the department to build a new school. The survey revealed that another approach by Council's Metro Housing was to visit existing schools in the surrounding areas to determine excess capacity.

With regard to new development of Quarry Heights respondents indicated that the Newlands East residents raised an issue of an interface zone to be created as low cost houses were built up to the boundary. The Council argued that Council's flats that are at the boundary are low cost and were to be treated as an interface zone. But when other phases were built, some lessons were learnt as the case is in the Avoca boundary, where it was agreed with the Avoca residents that an interface zone be created, and this was done in a conciliatory manner.

The end product, i.e. house structure, was very basic because of the quarry in the area, and the land was very difficult to develop, very rocky and steep in some areas. The residual was very little such that only a wet-core, with the roof guarded by pillars with no walls was to be built.

But after discussions and negotiations with the community through the development committee, Council's top up was approved and a wall was built. They add that the community was very understanding and knew in advance that new houses had no doors and windows. With this project Council won a national award as the best local authority of the year award in 1999.

The idea of relocation to greenfields housing projects was endorsed by all local authorities in big cities like Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Cape Town, and workshops were to be conducted and sell the idea to these respective local authorities.

4. Manager Housing, Cato Manor Development Association, CMDA, Ms Heather Maxwell

The respondent tells the researcher that in the Cato Manor area, most relocations are in fact resettlements as people move around the area because of varying reasons..

But the respondent acknowledges that in the case in point, people had to move to another area, mostly for safety reasons and adds that in life threatening situations, authorities should not hesitate to inform people of the dangers that are likely to affect their lives, irrespective of the situation.

It should be mentioned that the respondent has been directly involved in relocation of some families from the Cato Manor informal settlements to a Riverdene housing project in the Newlands West area. In this case, beneficiaries from Cato Manor were informed about the project and all processes to be followed through the field-workers employed.

The field workers were also tasked to establish whether the occupants of these shacks were owners or tenants. This was done in order to prevent shacklords demanding consideration rather than tenants benefiting as mentioned in the Canaan case study by the City Council's respondents. Ultimately, people were signed up for sales administration.

The actual relocation

On the day, shack owners were to demolish their shacks, and those not demolished were to be taken down by security officers. The respondent highlighted the importance of inspecting the new houses before the actual relocation so as to ensure that the beneficiaries do not encounter problems such as incomplete plumbing, etc. in the new houses. After the inspection, people affected are informed that the houses are ready for occupation.

The respondent's opinion on relocations is that any relocation within the Metropolitan area is well located and the relocation from Canaan to Quarry Heights is no exception, because in a metropolitan context, Newlands East is well located, close to industrial areas of Avoca, Effingham, Phoenix and the city centre.

5. Chairman: Development Committee, Mr Region Sokhela

The respondent has been involved in development issues both in Canaan and Quarry Heights as the Chairman, in both cases. The knowledge gained by the respondent throughout the process is probably similar to that of any other professional that has been interviewed with regard to the study area and development issues in general.

The chairman's role is to listen and convey community needs and aspirations to the authorities, who in turn liaise with the community through the leadership structure which has the best interest of the community. The respondent gave a brief background of the Canaan informal settlement as to why people came and settled in the area.

The respondent argued that most people settled in Canaan for various reasons, some of them to access opportunities that existed in the city and some fled political violence and felt safe in the area than in their respective areas of origin. But the primary reason is mainly due to the political violence that was experienced in KwaZulu-Natal, especially people that previously stayed in hostels, townships and heavily affected rural areas.

During the interview the respondent stressed that Canaan was safe when compared to other violence torn areas, The poor and unhealthy living conditions that they lived under in Canaan was not considered as an issue when they first settled. What was important to these people was safety and their lives as most people during violence lost friends and relatives and were very stressed.

Major problems cited by the respondent included that of tenants versus shack lords when it came to registration and housing site allocations. These shack lords established an organised group to fight the tenants who were to benefit from the project as Council's policy states that only the shack occupiers would be registered for a housing opportunity. The respondent indicated that these groupings were overlooked and eventually faded away. It also appears that some people refused to go to Quarry Heights and their shacks were given to relatives willing to take this opportunity or sell to willing buyers.

The respondent stated that Canaan had advantages and disadvantages. Advantages would include:

- people could collect and sell card boards;
- people could walk to town and those that used public transport, it was cheap and affordable;

- people were also known by their neighbouring Indian families and could easily find jobs; and
- get food and so on.

Some of the disadvantages include:

- area too dense;
- not easy for emergency services to assist as there were no roads;
- lots of health related problems as well as safety;
- lot of crimes committed by unknown and untraceable people;
- most people did not own shacks, were renting and so on.

The Problem

When people were told that there is a land slide and will have to relocate, they did not believe that at first and were adamant that they would rather be in-situ upgraded where they are. After the incident in November 1997, most people started to realise the danger of living in the area and more and more people began to believe the authorities. However, some people had other beliefs that the shaking of the land was due to the movement of a big snake underneath moving from one place to another. The respondent acknowledged that some of the African beliefs are misleading.

The Move

When the first batch of people left Canaan and moved into the transit camp and from there to Quarry Heights, they started losing contact with their friends and neighbours that were left behind.

Some of them started to go back and complained about almost everything. This led to confusion as people that were initially keen to relocate and were seriously considering not to relocate. The respondent indicated that cooperation between Metro Housing and the community played a vital role in addressing the concerns of the community.

Ultimately, after a long battle people patiently waited for their chance to move to the new area, with lots of doubts and reservations about the move. The rest of the community arrived in Quarry Heights and together with the first relocatees fought the acceptance battle with the neighbouring communities. This made most people strong and they started to believe in themselves. The respondent highlighted that people who wanted a better life stayed and are still staying in Quarry Heights and those that expected miracles sold their houses.

