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CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SLUMS CLEARANCE PROGRAMME IN ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN AREA: THE CASES OF WELBADAGT WEST AND PARKGATE RELOCATION AREAS AND QUARRY ROAD WEST INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of the constraints and opportunities in the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme in the Ethekwini Metropolitan Area (EMA). It embraces a case study method and, as such, uses Quarry Road West Informal Settlement, Welbadagt West and Umzomuhle Parkgate Relocation Areas. Furthermore, the study has an endeavour to uncover the factors that influence the formation and increase of informal settlements within the city. To realise this fundamental objective, questionnaire surveys (including socio-economic information) of the beneficiaries and interviews with the Metro Council Officials and others were employed in areas used as case studies to gather as much data as possible regarding the constraints and opportunities of this programme.

It has become explicitly clear, moreover, that the majority of people living in the three case studies came from areas outside Durban for employment opportunities. Due to the fact that they were unemployed at the time of this research project and were still looking for jobs, they stated that they had no option but to live in the informal settlements closer to the city to minimise travelling costs. Apparently, some of these informal settlements are located closer to high-risk areas such as flood lines, dumping sites and so on, as a consequence of this, the National Department of Housing in conjunction with the Ethekwini Municipality (Metro Housing Department), are in the process of implementing the Slums Clearance Programme in order, according these bodies to respond to such situation.

The Slums Clearance Programme, which basically involves upgrading and relocating the affected informal settlements, is analysed in the light of the past and contemporary experiences within the context of developing countries to broaden the horizons of this project. A relevant theoretical framework and literature review is presented as a support for the study and to put it in a relevant perspective. The results based on the hypothesis indicate that although the Slums Clearance Programme is in deed, at face value, an appropriate response to dealing with the affected informal settlements, it fails to meet the basic needs of the beneficiaries. Such basic needs include, among other things, access to employment opportunities, access to public facilities such as health care, education and others. One of the recommendations highlighted in this study is that holistic development approach should be emphasised to avoid the marginalisation of the project beneficiaries.

In conclusion, some of the major challenges when implementing the programme have been mentioned, which include among other things, beneficiaries' high unemployment rate, excessive distances between areas of economic opportunities and places of residence and lack of holistic development approach in the implementation of the programme.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1   Introduction

This investigation draws from three disciplines, namely, Social Policy, Sociology and Town Planning. Its fundamental goal is to examine the opportunities and constraints of the Slums Clearance Programme in the Durban Metropolitan Area with specific reference to Welbadagt West, Umzomuhle Parkgate Relocation Areas and Quarry Road West Informal Settlement. Such an examination is invaluable, especially in the current South Africa, if one considers the injustices the majority of this country was subjected to by the past government through apartheid laws. Such injustices created among other things poverty, misery, starvation and underdevelopment in black communities.

As a consequence of the apartheid laws, most African (black) communities have similar socio-economic and political problems resulting from these injustices. Proper housing with services such as running water, electricity; access to quality health, educational, and recreational facilities, remained a fallacy to them and not to speak of access to employment opportunities. Housing backlogs, land ownership and tenure, and   limited development in rural areas gave rise to unplanned urbanisation in the early 1980s and 1990s all of which form part of the reasons for housing challenges this country is confronted with today.

Economic investment, furthermore, was mainly directed to urban areas and this led to major improvements of infrastructure and industries, which, it may be argued, was to meet the capitalist needs of the minority white ruling class. In this state of affairs, gross under-development of South African rural areas led to a situation where urban areas became the most attractive areas for people who were seeking viable job opportunities. In most cases people did not get jobs and, instead of returning to their original homes, they preferred to stay in the informal settlements at the periphery of cities in order to commute easily to places with better employment opportunities. Some of the people living in the informal settlements came from the overcrowded townships, as there were no housing opportunities for them.

According to the Medical Research Council of South Africa (2001), rapid urbanisation in South Africa has outstripped municipal investments in infrastructure and services, particularly

in areas, which are predominantly occupied by poor households. Such rapid urbanisation had created, among other things complex management and policy problems in housing (failure of housing policy), income distribution and service provision associated with increase in slums and informal settlements.

1.2 Research Problem

Most cities in the developing countries are characterised by unprecedented informal settlements that have resulted in some countries into high- density residential sprawl. High unemployment rate and poverty, both of which lead to people's inability to provide themselves with decent houses for their families or to improve the existing shelters are characteristics of informal settlements. Lack of services such as running water, electricity, health facilities, schools and other facilities are an order of informal settlements.

Most of these informal settlements are located in areas, which are vulnerable to floods, due to unstable soil conditions and dumping sites. Quarry Road West Informal Settlement for example, is one of those settlements that are located close to the river with very poor living conditions. Furthermore, these informal settlements are vulnerable to fire due the nature of building material used and relatively high densities. Some of them are made up of cardboards with plastic roofs and are located very close to each other. It is costly and difficult to re-develop these areas because of the topography of the land, which makes the provision of infrastructure unviable.

Ethekwini Metropolitan Area (EMA) has about 550 informal settlements, excluding the rural communities. The average informal settlement in the EMA comprises approximately 350 dwellings with the largest concentration of informal dwellings (approximately 65 000) being found within the former townships of Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (Durban Metro Housing, 2000). To deal with the informal settlements located in areas of high risk, the Ethekwini Municipality set up a programme called Slums Clearance. This programme is aimed at addressing the immediate needs (such as houses, provision of basic services and facilities) of the people located close to such areas.

The current Slum Clearance Programme in the EMA, for instance, focuses mainly on providing one house on a plot. This option, however, might not be an ideal solution in dealing

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with informal settlements, given the waste of land which is a scarce resource (especially for low-cost housing development) rather than providing multiple-units on a plot in order to accommodate as many people as possible. The investigation of the constraints and opportunities in the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme, as a result forms part of the main reasons for this study. Furthermore, it examines whether Slums Clearance Programme is an appropriate response in dealing with the affected informal settlements

1.3 Research Questions

The main research questions in this investigation are firstly, whether the Slums Clearance Programme is an appropriate response in dealing with the affected informal settlements, and secondly, to question the features, benefits and problems associated with the programme.

Some keywords are readily identifiable in these questions:

- Slums Clearance Programme (programme aimed at upgrading and relocating informal settlements with urgent attention to those located in areas of high risk).
- Informal Settlements (unplanned and un-serviced areas)

Based on the above, the following subsidiary questions become pertinent to the study:

1. What is Slums Clearance in general and how is it defined by the Ethekwini Municipality?
2. What are the elements of the Slum Clearance Programme?
3. How many settlements have been upgraded or relocated?
4. Are affected residents co-operative in the implementation of the programme?
5. Is the Slums Clearance Programme meeting the demands of housing of the people living in the informal settlements to be affected by the programme?
6. What factors characterise the process of relocation or upgrading?

1.4 Reasons for choosing this topic

The motivation behind tackling this type of investigation arises from two concerns. First, the issues of slums clearance and housing are both at the centre of debate in developing countries, and secondly it is a volatile issue among the homeless. Given the historical legacy of inequality in South Africa, the issues of housing and informal settlement upgrades are the

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centre of policy debates and thus attract widespread discontent from those previously disadvantaged by apartheid.

The socio-economic characteristics of informal settlements further exacerbate high-density informal housing, lack of basic services, poor health conditions as these conditions create highly unhygienic environments. Although there have been attempts by the government to address the problem of increase in informal settlements through the housing policy, informal settlements continue to increase, especially in dangerous areas.

It is this state of affairs that encouraged the government to implement the Slums Clearance Programme. The most critical issue associated with this programme is the act of relocation associated with many crucial problems, including loss of informal networks and income generating activities that the people living in the informal settlements have, increased distances from areas of work and residence, inadequate transportation systems and loss of social structure and cohesiveness. It is against this background that the study aims to investigate the extent to which these problems are addressed through the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme in the EMA, with specific reference to Welbadagt West, Parkgate Relocation Areas and Quarry Road West Informal Settlement. It is to compare and assess perceptions of people currently living in an informal settlement (Quarry Road West) to be affected by the programme to those relocated to Welbadagt West and Parkgate through the programme.

1.5   Goals and objectives of the study

The main goal of the study is to investigate constraints and opportunities in the implementation of the Slum Clearance Programme in EMA with specific reference to Welbadagt West and Umzomuhle Parkgate as well as Quarry Road West Informal Settlement. It is to assess whether implementation of the programme addresses the needs of people such as electricity, water; easy access to job opportunities of the affected communities and so on.

1.6   Hypothesis

The Slums Clearance Programme appears at face value to be an appropriate response in dealing with the affected informal settlements because it seeks to provide housing to informal

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settlers who have their structures located in areas of high risks such as flood lines, dumping sites and so on, however, it does not tackle the issues that relate to the root causes that lead to the increase in informal settlements in the first place such as access to employment opportunities within the surrounding areas; facilities and so on.

1.7   Case Studies

The research methodology section is discussed in detail in Chapter three. At this stage, however, it is important to mention that data was collected in three case study areas, namely, Quarry Road West, an informal settlement located in Clare Estate, Umzomuhle Parkgate Relocation Area located in the north of Durban and Welbadagt West Relocation Area in the south of Pinetown.

1.8   Definition of concepts

(i)   Informal/ Squatter Settlements

The White Paper on Local Government (1998: 13) defines informal settlements as "unplanned and largely un-serviced areas, with a population of over 5000 people". Hindson and McCarthy (1994:2) define informal settlements as "dense settlements comprising of communities housed in self-constructed shelters under conditions of informal or traditional land tenures".

For the purpose of this study, informal settlements will be defined as areas where people invaded land to put up informal structures for habitable and business purposes with no proper subdivision of land, no roads and services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity and poorly arranged structures.

(ii)   Slums

In this research, slums will be defined as the worse-off type of informal settlements within informal settlements whereby shacks are located in un-developable areas such as near flood lines and in land earmarked for strategic developments. Slums located in these areas cannot be upgraded and land cannot be transferred to individuals.

(iii) Housing

Housing is regarded as a permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against destructive elements; and potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply (Built Environment Support Group, 1999: 4).

(iv) In-situ-upgrading

It is a form of developing or upgrading the area with existing informal structures located in developable areas by providing basic services and public facilities such as potable water, refuse removal, sanitation, drainage, schools, clinics and so on.

(v) Site-and-service scheme

It is a form of upgrading informal settlements by allocating properly subdivided land and basic services such as water, sanitation to people where they build their own houses.

(vi) Slum Clearance

Slum clearance will be defined as a process of demolishing illegal slums with or without compensation, but the study will focus on the Slum Clearance Programme that is associated with provision of mass housing.

1.9 Chapter Sequence

The overall thesis consists of six chapters comprised of the following sections:

- Chapter One- consists of an introduction to the study and explains the reasons for conducting the research, the nature and scope of the study. Key research and subsidiary questions are also presented and the key concepts employed are defined.

- Chapter Two- is comprised of a literature review on the key concepts relevant to the study. Furthermore, the Chapter examines the use of the concepts and their meaning, both internationally and locally. This involves the provision of the historical and present context of the concepts in the field of public policy and planning, typologies of

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informal settlements, general characteristics of informal settlements and ways in which informal settlements had been dealt with in the past and present eras.

- Chapter Three- consists of research methodology, indicating the techniques that were employed in this study, people who were interviewed and surveyed.

- Chapter Four – is an overview of the findings, their analysis and synthesis based on field surveys with community members and interviews with Project Managers from Ethekwini Municipality (Metro Housing Department), relevant ward Councillors and Housing Experts as well as field observation.

- Chapter Five- concerns itself with recommendations and conclusion based on the research

1.10 Summary

This chapter highlighted the nature, extent and scope of the study. It becomes evident from the discussion that the issue of slums and slum clearance is high on the agenda of national government, but whether this played out appropriately at a local level is the key question raised by this study. The concepts "slum" and "slum clearance" are inextricably linked to the phenomenon of urbanisation and the lack of housing and other social and economic infrastructure in the metropolis. More importantly, the lack of formal housing opportunities in the metropolis coupled with the lack of economic activity seems to be one of the key factors leading to the emergence of slums. In Chapter Two the concepts pertaining to slums as a phenomenon will be examined.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

It seems appropriate, at this stage to offer a review on the literature around the question of informal settlements and discuss the key theoretical concepts that are relevant to the study. The concept of slums is in many senses strongly linked with rapid urbanisation, which leads to the shortage of affordable housing in the metropolis. In broad terms, the concepts "slum" and "urbanisation" have been well defined in the disciplines of Sociology, Geography, Public Policy, Development Studies and Town and Regional Planning. However, despite definitions, arising from these disciplines, there are inherent similarities and differences in the way this concept is viewed among them. Due to the nature of this study, it is not possible to enter into a discussion of the concept from different perspectives, and this study will confine itself on definitions as provided by Sociology and Development Studies.

In order to place the concepts of slums and urbanisation in perspective, it is necessary to also discuss the differences between informal settlements and slums, the history of slums/ informal settlements, typology, characteristics and socio-economic conditions in informal settlements and different methods of dealing with informal settlements and to draw some Case Studies regarding failures and successes of the programmes. The Chapter will highlight the specificities of the origin of informal settlements in the South African context, particularly the nature and extent of the problem in the EMA.

2. 2   Differences between informal settlements and slums

The terms "slums" and "squatter" settlements are often used as if are interchangeable, but they have some social, cultural and economic characteristics that require a deliberate differentiation. There are distinct differences in international, national, regional and local attitudes, as well as standards as to what constitutes a slum or a squatter settlement (Obhudho and Mhlanga, 1988:7).

Informal/ squatter settlements are collections of dwellings constructed out of their locally-sourced raw materials or waste/ second hand fabricated materials (Van Gass, 1994: 1; Obhudho et al, 1988: 7). Obhudho, et al, further state that slums or informal settlements have

no planned road networks, sewerage systems and other basic amenities. These squatter settlements are usually located on unoccupied land that is either in the city centre or in peri – urban areas. Houses in these settlements are primitive forms of shelter that, in most countries are officially outlawed because they do not conform to urban planning or building regulations. Non-conformity is due to the fact that the dwellings are built by spontaneous, undirected and untrained efforts of the squatters. The squatter settlements are usually made up of wood, tin, cardboard and tarpaper.

Yeh (1987) cited in Matovu (2000: 2) states that a slum that has always been regarded as a low-income settlement in urban areas has no precise definition. The term slum is disapproving and evocative of conditions such as overcrowding, low –income, diseases, crime and social disorganisation (Yeh, 1987; Magatu, 1991 in Matovu, 2000:2).

Hawley (1971) argues that the word slum is often applied to such residential areas, especially where the buildings are old, lacking in most modern amenities and are densely occupied. Apart from inadequate housing, slums are characterised by congestion, lack of recreational space and a neglect of neighbourhood facilities. Slums conditions are not conducive to physical and mental health.

2.3   Urbanisation/ Migration dynamics and the problem of informal settlements

The emergence of slums is intrinsically linked to contextual factors in developing cities. Increasing rates of urbanisation and immigration have in most cases not been accompanied by the availability of low-income housing. It is thus not surprising that the response has often been in the form of informal settlements.

Dewar, Todes and Watson (1982:3) argue that the term urbanisation could be used in two interrelated but different senses. According to these scholars, urbanisation can be understood first in a behavioural sense. For them, it could refer to the process of urban acculturation that is the social transition of individuals and families from rural to urban dwellers. Social transition could involve changing people's lifestyles and this process forces people to cut ties with their traditional lifestyle (farming), families, land and adopt a new urban lifestyle. When

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people come to urban areas for instance, they are engaged in waged labour. The second sense involves processional migration. This could refer to the physical movement of people from rural to urban areas and within this, to the distributional pattern of migrants within the settlement hierarchy.

The neo-classical theory, push-pull model and post structural theories are key to understanding migration/ urbanisation dynamics. The neo-classical theory is based on the assumption that general explanatory models of migration could be developed (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1982). O'Connor (1983) and Todes (1997) state that Todaro developed a model to deal with over-urbanisation. In this model, Todaro argues that migration is a direct response to differences between areas in anticipated earnings.

According to the push-pull model there are various factors that push and pull people away from their areas of origin, especially from rural areas. Push factors include lack of employment and educational opportunities, starvation, war and so on in rural areas. It is clear that the idea of moving from rural areas to urban areas is always linked to improving one's quality of life through access to better paid job opportunities, access to basic services and public facilities such as health care, educational facilities which are some of considerations people focus upon when deciding to move. In most cases when people arrive in the cities their expectations are not met and as a consequence, they end up in informal settlements where they live in poorer conditions than they were in rural areas.

The push-pull model has been criticised on the grounds that it does not explain why people move towards the ideal city, and it does not provide answers to migration behaviour. The post structural theory acknowledges that people make decisions to migrate as a reaction to the socio-economic structure of a region. The neo-classical theory is dismissed because of its methodological determinism (Moon, 1995).

2.4   Prevalence of slums/ informal settlements: International context

Despite various analyses and attempted efforts to address the challenges surrounding rapid urbanisation in developing countries, the issue of informal settlements dominates most international development agendas.

According to the Urban Foundation Report (1991: 31-39) informal housing is a "worldwide phenomenon and in developing countries it is the dominant housing delivery process and the most common residential component for urban households".

Jha (1995), in Roy and Gupta (1995: 76) states that modern urban slums are an outgrowth of limited and distorted industrial and commercial development and that they punctuate almost every city in the world. As there is industrial and commercial expansion in cities, people migrate from nearby and far-off areas to the cities in search for jobs. The city, to a certain extent is able to absorb them as cheap labour, but is not built to accommodate them. Such migrants' contribution to the city's economy and other services is of paramount importance, but in the process they are relegated to sub-human living conditions.

According to Jha (1995) one scholar argued that, "a labourer's eight hours of work is useful for economic growth and development, but his needs of housing, public transport, water supply and other public amenities for the remaining sixteen hours become urban problems". These people are left with no option but to eventually put up informal structures on the vacant space in the city. Such areas become highly congested with shanty structures and are often unable to access free air and light. They lack basic amenities and become very unhygienic places that are unfit for human habitation.

One example is the city of Bombay, which, as it expanded industrially and commercially, number of its squatter settlements also grew and the slums proliferated. The incapacity of the city's labour force to have adequate housing resulted in their occupancy of land, preferably closer to their places of work. Another factor that gave rise to squatter settlements in Bombay was the deliberate cut in the state's housing investments. This was the period when the processes of eviction and demolition of undesirable slums started. Slum improvement programmes were starved of funds mainly out of fear that once improved they would attract even more migrants. Living conditions in slums were allowed to deteriorate. They have now come to represent a major threat to the city's middle and upper classes in the form of health hazards, increased wage demand and congestion. (Jha, 1995: 77-80).

Clearly, there are many factors that impact on the persistence of informal settlements. It follows that the forms and types of settlement vary, and this variety is in accordance with context and origin.

According to Obhudho et al, (1988:10) Charles Abrams identified nine types of squatters in Sub-Saharan Africa and these include:

- Owner squatter: a person owns the shack, but not the land and erects the shack on any vacant plot he could find,
- Squatter tenant: a person who is in the poorest class, he does not own or build a shack, but pays rent to another squatter
- Squatter holdover: is a former tenant who has ceased paying rent and whom the landlord fears to evict
- Squatter landlord: is usually a squatter of lowly standing who has rooms or huts to rent, often at exorbitant profit
- Speculator squatter: is usually a professional to whom squatting is a sound business venture
- Store squatter: establishes his small lockup store on land he does not own, and he may do a thriving business without paying rent or taxes
- Semi-squatter: has surreptitiously built his hut on private land and subsequently come to terms with the owner
- Floating squatter: lives in an old hulk or junk which floated or sailed into the city's harbour
- Squatter co-operator: is a part of the group that shares the common foothold and protects it against intruders, public and private

2.4.1 An overview of the history of slums in South Africa

Cross, Clark, Bromberger and Christiansen (1994: 14) argue that the history of urban settlement in South Africa can be divided into four historical periods: the Colonial Era (pre-1910), Post Colonial/ Segregation City (1910-1948), The Apartheid Era (1948-1994) and Post Apartheid Era (1994 to date).

(i) Colonial Era (pre-1910)

Davies (1991:72) argues that in Durban's colonial setting and expanding commercial economic base laid the structures of a typical settler-colonial urban social formation. In 1854, according to Davies, Durban was incorporated as a municipality with 1200 White and over 3000 African inhabitants. By applying a qualified franchise first at the level of local

government (Ordnance 1 of 1854) and, later, at the territorial level in Natal Constitutions of 1856 and 1896, Africans were effectively excluded from the franchise.

Several black communities living outside locations were removed from their land in the first of many racially motivated relocations of population in South African history. Such evictions led to relocation of these communities to four large locations, two of which are the large Umlazi and Inanda areas, which are located close to the city of Durban. In 1864, the Natal Native Trust was formed and the land set aside for black occupation was transferred to this Trust. Successive commissions during, and throughout, the second half of the 19th century redefined the boundaries of the locations, reducing the amount of land available for Black settlement (Cross et al, 1994: 14).

According to Davies (1991:76), single workers were housed privately in the backyard quarters but, as the number of Black workers increased, it became evident that the municipality of Durban was unwilling to provide public housing for Black workers. The Durban housing process was directed at already employed Black Africans and could not accommodate housing for the floating surplus population that may occasionally be required as an accessible labour reserve. Responses were in the form of registration regulations to control the inflow of casual (togt) workers in 1874 (The Togt Law of 1874) and pass system (Acts of 1884 and 1888). In 1878, the first worker, rental barracks were erected in the dockside work zone for Black workers. This led to a permanent housing shortage and resort of Black workers to informal solutions in uncontrolled spaces. By 1910 began to emerge on the periphery of the city (Cross et al, 1994: 14; Davies: 1991:76).

(ii)   Post colonial / segregation city (1910-1948)

During this period a number of restrictive polices such as the Natives Land Act of 1913 for urban areas came into being. These laws formally dispossessed Africans of land they owned and limited them in many cases, to inferior land in a number of African reserves which were already well populated (Wolfson, 1991: 233).

Cross et al (1994: 14-15) argue that in Durban the deteriorating conditions in the reserves, as a consequence of the Pass Laws encouraged massive urbanisation. The formal delivery system that was aimed at housing only workers was unable to meet the needs of increasing

black urbanisation. This resulted to an increase in the rate of informal settlement at the periphery.

Although Durban Municipality still believed that its black population was essentially a migrant one, some attempts were made to accommodate people on a more permanent basis. Two rental townships were developed in the inner periphery, these being Lamontville, which was established in 1935 and Chesterville, which was established later in 1946. Elsewhere in the inner periphery informal settlements were growing at a considerable rate. By 1946, for instance, some 33% of the Black population was living in slums without services or security of tenure.

(iii)   The Apartheid Era (1948-1979)

Even though one could argue that the apartheid era was in fact between 1948-1979 during the period when all other political parties were banned in South Africa and around the late 1980s to 1990s which marked the beginnings of negotiations to un-ban all political parties, it is still true that the 1994 elections really marked the institutional end of apartheid. It is for this reasons that for this study, this era begins from 1948-1994.

According to Cross et al (1994: 16-18), the introduction of the apartheid spatial engineering precipitated several important changes in the city of Durban. The inner city core was reserved for Whites while Indian residential enclaves in the city core were removed. The inner periphery was cleared of Indian and Black (informal) settlements, so that white residential areas would have room to expand out towards such white outer-periphery suburbs such as Westville. The Cato Manor community, including approximately 68 000 black people, was one of the several evicted. Black residents from Cato Manor were moved to the informal townships of Umlazi and Kwamashu, which were developed on the outer periphery in the south and north. This was followed by considerable increase in informal settlements because people were moving out of overcrowded townships.

During this period the South African government's response to informal settlements entailed brutal demolition of shacks because they were regarded as illegal structures. People were forcefully removed and relocated at the periphery of the cities in areas where there were no services, and sometimes people forcibly evicted without provision of alternative housing. Later, attempts were made by the government to tackle the housing problem in South Africa

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but failed to cope with the increasing demand of housing. The following were the problems associated with the failure of the housing policy:

The National Housing Policy of South Africa was failing in its primary functions to create rich and enabling living environments, and stimulating processes of individual, family and community uplift amongst the poorest people. People could not afford the houses that were offered to them. There was an increasing housing backlog associated with social problems (Dewar and Ellis, 1991: 207).

According to Dewar et al (1991: 201), there was a rapid increase in squatting, and the attendant pathologies related to insecure tenure and inadequate services. The development of sterile and monotonous housing areas that offered few opportunities to individuals and none of the advantages of urbanity, which were wasteful in terms of resources such as land, energy and infrastructural investment and which in short, were virtually unliveable. There were long delays in getting projects off the ground, even when the funds were available for those projects.

Other problems associated with the national housing policy were the failure to recognise housing as a complex developmental issue. As a result of this the housing policy did not adequately fulfil its developmental role in South Africa. According to the Housing Policy, housing was perceived simply as being a shortage of dwelling units, and consequently the thrust of policy was towards producing as many units as possible within a given period of time. On the other hand, housing was perceived by the end-user as a total living condition. As such, the problem could not be described in terms of creating units, but rather in terms of creating urbanity, which had been neglected in the implementation of the policy (Dewar et al, 1991: 207-209).

(iv)   Post apartheid era (1979-present)

In Durban the most intensive struggle was fought throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s in St. Wendolins, the oldest of Mariannhill settlements established on mission land. St. Wendolins successfully resisted forced removal but other settlements such as Savannah Park and Mariannridge were cleared. Changes were introduced with regard to black urban land tenure that went at least halfway towards acknowledging that Blacks were permanent urban

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residents. From the late 1980s the state was engaged in often-violent confrontations with an increasingly militant black urban population. The violence that swept through the black areas of Durban in August 1985 was targeted at symbols of the state. This violence was most intense in Inanda, where Indian landowners in Released Area 33 were targeted.

Violence during the 1980s and early 1990s resulted in considerable population mobility, as people fled the sites of violence. It has also been a major factor in the emergence of a considerable number of informal settlements in the urban inner periphery. These informal settlements are often located on land that was in the past designated for Indian occupation, most significantly at Cato Manor, Canaan, Kennedy Road, Bottlebrush, Bayview and Briadene. Some of these areas, however, had already been upgraded. Cato Manor and Bottlebrush (Cross et al, 1994: 14-19) are examples of such areas.

2.5   National overview of the nature and growth of spontaneous informal housing

According to the Urban Foundation Report (1991: 7-10) in Port Elizabeth, the absence of an adjacent homeland meant that the majority of black population and the large informal settlement population conservatively were estimated at over three hundred thousand. Extreme levels of formal sector employment in conjunction with rapid urban growth exacerbated both the scale and degree of poverty in the area. This aggravated the deteriorating economic and physical conditions of the vast informally housed population.

In Durban, the rate of population growth during the 1970s paralleled the fastest growing cities in the world. The growth of informal settlements on the urban outskirts is to a limited extent a reflection of rural to urban migration. In the case of Durban, major settlements emerged as a result of land invasions in 1985, and many local authorities had jurisdiction over parts of the settlements (Urban Foundation/ CPS Report I.E.).

In terms of the dwelling units in the PWV area (excluding hostels and flats), nearly 60% of the total of 976 755 black homes were informal. The survey conducted by the Urban Foundation on the PWV indicated that people living in free- standing settlements had, in 1990, an average household income of R450.00 per month, although there was considerable variation within the settlements.

In East London it is estimated that up to 100 000 people were formally housed in 1989, some in the adjacent Ciskei town of Mdantsane and others in extremely crowded conditions in areas such as Duncan Village. This was due to the economic and living conditions in the Eastern Cape.

Regarding Bloemfontein and Mongaung, it is of interest to note that the present-day Mongaung incorporates the Bloemfontein Scheme, a prototype site and service project established in the 1920s where people were responsible for constructing their own houses.

Cape Town seemed to have overtaken Durban as the fastest growing metropolitan area in South Africa and, in the Western Cape in particular, three dominant categories of human settlements can be identified; firstly, there are legal or illegal enclaves with local authority structures (Khayelitsha, Old Crossroads). Secondly, there were settlements where occupants had tacit permission to remain and finally, peri-urban settlements such as Hout Bay and Noordhoek. In the following section the focus is on the nature, causes and extent of informal settlements in South Africa.

2.5.1 Nature, causes and extent of informal settlements in South Africa

In the past, informal settlements were limited or confined to backyard shacks in the townships, but today they have risen in open spaces, either within or adjacent to the townships. According to Mashabela (1990: 11), an immediate consequence of population growth and inadequate accommodation for the poor was the rise of backyard dwellings. As time went on, enterprising township residents specifically for subletting to the growing homeless population erected more backyard structures and garages. When sub-tenants and backyard dwellers are tired of paying high rental in overcrowded homes, they move out and put up their own shacks. Van Gass (1994: 1) argues that the housing process does not involve formalised purchases, contracts, qualifications or registration of title. Construction is cheap and does not involve use of skills.

Mashabela (1990: 11) argues that when the government introduced the historic 99-year leasehold for Africans in 1978, thereby accepting their permanence in urban areas, it was the dawn of new era, an era of hope and promise. The African housing market opened up and began slowly to be stripped of restrictions. As the government freezed African housing, it also

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decided to abandon the task of providing Africans with rented accommodation as it had done prior to the late 1960s. As a result of this decision, only a small number of urban Africans, those in higher income groups-among them professionals in particular, businessmen and public servants (for whom substantial government subsidies were available) could afford to build houses for their own families. On account of poverty and unemployment, the majority of people could not afford to provide shelter for their families and had to live in the squatter settlements.

The problem of homelessness leading to squatter settlements was aggravated by the fact that the new black municipalities which took over control of the townships from the then administration boards were not financially able to provide housing. Another factor that contributed to an increased inflow of people to the urban areas was the abolition of the Influx Control Laws in 1986. This made it possible for migrants who had always wanted to bring their families to the urban areas to do so. Most of the families, who were unhappy with homeland independence because of the introduction not only of taxes, but also of levies by chiefs, began migrating to urban areas, and the result was the growth of massive informal settlements.

At a conference on housing the poor, Pauline Morris of the Development Bank of Southern Africa stated that, "many persons living in smaller platteland towns which were economically declining were likely to move to places where some opportunities were available". She added that large agri-businesses were buying up land, mechanising and evicting families who might have been living there for generations. In addition to the lack of finance, the lack of land allocated for African housing is a major constraint that has frustrated attempts to solve the housing problem in the PWV region, if not throughout the country (Mashabela, 1990: 11-12).

2.6   Typologies and general characteristics of informal settlements

Beyerley and McIntosh (1994: 1) argue that despite the tendency to treat informal settlements homogeneously, common sense categories have emerged, usually with reference to their spatial location. They state that if one follows this spatial categorisation, the following types of urban informal settlement might be identified:

- Shack settlements on tribal land;

- Shack settlement on black freehold land;
- Shack settlement within townships;
- Backyard shacks within townships;
- Settlements on state-owned land and;
- Those on white smallholdings or farmland on the urban edge.

Beyerley and McIntosh (1994) argue that more recently the emergence of shack settlements closer to and within the city has created an additional category of suburban shack settlements. An increasingly evident presence of street dwellers in the cities has also spurned a new type of settlement, comprising temporary pavement settlements that arise after dark and disappear in the early hours of the morning. This disappearance of informal settlements in the early hours of the morning might be due to the fact that people have some form of businesses that operate till late at night on street pavements and often these people come from outside Durban. Most of them do not necessarily want to stay in Durban permanently, but only need temporal accommodation.

It is important to note that the above spatial categorisation does not necessarily correspond with informal settlement leadership and administrative arrangements. Informal settlements on tribal land, for instance, may fall under completely different administrative and leadership arrangements that are determined more by social and political dynamics than by settlement processes or ownership patterns associated with particular spatial settings. Lindelani residents, for example, experience entirely disparate administrative and leadership structures than do residents in Malukazi (Beyerley and McIntosh, 1994: 1-2).

According to Cross et al (1994: 20) the nature of each settlement is dictated by the specific conditions which may include, but not limited to, topography or the slope of the land that prevail in each zone of the DFR where informal settlements take place. Some informal settlements have been erected without authority, even on land that does not belong to local authorities administering the residential areas because thousands of people battle to give shelter to their families (Mashabela, 1990: 9). This means that most informal settlements have no legal right to the land that they occupy, except for those that have already been upgraded. The means of gaining access to land is through land invasions.

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2.7   Socio-economic conditions in informal settlements

According to Minaar (1992: 27) informal settlements are usually identified though features such as lack of basic services such as health, educational, recreational facilities, water, and electricity, refuse removal and sanitation. Furthermore, the topography of the areas surrounding Durban complicates the situation of squatter communities. Most of the informal settlements are extremely hilly and bushy. This means that most of the informal settlements are not visible to the people, and hence their problems are ignored. The hilly and inaccessible nature of the terrain hinders the building of proper access roads, the laying of flood drainage and sewerage pipes, the installation of electrical lines and water points. Minaar (1992) further argues that there is a danger of subsidence embankment and of mud avalanches at times of heavy rainfall.

In terms of health in the informal settlements, Grant and Meiklejohn argue that infant mortality rates vary ten-fold between whites and blacks, and malnutrition occurs primarily among African children. Racial and spatial divisions fragment health and welfare services in South Africa. There is also mal-distribution of health facilities, which includes the distribution of health resources and health personnel. According to Grant and Meiklejohn (1983) communities living in informal settlements have experienced, and are still experiencing, the worst of these realities. Several studies that have documented the variability that exists with respect to several indices of mortality by race, gender and region in South Africa, show that the populations most at health risk are:

- The rural poor, especially those remote from health and social services;
- Squatter communities, especially recent arrivals;
- Those exhibiting high migrancy rates and;
- Those not reached by primary health care services.

A research conducted by Meiklejohn (1984) indicates that nutritional status is very poor in those communities with the lowest earning capacity. Seven issues were identified in addressing the plight of shack communities and generally the poor. These issues are:

- The lack of income and essential household resources;
- The degree of household organisation and cohesion;

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- Alcohol abuse and smoking;
- Attitudes to breast feeding;
- Level of education, especially nutritional education;
- Community attitudes and community involvement in health and;
- Environmental factors that affect nutrition.

According to Cross et al (1994: 22), informal settlements of the northern periphery in Inanda Released Area 33, and the formal townships of Kwamashu and Ntuzuma, are extremely large. This particular complex represents the largest concentration of informal settlement in not only the DFR, but also in South Africa. As a response to the problem of informal settlement in the northern periphery, two important developments took place in Inanda Released Area 33 in 1982. These developments were the construction of the site-and-service formal township of Inanda Newtown in the southwest of released Area 33 and the provision of the Structure Plan for development of Inanda, including the upgrading of the area incorporating it into KwaZulu.

The informal settlements of the western outer-periphery are smaller than those of either the north or south and are located within Natal and are established on the mission land, which has been converted to urban freehold land. There are two settlement complexes that are important, and these include:

(i) Mariannhill, which is located to the south of the Pinetown municipality (formerly known as the Borough of Pinetown) and it is a freehold that predates the prohibition on the issue of title deeds;

(ii) Clermont is a formal township in the western outer periphery. The rapid expansion of the population in this area was a response to the industrial development of the adjacent New Germany. Informal settlements in Clermont are of an infill type and structures frequently take form of long rows houses, an elongated single structure sub-divided into many small units (Cross et al, 1994: 29-30).

According to Cross et al (1994: 30) informal settlements in the inner periphery are located in or on, the fringes of developed White Indian residential areas. These settlements all occupy land that was either some time in the past under Indian settlement or is presently Indian owned. Each of these settlements appears to be similar in that they are geographically small,

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but very dense concentrations of population whose residents are housed in poorly self-constructed freestanding shacks.

According to Makhathini (1994: 56), squatting in Cato Manor took the form of stages, selective invasions of pockets of land by unorganised groups and individuals with the purpose of finding a safe place to stay. These stages are the hidden squatting and open squatting. The hidden stage is characterised by frantic activity (great hurry) aimed at keeping a step ahead of threatened demolition and banishment. The rapid setting up of homes opens economic opportunities for site clearers, builders, vendors, woodcutters and others. Most building and consolidation activities were performed at night, with days free of hammering sounds.

The open stage is characterised by the emergence of new social relations and the strengthening of some old ones. People begin to see themselves as insiders and realise the need to exclude new comers who threaten their newly found status and could undermine the invasion moratorium agreed with the authorities. It involves establishing relations with outside agencies and requires dedicated leadership, time, meetings and paperwork. Another characteristic of this stage is that demands to stay changed into demands for infrastructure and services.

According to the Urban Foundation Report (1991: 37-39), both international and national experiences with regard to the response to informal settlements indicated that apart from the common response of the total neglect, there had been two major policy reactions to informal housing. The first one entails the widespread, and sometimes brutal demolition of shacks. The second and the more recent policy reaction had been to seek to harness informal housing process in an effort to house as many people as possible. The vehicles adopted have been the provision of new housing through self-help housing with its variants of the site-and-service model, and the rehabilitation of existing informal housing via processes of in-situ upgrading, site-and-service schemes and slum clearance. The following section discusses the methods used to respond to informal settlements by both international and national governments.

2.8   The Government's responses to informal settlements

Government's responses to informal settlements in developing countries are categorised into broad and specific approaches. Broad approaches include the land management approach, land management fundamentals and the social change approach. Specific approaches include self-help housing, site and service schemes and slum clearance as employed in different areas.

In South Africa, since the democratic elections in April 1994, the government has adopted two developmental programmes and these are: the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme. Both programmes were aimed at co-ordinating the government's efforts into a broad framework of interventions, in pursuit of a common vision of reconstruction, development, growth, employment and redistribution.

The RDP sets out a clear vision for housing, based on the following four programmes:

- Meeting basic needs
- Developing human resources
- Building the economy
- Democratising the state and the society

With regard to housing, the RDP intended the construction of 300 000 housing units per year in order to reduce the enormous housing backlog they inherited from the apartheid government (African National Congress, 1994: 22). The RDP failed to keep up with the demand of housing especially for the urban poor; as a consequence, there is considerable increase in the informal settlement rather than a decrease.

While the housing is conceptualised within the context of meeting basic needs, the success of the other three programmes have a significant bearing on the housing programme. The RDP also puts emphasis on issues relating to land delivery and it involves two aspects being restitution and redistribution of residential and productive land to those who need it but cannot afford it, and restitution for those who lost land because of apartheid laws.

The government's macro economic strategy, as reflected in the GEAR programme aims to achieve:

- A competitive, faster growing economy which creates sufficient jobs for all workers
- A redistribution of income and socio-economic opportunities in favour of the poor
- A society in which sound health, education and other services are available to all
- An environment in which homes are secure and places of work are productive (Housing Department).

On provincial level, a number of policies were formulated to inform the housing provision and these are:

- Growth and Development Strategy (1996)
- Integrated rural development White Paper for KwaZulu-Natal (1998)
- KwaZulu-Natal Planning and Development Act (Act 5 of 1998)

Integrated development planning (IDP) is a mechanism to restructure the cities, towns and rural areas. It is aimed at redressing the spatial imbalances of the past and promoting integrated human settlements through:

- Ensuring a shared understanding of spatial development opportunities, patterns and trends;
- The localising of spatial development that promotes integrated and sustainable development;
- The formulation of specific strategies aimed at the spatial restructuring of cities and towns and;
- The formulation of a spatial development framework that provides a spatial overview of planned public and private sector investment.

To implement the housing policy the Ethekwini Municipality embarked on the slums clearance programme that is aimed at upgrading informal settlements located in high risk areas within its area of jurisdiction.

In terms of the land management approach, Davies and Fourie (1998: 239) argue that although the present government policy is to provide housing, services and security of tenure to people living in informal settlements, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement

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(UNCHS) estimates that 20-80% of urban growth in developing countries is informal. It is therefore, unlikely that the formal land delivery system in South Africa will ever catch up with the demand for formal housing. Informal settlements are likely to continue to provide shelter for poor people who are waiting for a house within a formal development. There, local authorities should develop mechanisms to manage existing and future informal settlements.

Durand-Lasserve quoted by Davies et al (1998: 240) recognises that the local authorities have a central role to play in the launch and implementation of an integration programme for irregular settlements. The East London municipality for example, is actively involved in upgrading and regularising informal settlements within the existing regulatory frameworks. Community participation is facilitated through public meetings and regular meetings between the community and local authority.