The respondent indicated that most of the people who went back to the Clare Estate area are still staying in shacks and are still living under poor conditions and do crime as they can easily hide in Canaan. The respondent's opinion is that people originating from Canaan through his leadership are proud of themselves as they now own houses. They refused to occupy a wetcore, with no walls but a roof with pillars, and succeeded in getting more funding for the wall to be built. It does however come out that the situation of those that are working was not as bad as to those who are not working.

The survey also indicated that some people have not yet fitted doors and windows. These people are still using the same home-made doors that they used in the shacks.

In terms of Council's Metro Housing Allocation Policy, the respondent pledged support for the policy because it does not take into account the previous living arrangements (neighbours, to be neighbours in the new area). The respondent argued that people should learn and be able to adapt as this encourages people to know each other more, because in a dense informal settlement like Canaan, it was impossible to know everyone and the move has created that opportunity for people to network. In addition, the respondent indicated that old neighbours could visit each other and in that process meet new people, and so on. It is also highlighted that due to our history, if people are given chances to choose their sites and neighbours, it could lead to a disaster as people will either choose according to their tribal history, hooliganism, etc.

With regard to the relationship with the neighbouring formal communities, the respondent noted that the relationship was very poor initially and no one thought that one day the community will adapt and be accepted by their neighbours. But today they have joint committees such as the Policing Forum, and subcommittees that are working very well and that has improved their relationship tremendously. All communities benefit in the better relationships that they all enjoy.

Development professionals will be surprised to hear that most of the respondents in the survey indicated that their informal houses were better than the house they have got in the housing project. They claimed that they had more rooms and spacious compared to the match boxes that they are living in. The only thing that they commended the house for is that it is built with blocks as 92% of them indicated that is what they like about the houses and that is something they could not afford to build with in the informal settlement, Canaan.

The 94 % majority of the respondents have indicated that they rate the quality of houses as very poor, very ordinary, etc. The most common problem especially to those who moved in first is the poor foundations as walls leak when it rains and they claimed that it is even worse than staying in a shack.

Respondents have also indicated that poor workmanship is a problem as walls are uneven and in some houses cracks have been spotted as poor quality of building materials was use for building and cracked walls resulting in dampness during rainy weather. They have also cited some problems with drainage when neighbours washed their pathways at different times the dirt got washed into the neighbour's path soon after it had already been cleaned. This normally leads to a great deal of conflict between neighbours.

Respondents also cited lack of space in the houses as a common problem as this leads to congestion in many homes. According to the respondents, there is a relationship between housing conditions and the nature and incidence of disease. Poor social conditions such as congestion or overcrowding, damp walls has aggravated family health problems. Similar findings have been found and they date as far back as in the early industrial revolution.

With regard to transport facilities in the study area, respondents have raised the issue of inadequacy in transport. They have concerns with regard to the only one mode of transport that is available. They claim that it creates monotony and when other modes are talked about the existing are resistant to the introduction of another mode of transport such as buses. This has been there since they moved in, bearing in mind that the majority of residents in Quarry Heights are originally from Canaan where two modes of transport are used, the taxis and buses.

The respondents argue that when there is competition, the commuters benefit in the process and they believe that there is a choice. They also indicated that the introduction of buses will yield to better service from both the taxi operators as well as bus operators. Presently, they argue that taxi operators are doing what they like and competition may result in the reduction of transport costs.

With regard to employment, respondents have indicated the move to the study area has severely affected their incomes. 47% of the respondents have indicated that jobs were lost because of the relocation, while 39% of the respondents were recorded as unemployed and a further 14% of respondents have kept their jobs. This is an indication that a creation of employment opportunities for the community of Quarry Heights would create a better living conditions. One of the key principles of the National Housing Policy is that low cost housing should be close to employment opportunities and create an enabling environment for its inhabitants.

4.5 Conclusion

For anyone, irrespective of income and background, relocations are the least preferred intervention as they have, in most cases, negative impacts on those people that are targeted to relocate. For example, a professional person moving from one province, that has major impact on that family's lifestyle and they need to adapt to the new area as well, so it has no boundaries. Yet, also positive impacts are present. It has also come out from the City Council's respondents that in the Quarry Heights vicinity there are plans currently underway for industrial development that is believed will create employment opportunities to the inhabitants of Quarry heights.

Nevertheless, City Council's respondents that have been interviewed hinted that a major mixed use development is likely to kick start this year, where the majority of the employees will come from the Quarry Heights area. And there are signs that some people may be employed after construction, and work in the factories and industries that will be built in the vicinity. This development is termed 'Riverhorse Valley Business Estate'. The development is on the eastern side of the Quarry Heights housing development and is within easy reach, approximately 1,5 kilometres from the residential area.

It has become apparent that the development of Quarry Heights has to some extent improved the well-being of the former informal settlers in terms of top structure and services like sewerage, water and electricity. But it is far from improving people's lives in terms of adapting to the new area, creating employment opportunities, and access to cheap or reasonable transport.

It has also become clear that all respondents believe that the relocation of informal settlements from dangerous areas is a reality and will continue to be a problem. But at the end of the day, the results should be positive and a minimal destruction of people's networks should be targeted.

The Guarapiranga experience is not different from similar relocation to greenfields projects that have occurred and are occurring in South Africa. Nevertheless, it has numerous successes in terms of people's involvement in the whole process as well as the continuity by the government officials to see to it that beneficiaries are visited and assisted to adapt in new areas. Unlike, in the case in point, Quarry Heights, where beneficiaries got no further assistance from the government in as far as adapting to the new area, creating job opportunities, etc.

With the Guarapiranga programme success, South Africa's cities can learn a lot and attempt to do even better in terms of improving people's lives. It is common knowledge that the interventions made by South Africa are more of a reactive nature than that of pro-active. In addition, with the recent history, it appears that poor people are just dumped in areas but the authorities claim to be solving the housing problem that informal communities have in terms of health and safety and overcrowding.

The Guarapiranga programme is one of its kind, and developing countries could learn to tackle relocation projects in a similar way especially the after care.