Durand-Lasserve further argues, "local authorities seem to be in the best position to develop other ideas and methods for land management". One of these is to develop a land management approach based on partnerships between local authority and the settlement. The Ethekwini Municipality is moving towards the approach that embraces IDP strategies. The partnership approach recognises that " settlements would indeed appear to be the most appropriate level of assuring an effective continuity of control over urban land use". Davies also argues that, "in addition, the local authority may provide certain services to the settlements, which are commensurate with the degree of legality of the settlement, and the level of responsibility that it has regarding the settlement".

With regards to land management fundamentals, Dale and McLaughlin as cited in Davies, et al, (1998: 242) argue that land management entails decision-making and the implementation of decisions about land. Davies and Fourie also argue "the FIG recognises the contribution of land management to sustainable development in the sense that land management is the process of managing the use and development of land resources in a sustainable way". The land management policies for developing urban areas should ensure that all land is appropriately identified and inventoried. This includes land parcels in informal settlements that are not currently in the cadastre.

Davies et al (1998) further argue that the social change approach explains the role of land tenure rules, transactional behaviour and the influence of external factors, over time, in a

tenure system of an informal settlement. The social change approach is based on the concept of two or more interdependent, but opposing cultures within an encompassing context. Some of the characteristics of urban informal settlement tenure include, among others:

- Newcomers required to be sponsored and undergo a period of probation before being allocated land;
- Residents must adhere to accepted community standards of behaviour to belong;
- Vertical and horizontal power structures develop and compete with each other for access to land, power and resources and;
- Individual land rights are subject to the community over-right.

2.8.1 Self-help Housing in developing countries

According to Mathey (1992:1) during the early 1980s self-help housing had become a favoured formula for urban development in the Third World countries, particularly in the form of slum and squatter upgrading, site and services, core housing projects and so on. Self-help was introduced to come up with the appropriate response to overcome the way in which the urban poor live. A need to do away with over generalisation that never took into consideration contextual specificities was realised.

According to Turner-Burgess (1971) over generalisation will never work. They are of the opinion that countries have to be treated differently from one another because they have unique socio-economic and political problems that affect them. A mixture of income groups should be encouraged, in Cato Manor for example, there are different income groups. Inflexible controls have to be done away with and replaced by flexible controls in informal areas. It is also argued that without political will and commitment, self-help housing would not be successful.

According to Omenya (2002: 1), practitioners and theoreticians observed that "self-help as a mode of housing delivery had the potential of delivering cost-effective housing for the urban poor". Self-help housing advanced by John F. Turner was based on phenomenological studies in unique socio-economic, cultural and political settings, mainly in Central America. Turner observed that:

- The poor, with scarce resources were able to produce good quality dwellings, more cost effectively than the government as they optimised scarce resources;
- Self-help housing, because of its focus on use value, produced better architecture than commodified housing;
- The poor can organise themselves and improve their own economic conditions;
- Management issues can be done through collective self-help;
- There is a need for the third sector i.e. community based organisations, non-governmental organisations etc. to act as go-between the government and the community and;
- Cost savings can be realised through sweat and management equity.

Turner (1986) as quoted by Omenya (2002) saw the role of the state as an enabling one. The state was meant to create conditions suitable for actualisation of self-help, including:

- Planning and allocation of land for purposes of housing;
- Support of housing development;
- Generation of alternative finance for low-income housing especially short-term unsecured loans instead of long-term mortgage schemes;
- Investments in elements such as land, finance and infrastructure rather than components (core housing) or complete buildings and;
- Tenure reforms to guarantee security of tenure and transferability.

Self-help housing as conceived by Turner has been criticised on many bases. Burgess (1985: 271-312) for example, considers it as an instrument of reproduction of labour. In a capitalist mode of production, this lowers the cost of labour. He further argues that self-help housing results in a commodity with both use and exchange value, consumed by those with the power to purchase. According to Amis (1995) as quoted by Omenya (2002:2) self-help housing ignores the basic causes of poverty in a capitalist mode of production, which are the expansion and accumulation of capital. It further ignores renting as an option of alleviating the housing problem and it legitimises poverty.

Other theorists may argue that self-help housing takes a long time to be implemented and they lack technical support and therefore technically unsound. Slow delivery of self-help housing may be caused by various factors, which include the involvement of beneficiaries in the

development process as required by the South African Constitution. This is so because in some instances people misinterpret or abuse the process of community participation in the sense that they tend to use this opportunity for their political interests and or for their own benefit. In most cases one finds out that the project is delayed due to the fact that communities need to be employed in that project before it could start, even if they do not have the necessary skills to plan, co-ordinate, manage and implement the project. This poses a serious challenge to the government in the sense that financial assistance has to be sought in order to train people. There is also a serious lack of institutional framework to finance low-income people. The following section discusses some of the strategies that have been employed as responses to informal settlements in various parts of the world.

(i)   El Salvador Site and Service Schemes

El Salvador is located on Central America's Pacific Coast and is the most densely populated country on the South American continent. Unstable unemployment, insecure rural land tenure and lack of basic services have contributed to rural migration in the area. Due to the political conflict that began in 1980 the GDP was estimated to have fallen substantially while the national population growth rate remained at over 3% per annum. Poverty was worsened by highly skewed income distribution and negative growth rates after 1980. Furthermore, more people were living in poorly constructed houses and tended to be concentrated in the squatter or invasion areas where the provision of land titles has encountered legal complications. The only available housing option for the urban poor was in the form of invasion-type squatter areas, the extra legal land subdivision and rental rooms with increased population growth. Areas lacked services such as water, electricity and sanitation. Water is sometimes available from public taps or from private individuals who sell water.

The El Salvador site and service scheme was designed to:

- Ease severe shortage of low-cost urban shelter by providing units affordable to families earning US 40-100 dollars per month;
- Encourage the provision of adequate community facilities as an integral part of low-cost housing development;
- To generate employment through labour intensive construction methods and the organisation of small commercial co-operative enterprises and;

- Designed to provide the minimum package of services with standards acceptable to the target population and satisfy the standards required by the government.

It was carried out by providing interrelated components such as:

- Serviced plots with individual connections for water, sewerage and storm water drainage, minimal semi-surfaced access road, public lighting;
- Sanitary core units and optional expansions to the level of an unfinished basic dwelling units of 36 square meters in size;
- Off-site water distribution and sewerage mains and upgrading of existing off-site access roads;
- Financing for construction materials, designed to induce self-help extension of core units;
- Construction and equipping of health clinics, multi purpose community centres, sports fields and markets and;
- Short-term technical assistance for training, studies and the evaluation of the socio-economic effects of the programme.

To respond to the needs of different socio-economic groups and to reduce costs, the following facilities were provided:

- Two storey single family rental units near community facilities;
- Plot sizes were reduced to ensure affordability and;
- Existing tenement rental houses were renovated at a cost that is affordable to most low-income families.

These strategies required community participation and that is why it was emphasised throughout the implementation of the programme. This was achieved through the requirement that one member of each participating household take part in mutual help construction to complete the major part of the shelter unit. People were responsible for maintenance and they maintained almost all sites. Communities were also responsible for the collection of payments to make cost recovery of services easy (Bamberger, and Deneke 1984).

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(ii) Zambia Aided Self Help Site and Service Schemes and the Lusaka Sites and Service and Squatter Upgrading Project

According to Rakodi (1988) in 1973 the population in Zambia was estimated at 381 000 and in 1976 it was expected to rise to over 450 000 people. Despite the conventional housing programmes introduced by the government, close to half of these people were living in squatter settlements which lacked clean water, schools, health centres, roads and other community facilities. The Housing Board failed to meet the housing demand, especially for the urban poor, and this led to a further rapid increase of squatter housing in many urban areas.

In addition to traditional conventional housing programmes, the government introduced a new programme of Aided Self Help Site and Service Schemes in 1967. The Zambian schemes were successful because they co-ordinated a holistic approach and they planned futures in an integrated way rather than in a fragmented way. These were large-scale plans to ensure that housing becomes a component of the broader National Development Plan. Dialogue between local and national government was emphasised. Zambia and Lusaka projects were integrated to ensure integrated residential development with options built within the programme.

Although the programme was indeed successfully implemented, it was not free from the challenges such as:

- Lack of financial resources to put the new policy of squatter upgrading into practice;
- The extent of bottom-up decision making appeared limited;
- The Lusaka District Council Department of Housing found it difficult to improve or maintain services due to inadequate funds;
- Inability to recover costs from residents;
- Lack of co-operation and co-ordination with other relevant council departments;
- Inadequate debt collection machinery;
- Inability of some residents to pay even if they wanted to pay;
- Poor maintenance of services by authorities;
- Non-delivery of certain services which had been promised and;
- Ineffective sanctions to defaulters.

According to Rakodi (1988), around 1964 there were 21,300 households in Lusaka, 35% of whom were accommodated in unauthorised or semi authorised housing. After independence in August 1964 rapid population growth (13.4% per annum between 1963 and 1969) accompanied by inadequate policies led to further growth of unauthorised areas. In 1973 unauthorised areas accompanied 26,300 households or 40% of the city's population. None of the residents in these areas had formal title to land, planning or building permission.

Following the establishment of the political party organisation in squatter settlements, especially following the declaration of one Party State in 1971, demands for services were occasionally met, implying a sort of recognition of the better established areas, despite the official policy which was to resettle residents in serviced plot schemes. The slow and problematic progress of serviced plot programmes and the increasing scale of the problem led to a change of policy in the Second National Development Plan (Rakodi, 1988).

The Chawama Upgrading Project had succeeded in that there was control over new buildings, plot allocation, transfers and basic water supply was installed. Access roads and bus service were improved while a primary school was built. Land reforms were aimed at preventing speculation and included conversion of all freehold into leasehold. Private construction of houses for speculative sale or rent was forbidden by a Presidential Decree. The programme was flexible in that it offered people who did not wish to move or who were unable to afford the costs of resettlement an opportunity to exchange with a nearby family who could afford to move. There were also two main categories of optional resettlement:

- People were given an opportunity to apply for relocation to reduce overcrowding and promote ownership and;
- The remaining houses were then formed into blocks of 25 houses; each house was numbered and provided with standpipes for water.

The upgrading programme was successfully implemented and gave rise to improvements in some aspects of the living conditions of Chawama residents. Improvements included:

- Increased accessibility to social facilities, especially schools and clinics;
- Road access;
- Water supply and;

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- Refuse collection.

The programme did experience some failures that led to serious problems, especially problems that had to do with maintenance and payment of service charges. Failures and possible solutions that could be considered in order to resolve similar problems that could arise in other countries are outlined below:

- **Shortages of materials that led to delays in infrastructure installation:** This problem could be alleviated by applying for government funding as well as by creating sound fundraising activities/ programmes. In this case the government could form partnerships with the NGOs who can assist in the fundraising programme together with the volunteers from across the globe in order to eliminate the government's reliance on loans.

- **Contractor failure and disagreement over standards to be adopted:** Contractors need to be encouraged to contribute mostly in the form of capacity building in order to empower local people and, in turn the government needs to give incentives to the contractors involved, but not necessarily in monetary terms. Contractors could for instance, be encouraged to donate something like an hour per day to train people. Although one might argue that companies are doing business and they need to be paid for their services, but some of them could be willing to assist. In the Sherwood project, which took about five days to build about 100 houses for instance, most companies were involved and some donated what they had. The culture of volunteerism needs to be encouraged, especially when dealing with low-cost housing development.

- **Deficiencies in design:** The deficiencies in design could be caused by the fact that in most cases self-help housing take the form of in situ upgrading where people build their houses around the existing shack. Land has already been illegally invaded and not subdivided and shacks are located very close to each other. As a consequence, Planning and Design becomes very difficult, as one needs to design with care in order to avoid a number of settlement removals for road construction and installation of infrastructure. Simultaneously, design has to be of simple nature, and yet be able to meet quality standards as set out in the National Building Regulations (NBR). Several simple designs could be forwarded to the National Bureau of Standards, in our case

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the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) to be pre-approved so that the poor could then only choose among the approved designs.

- **Deficiencies in technology choice and administrative arrangement:** The local authorities need to network with operational entities throughout the country to acquire the most appropriate technology that is cost-effective in order to acquire skills that are used in different parts of the country and in other countries across the globe. Stage exhibitions need to be encouraged so that different people could display assortment of technological skills relating to housing development for the poor.

- **Problems of poverty were not touched:** Engaging the beneficiaries of the project on capacity building and on actual construction work for wages could alleviate the problem of poverty, but this will only be on a short-term basis during the implementation phase once the project is finished they lose jobs. The problem with this is that not all the people could benefit in terms of getting jobs, but some form of compromise could be reached where people could be employed on fixed period of rotational basis so that everyone gets an opportunity.

- **Participants did not understand the nature of their financial obligation:** Effective communications has to be encouraged between the project implementers and the beneficiaries to ensure that people understand their financial status. Based on that they should be made aware of approximately what amounts are they expected to be paying once the project is finished i.e. in terms of services such as water, electricity, rates etc. and how much subsidy each household will get. This could be done by setting up information centres preferable in close proximity to where the project will be taking place. A number of people from different service providers need to available in these centres to advise people on matters relating to payments of services as well as any other options available for the poor. Community awareness programmes need to be enhanced through mass media (local news papers, Ukhozi FM and other local stations, pamphlets etc.).

- **Cost recovery lacked political support:** This problem could be overcome by maintaining good relationship between the councillors, community based organisations and communities.

- **There was little resource allocations from the municipalities to provide or support self help housing:** municipalities need to co-operate with the government departments in order to seek financial assistance. If the government could not assist it needs to provide alternatives.

- **Limited decision-making:** Ensure that people understand all issues that relate to housing development so that they participate meaningfully. Dissemination of information at an earlier stage so that the poor who have long been excluded from decision-making familiarise themselves with any aspect of development plans that they are expected to be participating on because some of them have never seen a plan in their lives, therefore they need time to internalise and understand the implications of housing development.

(iii) Site and Service Scheme in Freedom Square

Freedom Square is an informal settlement in Mangaung located in Bloemfontein. According to Mehlomakhulu and Marais (1999), Freedom Square developed as an informal settlement during the early 1990s and was later formalised by an Independent Development Trust.

According to van Rensburg, Botes and de Wet, (2001: 107), a study of the value of upgrading and low income housing initiatives was conducted at Freedom Square Informal Settlement, in Bloemfontein. The Upgrading Programme employed in this area was mainly in the form Site-and-Service Scheme. This scheme ensured that people from Freedom Square had easy access to clean water and sanitation. The Upgrading process played a vital role in providing people with formal houses and services. The study indicated that the reception of formal houses could contribute to six interrelated needs being satisfied:

- The need for subsistence, as a person cannot seriously be expected to lead a decent and normal life without shelter;
- The need for protection from adverse weather conditions;

- The need for affection, because one could argue that in a stable and secure environment most things in life becomes a little bit easier;

- The need for idleness, as it only seems natural that people would be better able to relax and enjoy themselves in a setting relatively comfortable and conducive to relaxation;

- The need for identity, one needs to have a sense of belonging, self-esteem and consistency in order to establish an identity and;

- The need for freedom, where previously deprived group of people view the first-time ownership of a piece of land and good house as being liberating and empowering (van Rensburg, et al, 2001: 107, 10-111, 113).

2.8.2 Main features of the programmes

The main features of El Salvador Site and Service Schemes were:

- Serviced plots with individual connections for water, sewerage and storm water drainage, minimal semi-surfaced access road, public lighting;

- Sanitary core units and optional expansions to the level of an unfinished basic dwelling unit 36 of square meters in size;

- Off-site water distribution and sewerage mains and upgrading of existing off-site access roads and;

- Construction and equipping of health clinics, multi purpose community centres, sports fields and markets.

Features in Zambia aided self-help and service schemes were increased accessibility to social facilities such as schools and clinics, road access, water supply and refuse collection. The programme was also flexible in that people had a choice of either relocating or remaining.

The Lusaka site and service and squatter upgrading programmes had the following features:

- Increased accessibility to social facilities, especially schools and clinics;

- Provision of roads to enhance accessibility and;

- Provision of standpipes for water

The main features of the Site and Service Scheme in Freedom Square included property ownership; clean water; sanitation and so on.

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To conclude, it is important to note that although all these programmes are aimed at providing low-cost housing through government housing subsidies, self-help programmes, including site and service schemes differ from upgrade and relocation projects in that: self help schemes mainly provide serviced sites without houses and people are expected to use their own financial resources to build houses whereas upgrade projects mainly provides services in existing informal settlements located in developable land and if informal settlements are located in un-developable land, it has to be relocated to a pre-planned area.

2.8.3 Towards Slums Clearance Programmes in developing countries

(i)   Slums Clearance Programme in India

In India a slightly different aspect of low cost housing provision was slum clearance. Although the two activities often went hand in hand, slums clearance achieved its own rationale when the governments saw it as their responsibility to rid cities of the unhealthy and unsightly slums and shanty settlements that were springing up at an ever-increasing rate. Slums clearance programmes solved few problems. They effectively depleted a large proportion of the urban housing stock and destabilised and alienated some of the more vulnerable communities involved in urban development.

Despite the ambitious intentions to re-house slum clearance victims in new public housing, very few were actually housed. People were often moved to new sites on the urban fringes or beyond where land was cheap and they were out of site. Locations were far from centres of employment, offering work suitable for semi-and unskilled people who had to spend a large proportion of their low and usually unstable incomes on transport. These new low-income housing areas typically populated by young and migrant populations were often underserved with basic health and educational facilities.

Slums clearance programme tended to be merely slums relocation as households were forced to start the painful and alienating process of once again illegally setting up their homes in a different place, while waiting for the next round of slum clearance to catch up with them. There were occasional reversals of these programmes where communities were sufficiently organised or assisted to be able to resist them (www.unescap.org).

(ii)   Slums clearance programme in Bombay

According to Jha, in Roy and Gupta (1995: 81), the policy of slum clearance adopted by the government to eradicate shanty colonies and re-housing the slum dwellers in permanent structures built on the same site or elsewhere by subsidising the cost of construction, proved to be inadequate in Bombay. The construction work could not keep pace with the increased demand. The cost of construction was continuously on the increase and the types of houses built were beyond the rent paying capacity of slum dwellers.

The outcome of this scheme was that:

- Houses were built without providing basic amenities such as water and sanitation;
- The slum dwellers found it difficult to adapt themselves to the new conditions of living. This led a number of them renting their own houses to other people while they are moving to other slum areas;
- Slum lords manipulated the entire enterprise by sub-letting the houses to others for exorbitant amounts of money;
- Although it was envisaged that the houses would be built at the same site, but in most cases people had to relocate. It often happened that these new areas were far away from their work places and inaccessible by roads or railway;
- The implementation of this programme was very slow and it appeared impossible to provide slum dwellers with well-built houses in the proportion in which the slum population increased on account of heavy in-migration.

(iii)   Slums clearance programme in Ethekwini Metropolitan Area

According to Metro Housing, during the latter half of 2001, the Provincial Minister of Housing requested Metro Housing to produce a business plan for a "Slums Clearance Project" specifically targeting clusters of high risk informal settlements. The total funding being made available by the Minister was R200 million which roughly translated to 10 850 subsidies. The Minister had identified "slum clearance" as a priority programme within his ministry. The slums clearance project consists of three phases and comprises 10 850 sites. Of this total, 3 980 sites will be upgraded in situ while 6 870 sites will be developed in greenfield projects. In all a total of 70 informal settlements will be affected.

The Ethekwini Municipality's interpretation of the "Slums Clearance Programme" is the systematic upgrade and relocation (where appropriate) of informal settlements. In order to achieve this, Metro Housing Department proactively developed an Informal Settlement Programme to inform the management of the problem as well as to inform its overall Housing Plan.

According to Metro Housing (1998) there are approximately 550 informal settlements within EMA, excluding the rural communities. These range in size from a few dwellings to over 10000. The average informal settlement in the EMA comprises approximately 359 dwellings. The largest concentration of informal dwellings, approximately 65 000 is found within the former township areas of KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda, but the largest number of informal settlement communities is found scattered within Umlazi. As such, the EMA has a number of large sprawling informal settlements and countless small informal settlements interspersed in between formal settlements.

The Metro Housing Service Unit of the Ethekwini Municipality developed an Informal Settlement Programme (ISP) in order to achieve more effective co-ordination of development, management and control of informal settlements within EMA with all relevant Durban Council service providers and stakeholders. The ISP encompasses more than just being a plan to eradicate informal settlements in the sense that it is where the local authority decides on which projects it wishes to implement on criteria that supports its Integrated Development Plan (IDP).

Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is a mechanism to restructure our cities, towns and rural areas. It is aimed at redressing the spatial imbalances of the past and promoting integrated human settlements through:

- Ensuring a shared understanding of spatial development opportunities, patterns and trends;
- The localising of spatial development that promotes integrated and sustainable development;
- The formulation of specific strategies aimed at the spatial restructuring of cities and towns and;

- The formulation of a spatial development framework that provides a spatial overview of planned public and private sector investment.

Ethekwini Municipality is moving towards implementing a slums clearance programme that is aimed at eradicating and upgrading informal settlements within their areas of jurisdiction in order to achieve its housing policy.

According to Metro Housing (1998), proposed housing interventions for informal settlements have been divided into four categories, namely:

- In-situ upgrade, which refers to settlements, which are located on developable, land and therefore have the potential of being upgraded;

- Relocation which refers to instances where the entire settlement needs to be relocated due to its location within the 1 in 50 year flood line, on oversteep slopes, within a Durban Metropolitan Open Space System (DMOSS) corridor and on unstable soils. Relocation applies to households which are in life threatening situations or when conditions in settlements warrant immediate intervention in order to avoid disasters. This intervention also applies to settlements that are located on land earmarked for some strategic development which would benefit a far greater population or which leads to significant economic investment;

- Partial In-Situ Upgrade and Partial Relocation refers to instances where a portion of land is unsuitable for development for whatever reason resulting in the need for a number of households to relocate. Relocation may also need to occur for de-densification purposes and;

- Approved In-Situ Upgrade Housing Project refers to an upgrade for which subsidies have been approved by the Department of Housing. This intervention also includes existing projects where the remaining phases are in the process of being packaged for subsidies.

TABLE 1: Proposed Interventions for Informal Settlements in the Ethekwini Metropolitan Area and Urban Area of Umkomaas

INTERVENTION	NO. OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS	%	NO. OF DWELLINGS	%
Approved In-Situ Upgrade Housing Project	99	18	74 390	38
In-Situ Upgrade	173	31	54 997	28
Partial In-Situ Upgrade and Partial Relocation	143	25	55 513	29
Relocation	145	26	10 029	5
TOTAL	554	100.0	194 929	100.0

Source: Durban Metropolitan Housing, Revised Business Plan Report (2001)

Table 1 above, illustrates the number of informal settlements earmarked for approved in-situ Upgrade housing project, in-situ upgrade, partial in-situ upgrade and partial relocation and relocation (Durban Metropolitan Housing, 2001: 1-2).

2.9 Conclusion

Informal settlements are here to stay because of increased rural-urban migration. Most of unskilled people move from rural areas to urban areas in search of better job opportunities and in most cases they do not get jobs, hence they could not afford to provide shelter for themselves and to pay expensive rental in urban areas. As a result the majority of these people decided to live in the townships in backyard shacks.

It became the responsibility of the government to provide housing to cater for the needs of different population groups. However, due to lack of financial resources and increasing demand for housing, the government could not keep pace with the housing delivery, especially for the urban poor. This led to massive housing backlog associated with social problems. The townships with inadequate services, for example, became overcrowded and people moved out to settle in informal areas as this was, and still the only option available to accommodate the housing needs of the poor.

Due to the fact that informal settlements were unauthorised, the government dealt with them by forcefully evicting people and brutally demolishing the structures without any alternative

arrangements. This did not work but instead, people who were evicted in certain areas put their structures elsewhere because they could not afford decent houses. As has been seen in this Chapter, the most recent way of dealing with informal settlements in some international communities had been to recognise and regulate informal settlements. Adopting various programmes such as self-help, site and service schemes, core housing and informal settlement upgrading programmes had done this.

Self-help Schemes failed because people could not afford to raise finance to build houses, even when serviced plot were provided for them. The middle-income group who could afford to pay for building costs had an opportunity to access these schemes, but they were based on the wrong assumption that people come to urban areas for housing, whereas they came for employment opportunities. Low-cost housing developments are therefore often located far from areas of employment.

The following chapter deals with the research methodology employed to carry an investigation of the constraints and opportunities in the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme in Welbadagt West, Umzomuhle Parkgate Relocation Areas and Quarry Road West Informal Settlements.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The research instruments and strategies employed to gather relevant data for the fundamental goal of this investigation are to be defined, described and explained in this chapter. Qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in this study. These methods of data collection do not simply provide numerical information, but also give attention to people's views and evaluations of their own situation in the field. The following is the summary of case studies and the ways in which the research was conducted.

3.2 Summary of Case Studies

The EMA embarked on a Slums Clearance Programme with the aim to eradicate and/ or upgrade informal settlements. It is a combination of In-Situ-Upgrade and Partial In-Situ Upgrade, Relocation and Partial Relocation. In-Situ-Upgrade is applied in areas where settlements are located in developable areas, while Partial In-Situ-Upgrade where only part of the settlement is upgraded and the rest could not be upgraded due to unsuitable conditions of the land. Relocation occurs where the whole settlement needs to be upgraded and partial relocation occurs where only part of the settlement needs to be relocated.

Three areas were selected in different localities: Welbadagt West, Umzomuhle Parkgate and Quarry Road West. The research was conducted with the assistance of M. Gumede, Commercial Property Valuer at Nedcor and S. Nala, ex-ML Sultan Town and Regional Planning student.

3.2.1 Welbadagt West

Welbadagt West, is located in the south of Pinetown forms part of the slums clearance programme and falls under the jurisdiction of the former Inner West City Council (see Locality Map). It forms part of the greenfields low-income housing development with approximately 2500 sites, where people form informal settlement of Vukani relocated. Out of these 2500 sites only 700 houses had been completed to date and, approximately 500 people relocated at the end of June 2003 (see Cadastral Map).

LOCALITY MAP

Mgangeni

Matabetule

Amatikwe

Mshazi

Verulam West

M27 ROUTE

Parkgate

Ottawa South

R102 ROUTE

KwaNqetho

Emkomusha

Mount Edgecombe

Emachobeni

N2 ROUTE

La Lucia

Crestholme

KwaMashu B

...iles Farm

Newlands East

KwaDabeka

NORTH COAST ROAD

Kloof

Broadway

Quarry Road West

Pinetown/New Germany

PROVINCIAL ROAD

Sarnia

WESTERN FREEWAY

...mnyama - Mpola

Dawncliffe

Durban CBD West

M2 ROUTE

University 2

Durban Bay

St Wendolins

Malvern

Shallcross

Welbedacht West

HIGGINSON HIGHWAY

Stainbank

Welbedacht East

Grosvenor

Montclair

Lamontville

Umlazi G

600   0   600 1200 1800 2400 Meters

LEGEND:

Major Roads

Housing Project

Planning Units

PROPOSED WELBEDACHT WEST

PROPOSED PTR

PROPOSED BULK SEWER

EXISTING WELBEDACHT EAST

PROPOSED CULVERT

WELBEDACHT WEST
SLUMS CLEARANCE PROGRAMME

N

1:20000

400   0   400   800 METERS

DATE : 2002/10/09

LEGEND

Proposed Sewer

Proposed PTR

Proposed Cadastre

Existing Cadastre

Rivers

Iwcc Region

3.2.2 Parkgate

Parkgate also forms part of the slums clearance programme and is located in the north of Durban that falls under the former North Local Council (see Locality Map). It also forms part of the greenfields low-income housing development with approximately 500 sites and out of these 500 sites, only 50 houses had been built and people were relocated in February 2003 (see Cadastral Map). Beneficiaries were people who were living in Quarry Road West, Lusaka and Palmview informal settlements.

3.2.3 Quarry Road West

This is an informal settlement located in the former North Local Council consisting of approximately 600 dwelling structures developed on a privately owned land (Metro Housing, 1999: 11). Some of this informal settlement will be relocated to Parkgate.

3.2.4 Rationale for choosing case studies

The rationale for choosing Welbadagt West and Parkgate relocation areas was to highlight the constraints and opportunities in the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme by selecting two different areas that had been affected by the programme. Based on the information that the researcher collected from Metro Housing Department, these areas were the first to be developed in terms of the Slum Clearance Programme and people had already been relocated by the time the research had begun.

Quarry Road West Informal Settlement was selected because it is an informal settlement and the Slums Clearance Programme had not yet affected it, although it is expected that Partial Relocation and Partial In-Situ Upgrade would eventually affect Quarry Road West. It was selected to serve as a yardstick in order to highlight constraints and opportunities in the areas already affected by the programme. This area was also selected because of its magnitude and easy accessibility as compared to other affected informal settlements such as Palmview, Lusaka and Vukani. Furthermore, the aim is to understand conditions in informal settlements and how they impact on people's lives.

3.3   Data Collection

Both primary and secondary research methods were used to collect data.

PARKGATE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
PROPOSED CADASTRAL

1:8000

200   0   200   400   Meters

DATE : 2003/10/03

LEGEND

— Proposed Cadastral

— Existing Cadastral

☐ Entity Boundary

DURBAN METROPOLITAN UNICITY MUNICIPALITY INNER WEST OPERATIONAL ENTITY : 2 CLUB LANE, PINETOWN TEL.: 718 2441

3.3.1 Primary Sources

(i) Interviews

The importance of interview-based technique is that interviews allow a maximum amount of interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. According to Moser and Kalton (1971: 271) cited in Gouge (1993), interviews are described as a conversation between interviewer and the interviewee, with the purpose of eliciting certain information from the respondent. According to Nisbet and Watt (1980: 13), interviews are useful because they provide important data and reveal how people perceive specific phenomenon around their environment.

Structured interviews were conducted with the Durban Project Managers who are involved in the implementation of Slum Clearance Programme and the following were interviewed:

- Sifiso Kunene (Parkgate Project Manager), Clinton Mock (Welbadagt West Project Manager), Senzo Dlamini (Senior Project Manger) all in eThekwini Metropolitan Council. Interviews with Project Managers were conducted to find out about the origin of the programme, its features, problems and benefits. To find out about their perceptions with regard to the implementation of the programme, given the culture of housing invasion in Durban, the research aims to find out whether there are any mechanisms in place to ensure that only the intended beneficiaries access houses. To find out whether there are any interventions to ensure that people who have been relocated do not sell or sub-let their properties to put shacks elsewhere.

- An interview was conducted with Maurice Makhathini to find out about his perceptions with regard to the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme, issues regarding the replicability of the programme and what needs to be done to ensure that the Slums Clearance Programme becomes an appropriate response to the problem of informal settlements.

- The Welbadagt West Councillor responsible for the area was also interviewed to find out about his role, programmes that they want to achieve in future for the communities they are presenting.

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(ii) Questionnaire Surveys

Surveys were done to collect data form the residents of Welbadagt West, Parkgate and Quarry Road West.

Questionnaires consisted of both closed-ended and open-ended questions. The reason why closed-ended questions were used in this research is because they help to get specific information with regard to people's origins and reasons for leaving areas of origin.

In any research it is hardly possible to include all variables, which might be relevant, and it is never possible to interview everyone who might provide useful information. Sampling ensured a detailed study of few households selected from the population of the study areas.

In the case of Welbadagt West and Parkgate, systematic sampling was employed where 52 (10.0%) of relocated households (in the case of Welbadagt West) and 30 (60.0%) of relocated households (in the case of Parkgate) was selected. The Umzomuhle Parkgate sample seems bigger because the number of people surveyed was smaller than that of Welbadagt West. This is due to the fact that the researcher was misinformed about the number of people relocated. The researcher was informed, for example, that the number of households relocated was 364 whereby 36 households were to be surveyed. The omission of three houses meant that a survey was conducted in each and every fourth house. In cases where a house was vacant for some reasons, the next house was surveyed.

In the case of Quarry Road West a random sample was applied where 21 out of approximately 600 households were selected. In this case a different method was employed because it was difficult to identify the next house in Quarry Road West Informal Settlement as the structures were very close to each other. No person under the age 18 was interviewed in all three case studies.

(iii) Existing surveys

Existing surveys conducted by the Durban Metro on informal settlements which include an audit of informal settlements in the North and South Central Councils, as well as the Quality of Life Surveys were also used to supplement primary sources of data collection. The information that was sought and used relate to the number of structures in each study area.

3.4   Secondary sources of data collection

Secondary data sources included literature, Durban Metro Housing Business Plan Reports, government documents such as the policy documents, information from web.

3.5   Data Analysis and Presentation

Data is presented in the form of tables, graphs as well as photographs taken during the survey. It has to be mentioned, furthermore, that instruments had Welbadagt West, Umzomuhle Parkgate Relocation Areas and Quarry Road West Informal Settlement as their original sources. Two sets of results based on observation and research will be presented. This means that the analysis would show in addition, the nature, form and site analysis of the three case studies.

3.6   Limitations of the Study

During the process of data collection there were major problems that the researcher experienced and these include:

- Difficulty in securing time for conducting surveys with the residents in both Parkgate and Welbadagt West. In most cases, people were very busy doing their household chores and the researcher had to wait until they finished. More often, they indicated that they were leaving for Pinetown to do shopping or to Durban CBD.

- Most of the houses were vacant and thus distorting the way in which the survey was planned. In most cases, for example, the researcher found out that more than four houses were vacant because they were not allocated to people at the time.

- Because of the difficulty in getting hold of the Project Managers, the researcher spent more than a day trying to get hold of the Project Managers who did not keep their appointments and the researcher, in most instances, had to come back the following day.

- The respondents were sometimes not honest in answering the questions and sometimes needed assistance from the researcher in order for them to be covered.

- Although it was planned that three Councillors would be interviewed, but difficulty in getting hold of all the councillors imposed another limitation to the study. This is so because only one Councillor managed to set up a date and time for the interview. Two of the Councillors stated that they were very busy and promised to get back to me but to date never contacted me.

- Inadequate information on the part of the respondents regarding their leaders imposed another limitation to the study because all respondents stated that they do not have a leader

- Timing of the research also imposed another limitation to the study because people were not yet settled and some of them were not even occupying their houses.

- Some designated respondents could not be contacted due to unavailability.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1   Introduction

This chapter attempts to present findings from the data gathered through the use of observations, survey questionnaires and interview schedules. It is therefore important that an analysis of data is made so that it could correspond with the assumptions upon which the study has been formulated.

4.1.1 General environmental conditions and overview of study areas
(i)   Quarry Road West

Quarry Road West is an informal settlement located along Quarry Road West in the North Central Council. In terms of topography the area is located on a flat land with approximately 600 structures. Although the soil condition is stable, there is a river running through the property, and this makes it a dangerous place to live in as it falls within a 1:50 year flood line.

(ii)   Umzomuhle Parkgate and Welbadagt West

Umzomuhle Parkgate Development lies immediately south of Verulam. A section of upper reaches of the Mhlanga River forms the southern boundary of the site and the land is a portion of the Remainder of 508 Bridgeford of the Farm Riet Rivier.

Welbadagt West is located on a 316 hectares tract of in the Inner West, with Umlaas River forming its western and southern peripheries and bordered in the north by existing phase 1 of the development (Metro Housing: 2000).

4.1.2 Topography

In both Umzomuhle Parkgate and Welbadagt West the land is steep and the area was excavated to level individual sites. The excavations lead to unstable land because all the plants and topsoil were removed. After removal of plants and topsoil land became susceptible to erosion (see photographs below).

PLATE: 1
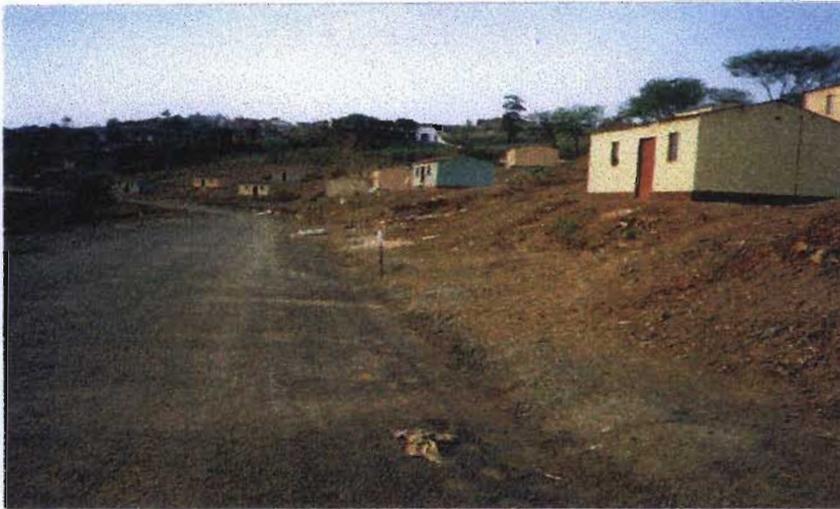
Umzomuhle Parkgate Soil Type

This type of soil is soft and when walking on it, it tends to sink. One of the houses in Umzomuhle bears testimony to this as the wall has already cracked, while soil type in Welbadagt West is stable (see photograph below).

PLATE: 2
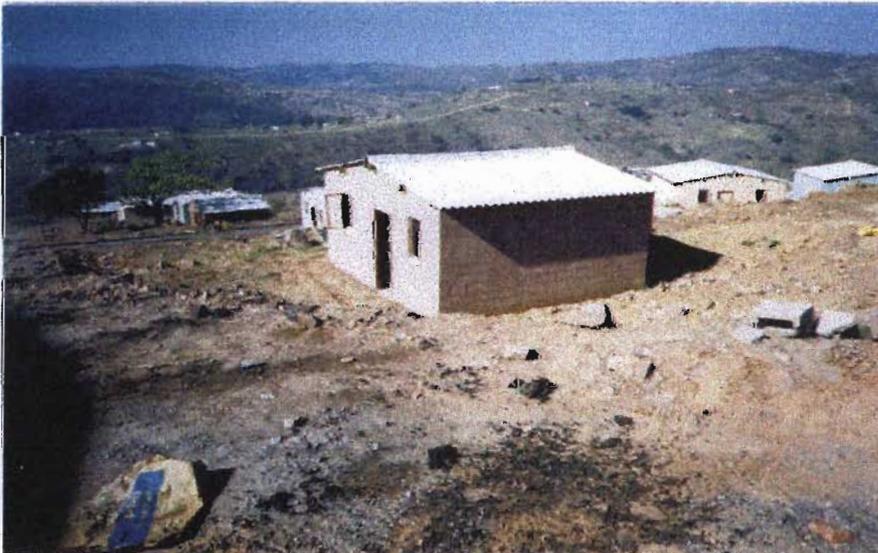
Welbadagt West Soil Type

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PLATE: 3

Location of houses close to the river

The above photograph indicates that some of the houses will be located very close to the river and when the river is overflowing houses will be washed away. Those houses are built on raft foundations, which usually require to be designed by a Professional Engineer after he has assessed the topography and soil conditions of the site. At face value, it is hard to believe that Professional Engineers recommended the foundation.

PLATE: 4

Location of Quarry Road West

PLATE: 5
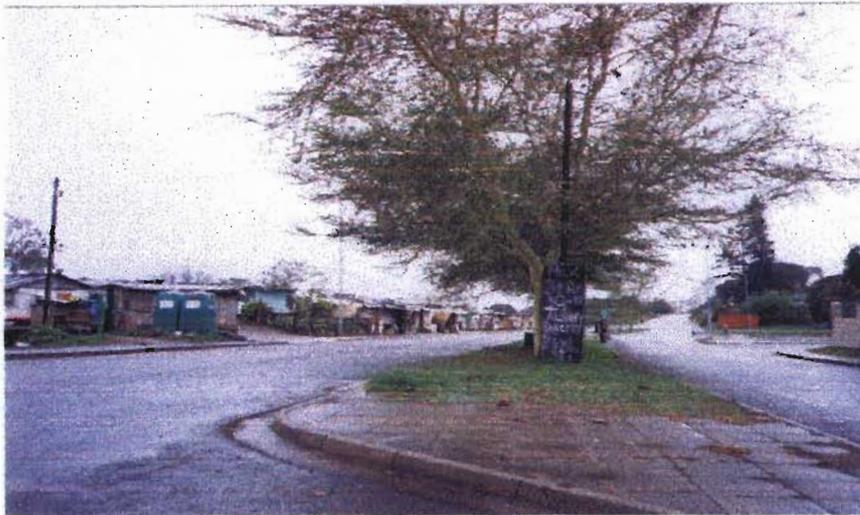
The above photographs 4 and 5 indicate that people living in informal settlements have the opportunity of being located along the main transport routes where both modes of transport (buses and taxis) are available. As indicated by this research, residents have a choice of either commuting with a taxi, a bus or on foot to access the city centre. Streetlights, public toilets and public telephones are available with various activities taking place in the area.