In most developing countries, relocation to new housing projects are occurring but there is very little that is done to ensure that the relocated beneficiary adjust and adapt to the new area. This chapter has sought to give us an indication of what has been done in relocating informal dwellers to new housing projects internationally and locally.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Conclusion

Earlier chapters have assessed the nature and extent of relocation and housing projects as well as housing policies in general. This chapter will summarise the analysis results and determine whether communities are better off when moved into new housing projects. It is the purpose of this section to determine if the intervention and the current housing policy is having the desired effects as outlined in the above chapters of this document. In doing so, recommendations will be made based on the study.

In the research findings chapter it has become evident that relocation of informal settlement communities have minimal negative impacts. Relocation from Canaan informal settlement to Quarry Heights greenfields housing project has proved to have had a positive impact on people's lives. This is due to the fact that the majority of the researcher's respondents as highlighted in the above chapter are happy with the improvement of their lives especially the health and safety aspect.

With regard to schooling

Those that have children attending schools are schooling in and around the study area. In this regard very few scholars were affected by the relocation, in terms of having to drop out from their studies.

This was mainly due to transport costs as children were to pay for transport from Quarry Heights to the Clare Estate schools where they were schooling. Because the relocation occurred in different phases most parents indicated that some children were not affected at all in the process as they moved in during school holidays. In addition, arrangements were made by the local authorities with the schools nearby the study area.

Even though this exercise in some instances proved to be unsuccessful, most scholars did find schools in the vicinity without any major problems. It has also evident that most schools surrounding the study area welcome the new pupil at their respective schools and those scholars are still attending the schools. The majority of respondents have also indicated that their children are not treated differently or badly because they originated from an informal settlement or are staying in one roomed houses in Quarry Heights.

Scholars feel as part of the entire school. Interestingly, most of the respondents have their children attending school in the Avoca schools. This suggests that there is a better relationship between the two communities.

This may be due to the fact that houses built in the Avoca/Quarry Heights interface zone were a result of negotiations and a conciliatory arrangement was reached as houses were built at the later phases of the project.

The other aspect raised by respondents is that some parents had to leave their children behind to finish schooling as they say the transport cost was too high from the study area to Clare Estate. Those who could afford transport costs, got together and organised a dedicated transport and negotiated a good fare with the owners.

Some scholars are still schooling in the Clare Estate schools as parents claimed that the schools are better in this area compared to the neighbouring schools in the Quarry Heights area. The negative aspect is that due to the poor economic conditions in the study area, parents not working, some scholars had to drop out of schools and are either staying at home or parents have taken them to the farms.

In terms of the quality of houses built in the study area, beneficiaries appear to be dissatisfied with the end product. This is due to the size of the house, where parents have to share a one room with the children. It should be mentioned that this should not be viewed as people are not willing to live in the study area. Their feeling is that the authorities should assist them with regard to creating an enabling environment.

The survey in the study area revealed that a great deal of dissatisfaction has been expressed by respondents, 94% with regard to the quality and finish of their houses. This is evident in various studies conducted in South Africa, that the quality of and finish of homes provided for low-income groups is poor. It is argued that the quality is poor because houses are built for the poorest of the poor and they are expected to appreciate the product as that is better than not having one.

In terms of crime in the area, housebreakings and robberies are the most common. Most respondents cited the reason for the high crime rate as the high rate of unemployment of most residents. They claim that the unemployment problem forces people to engage in illegal activities such as housebreakings. However, they also mentioned that crime in the study area is much better than the crime they used to in Canaan where it was difficult to trace a perpetrator due to the informal setup.

It must be acknowledged that the development of Quarry Heights has improved people's well being and they also feel protected as people can be easily found when a crime is committed. In addition, respondents have stated that the newly established community policing forum will help reduce crime in the area as there will be co-operation between all stakeholders such the police, the Quarry Heights community as well as other neighbouring communities surrounding the study area.

With regard to health and safety in the study area, the respondents felt that the area has a clean environment compared to the Canaan informal settlement. According to the respondents the cleanliness of the area has reduced the rate of disease among the residents that they previously experienced before moving in the area.

Also with street lighting that they are unused to, they feel much safer than in the dark city of Canaan. With the introduction of energy in the new development, it has also reduced the risk of fire hazards, as in shack settlements the use of fuel has caused a lot of shack burning. This indicates that their lives have been improved by relocating to the study area although there are a lot of problems that are still engulfing their lives in terms of access to some facilities, job opportunities. In time they hope that this will improve too.

McCarthy et al (1995) argue that moving informal settlement communities "into conventional homes is socially and technically impossible in the short to medium term, and financially unsustainable in the long term"(McCarthy et al, (1995:84). Their argument is based on the fact that millions of South African poor people have lived in informal settlements for decades and the Canaan settlement is no exception as it has been in existence for over a decade.

The negative impacts that the relocated households are experiencing are partly due to the above. Where possible, informal settlements should be upgraded where they are and failing to do so is likely to lead to an unnecessarily poor quality of life and increasingly harm the sustainability of the broader urban systems of which they are a part.

McCarthy et al (1995) also argue that “the improvement in the quality of life of South Africa’s poor is important both for its own sake, and for the sake of political stability in the wake of the expectations that have been created by political democratisation.

They further argue that “numerous surveys have shown that the improvement of people’s housing conditions in terms of providing shelter together with the alleviation of unemployment are the top material priorities of the poor”(McCarthy et al, 1995:82). So far, the project has failed dismally in this regard, unless major intervention is carried out to address the issue of unemployment in the area.

Having mentioned that, the issue of unemployment is a national problem and creating employment opportunities at a local level would contribute significantly to the problem of unemployment. Some of the respondents are self employed and claimed that in Canaan the businesses were booming.

The reason for the boom as per respondents is due to the fact that most people in the Clare Estate area were employed and could support their businesses. There is an urgent need to stimulate employment creation, particularly in the study area and surroundings. Unemployment in the study area, as well as in South Africa, has a number of implications for how the interrelationship between urban management and economic generation needs to be viewed.