4.2   Quarry Road West Informal Settlement

4.2.1 Household Profile:

Table 2: Household size

Value	Number	%
1-2	16	76.2
3-4	4	19.0
5	1	4.8
Total	21	100.0

The majority of respondents stated that there were not more than two people living in the unit; 4 (19.0%) respondents stated that there were more than three people in the unit and only 1(4.8%) respondent mentioned that there were five people who lived in the unit.

One can conclude that in this sample the respondents seem not to have a problem of overcrowding in their units because the majority stated that there is one or two people living in one unit and no one stated that there were more than five people living in the same unit.

Figure 1:   Female and male age category
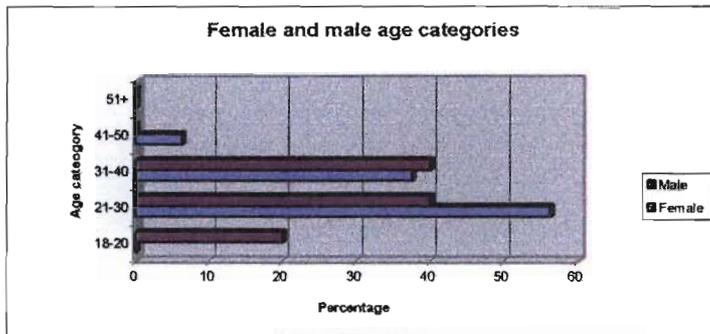
The Figure above indicates that the majority of respondents (100.0%) were economically active as they fell between the age group of between 18 and 50 years. There were no children under the age of 18 and elderly people above 51 in the sample.

Figure 2:   Gender
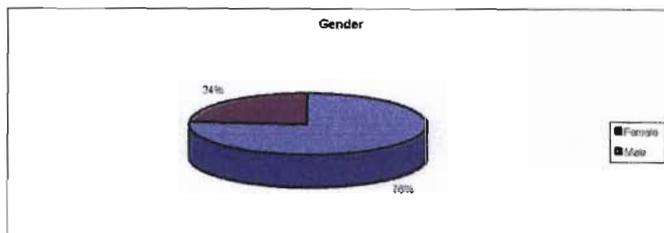
The majority of respondents 16 (76.2%) in the sample were females; 5 (23.8%) were males.

With regards to marital status, the majority of respondents 18 (85.7) stated that they were unmarried and 3 (14.2%) stated that they were married.

Table 3: Level of Education

Standard	Frequency	%
0-5	7	33.3
6-10	14	66.7
Total	21	100.0

The majority of respondents 14 (66.7%) in the sample indicated that their level of education was standard 6-10 and 7 (33.3%) respondents stated that their level of education was from 0-5. The implications of this high illiteracy rate meant that most respondents were not in a better position to find jobs because the job market requires a certain level of education as well as skills. As a consequence, most of the respondents stated that they were not working, and those who worked were employed as domestic workers or gardeners.

4.2.2 Origins

The survey discovered that a slight majority of respondents 12 (57.1%) were from the Eastern Cape, from areas such as Lusikisiki, Bizana, Matatiele (all in the former Transkei area); 9 (42.9%) were from KwaZulu-Natal, in areas such as uMzinto, Ndwendwe, Greytown. The following table indicates areas where respondents lived in before coming to Quarry Road West.

Table 4: Origins

Value	Frequency	%
Bluff	1	4.7
uMlazi Hostel	1	4.7
Shabeni	1	4.7
None	18	85.7
Total	21	100.0

The majority of respondents 18 (85.7%) mentioned that Quarry Road West was their first area of residence ever since they came to KwaZulu-Natal. They knew about the area because their relatives were living in the area. In the sample, 1 (4.7%) respondent stated that he lived in Bluff and then relocated after losing his job in Bluff; 1 (4.7%) respondent stated that he lived in uMlazi Hostel and he ran away because of political violence; 1 (4.7%) respondent lived in Shabeni before coming to Quarry Road West.

When asked about their reasons for leaving their homes, findings revealed that responses regarding this were:

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- They came to Durban for job opportunities because there are no employment opportunities in their areas of origin. They mentioned that even if one could get a job, the wages were too low to support their families. When they are away from home they spend little than they do when home;

- Others indicated that they left their areas of origin because of health problems, and thus wanted to be closer to proper health care services and the only place that was available for them was Quarry Road West because they knew some people in Quarry Road West;

- Others indicated that they came to live in Quarry Road West because it is closer to their places of work and some indicated that they just liked the area and;

- Some were pushed away from their areas of origin because of violence.

The reasons given by respondents as to why they chose to live in Quarry Road West were:

- They found it easier to get jobs in the area because it is closer to Indian residential areas who offer them jobs such as domestic employment, assisting in plumbing and cutting grass;
- Their travelling expenses are cheaper because they walk to work;
- The area is good for street vending and hawking because it is along a major road;
- Some worked in firms nearby before, and their firms became bankrupt costing them their jobs. They then, ended up in Quarry Road West with the hope that they would get jobs somewhere close to the area and;
- One stated that he had no place to stay.

4.2.3 Living conditions

Table 5: Shack ownership

Gender	Owner	%	Tenant	%	Total Number	Total %
Female	15	93.8	1	6.2	16	100.0
Male	3	60.0	2	40.0	5	100.0
Total	18	85.7	3	14.3	21	100.0

The above table illustrates that out of 16 females that were interviewed, 15 (93.8%) respondents stated that they owned the structures they lived in, 1 (6.2%) female stated that she was a tenant, whilst out of 5 males interviewed, only 3 (60.0%) respondents owned structures and 2 (40.0%) male stated that they were tenants.

The (40.0%) male tenants indicated that they paid R20.00 per month to their shack lords, while 1 (6.2%) female tenant stated that she paid R40.00 per month to her shack lord.

Table 6: Level of satisfaction with living condition

Gender	Yes	No	Total
Female	68.8%[11]	31.2%[5]	100.0%[16]
Male	20.0%[1]	80.0%[4]	100.0%[5]
Total	57.0%[12]	43.0%[9]	100.0%[21]

The above table indicates that out of 16 females interviewed, only 5 (31.2%) were not happy about their living conditions; 11 (68.0%) females stated that they were satisfied with their living conditions. Only 1 (20.0%) of the total males was unhappy about their living conditions and 4 (80.0%) males were not happy about their living conditions.

The respondents cited the following reasons for not being satisfied with their living conditions:

- This place is close to the river and when it rains heavily it overflows its banks and causes floods. Floods damaged the shacks and it is unhealthy because people throw

rubbish in the river. Sometimes the river smells but they could not do anything about it and they had to wait until it rains so that the smell could subside;

- Lack of security in the area resulted in incredible amount of shack breaking; especially in the mornings until midday when people had gone out to look for jobs;
- The area was filthy and the dirty water attracts mosquitoes in the area and;
- Shacks were always wet and constantly washed away by heavy rainfalls.
- Police usually trouble them, as they chase them away from the area

The respondents highlighted the following reasons for being satisfied with the living conditions:

- It is easy to convert your house to anything you like for example a tuck shop or a church;
- No payment of rates and services;
- Near areas of employment and also go to Durban CBD on foot and;
- There is a huge piece of vacant space and a river nearby which makes the area good for agriculture.

With regards to the number of rooms per unit, most of the respondents 15 (71.4%) indicated that their units consisted of one room and they have no outbuildings, 1 (4.8%) stated that there were two rooms in the unit; 5 (23.8%) stated that they own four detached rooms. Those who owned one room complained that their rooms were too small that they could not even fit a bed and a wardrobe in it.

Table 7: Length of time living in the area

No. of years	Frequency	Total
0-1	5	23.8
1.5-2	6	28.6
2.5-3	2	9.5
3+	8	38.1
Total	21	100.0

The above graph indicates that 8 (38.1%) respondents lived in the area for more than three years; 6 (28.6%) respondents lived for approximately two years; 5 (23.8%) respondents lived for about a year and 2 (9.5%) lived for approximately three years.

Services and Facilities:

With regards to the types of services available, all respondents indicated that they did not have services and facilities of their own, except clean water. As a consequence, they had to use facilities from other areas such as clinics and a church. 90.0% of respondents stated that they used to pay 30c per 25 litres but were not paying anymore since they had standpipes.

Governing Structure:

When asked about their governing structure, all respondents stated that they did not have governing structure and were a free community. They did not elect anyone, but the only person they regarded as a leader was Fihla Madikizela. This is only because he was the first person to live in Quarry Road West and he is not a political leader. They also stated that he did nothing for them.

4.2.4 Economic Characteristics

The majority of the respondents were not working in businesses and those employed either worked as domestic workers nearby, shop securities and garden cleaners.

Cross, et al (1993: 47) stated that unemployment in particular appears to be most severe among the relatively young; three out of four unemployed males in the overall sample are less than 36 years old. In their sample they found that only 7.7% of adults were not in labour force; only 2% of the labour force were unemployed.

With regards to type of employment, most of the respondents 11 (52.4)%) of them stated that they were employed on a part-time basis and 47, 6% indicated that they were unemployed.

All 21 (100%) respondents stated that they earned from 0-500 Rand per month and had some spent their income in the following ways.

Table 8: Income Expenditure

Expenditure	Number	Total
Rental, food + clothing	3	14.3
Food + clothing	13	61.9
Food + Lotto	1	4.8
Supporting children + food	3	14.3
Food, clothing + transport	1	4.8
Total	21	100.0

The above graph indicates that the majority 13 (61.9%) of respondents spent their income on buying food and clothing; 3 (14.3%) respondents spent their income on paying rent, buying food and clothing; 3 (14.3%) respondents spent income on supporting children and buying food, whilst 1 (4.8%) spent income on transport costs and buying food and 1 (4.8%) spent it on buying food and Lotto ticket.

All respondents stated that they were not working and it is clear that all of them did have some form of income and all of them spent their income mostly on food, which is a basic need in terms of the hierarchy of needs.

4.2.5 Social networks

The majority of the respondents 19 (90.5%) stated that they knew their neighbours because their houses were very close to their ones; 2 (9.5%) respondents stated that they did not know their neighbours because they were new in the area, they were working and coming back late at night.

Most of the respondents stated that they did not have relatives in the area, however they had friends. This means that most of the people living in this area left their relatives at their areas of origin as they came to look for jobs and only once they get jobs that their families come to urban areas.

When asked about the nature of their friendship, they stated that it involved only socialising and assisting each other with food but not financially (because most of the people were not

working) or religiously. Those who assisted people financially demanded 25% interest per week.

4.2.6 Future aspirations

When asked about places they would like to live in, in the next five years, respondents stated that they would like to live anywhere as long as they would be close to their areas of employment. Other mentioned that they would like to live close to areas where there are employment opportunities, proper houses with sanitation, clinics, schools and entertainment facilities.

Their responses indicated that people living in informal settlements are expecting the government to improve their living conditions because they stated that it was difficult for them to improve their quality of life because they were not working. Even those who were working earned too little to afford proper houses. They stated that the government should provide free houses and electricity.

When asked whether they would like to move when given an opportunity, 13 (61.9%) respondents stated that they would like to move from Quarry Road West; 8 (38.1%) stated that they would not like to move because they hoped that they would get jobs in the area. If they were to be moved elsewhere it would be difficult for them to find jobs.

4.2.7 General comments

The respondents stated that:
- Law and order must be maintained in the area and;
- Unemployment is the major problem facing people living in the area and they like that place because it is close to a developed area where it is easy to jobs and when they are relocated they will be displaced.

4.2.8 Conclusion

This section highlighted the researcher's findings in Quarry Road West through surveys. It is evident from the aforementioned findings that in terms of household profile, the majority of people were not over-crowded as they were either staying alone or as couples. Females were

the most dominant gender in the sample and this might be due to the fact that there are more women than men and that women play an active role in housing. In most cases it is the responsibility of women to look after the children and provide them with shelter and food, while their husbands are away to look for jobs.

Given poor quality of living conditions in informal settlements it was surprising to find out that the majority of female respondents (68.8%) were satisfied with living conditions in the area, whilst 80.0% of male respondents were not satisfied. The following section deals with the findings for Umzomuhle Parkgate and Welbadagt West relocation areas.

4.3   Umzomuhle Parkgate and Welbadagt West Relocation Areas
4.3.1 Household Profile
Table 9: Household size

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	(No.)	%	(No)	%
1-2	22	73.3	39	74.9
3-4	6	20.0	10	19.1
5-6	2	6.7	2	4.0
7+	0	0	1	2.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

As it was the case in Quarry Road West survey, the above table illustrates the fact that both in Parkgate and Welbadagt West samples respondents did not have the problem of overcrowding in their units because the majority (73.3%) and (74.9%), respectively, stated that there were not more than two people living in one unit. In Parkgate no one stated that there were more than seven people living in the same unit whilst 1 (2.0%) respondent in Welbadagt West stated that there were seven people who lived in the unit .

The occupancy rates were relatively low in all three case studies. Few respondents, for example, stated that they were more than four in a unit. This could be attributed to the fact that informal settlement residents come from areas further than the neighbouring townships such as Umlazi, Ntuzuma or KwaMashu to Durban, in quest for job opportunities. This was

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clearly illustrated by the areas of origin that each respondent mentioned in all case studies. This means that on arrival in Durban they could not find employment as they anticipated and, as a result, they could not afford to pay rent for decent accommodation. The only option that was available for them was to put up illegal structures, the cheapest and quickest form of accommodation. Low occupancy rate could also be attributed, among other things, to the fact that the majority of the migrants are the young adults who come to Durban before they can even start their own families while their parents and siblings are left in rural areas until such time that they get jobs. The following are commonalities and differences in household sizes for the three case studies being, Quarry Road West Informal Settlement, Welbadagt West and Parkgate Relocation Areas:

Commonalities:

Both relocation areas Parkgate and Welbadagt West and Quarry Road informal settlement had highest percentage (more than 70.0%) of respondents who either stayed alone or two in a unit. In both areas four respondents stated that they were three in a unit and; one mentioned 5 and 6 in a unit in each case.

Differences:

As far as data collected in Parkgate is concerned, it is clear that respondents who stayed alone in a unit gave the highest percentage, while in Welbadagt West and Quarry Road West respondents who stayed in couples in a unit were the most. The highest number of people in one unit was 5 in Quarry Road West as compared to six in Umzomuhle Parkgate, and seven in Welbadagt West.

Table 10: Age category

Age	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	(No.)	%	(No.)	%
18-20	2	6,7	10	19.2
21-30	16	53.3	26	50.0
31-40	8	26.6	12	23.0
41-50	2	6.7	3	5.8
+50	2	6.7	1	2.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table illustrates that the majority of respondents, 93.3% in Parkgate and 98.0% in Welbadagt West were economically active as they fell between the age group of 18-50.

In terms of the age category, it appears that the majority of people who live in these areas that is Quarry Road West, Welbadagt West and Parkgate, are between the age group of 21-40, and are economically active. The age group of most respondents in all cases indicates this.

Commonalities:

In all cases the majority of respondents were between the age category of 21-30 as shown by figures of 53.3% in Umzomuhle Parkgate, 50.0% in Welbadagt West and 52.3% in Quarry Road West. The second highest figure of respondents in all cases fell between the age category 31-40 years. In all cases the least respondents were above fifty years of age as they yielded 4.8% in Quarry Road West, 6.7% in Parkgate and 2.0% in Welbadagt West. The age difference between respondents of 21-30 years and 31-40 years is the same in both Parkgate (26.7%) and Welbadagt West (27.0%).

Differences:

The percentage of respondents who fell in the age category of between 18-20 years was very low in Quarry Road West and Umzomuhle Parkgate as compared to Welbadagt West. There was a huge percentage difference between respondents of 31-40 years age category and those between the age category of 18-20 years in Quarry Road West and Umzomuhle Parkgate as illustrated by (33.2%) and 19.9% respectively whilst difference in Welbadagt West of the above-mentioned age category was only 3.8%.

Table 11: Gender

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
Female	19	63.3	36	69.2
Male	11	36.7	16	30.8
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table indicates that in Parkgate the majority of respondents 19 (63.3%), in the sample were females; 11 (36.7%) were males and in Welbadagt West the majority of respondents 36 (69.2%) in the sample were also females; 16 (30.8%) were males.

In these three case studies the samples indicate that females dominated and this might be due to the fact that women play an important role in housing and they contribute a great deal to development initiatives than men.

Commonalities:

The majority of respondents in all case studies were women. Male respondents were almost half of women respondents in both Parkgate and Welbadagt West as shown by the difference of 26.6% and 38.4%, respectively.

The only difference was that in Quarry Road West, male respondents were less than half of female respondents.

Table 12: Marital status

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
Single	22	73.3	40	77.0
Married	3	10.0	12	23.0
Living together	5	16.7	0	0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table indicates that the majority of respondents, 22 (73.3%), in Parkgate were unmarried with or without dependants, followed by 5 (16.7%) respondents who were living together with either a boyfriend or girl friend and 3 (10.0%) respondents were married.

The majority of respondents, 40 (77.0%), in Welbadagt West were unmarried and 12 (23.0%) were married.

The majority of respondents in all cases were unmarried as it is known that African marriages involves a lot of money which is hardly possible for someone who does not have a permanent job to meet all the necessary payments involved in lobola, rituals and ceremonies. As a

consequence, people end up living together before marriage because they could not afford to pay such amounts. The findings revealed that respondents, 73.3% in Parkgate, 77.0% in Welbadagt West and 85.7% in Quarry Road West were unmarried.

Commonalities:
Most respondents in Parkgate and Welbadagt West were unmarried as evidenced by 73.3% and 77.0%, respectively. In both cases married respondents were less than 30.0%, as it was only 10.0% in Parkgate and 23.0% in Welbadagt West.

Differences:
The percentage of respondents staying with their partners before marriage in Parkgate was 6.7% more than that of married respondents. However, in Welbadagt West and Quarry Road West not a single respondent stayed with a partner.

Table 13: Level of education

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	(No.)	%	(No.)	%
0-5	16	53.3	23	44.0
6-10	14	46.7	29	56.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The majority of respondents, 16 (53.3%), in the Parkgate's sample indicated that their level of education was from 0-5 and 14 (46.7%) respondents stated that their level of education was between standard 6-10.

As it was the case with Quarry Road West sample, the majority of respondents 29 (58.0%) in the Welbadagt West sample indicated that the respondents' highest level of education was between Standard 6-10 and 23 (46.0%) respondents stated that their highest level of education was from 0-5.

Furthermore, the data revealed low literacy rate which indicated, among other things, that back home in rural areas completing matriculation and proceeding to pursue tertiary studies is not encouraged due to high expenses involved, while there are no job opportunities, hence the

key findings were 53.0%, in Parkgate had level of education below Standard 5 and so was 44.0% in Welbadagt West and 33.0% in Quarry Road West. However, the majority did not complete matriculation. This means that the majority of respondents do not acquire skills necessary in the job market and it is likely that most of them would not be in a position to get jobs. Low literacy rate could be exacerbated by the fact that in rural areas education is perceived as good only if it can get someone a job. The value of education is often perceived in the short-term basis, and now that there are many matriculants who are jobless, in their minds renders education valueless.

Commonalities:

In both cases the difference between the two categories namely, 0-Std. 5 and Std. 6 to 10 was less than 20.0%, as it was 6.6% in Parkgate and 12.0% in Welbadagt West.

Differences:

In Parkgate 53.3% of respondents had highest level of education of up to standard 5, while in Welbadagt West and Quarry Road West of respondents had highest education level of between Standard 6 and 10.

4.3.2 Origins

Table 14: Origins

Area	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
KwaZulu-Natal	20	66.7	28	54.0
Free State	6	13.3	0	0
Eastern Cape	4	20.0	24	46.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0^5

The above table illustrates that the majority of respondents, 20 (66.7%), were from KwaZulu-Natal from areas such as Ndwedwe, Greytown, Mhlabuyalingana, eShowe, KwaMashu, Pietermaritzburg, uMkomazi, Nongoma, Mangozi, Hlabisa, Msinga, Mtubatuba, Mzinto, Xopo, and Vryheid. Six (13.3%) respondents were from the Free State; 4 (20.0%) respondents were from the Eastern cape and the areas mentioned were areas such as Bizana, Flagstaff,

Harding and one respondent did not give the name of the town and only stated that she was from Transkei.

In Welbadagt West the majority of respondents 28 (54.0%) were from KwaZulu-Natal from areas such as Mthunzini, Hammersdale, Maphumulo, Richmond, Port Shepstone, Mbumbulu, Mzumbe, Ndwedwe, Greytown, Mhlabuyalingana, eShowe, KwaMashu, Pietermaritzburg, uMkomazi, Nongoma, Hlabisa, Msinga, Mtubatuba, Mzinto, Xopo, and Vryheid; and 24 (46.0%) respondents were from the Eastern Cape and the areas mentioned were areas such as Bizana, Flagstaff, Harding, Matatiele, Umtata and one respondent did not give the name of the town and only stated that she was from Transkei.

With regards to areas of origin, it is clear from the studies that the majority come from rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape for job opportunities. Few respondents stated that they came for studies.

Commonalities:

In Parkgate as well as in Welbadagt West most respondents were from areas within KwaZulu-Natal Province followed by areas within the Eastern Cape Province.

Differences:

At least 13.3% of the respondents in Parkgate came from Free State, whilst no respondent came from the Free State in Welbadagt West and Quarry Road West. The difference in percentage of respondents from KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern cape in Welbadagt West was 8.0%, 14.2% in Quarry Road West, whereas in Parkgate it was 46.7%. In Quarry Road West most respondents came from the Eastern Cape.

Table 15: Area they lived in before coming to these areas

Parkgate	%	Welbadagt West	%
Palmview only	83.3	Vukani only	82.7
1 other area + Palmview	13.3	1 other area + Vukani	11.5
2 other areas + Palmview	3.4	2 other areas + Vukani	5.8
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

The majority of respondents, 25 (83.3%), indicated that they lived in Palmview before coming to live in Parkgate. They left Palmview because Durban Metro told them that they have been provided with houses in Parkgate. In the sample, 4 (13.3%) respondents stated that before they came to live in Parkgate they lived in Palmview and one other area and the areas mentioned were uMlazi, Cato Manor Inanda and Amawotana; 1 (3.4%) respondent stated that he lived in Inanda, Ntuzuma and then Palmview where Durban Metro moved them.

The majority of respondents, 43 (82.7%), indicated that they only lived in Vukani before coming to live to Welbadagt West. They left Vukani because Durban Metro told them that they have been provided with houses in Welbadagt West. In the sample, 6 (11.5%) respondents stated that before coming to stay in Welbadagt West they stayed in Vukani and one other area and the areas mentioned were KwaMashu, Mayville, Inanda and Chatsworth, St. Wendolins and Pallock. Three (5.8%) respondents stated that they lived in uMlazi to Inanda, Montclair to Lamontville and Mayville to eFolweni, then Palmview where Durban Metro also moved them.

Commonalities:

Respondents in Parkgate and Welbadagt West who lived only in Palmview and Vukani informal settlements respectively since their arrival in Durban reached 83.0% status in both cases. Both Parkgate and Welbadagt West had second highest percentage of respondents who at least had lived in one other area before coming to Parkgate or Welbadagt West and percentages are nearly the same 13.3% and 11.5% respectively. In both areas no respondents stayed in three other areas in Durban before coming to areas they relocated.

Table 16: Reasons for leaving their areas of origin

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
Employment opportunities	25	83.3	46	88.5
Following relatives/ parents	3	10.1	4	7.7
Studies	0	0	1	2.0
Domestic violence/ jobs	1	3.3	1	2.0
No answer	1	3.3	0	0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

In Parkgate the majority of respondents, 25 (83.3%), stated that they leaved their areas of origin to find jobs. Three (10.1%) respondents stated that their parents were working in Durban and they came to stay with them because in rural areas they were not attending school and they were starving. They had no other option but to follow their parents and hoped that their parents could be able to find employment for them. One (3.3%) stated that she left the area of origin because her parents deceased and she was only left with her uncle and grandmother. When her mother died her uncle started to ill-treat her. She fled to Durban to get jobs and; 1 (3.3%) was not willing to provide an answer.

In Welbadagt West the majority of respondents, 46 (88.5%), stated that they leaved their areas of origin to find jobs. Four (7.7%) respondents stated that their parents worked in Durban and they came to stay with them; 1 (2.0%) stated that she left the area of origin for studies and her parents could not afford to pay for the fees anymore and she decided to stay in Durban with a hope of getting a job; 1 (2.0%) respondent left the area of origin because of violence in the area.

Commonalities:

Both Parkgate and Welbadagt West and Quarry Road West had more than 80.0% of respondents who came to Durban for employment opportunities as evidenced by 83.3% in Umzomuhle Parkgate, 88.5% in Welbadagt West and 100.0% in Quarry Road West. In both Welbadagt West and Umzomuhle Parkgate respondents who followed relatives/ parents yielded the second highest percentage, as it was 10.0% and 7.7% in Welbadagt West. One respondent in each case mentioned violence as a reason for leaving the area of origin.

Differences:

2.0% of respondents in Welbadagt West came to further studies and none in Umzomuhle Parkgate, while, 3.35 in Umzomuhle Parkgate did not answer this question whilst all respondents in mentioned their reasons for leaving areas of origin in Welbadagt West.

4.3.3 Living conditions

Table 17: Household heads

Gender	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
Female	20	66.7	26	50.0
Male	10	33.3	26	50.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table illustrates that the majority of respondents 20 (66.7%) who headed households in Parkgate were females as compared to male headship of 10 (33.3%) whilst in Welbadagt West 26 (50.0%) female respondents headed households and 26 (50.0%) male respondents headed households.

When asked about their relationship to household head, 32 (61.5%), respondents in Welbadagt West stated that they owned houses, whereas in Parkgate 26 (86.7%) respondents stated that they owned houses; 9 (17.0%) respondents stated that they were related to the owner because the owners were their husbands; 1 (3.3%) respondent in Parkgate whilst 4 (7.7%) respondents in Welbadagt West stated that they are related to the owner because owners are their daughters; 2 (6.7%) respondents stated that they were related to the household heads because they were their boyfriends; 1 (2.0%) respondent stated that the owner was her sister; 1 (2.0%) respondent stated that the owner was his wife; 1 (2.0%) respondent stated that the brother owned the house; 1 (2.0%) respondent stated that he was a tenant; 2 (4.0%) respondent stated that the father owned the house; 1 (3.3%) respondent in Parkgate mentioned that her girlfriend owned the house.

Commonalities:

There were high percentages in all areas of women headed households as it was 76.1 % in Quarry Road West, 66.7% in Parkgate and 50.0% in Welbadagt West.

Differences:

Households headed by women in Welbadagt West broke even with those headed by men. In Parkgate households headed by men were exactly half of those headed by women.

With regards to relationship to household the following were commonalities:

Commonalities:

Most respondents were household heads in all cases as revealed by 86.7% in Parkgate and 61.5% in Welbadagt West.

Differences:

No respondent stated that her boyfriend is the household head in Welbadagt West and Quarry Road West as it was the case in Parkgate sample. In Welbadagt West 2.0% of respondents had mother, sister, wife, brother and tenant as household head and there was none in Parkgate whilst in Quarry Road West tenants were also household heads. This means that although they were not owners but they were on their own in those units.

Table 18: Property ownership

Value	Parkgate		WelbadagtWest	
	No.	%	No	%
Female	20	66.7	17	33.0
Male	10	33.3	33	63.0
Unknown	0	0	2	4.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table indicates that in Parkgate sample the majority, 20 (66.7%) respondents who owned houses were females as compared to male property ownership of 10 (33.3%) respondents whereas in Welbadagt West only 17 (33.0%) respondents owned houses as compared to male property ownership of 33 (63.0%) respondents.

The study revealed that the majority of women in all cases were property owners. This could be due to the fact that more women left their areas of origin for job opportunities as the post-apartheid era eradicated the myth that a woman's place was in the kitchen. Women dominate the most in informal settlements because they want spaces of their own rather than depending on someone else as compared to men who could live in friends' places.

Commonalities:

Respondents from all case studies had property ownership for both genders represented in a similar fashion. One gender in a region of 60.0% and the other in the 30.0% region as shown by 66.7% for female property ownership and 33,3% for male ownership in Parkgate and Welbadagt West had 33.0% for female and 63.0% for male property ownership.

Differences:

All houses occupied by respondents in Parkgate and Quarry Road West had its ownership disclosed during the surveys whereas 4.0% of houses occupied by respondents in Welbadagt West had undisclosed ownership. In Parkgate (66.7%) and Quarry Road West (76.1%) women owned houses while in Welbadagt West (63.0%) men owned houses

When asked about length of living in the area, the majority, 27 (90.0%) of respondents had been living in Parkgate for three months; 3 (10.0%) were not sure about the length of time that they lived inParkgate.

In Welbadagt West 24 (46.2%) respondents had been living in Welbadagt West for two months; 13 (25.0%) respondents had been staying for 1 month; 6 (11.1%) respondents had been staying for about 1 and a half months; 4 (7.7%) respondents stated that they had been staying for about three months; 2 (4.0%) respondents had been staying for three weeks; 2 (4.0%) respondents had been staying for 4 days; 1 (2.0%) respondent had been staying for 2 and half months.

The disadvantages experienced by living in the area were described as follows:

In Parkgate,

- There were no streetlights or electricity in their houses and, as a consequence, nights were very dark. They stated that they had been living in the area for three months, but they could not even flush their toilets because water was not yet connected to each individual house and they have to go to the bushes;
- Others stated that travelling costs were too high because they had to use public transport twice before they could even reach their destination;
- Others stated that because the area was too far from the school in which their children were studying they had to leave them with their mothers;

- There were no jobs available in this area, people started opening tuck-shops which charged triple the amount of bigger supermarkets in order to survive;
- They also stated that there were no street names. One respondent stated that he called an ambulance three times and the drivers could not find the place;
- The area was too steep and dangerous for the kids. The respondent cited an incident where her kid was crawled outside and fell over the bank of her property and;
- There was a lot of traffic noise because the area is close to a major road R102.

Respondents in Welbadagt West mentioned the following as disadvantages of living in the area:

- Transport was inconvenient, especially for children studying far from the area and very expensive;
- Areas of employment were very far from the area;
- Lack of community facilities such as sports ground, clinics, shopping centre, bus routes;
- There were no road names and very difficult to direct people to the area;
- The area was rocky and dangerous for the children and;
- There was no electricity and it was very dark and unsafe to walk at night.

On the other hand, some respondents in Umzomuhle Parkgate indicated that there were no advantages in living in the area, however, some respondents mentioned the following as advantages of living in the area:

- They have proper houses and properties of their own;
- There is space in their properties to allow for extension of houses;
- Proper road network;
- The area is clean and healthy;
- Others stated that there is an Indian school nearby but most of their children had already registered in Palmview and some in Inanda and they also highlighted that the school is not big enough to accommodate the existing and future threshold of school attending children because it was designed for a small population;
- Other respondents highlighted that there were economic opportunities for living in the area in the sense that they could engage themselves in subsistence gardening in order to sell crops and;

- Crime rate was very low in the area.

In Welbadagt West respondents stated that the advantages of living in the area were:
- Provision of proper road network;
- Individual water connections;
- Permanent structure and;
- Property ownership.

With regards to types of services available in the area in Parkgate all 30 (100.0%) respondents stated that they all had access to clean water, but water was not connected to each household. They only used standpipes, and this affected them heavily because they could not use their toilets, although they had flush toilets whereas in Welbadagt West it appeared that all 52 (100.0%) respondents were satisfied with the level of services provided, but they stated that electricity was their major concern.

Table 19: Distance to neighbouring school

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No	%	No	%
Less than 20 minutes	3	10.0	0	0
More than 20 minutes	4	13.3	5	10.0
Not applicable	23	76.7	47	90.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table shows that in Parkgate to the majority of respondents 23 (76.7%) this question did not apply as they did have children attending school around the area at that moment. Some respondents stated that they left their children with their parents because they already registered at schools that were closer to Palmview, for example, some children were attending schools at Inanda; 4 (13.3%) respondents stated that their children travelled for more than 20 minutes to school; 3 (10.0%) respondents stated that their children travelled less than 20 minutes to the neighbouring school.

In Welbadagt West the majority of 47 (90.0%) respondents did not have children attending school and therefore, this question did not apply to them; 4 (10.0%) respondents stated that it

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took more than 20 minutes for their children to travel to school by a taxi because they had to use public transport twice to attend school in Mobeni Heights in Chatsworth; 1 (2.0%) respondent stated that it took more than 20 minutes for his child to travel to school on foot as he had to cross the bridge to eNgonyameni which is very far from Welbadagt West.

In Parkgate the majority of 23 (76.7%) respondents did not answer this question because it was not relevant to them, 7 (23.3%) respondents stated that their children walked to school, whilst in Welbadagt West, this question did not apply to the majority 47 (90.0%) of respondents; 4 (8.0%) respondents stated that their children use taxis to school; 1 (2.0%) walked to access the neighbouring school.

4.3.4 Economic characteristics

Table 20: Type of employment

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
Formal employment	1	3.3	3	5.8
Informal employment	2	6.7	0	0
Domestic work	3	10.0	0	0
No employment	24	80.0	46	88.4
No answer	0	0	3	5.8
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The study revealed that in Parkgate 24 (80.0%) respondents were unemployed; 3 (10.0%) respondents were working on a part time basis as domestic workers while 2 (6.7%) respondents were self-employed (e.g. operating tuck-shop and sub-contracting) and only 1 (3.3%) respondent was formally employed.

In Welbadagt West the majority of respondents 46 (88.4%) were unemployed; 3 (5.8%) respondents did not provide answer however, stated that before relocations they were usually getting temporal jobs from the nearby houses in Clare Estate to wash clothes and sometimes looked after children; 3 (5.8%) respondents were formally employed either working for a firm called Birds Transport which is located in Bluff; Shell Garage located in Pinetown; or

TransAfrica Housing JV which has a temporal office in Welbadagt West but only started working in August 2003.

They also stated that the cost of living had changed since they came to Parkgate and the following changes were highlighted:

- Increase in travelling expenses
- Use of tuck-shops were making them more poor because the owners of the tuck-shops buy goods cheaper and sell to them at highest prices than those of the Indian supermarkets

The respondents 30 (100%) stated that they used their income on food and clothing; 10 (33.0%) respondents stated that they were also supporting their families in rural areas.

The household economic status revealed that in both relocation areas the majority of respondents were unemployed (88.4%) in Welbadagt West and (80.0%) in Parkgate. This could be attributed to the fact that people were uneducated and lacked skills needed in the work place. As such they are engaged on low paid jobs.

Commonalities:

The percentage for unemployed respondents was in both areas revealed by 80.0% in Parkgate and 88.4% in Welbadagt West. All respondents had no other sources of income and those who operate tuck shops and sub-contract were basically unemployed people who relied heavily on income generated from those activities.

Differences:

None of working respondents worked for the same company between these areas and none shared jobs between areas not even in the field of petrol attendance, driving, domestic working or self-employment. While the rate of unemployment was very high (more than 80.0%) in Welbadagt West and in Parkgate it was 47.6% in Quarry Road West while the other 52.4% was working on a part-time basis.

Table 21: Household income per month

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
0-500	26	86.7	46	88.4
501-1000	3	10.0	1	2.0
1001-1500	0	0	1	2.0
No answer	1	3.3	4	7.7
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table illustrates that in both Parkgate and Welbadagt West the majority of respondents 26 (86.7%) and 46 (88.4%) respectively survived with the monthly income of between 0-500. Respondents 3 (10.0%) in Parkgate and 1 (2.0%) in Welbadagt West earned wages of between 501-1000 per month. It became evident from this table that respondents who survived with household income of less than R500.00 per month were domestic workers and those dependent from other people such as mothers, husbands, boyfriends to support them whilst those earning a household income of more than R500.00 per month were formally employed.

Commonalities:
More than 85.0% respondents from both areas had total income per month of not more than R500.00 per month as evidenced by 86.7% in Parkgate and 88.4% in Welbadagt West. There were respondents in both areas who did not know for sure how to estimate their monthly income due to being unemployed.

Differences:
10.0% respondents in Umzomuhle Parkgate had a monthly income of between R501.00 and R1000.00 while in Welbadagt West only 2.0% respondents was in that income range. 2.0% respondents in Welbadagt West had a monthly income of between R1000.00 and R1500.00 and none had such income range in Umzomuhle Parkgate.

Employment opportunities:

When asked their opinion on employment opportunities in the area, respondents 20 (66.7%) in Parkgate said that living in the area would not give them access to any employment opportunities, instead it denied them access to employment opportunities that they had when they stayed in Palmview. In Palmview, for example, they used to go and look for jobs in Indian shops and formal areas in Phoenix. The relocation area was far from most areas of employment and one had to use public transport twice to go and look for jobs elsewhere; 9 (30.0%) respondents stated that living in the area could provide short term employment opportunities as the project was still taking place and they hoped that they could be employed but once the project is complete most of them would lose jobs, however, now that they are owning properties one could have a subsistence garden and produce crops to be sold in an informal market in the area.

The majority of respondents 32 (61.5%) in Welbadagt West also stated that living in the area would not give them access to any employment opportunities because the area is located far from other employment areas such as Pinetown and Durban; 12 (23.1%) respondents stated that living in the area would provide short term employment opportunities as some of the people living in the area were employed as builders and some are painting the houses but when the project is completed they would lose their jobs; 8 (15.4%) respondents were not sure whether living in the area will give them access to job opportunities because the area was new and might develop or it might not develop.

Commonalities:

More than 60.0% of respondents in both areas were pessimistic about access to employment opportunities in the areas as observed from 66.7% in Umzomuhle Parkgate and 61.5% in Welbadagt West. In both areas there were respondents who were not sure about job opportunities in these areas as shown by 3.3% in Umzomuhle Parkgate and 15.4% in Welbadagt West. The respondents who were optimistic about access to job opportunities were not more than 30.0% in both areas as illustrated by 30.0% in Umzomuhle Parkgate and 23.1% in Welbadagt West.

Differences:

Most respondents in Welbadagt West were unsure about access to job opportunities within the area as shown by 15.4% as compared to 3.3% in Umzomuhle Parkgate and 90.4% in Quarry Road were optimistic about access to employment opportunities in the area.

4.3.5 Social networks

In Parkgate respondents stated that since they all came from Palmview and it was a small informal settlement, they all know one another. They also stated that in Palmview their structures were close to each other. All 30 (100%) respondents stated that they did not have relatives living in Palmview informal settlement but 8 (27.0%) had friends who also relocated to Parkgate.

They also highlighted that there was no change in the distance (0-5minutes walk) that they travelled to visit their friends in Palmview and the distance (0-5) that they travelled in Parkgate to visit each other.

In Welbadagt West 17 (32.3%) respondents stated the nature of their relationship was to socialise only; 2 (3.8%) respondents stated that the nature of relationship was to socialise and assist with child-care; 2 (3.8%) respondents stated that the nature of their relationship was for safety and security e.g. when they were going somewhere they left their keys with the neighbour and to socialise; 31 (60.0%) this question was not applicable.

When asked about how long do they walk to visit friends/ relatives, in Umzomuhle Parkgate 22 (73.0%) did not answer the question as they stated that they did not have friends/ relatives from areas where they were moved from, 8 (27.0%) respondents walked a distance of between 0-5 minutes to visit friends.

In Welbadagt West the majority of respondents 31 (60.0%) did not have friends or relatives from their previous residential area; 19 (36.0%) respondents walked a distance of between 0-5 minutes to visit a friends or relatives; 1 (2.0%) respondent walked a distance of between 6-10 minutes; 1 (2.0%) respondent walked a distance of 11-15 minutes.

With regards to relocation of friends/ relatives, 19 (36.0%) respondents in Welbadagt West and 7(23.3%) respondents in Umzomuhle Parkgate stated that their friends also relocated; 1

(3.3%) respondent in Parkgate and 2 (4.0%) respondents stated that their friends did not relocate.

Respondents 18 (35.0%) in Welbadagt West stated that their friends relocated to Welbadagt West and 7 (23.3%) stated that their friends relocated to Parkgate; 1 (2.0%) respondent did not know where friends relocated.