If unemployment continues in these areas there will be no or little gradual improvement of the physical condition of housing and consolidation to improve the quality of life for the residents will sometimes be impossible.

Dewar et al (1999) argue that the central urban management task is to improve the quality of life of all urban dwellers. This demands significant reductions in poverty, therefore poverty rather than employment needs to be centre-stage. A fundamental change of approach is necessary of which one component is the widening of the traditional concept of employment to reflect the complex and diverse realities of the poor. (Dewar et al, 1999: 5)

Many people have no option but to rely on self-generating income in their survival struggle. As is the case in the study area, people are operating their businesses and some have closed down, as indicated above, the businesses are doing badly and this is due to the high rate of unemployment in the area. The respondents that are self employed have indicated that business is not supported as most people are not employed. These respondents form part of the group that say it was better in Canaan, and if given a chance they would prefer to go back.

To sum up, relocations can be traumatic for the residents, especially in cases where there were no counselling services to help families to adjust to their new environment and to link them with resources and amenities in or adjacent to the new residential developments.

As it is the case in the Guarapiranga Programme mentioned in this study, after care should be something that the authorities consider in relocation to new housing projects.

These should include counselling services to assist families to settle and adjust to their new environment so as to ensure a smooth transition in the moving process. The previous chapter covers a lot of different responses and perceptions with regard to relocations. As mentioned in the research methodology, some of the key persons were directly involved in the relocation process and some not but are involved in housing development projects generally. It is interesting to find that people have common views when it comes to the case study in terms of relocations.

When conducting the interviews, some of the key persons interviewed were questioning the researcher's case study, saying that circumstances led to the community being relocated. The researcher's main task was to establish whether communities when relocated are better-off or worse-off, i.e. the impact of relocations on people's lives. The research findings have in no doubt indicated that people's lives are heavily impacted upon by relocation of any kind as communities are displaced.

These may include, training and educating informally settled communities about the areas they settled in as well as the consequences in terms of future development plans of the area. This would help in preparing communities that one day they would be relocated or upgraded where they currently live.

The other aspect is that of the after effects, where in the majority of relocation projects no or very little effort is made to assist people to adapt in the new areas. That is why in many instances, relocations are viewed as a bad intervention by authorities, whereas if communities are involved and informed timeously the level of adjustment into the new areas would be minimised.

For example, in the case in point, those beneficiaries that were directly affected by the land slippage appeared to have had no problem or questions as to why should they relocate, whereas those that were in the settlement but far from where the incidents occurred would have argued for upgrading than relocating.

The local authorities should learn from these incidents by creating a programme that will benefit all parties involved. Authorities should stop being reactionary to situation and be proactive.

In informal settlements there are a lot of problems experienced such as fire, unhygienic conditions, overcrowding and so on. There should be mechanisms in place to deal with such incidents as well as a development programme in resolving the housing backlog that the South Africa and other developing countries are facing.

The Durban Metro Council has won an award for successfully relocating the Canaan informal settlement into a new greenfields housing project, Quarry Heights. But there is very little that the City Council has done to prevent other incidents, and the process of housing delivery has been very slow for the past few years. Taking into consideration what the City Council has done and is doing in terms of relocating settlements in dangerous areas, there is a great need to involve social workers to assess the situation before and after the relocation process, as this would help the relocating families to adapt to new residential areas.

With the current programme, known as the 'Slums Clearance Project, that the City is engaged in a lot of work needs to be done in terms of educating communities prior to them relocating as well as engaging locals in terms of training.

This gives a wrong impression to people on the street, that the City dumps people in no man's land, where there are no employment opportunities, no community facilities, etc. But if the approach and emphasis is placed on how best can poor people's lives be improved without sacrificing the benefits that these communities enjoy in their current residences, therefore, relocations to greenfields projects would be a success.

By engaging people at the early stages could reduce criticisms that are normally placed as well as perceptions about relocating poor people away from opportunities like employment, recreational, etc and could also be seen as one form of forcing people to locate in remote areas.

The Guarapiranga programme is a very good example where communities are involved and informed in time with regard to their future in terms of housing development as well as the after care that is given to beneficiaries after relocating. When relocating poor communities, no consideration is given to their well-being, why they located in these areas, etc. To relocate from one place to another is no easy thing for any human being and in fact it is worse to the poorest of the poor as they mostly lose all they have achieved and created over time.

Another scenario is that of a well-off person relocating from one province to another for any reason be it a new job, the same person is expected to adjust and because of the different economic conditions it may take a few months for that person to have transformed. The reason for highlighting this is because, relocating poor people is in most cases taken very lightly.

The research has shown that poor communities will continue to be relocated due to the scarcity of land, bad location (close to major roads, close to flooding areas, etc.).

This should be seen as a challenge to the housing, planning, social professionals and other disciplines to seriously consider some of the key issues that seem to be overlooked.

The research has shown that people have located in such areas for a range of reasons and experience is that while such settlements display a high degree of household mobility within them, the total relocation of a settlement is generally not possible in some cases. In such cases development will have to occur where people currently stay, as well as on strategically located parcels of vacant land. However, where development cannot occur relocating in formal communities is the only option. Furthermore relocations are not meant to disrupt communities but in the long term, fruits are simply 'better life' for them as the poorest of the poor.

Nevertheless, the research carried out indicates that the relocation of the Canaan informal settlement community to Quarry Heights housing project was necessary due to the situation that the community was experiencing (See photographs, Slide 2), but that does not mean that people's lives are not negatively impacted upon.

5.1 Recommendations

According to the research findings, it has become evident that the relocation of Canaan informal settlements to Quarry Heights greenfields housing project was necessary. It is not surprising to note that all key people interviewed during the research have indicated that there was no other alternative at that point in time.

Even the committee member has also acknowledged that it was essential to relocate in order to protect the well-being of the poor people.

It has further been indicated that even if the land was suitable for development, some families would have had to be relocated in any case due to overcrowding as the land was too small to accommodate the entire settlement.