When asked about the walking distance to visit friends/ relatives after relocation, 12 (23.0%) respondents in Welbdagt West and 5 (16.7%) respondents in Parkgate were walking a distance of between 0-5 minutes. 4 (8.0%) respondents in Welbadagt West stated that they walked for about 11-15 minutes; 1 (2.0%) respondent and 2 (6.6%) respondents in Parkgate walked for about 6-10; 1 (2.0%) respondent walked for more than 20 minutes.

When asked if they were still in contact with friends/ relatives since relocation, 19 (36.5%) respondents in Welbadagt West and 7 (23.3%) respondents in Parkgate stated that they were still in touch with friends even when they were relocated; 2 (4.0%) respondents were not in touch since relocation.

To answer the question, which relates to means of contact with friends, 18 (35.0%) respondents in Welbadagt West and 7 (23.3%) respondents in Parkgate stated that they visited their friends; 1 (2.0%) respondent in Welbadagt West stated she was contacting her friend telephonically.

With regards to frequency of contacting friends/ relatives since relocation, respondents 10 (19.2%) in Welbadagt West and 1 (3.3%) in Umzomuhle Parkgate stated that they contacted their friends/ relatives more since relocation; 9 (17.3%) respondents in Welbadagt West and 4 (13.3%) respondents in Parkgate stated that they contacted their friends less since relocation; 2 (3.8%) respondents in Welbadagt West and 1 (3.3%) respondent in Parkgate stated that they lost contact since relocation.

4.3.6 Future aspirations

Respondents 13 (43.3%) in Parkgate would like to see job opportunities being provided in their area; 4 (13.3%) respondents stated that they would be happy if electricity could be

provided as they had been living in the area for past three months without electricity; 3 (10.0%) respondents mentioned that schools were needed within less than 5 years; 2 (6.7%) respondents stated that they would like to have cemeteries nearby; 2 (6.7%) respondents would like to see street lights being provided and stated that the presence of street lights in the area could minimise crime and people would feel safe to travel at night; 2 (6.7%) respondents stated that they would like the area to be provided with a shopping centre; 1 (3.3%) respondent mentioned public phones; 1 (3.3%) respondent mentioned the park with swimming pool; 1 (3.3%) mentioned the clinic; 1 (3.3%) mentioned the police station.

Respondents in Welbadagt West mentioned the following changes:
- Jobs;
- Clinics;
- Electricity;
- Sports ground;
- Parks and;
- Social Halls.

Table 22: Further relocations

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No	%	No	%
Yes	1	3.0	26	50.0
Yes conditionally	2	7.0	0	0
No	27	90.0	26	50.0
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

It appears from the above table that half 26 (50.0%) of the total population sampled in Welbadagt West and 1 (3.0%) respondent in Parkgate would like to move if they were to be given an opportunity to move; 26 (50.0%) respondents in Welbadagt West and 27 (90.0%) respondents in Parkgate would not like to move even if they could be given an opportunity; 2 (7.0%) respondents in Parkgate stated that they could move provided that job opportunities are available in that area.

Table 23: Area of preference

Value	Parkgate		Welbadagt West	
	No.	%	No.	%
Close to the city	1	3.3	5	10.0
Any place with jobs	1	3.3	9	17.0
Anywhere	1	3.3	8	15.4
Not applicable	27	90.0	26	50.0
Don't know	0	0	4	7.4
Total	30	100.0	52	100.0

The above table indicates that in Parkgate 27 (90.0%) respondents and 26 (50.0%) respondents in Welbadagt West did not answer this question as it was not applicable to them. 1 (3.3%) respondent in Parkgate and 8 (15.4%) respondents in Welbadagt West stated that they would like to live anywhere; 1 (3.3%) respondent in Parkgate and 9 (17.0%) respondents in Welbadagt West stated that they would like to live in any place that could offer them jobs; 1 (3.3%) respondent and 5 (10.0%) respondents in Welbadagt West that they would like to live next to the city centre; 4 (7.4%) respondents in Welbadagt West did not know which areas they preferred to live in.

4.3.7 General comments

20 (66.7%) respondents had no general comments whilst other respondents highlighted that:

- Although they did not have permanent employment in Palmview, but could manage to get temporal jobs and ever since they had been relocated they had not even managed to get temporal (togt) work. Respondents who have children who attended school stated that the problem with this programme is that they had been relocated almost in the middle of the year and their children were already registered at schools and they were forced to leave them with their parents because they could not afford travelling costs.

- Street names were needed in the area. Respondents stated that because they were not familiar with the place it was difficult for them to direct people who wanted to visit them and they had to find means of fetching them wherever. One respondent highlighted an incident where her child was sick and had to take her to hospital and the

ambulance driver wanted directions as well as road name, but she could not direct the driver and the ambulance did not pitch up.

- They also indicated that they needed Councillors because at that moment they did not know who their Councillor was since they were coming from Palmview informal settlement and they did not know who to complain to.

Most of the respondents in Welbadagt West did not have general comments. 2 (3.8%) stated that:

- The government needed to provide mechanisms of eradicating poverty and unemployment in the area;
- Provision of ceiling boards to the houses and;
- Education and training centres to train residents some skills.

The following section deals with presenting data from the interview schedules.

4.4   Interviews

Interviews with the Ethekwini Metro Housing Senior Project Manager and Project Managers, Housing Expert and Councillors indicated the following:

4.4.1 Interview with the Ethekwini Metro Housing Senior Project Manager and Project Managers

When asked about the key problems experienced in implementing the Slums Clearance Programme, Dlamini (2003) stated that Housing Unit has not geared up in terms of the project management capacity to tackle such a massive housing delivery programme. The Department of Metro Housing does not have adequate internal capacity to effectively deliver the Slums Clearance Programme hence they had appointed external Project Managers to manage the programme.

The Slums Clearance Programme is mainly designed to accommodate households to be relocated from identified informal settlements and some of them have been reluctant to relocate because of the following reasons:

- Breakdown of the community;

- Long travelling distances to places of employment opportunities and;
- Children had already registered and were attending schools located in close proximity to informal settlements.

Financial constraints also affect the implementation of the programme in the sense that the municipality had to top-up the funding for engineering services such as roads and sanitation in order to achieve the level of services acceptable to the municipality. As such, the programme required a huge budget from the municipality, which had not been anticipated.

When asked about advantages and disadvantages in implementing Slums Clearance Programme, Dlamini (2003) highlighted the following advantages:

- Ring fencing and identification of communities to be developed;
- Upfront approval and dedication of funding to implement project and;
- Co-operation between various departments such as Town Planning, Engineering and Environment by speeding up approvals of the proposal.

On the other hand Dlamini (2003) highlighted the following as disadvantages:

- Relocation of communities away from the CBD where they were or might be engaged in economic opportunities and;
- Provision of services such as electricity and social facilities lag behind. For example, the Department of Education has not yet built the school in any of the new projects despite requests from the communities.

With regards to compliance of the programme with National Housing Policy, according to Dlamini (2003) the Slums Clearance Programme is implemented according to the principles of the National Housing Policy.

With regards to co-operation of beneficiaries, Dlamini; Mock and Kunene (2003) stated that beneficiaries were co-operative during the process. It took a lot of discussions and negotiations with the development committees, civic organisations and communities themselves to explain the importance of the programme in improving the quality of life.

When asked whether slums clearance programme is an appropriate response in dealing with informal settlement Dlamini; Mock and Kunene stated that the programme is an appropriate response to the problem of informal settlements located in risky areas because:

- It deals with immediate overcrowding issues;
- Provide beneficiaries with housing opportunities;
- It speeds up housing delivery;
- Planning, designing and approval procedures are streamlined and;
- It is flexible because it involves two processes viz. in-situ upgrade (where land is suitable for development services are provided and relocation (where development is not feasible due to conditions of land then people are relocated.

With regards to land ownership, the Umzomuhle Parkgate relocation site was initially owned by ABSA Bank and then the Ethekwini Municipality bought it to for the purpose of relocating people from risky areas in informal settlements (Kunene, 2003). The Welbadagt West relocation site consisted of 10 parent properties, owned by private individuals and these were expropriated through a Sales Agreement by the Ethekwini Municipality (Mock, 2003).

When asked about criteria used to allocate the sites, Kunene (2003) stated that sites were allocated to residents living in informal settlements earmarked for relocation in order to clear slums in that particular area. Residents were registered; shacks were marked with paint and residents were provided with numbered cards, which contained their names, I.D. numbers and shack numbers to avoid corruption and to keep the numbers of shacks constant.

When asked about funding of the project, Kunene and Mock (2003) stated that the Province and the Ethekwini Municipality financed the Slums Clearance Programme. The Province financed the programme by providing subsidies, and the Municipality provided the bridging finance and top-up funding for the services in order to achieve engineering standards accepted to the Municipality. The National Norms and Standards, for instance, are the provision of gravel roads, water standpipes and pit latrines and the Municipality provided more finance to provide better services such as waterborne sewerage, tarred roads, street lighting to improve the improve the living conditions of people who will be occupying new houses.

When asked whether beneficiaries were aware of the liability to utilise services, Kunene and Mock (2003) mentioned that beneficiaries were informed of liability for utilising services through home ownership workshops and pamphlets were handed over to beneficiaries.

With regards to the replicability of the programme, all Project Managers interviewed were of the opinion that Slums Clearance Programme is replicable because it is realistic and implementable. Dlamini (2003) stated that they were intending to plan and design the second phase of the programme. Informal settlements to be relocated to the second phase of the Slum Clearance Programme had already been identified. Mock (2003) further stated that, although the Slum Clearance Programme is replicable, there is a need to spell out what is good and what is bad about the programme before it could be implemented elsewhere.

4.4.2 Interview with Housing Expert

With regards to his understanding of the Slums Clearance Programme, Makhathini (2003) stated that there are no slums (deteriorated inner-city areas) in South Africa, but there are informal settlements. Slums clearance programme was designed to deal with informal settlements by partial upgrade and relocation/ partial relocation in which a study of informal settlements was done. Relocation is done where the structures are located in unstable land e.g. in proximity close to the floodplains. Partial relocation occurs when the informal settlements are too dense to make sense of the project.

The project proposal was submitted to the Province to get funding, as this was proposed to be a 10-year programme where R250m per year was required. The Housing Department did not respond to the proposal and request from the Metro Housing. Six months after the submission of the proposal, the Provincial Housing Department came up with the same programme called Slums Clearance Programme. Under this programme all municipalities were requested to submit applications for funding and were offered R200m to start the programme.

When asked about appropriateness of the programme in responding to the problem of informal settlements, (Makhathini (2003) stated that slums clearance programme is an appropriate response to the problem of informal settlements because it aims to address the housing needs of poor people living in informal settlements and some of these people had already relocated. Makhathini (2003) highlighted the following constraints and opportunities:

Constraints:

- Shortage and rate of housing delivery is too slow;

- Difficulty in controlling informal settlements because they consist of multiple families which makes it difficult to identify an appropriate way of relocating them;

- Increase in population and high turnover in informal settlements disorganises the Metro Housing register;

- The programme is aimed at providing houses to unemployed and very poor people. As such people cannot afford to pay for services as their most basic need is for food and clothing;

- Actual location of houses is a major problem, which led to a lot of resistance to relocate;

- The programme is criticised for relocating the poorest of the poor to areas which lack employment opportunities;

- The areas are likely to deteriorate because people cannot afford to improve their living conditions even if they would like to do so;

- Beneficiaries are uneducated and lack skills necessary to get jobs;

- Lifestyle takes time to adjust to a certain situation for example, most people from informal settlements are not used to sanitary toilets and thus, it is easy for them to put plastics bags or papers in the system;

- NIMBY syndrome (an issue to all low-cost housing project) and not only to slums clearance programme was another problem in implementing the programme. The interviews revealed that most of people living adjacent to relocation areas strongly objected to the low-cost housing development and several meetings took place between Metro Housing officials and property owners in order to resolve the problem. People object to this type of development because they invest large sum of money in their properties;

- Security issues were very critical. Metro Housing had to ensure that houses are protected from house breaking and there were people who were accommodated in the houses safety and security;

- Registration and transport cost were a major problem because the Council spent a lot of money to transport and register people and this was not budgeted for. This so because costs of removing people's furniture and goods were borne by Metro Housing as there was not budget for such removals and;

- Development of houses does not go hand in hand with the provision of social amenities such as schools, pension pay points, community halls, clinics etc.

Opportunities:

- Formalisation and home ownership- people will have the opportunity to extend their houses and invest in property. Once areas are formalised crime is reduced because it is difficult for the criminals to hide in formal areas as compared to dense informal settlements;

- Issues of basic health and safety are addressed by providing access to clean water resulting in serious decline to water related diseases;

- Properties acquire value;

- Provide security in the sense that people have assets they can use to access loans and use their properties as securities and;

- Rates base for the municipality.

In terms of the replicability of the slums clearance programme Makhathini (2003) also stated that the programme is replicable and other cities could learn from it. The Metro Housing is under pressure to design other programmes for other areas such as KwaDukuza.

4.4.3   Interview with the Councillor

According to Hlongwa (2003) slum clearance is a Presidential Project that is aimed to reduce slums and provide proper housing facilities such as schools, clinics etc. The project involves identifying and purchasing vacant land to build houses and relocate people from informal settlements, prioritising settlements located in dangerous areas and then the rest of other informal settlements in cases where land occupied by that settlement is required for some strategic development. In some cases informal settlements located in developable areas are not removed but they are upgraded. The idea is to relocate people to pre-planned areas to avoid problems of overcrowding in informal settlements and upgrade informal settlements located in developable areas.

The following are crucial issues that the slums clearance programme intends to address:

- Shortage of housing and lack of security of tenure to the majority of the urban poor;

- Problem of unemployment, for example, slum clearance is large scale project and most of the people are employed although not employed permanently but people could use

the skills they got during the implementation of the programme to get more job opportunities;

- Health risks and unsafe living environments in informal settlements e.g. provision waste collection and sanitation and;
- Inadequate community facilities e.g. provision of facilities has always been impossible in informal areas due to the nature of settlements.

When asked about the appropriateness of the programme, Hlongwa (2003) argued that as long as people do not abuse the programme it is an appropriate programme. For example, once structures were removed and people relocated they should not come back and put up shacks in those areas or in any other area. When asked how to ensure that they do not come back and put up shacks, he stated that:

- A strict policy on land invasion is needed to be formulated;
- The government needs to revisit and amend the land policy according to time frames. For example, when people had been living in informal settlements for a period of 12 months those settlements could not be removed without an alternative arrangement, but if less than that all structures should be demolished and land should be protected from any invasion by owners and;
- Informal settlements need to be monitored frequently to ensure that the number of informal settlements remain constant.

To address the question of key problems in implementing the programme, he highlighted that in Welbadagt West they had a major problem with the neighbouring areas for example, people wanted their relatives to be accommodated in those houses because they said that the issue of housing shortage affects everyone and not only low-income and people living in informal settlements.

Another problem was that people from other areas such as Lamontville were buying properties from beneficiaries and this meant that the programme would not benefit the intended people from the affected informal settlements. Supervision and monitoring needed to be encouraged during the allocation process to ensure that the names and I.D numbers of

people captured in the Metro Housing database correspond with the names of people relocated.

According to Hlongwa (2003) the benefits of on implementing the programme are:

- Crime rate would be reduced;
- Property values in areas that were located close to informal settlements would increase once informal settlements are removed;
- Allows proper planning and development of low-income areas and;
- Property ownership and security of tenure.

When asked whether the slums clearance programme is meeting the housing demand of the affected people, he stated that it does because all identified communities will be located and the remaining properties allocated to other people form unidentified informal settlement areas and unless people do not sell houses.

In terms of general comments relating the Slums Clearance Programme, he stated that people living in formal areas need to be encouraged to support the programme because, once the land lies vacant it will be invaded to put informal structures that would negatively impact on their property values. People need to be open minded and be aware of the fact that there is high rate of crime in informal settlements and it is very difficult to trace people living in the informal settlements once criminal activities take place. Therefore, the slums clearance programme should be seen as a major low-cost housing development initiative to safeguard people and reduce informal settlements.

4.4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the data analysis and synthesis of findings from the information collected from the three case studies, which had been gathered through questionnaire surveys and interviews with Project Managers and a Councillor.

Whilst creating a compact city form is to a large extent constrained by lack of suitably located land for low-income housing, it is evident opportunities exist in strengthening public transport linkages. The survey found that proper road networks had been provided to link different areas. In Welbadagt West/ Village the only mode of transport available were taxis and this led

to the exploitation of residents. Respondents stated for instance, that there had been a recent taxi fare increase, and this exclusively affected people relocated to the new housing development in Welbadagt West. This means that the majority of the poor who are being relocated to these areas will continue to be poor.

Transport costs bit very deeply in this area, and as such, respondents highlighted that before relocation they used to travel to Durban CBD at a cost of only R2.00. After the relocation, however, it cost them R6.00 to go to Durban by a taxi. Other respondents stated that they even used to walk to town for job-hunting trips. They also stated that commodity prices were too high as compared to where they lived. The main reason for this is that shopping centres and supermarkets are too far from their places of residence. This led to further exploitation as residents could only buy from the local tuck shops, which surprisingly charge them triple the price of what the supermarkets charged.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN IMPLEMENTING THE SLUM CLEARANCE PROGRAMME

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide some key constraints and opportunities in implementing the Slum Clearance Programme in relation the three case studies. These will be based on the literature review, interviews with Project Managers, the surveys and observations.

5.2 Constraints

(i) Urban sprawl and spatial segregation

The Slum Clearance Programme is implemented in a manner that encourages low-density sprawl, which contributes to the loose character of the urban fabric. The problem with urban sprawl is the generation of enormous amount of movement and failure to create opportunities for viable, efficient and widely accessible public transportation systems. The major development issues of poverty, unemployment and inequality are significantly aggravated (Dewar, 1992). The survey found that a large portion of people's incomes in Welbadagt West and Parkgate are spent on transport whilst many indicated that proximity to jobs is a major constraint. On the other hand whilst the conditions in Quarry Road West leaves a lot be desired the majority of people noted in living there was related to proximity to jobs and facilities such as schools and the Mosque.

According to Dewar (1992), the problem of urban sprawl is the failure to generate high levels of social and commercial services. This system wastes scarce resources such as land, energy and finance. The reason for this is that land is not used to its maximum potential as large portions of the land is used to develop single storey dwelling units instead of double-storey dwelling units for example, Shayamoya in Cato Manor. The emphasis of the programme is on provision of houses (meaning four walls) and not housing in an integrated manner where there is provision of social facilities such as schools, clinics, halls and so on. In Welbadagt West and Parkgate these facilities were not available and people were forced to travel to other areas to access them. Children, for instance were travelling long distances to attend school in areas such as Chatsworth and eNgonyameni rural area where they travelled more than one hour to

school. One respondent highlighted that his child was forced to leave home at six o'clock in the morning because he had to travel about 20 minutes to the bus stop to catch a taxi to Pinetown and from Pinetown to Durban, then to Mobeni Heights.

The low occupancy rates, as shown in the findings is indicative of the limits imposed by the one house per plot model in terms of accommodating as many people as possible in order to increase thresholds to support certain facilities. On the other hand, people surveyed did indicated that security of tenure was more important to them because they would be able to generate income through their properties, whilst respondents interviewed were of the opinion that with security of tenure, people are able to extend their houses, invest in property and use their properties as securities.

Furthermore, this resulted in extensive environmental destruction, sterile and monotonous developments. This situation is evident in Welbadagt West and in Umzomuhle Parkgate where the Slums Clearance Programme provided monotonous and environmental destructive housing development through land excavations and removal of plants and topsoil, leaving unstable soil for housing development to depend on. The project lacks integration, which is the main element of planning and development in an attempt to restructure our cities, especially with regards to the IDP (see photographs 1 and 2 below).