Prior to any relocation, a detailed survey or investigation should be undertaken on the needs, culture, preferences and social practices of people and why people are located in a particular place and in turn give an indication why people have to relocate.

In the new residential areas, housing provision must be accompanied by a provision of similar facilities and opportunities for employment that exist in areas where communities are relocated from.

Housing may provide a stimulus to addressing the imbalances of the past and socio-economic development, the effectiveness of housing projects and their success depend largely on the ability of the local authority to meet the challenge that housing brings with it. Integrated development planning is the answer to addressing the imbalances of the past and minimises the waste of resources as planning is done in an integrated manner.

With regard to the above analysis, the research as a whole and the findings of the study it can be recommended that:-

- ▶ **Greater integration between housing and planning through integrated development planning.**

Planning principles such as de-densification, integration, restructuring the city, compact city and activity corridor development should be thoroughly researched and implemented where necessary. There is a great need to link low cost housing projects with the economic opportunities that are found in the city along major transport routes or of easy reach to the new residential development.

If cities are to be restructured, focus should be placed on incorporating economic, social, cultural, commercial and political development in the low income housing areas. As the current housing policy stipulates that the poorest of the poor should be housed closer to economic hub of the city, and with this it is hoped to address both the economic and living conditions of the disadvantaged communities. In addition, the city's peripheries should also be a priority in terms of restructuring cities as there is, in some cities, shortage of developable land closer to cities.

- ▶ **Upgrading based on a more holistic definition of housing as shelter.**

It is also recommended that the current focus on upgrading is a better solution, where possible as existing opportunities be economic, recreational, educational, etc. will be maintained and community life in general will be preserved.

Where an option of relocation is the only alternative, land within a reasonable radius should be considered to relocate such communities and attempts should be made by the authorities with regard to this issue. According to the literature, adequate shelter as a quality of life indicator should be concerned with economic health, i.e. the extent to which the cost of maintaining the shelter represents an affordable drain on family resources and its effects on other important services. Current solutions should focus on upgrading the existing informal settlements and refurbishing existing dwellings, and avoid relocations where possible. In this way existing economic and other opportunities are maintained and community life in general will be preserved.

▶ **Process that's more aware of social and community dynamics.**

This should be done in conjunction with all stakeholders in and around a particular site where development is proposed, as outlined in the Development Facilitation Act of 1995, DFA. It is believed that development is about recognising different role players and form partnerships with such key participants in the process. In all housing development projects, social compacts play an useful role in enabling the interaction amongst the role players, and people play a vital role in decision making as they make contribution to the planning, design of the house and so on. Naidoo (1999) argues that "community development should have a dual focus, that is on strengthening families and on building communities" (Naidoo, 1999: 192).

Naidoo (1999) also adds that in order for a community to survive and flourish a sense of community is essential and is critical in preventing housing deterioration and substandard school performance and in turn serves as a foundation for healthy families. Services should be directed to enhancing resident's capacities for change, developing and building on their own integrated view of themselves in relation to their community. This enhancement of a sense of community is a way of ensuring that housing remains stable and secure" (Naidoo, 1999: 192).

Dewar et al (1999) argue that strengthening human resources and capacities is central to the task of social integration, and improving the quality of life for all the people to the greatest degree possible. It also involves creating a sense of one suburb/town, a willingness to collectively own and take on the development challenge and breaking down the prevailing culture of entitlement.

▶ **Creating a better product.**

Durability of the end-product is one first that come to mind. In this regard, affordable housing may mean a sacrifice in certain levels of quality, but the durability of the structure built should not be compromised. Even with the limited resources available, developers should not be able to pass off housing products that do not stand the test of time. The State Subsidy is a once off subsidy to the poorest of the poor. If all the structures built collapse during the next major flood, these beneficiaries will once again be rendered homeless, but this time with no hope of assistance from the Government in the foreseeable future.

On this note, National Home Builders Registration Council, NHBRC, is there to protect consumers against shoddy building workmanship and the use of substandard materials.

There is a growing realisation that informal settlements are here to stay, and should become an acceptable part of the fabric of South Africa society, and essential if we are serious about addressing the needs of the majority of the urban poor. The viability of informal housing delivery to deliver houses at the rate and scale required, however, depends on the concurrent establishment of a programme that aims to improve the living conditions in informal settlements, and ultimately integrates these areas into the broader, formal urban and regional framework.

In any housing project avenues for employment, capacity building and empowerment should be created. The problem of keeping black contractors out of low cost housing programmes is a concern.

Naidoo (1999) cites that it is alleged that black contractors have been kept out of low cost housing programmes due to their administrative and financial constraints (Naidoo, 1999:192). Naidoo (1999) argues that education and training form an important part of empowerment and development. Desperate homeless people need to be enlightened about exploitation from unscrupulous operators and those who turn development into a contest for political influence (White Paper on Housing, 1994).

5.2 Summary/Overall Conclusion

Housing is one of the most important domains affecting the quality of people's lives. With this view housing has an impact on almost all dimensions of an individual's and family's social functioning.

South Africa is among some 30 countries that have included the right to housing in their constitutions. Section 26 of the South Africa's constitution, adopted in 1996, states that all South Africans have the right of 'access to adequate housing'. Such is the importance placed on housing.

Although the National Government's and in fact the eThekweni Municipality's delivery of housing via the subsidy has been impressive, the real challenge has been to create vibrant and sustainable residential environments. Environments which not only provide its residents with the necessary social and economic opportunities but also grant them a sense of pride and encouragement to improve on their homes and regard it as an investment.

The National Housing Policy has often been criticised for focussing too much on delivery, i.e. quantify rather than a quality, not just the quality of the homes but also of the environments created.

While the eThekweni Municipality acted rapidly and effectively on an emergency situation created in Canaan and successfully relocated the affected residents to safer and more hygienic conditions, the relocation has had its share of negatives as discovered in the survey.

While the eThekweni Municipality, and in fact any independent planning authority would regard the location of Quarry Heights as more than suitable in terms of being highly accessible to the city, the residents initially did not see it this way as their social and economic ties were disrupted. What this has revealed is that future relocations planned by the eThekweni Municipality, especially those for the Slums Clearance Project, will need to learn from the experiences of Canaan.

It is worth noting, on a more positive note, that the multi million rand Riverhorse Estate being developed jointly by the eThekweni Municipality and Moreland adjacent to quarry Heights will provide the residents with hope of a better future in terms of sound economic opportunities.

In addition the residents of Quarry Heights appear to be adapting well to this new neighbourhood. They have title to their properties, a full range of services, their children have adjusted to new schools. All this without taking into account the new business estate being developed next door.

This research has seen the relocation programme as a success as it has led to significant improvement in living standards of residents of the former Canaan settlement. These improvements are illustrated by gains in hygiene and health conditions and improved access and movement of residents. Access to neighbourhood resources such as schools, health centres and commercial areas, as well as access of vehicles and identification of streets facilitating postal delivery.

In essence, choosing a home in a suitable location plays an important part in most people's lives, the poor in particular. As the survey from the research has shown, the location of projects for low-income groups has caused a great deal of inconvenience and dissatisfaction, especially where relocations have occurred.

While the quality of homes and services has considerably improved, the access to transport, employment and social facilities has not always been available from day one. The experience of the relocation reveals the need to implement new greenfields projects more carefully taking into account not only location to a range of requirements for residents but also a process of assisting residents in adapting to change.

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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire Survey 2002/2003 Date: 24 - 26 July 2002

Quarry Heights

What has the impact of relocation on your life been?

Given the situation regarding your daily routine, which area do you think is better, and why?

Schooling

1. How did you, if at all, find a school for your child in the new area? (Asked around or visited the school)
 1. Asked around
 2. Visited the school
 3. No school going children

2. What difficulties did you experience finding a school for your child? (e.g. school is full)
 1. None
 1. Schools were full
 2. No school going children
 3. School fees were too high

3. How does your child get to school?
 1. Walk
 2. Public transport
 3. School Bus
 4. No school going children

4. How long does it take your child to travel to and from school?
 1. Less than or equal to 30 minutes
 2. More than 30 minutes
 3. No school going children

5. What has been the reaction of the new school's teachers and scholars to your child attending there?
 1. Very good and welcoming
 2. Bad
 3. No school going children

6. How has the child coped with the new school environment?
 1. Very well
 2. Adjusting
 3. No school going children

7. How difficult has it been for you to find schools in the new area , are there enough schools i.e Primary Schools, High Schools?
 1. Very difficult because there are no schools in Quarry Heights
 2. Not very difficult
 3. No school going children

8. How many of your children were affected by the move ,such that they dropped out?
 1. +/- 1 child
 2. No school going children

9. Given the situation regarding schooling, which one do you think is better, and why?
 1. The schools in Quarry Heights are better
 2. The schools in Canaan are better
 3. No school going children
 4. No Difference
 5. The children stated school in Quarry Heights
 6. No idea

1.2. **Building structures**

2. How many rooms does it have?

1. One room
2. More than one room
3. One room extended with a shack

2. What are the sleeping arrangements of household members? (do children have separate room from parents, and / or from each other? Anyone sleeping in the lounge?)

1. Everyone sleeps in one room
2. Children sleep in separate rooms from parents

3. Given the situation regarding building structures, which do you think is better, and why?

1. Canaan was better
2. Quarry Heights is better
3. No difference

1.3. **Community Organisation**

1. Which community organisation exist in the area? (Social? Political?)
(e.g. sports, savings, political, development committee, church; etc)

2. Do you normally have community meetings?
3. Given the situation regarding community Organisation, which one do you think is better, and why?
 1. Canaan was better
 2. Quarry Heights is better
 3. There has been no change
 4. Not asked
 5. No idea

1.4. **Services and facilities**

1. Is there a school in the area?
2. Is there a creche in the area?
3. Is there a police station in the area?
4. Is there a clinic or health facility in the area?
5. Is there sports fields and playgrounds in the area?
6. How close you are to the community facilities compared to Canaan?
7. Are there enough schools in the area?

8. Is there any police station nearby?

9. How swiftly does the SAPS/emergency services respond to your problems?

10. Has your life in general been improved or there is not much difference?

1. It has improved
2. It has not improved
3. There has been no difference

3. Given the situation regarding services and facilities, which do you think is better, and why?

1. Quarry heights is better
2. Canaan is better
3. No answer

1.5. **Transport facilities**

1. What modes of transport exist in Quarry Heights?

2. What mode of transport do you mainly use?

3. Is it sufficient or you wait for long hours?

1. Sufficient
2. Insufficient

4. Is there a mix transport modes eg. buses, taxis, or trains, or you use one mode of transport?

5. When you were staying in Canaan, did you walk to your place of work, or used public transport?
 1. Walk
 2. Public Transport
 3. Unemployed

6. How the relocation to Quarry Heights has affected your monthly budget?

7. How long does it take you to get to a bus\taxi stop or train station?
 1. <5 minutes
 2. 5 - 20 minutes
 3. >20 minutes

8. How long does it take you to travel to the nearest shopping centre?

9. How long does it take you to travel to and from work?
 1. 30 minutes and less
 2. More than 30 minutes
 3. Unemployed
 4. Don't know

10. How much do you spend on transport to the workplace?

1. <R 40,00 per week
2. >R 40,00 per week
3. Walk

11. Given the situation regarding transport facilities, which do you think is better, and why?

1. The transport in Canaan was better because it was cheaper and more efficient
2. Buses
3. Trains
4. A mixture of Taxis, Buses and Trains
5. No answer

1.6 Employment

In terms of employment, are there any job opportunities in the new area compared to Canaan?

1. Has your move to Quarry Heights has affected your job?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Unemployed

2. If given another chance to go back to Canaan, would you consider going back to stay in a shack or you are happy here in terms of shelter?

1. Yes
2. No

3. Did you lose your job since you moved in Quarry Heights, if so, have you find any job?

1. I did lose my Job but have not found another one
2. No I did not lose my job
3. Yes
4. Self Employed
5. Unemployed

4. How many people have lost their jobs due to relocation?

1. One
2. Two
3. None
4. No Idea

1.7 **Health and safety** (crime- private and public areas; dangers - floods etc)

1. What is the most prevalent crime committed in the area?

2. How safe are you in your area, and Why do you say so?
 1. Not Safe
 2. Safe
 3. No Idea
3. How was crime in Canaan compared to Quarry Heights?
4. When you look back, do you think you were better off in Canaan or you are better off in Quarry Heights or nothing much has changed?
 1. I was better off in Canaan
 2. I am better off in Quarry Heights
 3. Nothing much has changed
5. How is the response from the authorities (SAPS or CPF) when reporting crime?
6. When a crime happens at Newlands East or KwaMashu, are you not the victims of being easily pointed, given your history (formerly from a squatter camp)
7. Is the development committee still operating, if not what happened?

8. Given the situation of health and safety, which area do you think is better, and why?

1. Quarry Heights is better
2. Canaan is better
3. No difference
4. No idea

1.8 General

1. What, if any, business activities are engaged?

1. I'm not engaged in any business
2. I sell metal
3. I sell cupboards
4. I sell peanuts
5. Tuck Shop

2. What do you like the most about your area?

1. Nothing
2. My house
3. Not too Dense
4. Clean, Water, Quiet, Electricity and Safety
5. Internal sanitation
6. Better Roads
7. None

3. What do you dislike most about your area ?

1. The area is far from town (CBD)
2. There is no transport
3. There are no job opportunities
4. My property is next to a steep bank
5. My house is far from the road
6. No maintenance of sewer pipes
7. Nothing
8. Harassment by SAPS
9. Crime
10. No proper foundation in my house
11. Rooms are too small
12. No fast response from SAPS / EMERGENCY SERVICES
13. No schools in the area

4. If you had a choice, where would like to live, and why?

1. Canaan
2. Quarry Heights
3. Umlazi
4. In town
5. Mayville
6. Newlands
7. Avoca
8. Cato Manor
9. Durban North

10. Burnwood
11. Pine Town
12. Waterloo
13. Sydenham
14. Panthans Hill
15. Kwa Mashu
16. No idea

5. Did you know the area you were moving to? (The name, location, familiarity with the area)

6. What did the people who were there before you say when you arrived at the new area?

7. What can you say has improved ever since you moved in?

1. Nothing
2. Extend the house
3. Healthy
4. Safety
5. Living conditions
6. Live with my children together
7. Services (water, electricity, toilets and paved passages)
8. Relation with neighbours
9. N/A
10. Grassing
11. Doors, fitted windows and painted houses

8. Has your life changed, do you see any difference?
 1. It has worsened
 2. Nothing has changed
 3. My life has improved

9. In terms of transportation costs, is there any difference ie bus fares from where you used to stay?

10. Were you told why do you have to relocate?

11. Were you happy, unhappy or confused?

12. How satisfied are you with the dwelling house you are currently living in?

13. How the move has affected your daily life?

14. Did it ever cross your mind that one day you will relocate? or Did you think that one day you will be upgraded in-situ in Canaan?
 1. In-situ Upgraded in Canaan
 2. Relocated

15. How difficult was it for you for the first few months/years to adjust to your new life?

1.Houses had no windows and doors.

2.It was very difficult.

3.There were no transport

4.It was not difficult.

5.There were no shops/tuck shops.

6.N/A

16. How is the relationship between the communities of Quarry Heights, KwaMashu and Newlands East?

APPENDIX B

RESPONDENTS DETAILS

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>House No.</i>	<i>Name</i>
1	270	Gcwensa
2	653	Bambezela
3	722	Mavama
4	723	Bhashe
5	711	Kunineka
6	669	Hadebe
7	701	George
8	702	Sabela
9	700	Mbengane
10	763	Nyandeni
11	654	Motseki
12	745	Gwala
13	759	Nsibini
14	740	Masuku
15	736	Gumede
16	765	Xama
17	764	Zulu
18	751	Mlotshwa
19	750	Sithole
20	628	Mxabo
21	1413	Ngongoma

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>House No.</i>	<i>Name</i>
22	624	Sihlophe
23	1255	Mtshongwane
24	1258	Shwempu
25	1762	Ninela
26	1274	Ntuli
27	1275	Gebe
28	716	Madikizela
29	1283	Biyela
30	1019	Zondi
31	1146	Ndovela
32	1131	Faku
33	966	Ngqayi
34	1156	Mhlaba
35	863	Hlongwa
36	1070	Mthembu
37	871	Matanzima
38	1074	Cele
39	1564	Qwabe
40	1077	Buthelezi
41	1076	Phehlukwayo
42	1365	Phayima

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>House No.</i>	<i>Name</i>
43	1532	Mkhulisi
44	944	Dlamini
45	956	Paqu
46	1557	Moyana
47	945	Cele
48	947	Lushozi
49	878	Gumede
50	936	Mphamela
51	931	Gwala
52	887	Ngcobo
53	934	Nzuza
54	958	Qwabe
55	955	Mtshali
56	1559	Mthithala
57	950	Shezi
58	639	Ngidi
59	952	Nzama
60	949	Magwaza
61	954	Mthembu
62	951	Makhaye
63	1539	Cele
64	633	Debe

APPENDIX C

Interviews:

- 1. Ms Sarah Charlton (ex-Project Manager: Metro Housing)**
- 2. Mr Kenneth Mngadi (Projects Liaison Officer: Metro Housing)**

Questions

- 1. This project may have been one of the most difficult projects that you have been involved in, how did you cope?**
- 2. Relocating some 2000 families must have been a difficult job, did you achieve your goal?**
- 3. It must have been an exciting exercise, do you think your involvement should have continued in assisting the community to adjust to the area, if so, what do you think your role should have been?**
- 4. What has Council done to address other issues that directly affected people's lives after the relocation process, other than providing services and a house?**
- 5. Are there any programmes that have been initiated to assist the community? Including non-Council.**

6. In and around the Clare Estate area the majority of relocatees had been employed, and the transportation costs were unknown to the Canaan community, how do you think the issue of cheaper transport modes should be addresses? Do you see Council getting involved?
7. Have investors, big or small been approached in order to create employment opportunities for the Quarry Heights community?
8. Do you think the timing of the relocation to Quarry Heights was right given the current economic conditions, where investors are reluctant to invest in certain areas?
9. Weren't there any other alternatives, eg. acquiring land close to employment opportunities and easily accessible in terms of transport, that could have been considered other than the Quarry Heights area?
10. Don't you think that the relocatees have suffered in the short term due to relocation? Do you foresee any long term benefits, if yes, what could be they?
11. With regard to community facilities, did the project cater for other facilities or are there enough community facilities in the surrounding areas and are of easy reach?
12. Community links have been destroyed due to relocation, how best could this have been addressed in terms of Council's Allocations Policy?
13. With regard to acceptance, how has the quarry Heights community been treated by the neighbouring communities of Newlands East, KwaMashu and Avoca?

14. Has the objective of improving people's lives been achieved, if yes, In what ways?

15. What do you think Council's role in housing delivery should be?

16. If you were to redo the entire project what would you do differently and why?

17. Informal settlers are worse-off mostly in terms of health and safety in their existing areas but can survive (economically) and live. New housing projects generally ignore the future economic livelihood of people that are said to be relocated. What's your take on this?

3. Mr Maurice Makhathini (Executive Director: Metro Housing)

1. What were Council's reasons for relocating the Canaan informal settlement community and why Quarry Heights?

2. Was there consideration given to the reasons as to why the Canaan community settled on the original land in the first place?

3. Was there any thought that the relocation could affect the day-to-day life of the relocatees as job opportunities were available in Clare Estate area compared to the Newlands East area?

4. Should Council have first approached the business community to locate in close proximity to the Quarry Heights area, in order to create employment opportunities and later relocate the families?

5. It is four years now since the Canaan community relocated to Quarry Heights. What has Council done thus far to ensure that employment opportunities are created?
6. Do you think that creating employment opportunities could have led to a total improvement of people's lives?
7. How did council deal with the political pressure, if any, with regard to relocations as they could be seen as one form of 'forced removal' that was exercised by the then apartheid regime?
8. How can the issue of impoverishment to relocated communities be addressed in housing projects?
9. What should Council's role be in housing delivery?
10. Informal settlers are worse-off mostly in terms of health and safety in their existing areas but can survive (economically) and live. New housing projects generally ignore the future economic livelihood of people that are said to be relocated. What's your take on this?

4. Ms Heather Maxwell (Manager: Housing, Cato Manor Development Association, CMDA)

Since you are involved in housing delivery and one of the experts, I thought it would be essential to get your views with regard to relocation of informal settlement communities to new greenfields housing projects.

1. As you aware that in most relocations that have occurred in the past, the relocatees have suffered. Do you see any difference with the current approach where communities are relocated to areas where no job opportunities are available, Quarry Heights is a case in point?

2. Don't you think when relocating a large settlement like Canaan (+2000 families), emphasis should be placed in areas with similar pattern as the one found in Canaan in order to minimise negative impacts?

3. If you were to relocate a similar settlement, what could have been done differently and why?

4. Do you think informal settlement communities benefit from relocating to greenfields projects further from their existing areas, if yes, in what way?

5. Are the benefits short or long term? If they are of long term what do you think should be done to address the short term negative impacts?

6. What do you think of a special grant being given to relocatees over and above the subsidy amount as an incentive for losing what they have been enjoying?

7. What role should the town planners play in housing projects, should it end with the layout and township establishment?

8. Do you think other disciplines/departments that deliver community services should be involved in a housing project? If yes, at what stage?

9. Can the disruptions of community links that have been established over the years be minimised when relocating communities to greenfields projects? If yes, how?

10. What do you think Council's role should be in housing delivery?

5. Ms Sibongile Zwane (Director: Department of Housing)

1. What do you think of relocation projects, do you see them as one form of forced removal?

2. What do you think of a special grant being given to relocatees over and above the subsidy amount as an incentive for losing what they have been enjoying?

3. What has the Department done to encourage other department's like Education etc to get involved in housing projects in order to address the need for other facilities?

4. Do you think the Department's role in housing projects is sufficient?

5. Has the Department encouraged investors to invest in the newly established residential areas in order to create better living environments.

6. What other support can the department offer to beneficiaries who have been relocated to new areas?

7. Improving someone else's life cannot be achieved by taking away the little that the poor have with regard to jobs and easily accessible transport modes? What is the Department's opinion and response to the above?

8. The relocation of over 2000 families from Canaan to Quarry Heights have had negative impacts to the relocatees, How can these negative impacts be minimised?.

9. Informal settlers are worse-off mostly in terms of health and safety in their existing areas but can survive (economically) and live. New housing projects generally ignore the future economic livelihood of people that are said to be relocated. What's your take on this?

6. Mr R Sokhela (Chairperson: Development Committee)

1. Since you have been involved before, during and after relocation, what role have you played in these periods?

2. Since you represent the relocatees or Beneficiaries, how has relocation affected people' lives?

3. Do you think they are better off or worse off after being relocated to Quarry Heights?

4. What has been the most difficult things you had to do especially a few months before and after relocation?
5. Have you seen any improvements on people's lives since the move or nothing much has changed?
6. How has the relocation affected your links with the old Clare Estate neighbours, residents/business /church etc.?
7. Have you established any relationships with your neighbouring Newlands KwaMashu and Avoca neighbours ? Has it paid dividends?
8. How difficult has it been for you to adjust to the Quarry heights area given the fact that you've been in Palmiet for many years?
9. What do you think of Durban Metro Housing Unit's Housing allocations Policy?