PLATE: 6
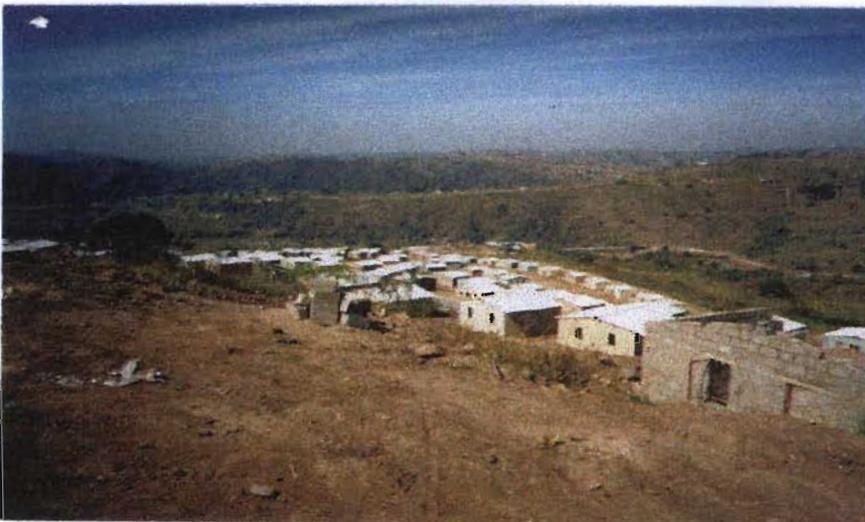
Welbadagt West Housing Project

The above photograph shows the other part of the housing project in Welbadagt West with completed houses as well as houses still under construction.

PLATE: 7
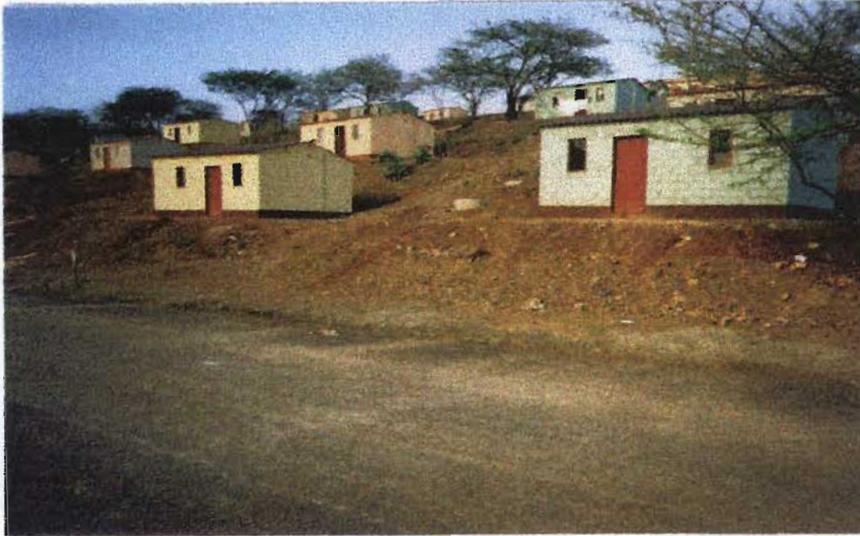
Umzomuhle Parkgate
Housing Project

The above photograph shows the completed part of Umzomuhle Parkgate housing project. This development demonstrates that some trees were preserved and, to some extent, incorporated into the development.

(ii)   Reinforces apartheid planning

Although the Slum Clearance Programme is aimed at providing housing for the poor who have been living in informal settlements, it is still reinforcing some of the elements of the apartheid planning. In the past, for instance, the urban poor were moved from areas located closer to the city and economic opportunities, and relocated at the periphery of the city where they lacked services and facilities.

The Slum Clearance Programme is no exception from the apartheid period's low-cost housing development because it may be argued that, displacement of urban poor is also evident. People are also moved from areas located close to their work places to the periphery, and as a consequence, distances between places of residence and places of work increased. This resulted in separation between parents and their children because parents working in Durban had to stay at work and only come back during weekends. Some respondents, for instance, stated that ever since they relocated they were no longer staying with their parents, some with

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their husbands or children whereas before relocation they were staying together as families. People living in the slums clearance houses travel long distances to and from their places of work. In Welbadagt West respondents were employed, either working in Bluff, which is approximately 40 km away from the area or in Pinetown. In Parkgate one respondent stated that she was working in a firm called Fedics in Isipingo which is located more than 40 km away from Parkgate.

(iii)   Poor transport linkages

Transport linkages are of key importance to the economic and social development for all income groups. Transport infrastructure can facilitate the efficient and convenient movement of people. Those living in low-cost housing heavily rely on trains to travel as they provide the cheapest mode of transport. Welbadagt West residents could benefit if this mode of transport was available to them. The respondents stated that those who could not afford transport costs were using a very narrow bridge to connect to areas such as Chatsworth and eNgonyameni rural area (near uMlazi township) and the bridge was very narrow and in a bad condition (see photograph below).

PLATE: 8
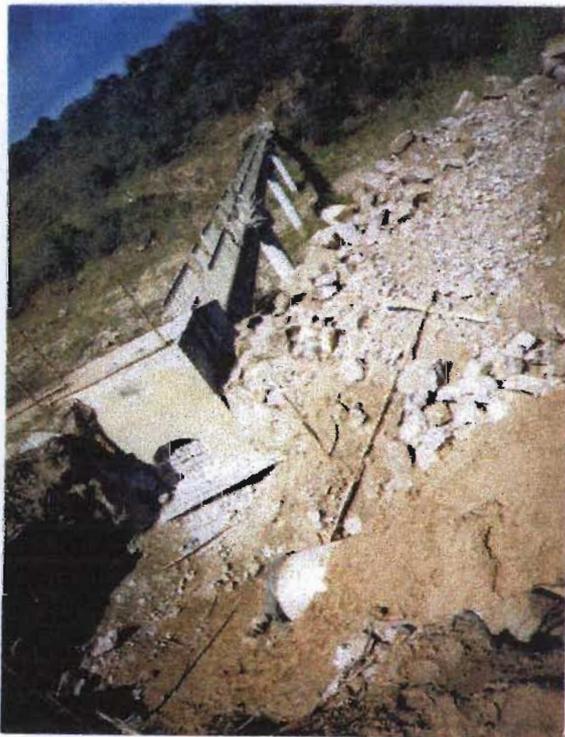
Bridge Linking Chatsworth and eNgonyameni Rural Area

The above photograph illustrates a poor and narrow bridge used by residents in Welbadagt West to areas such as Chatsworth and eNgonyameni Rural Areas (located close to Umlazi township). This bridge is very narrow and dangerous for children who cross it when they attend school.

Furthermore, internal movement is constrained by the fact that the roads were too narrow and in most cases very steep thus limiting viable and efficient modes of public transport such as buses. In Umzomuhle (Parkgate) there is one very steep gravel road at the moment that links it with Parkgate medium income community. The latter provides residents with temporal (togt) work such as gardening, washing clothes (see photograph below).

PLATE: 9

Gravel Road Linking Umzomuhle and Parkgate Middle–income Area

The train is also available but is not easily accessible to residents of Umzomuhle because they have to cross the Main Road R102. They also stated that there is no pedestrian bridge at the moment, as a result, residents have to travel long distances on foot. Quarry Road West informal settlement residents took the advantage of existing road network as the settlement is located just along the Main Road i.e. Quarry Road West and respondents did not complain about any long distances and transport costs as the costs were reasonable for them and that they are not forced to use public transport they can use shortcuts to walk to town.

(iv) High rate of unemployment

Unemployment is the major constraint in the implementation of the programme because the programme is designed to mainly cater for housing needs of the people living in informal settlements. It does not encourage a mixture of income groups (possibly the middle income groups) to allow for further developments in these areas. Payment of services in order to recover costs could be impossible when most accommodated people are unemployed. As shown by the surveys, many residents rely on the informal sector/ domestic work for income.

Quality of Life to some extent improved only by formalisation, but structural difficulties remain and, are in fact exacerbated by lack of employment opportunities within the surrounding areas. Quarry Road West residents indicated that they had chosen to live in that area because it was closer to employment opportunities and more than 30.0% respondents highlighted that they would not like to relocate, as this would make it difficult for them to find jobs elsewhere. This high rate of unemployment will negatively impact on the way in which the municipality delivers services. If this is left unattended, this will lead to these areas being run down.

(v) Lack of accessible land in close proximity to the CBD

Lack of accessible land in close proximity to the CBD is another factor that constrains the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme. Lack of accessible land might be due to the following factors:

- Privately owned and very expensive: the most easily accessible land closer to the inner city is privately owned and very expensive due to location. As such it becomes very difficult for the Council to buy such land for low-cost housing, as the council could not benefit in terms of rates;

- Town Planning Controls which make it difficult to get permission for rezoning properties especially for low-cost housing: once the land is zoned for high income housing or for commercial purposes it needs to be rezoned before it could be used for any other use. There are certain standards, for example, that govern the use of land in urban areas such as Coverage, FAR, parking requirements and so on, and all these controls need to be changed if land-use changes. This involves advertising on papers to allow the public to voice out their concerns about the proposed rezoning and;

- Objections from the neighbouring upmarket properties: generally, low-cost housing developments are associated with crime and are said to have a negative impact, especially in terms of devaluating properties. This is supported by the interviews conducted with Housing Experts and Project Managers where they have indicated that the NIMBY (not in my backyard) syndrome was a major problem in implementing these projects.

(vi)   Difficulty in adapting with Development Control Measures

People relocated to these areas are from informal settlements and were never exposed to development and planning controls. They used to build their structures as they wished and operate businesses without any submission of building plans and consent from the local authority concerned. As such, they would find it difficult to adapt and comply with those controls. Some of them had never seen a building plan in their lives and this means that these areas will have illegal developments, which would not be compliant with standards. Based on experience and not directly from the research, with regards to the problems facing people living in low-cost housing. In the past, for instance, there were no strict development control regulations applicable to these areas and now that they would be expected to comply with those controls. This would be a constraint to them because they have to bear the costs of preparing building plans if they need to extend their homes.

Development process does not end up with the completion of projects and relocation of people, but people would need to extend and improve their houses and Development Control Measures tend to restrict development in terms of height, land use, building lines, coverage and floor area ratio (FAR). Housing also plays an important role in terms of giving input into livelihood strategies. During the survey, respondents highlighted that since they have their own properties, it would be easy for them to extend their houses and to operate businesses from home. This means that residents understand that they own properties and could use them to generate income; hence it is necessary for them to understand the implications of extending and operating businesses at home.

(vii)   Inadequate funding to deliver the programme

As it was the case with Rakodi's research in Zambia Aided Self Help and Service Scheme, the research indicated that inadequate financial resources was a major constraint in the

implementation of the programme. The Senior Project Manager stated that Metro-Housing used a lot of money to top up funding for engineering services in order to deliver high standards of services that was not budgeted for.

5.3 Opportunities

Despite the constraints highlighted above, progress is fairly achievable, and these include:

(i) Security of tenure

Under international Human Rights Law, secure tenure is one of the seven components of the right to adequate housing, and this is linked to the right to land. The Housing White Paper claims that security of tenure is a cornerstone of the Government's approach towards providing housing (UN-HABITAT, 2003). Implementation of the Slum Clearance Programme is aimed at giving the majority of the poor access to land. Through this programme most of the urban poor people living in the informal settlements will be given an opportunity to own properties. The programme will reduce unclear land rights, conflicting and overlapping informal land entitlement. This is because in most cases people living in informal settlements have difficulty in identifying where boundaries of their properties are since the houses are located very close to one another. Another aspect with the security of tenure is that it is easy for the municipality and other service providers to provide services when people have legal rights to the land.

The above statement is supported by the research in that respondents in Parkgate and Welbadagt West confirmed that secure tenure gives one a right to own and use the property for income. Respondents, for example, stated that in Palmview they were not allowed to operate businesses because an Indian landowner had businesses in the area. Quarry Road West residents, on the other hand, expressed their concerns about the exploitation by shack lords where they had to pay R40.00 a month for a small room that you can not even fit a bed.

(ii) Employment Creation

Implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme had offered some employment opportunities to the beneficiaries. Some of the people are employed to work in these projects as builders and/or painters. Some respondents were of the opinion that now that they own

properties they could be able to operate small businesses at home because in the informal settlements the shack-lords did not allow them to have businesses. Slums Clearance Programme opened up economic opportunities for them and they would be able to acquire new skills to get jobs elsewhere.

(iii) Reduced density and pre-planned settlements

In most cases informal settlements are characterised with very high density unplanned settlements, which resulted in a lack of adequate space to be utilised for other activities such as schools, small subsistence gardening for each family, play lots and so on. These high density, unplanned settlements often lead to fire risks as most of the building materials used to erect these structures are of highly combustible nature. The type of material used to build dwelling structures is in the form of wattle and daub, while others used old prefabricated wood (see photograph below).

PLATE: 10

Building Material Used
To Build Structures in
Quarry Road West

The Slums Clearance Programme provides an opportunity for planned and formal housing with the provision of facilities for the people, and thus will have the opportunity to extend their houses and invest in property. Overcrowding issues in terms of high densities in informal settlements are also addressed, and there is more space between each house. Respondents in both Welbadagt West and Parkgate stated that their structures were located very close to each other, and as a result there was no privacy, and they were unable to identify their properties.

(iv) Access to clean water, sanitation and other basic services

Access to clean water and sanitation is crucial in the people's health. In informal settlements people did not have access to individual water standpipes and people had to fetch water from the communal standpipes, and others, in some cases had to buy water from other people in the informal settlements. There was no proper sanitation and different families had to share one self built pit toilet.

The implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme enabled people to protect themselves from curable diseases and other infections that could be as a consequence of the lack of access to clean water and sanitation. Residents in Umzomuhle Parkgate expressed that although water was not yet available to each household, but they had indoor toilets as compared to where they lived. In Welbadagt West, water was already available to each household and they could use their toilets. In terms of other basic services, such as clinics, schools were not available in both Parkgate and Welbadagt West. Quarry Road West residents relied on neighbouring communities of Reservoir Hills and Clare Estate for services.

5.4   Conclusion

The slum clearance programme has both negative and positive implications. The negative implications are that:

- Beneficiaries are forced to relocate to more distant areas from economic opportunities, as a consequence, the cost of transportation to work is beyond their reach. This is supported by the fact that some of the respondents in both relocation areas highlighted that they were not living with their parents because they worked far from those areas;
- There is lack of provision of services and facilities. In both relocation areas there were no facilities such as clinics, schools and so on. Furthermore, electricity and streetlights as highlighted by respondents were not available,
- There is cost of moving beneficiaries from the affected informal settlements to relocation areas, which had not been budgeted in the programme and;
- There is cost of services and infrastructure to be built and maintained which has to be borne by the beneficiaries. This means that the majority of the poor who most of them

are unemployed have to spend most of their income on service payments in order to recover costs;

- Breakdown of the community;

The following highlights positive implications of the programme:

- The most positive aspect of the programme is that it is flexible as it involves both the processes of relocation and in-situ upgrading. In-situ upgrading is cheaper than relocation because it is provides services to existing areas;
- It fast tracks the betterment of the lives of the people living in high risks informal settlements by moving them to more suitable land;
- Provides security of tenure to the beneficiaries and,
- Reduces health risks and unsafe living conditions by providing services such as refuse collection, sanitation and clean water to individual households.

Although Slums Clearance Programme plays an important role in improving the living conditions of the affected people living in informal settlements, it is not the right approach. This is so because it fails to recognise the fact that people live in informal settlements closer to the city because they want to be close to areas of work and areas that could offer them jobs without paying huge travelling costs. The programme only solves the problem, which relates to the shortage of houses without any economic opportunities, the main concern of the poor. The purpose of the study is to investigate constraints and opportunities in the implementation of the Slums Clearance Programme in the EMA with specific reference to Welbadagt West, Umzomuhle Parkgate relocation areas and Quarry Road West informal settlement in order to find out whether the programme is an appropriate response in dealing with the affected informal settlements.

It has become crystal clear that the surveys conducted in three case studies support the hypothesis that the Slums Clearance Programme is at face value an appropriate response in dealing with the affected informal settlements because it addresses their needs for houses. However it does not provide employment opportunities, as a consequence, the majority of the people already relocated are still unemployed and find it difficult to find jobs. As such, they could not afford to pay for services in these newly developed areas. On the other hand

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interviews with Housing Expert and Project Managers revealed that the Slums Clearance Programme is an appropriate response in dealing with the affected informal settlements because it aims to address the housing needs of the poor living in informal settlements and that some of the people had already relocated, however, nothing is said about the well-being of the poor in terms of improving employment opportunities as well as public facilities which are central to any community's well being.

These were the key issues and problem areas identified in this chapter:

- Urban sprawl and spatial segregation results in long travelling distances between the areas of work and places of residence. These resulted in increased travelling costs and separation of families as most of them had to stay away from home;
- Displacement of people to the peripheries, thus denying them economic opportunities;
- Poor transport linkages to connect these fragmented and separated land uses and;
- Lack of holistic development.

Based on the problems highlighted in the research, the following are recommendations for future implementation of the slum clearance programme.

5.5 Recommendations

(i)   **Ensure that holistic development with facilities such as schools, clinics is facilitated to limit disadvantageous situations:** The interviews indicated that development of housing was done in a fragmented manner as a result provision of basic services such as clinics, schools lagged behind. This might be due to the fact threshold needed to support those facilities are not currently generated.

(ii)   **Promote social housing as an alternative form of tenure:** In South Africa social housing has been mainly introduced for homeless people. There is no social security fund and this is financed through stages such as setting up of the organisation, financial packaging (in the form of loans and grants), Development, and managing stock.

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(iii) **Create flexible development controls, self-reliant communities:** Policies should provide flexible land and housing regulations to make it easier for the poor to adapt to such regulations. These should encourage mixed low impact land uses rather than providing strictly residential sites. These types of land uses could allow people to operate some small businesses to generate income in order to alleviate poverty and ensure that there is enough room for the poor to extend their houses in order for them to be able to sub-let to other people to generate income. As demonstrated by the research findings, for most of the poor, sub-letting is the major income generating activity. For them land and housing is an important productive asset that could alleviate starvation. As such, poverty alleviation strategies in terms of encouraging small-scale businesses in low-cost housing developments are necessary to minimise reliance to other businesses for job opportunities. However, people also need to be educated about the importance of complying with development control regulation and to ensure that illegal use of land is minimised.

(iv) **Encourage personal/ group savings as an additional form of housing finance to supplement the government's housing subsidy:** Given high rate of unemployment in all case studies, and the fact that all people relocated in the areas came from informal settlements, group savings in the form of stokvels should be encouraged and legalised so that people could use the money for extending their houses or to start some form of small businesses. As revealed by the research, social networks play an important role in low-income areas. All cases for example, indicate that the nature of relationship with their friends was to socialise and sometimes assist with childcare whereas in Quarry Road West respondents indicated that there were people who assisted others financially. These networks need to be strengthened so that people work together and assist each other.

(v) **Ensure that well located land is available and accessed for low-cost housing development:** Welbadagt West and Umzomuhle housing developments are poorly located at urban peripheries far from the places of economic opportunities. It is recommended that low cost housing be located closer to the CBD where employment opportunities are available to reduce transport costs or alternatively, places of employment to be developed closer to where the majority of the poor are relocated to reduce the number of people flocking to the cities.

The Council and the government departments who are involved in the Slum Clearance Programme need to identify land, first in the inner city areas. As much as the land in these areas is expensive, the Council should negotiate the purchase price with private landowners and start developing it from the core to the periphery to minimise the excessive commuting distances from areas of work/ employment opportunities and residence.

(vi) **Ensure that adequate funding is available before implementation of the programme:** Interviews with the Housing Expert indicated that the implementation of the programme is too slow and this might be due to financial constraints to implement the programme. The Department needs to ensure that experts are involved in managing the Slum Clearance Projects in order to alleviate problems of less estimates and mismanagement of funds, which could impact negatively on both the end user as well as the implementers. This is so because once funds are mismanaged, it means that the end user will end up suffering because the structures will be of poor quality material because of the need to replace misused funds. It is also important to involve the project beneficiaries in all phases of development so that they acquire certain skills that they could also use when they need to improve their houses with minimal costs. In his study in Central America, Turner observed that the poor with scarce resources were able to produce quality dwelling more cost effectively than the government.

(vii) **Implementation of slum clearance programme should as far as possible encourage in-situ upgrading:** In situ upgrading is the most convenient and cost effective form of formalising informal settlements. The Ethekwini Municipality, Metro Housing Department needs to identify suitable pockets of land around areas where people have already settled and provide services and then consider relocations only when suitable land is not available in those areas. This could minimise possible disruptions such as displacement of people, separation between families and so on that result from relocations.

(viii) **Site and service schemes should also be encouraged in this programme rather providing a serviced site and a top structure:** In this scheme, the government does not necessarily have to build houses for the beneficiaries, but needs to provide public facilities (such as schools, community centres, health care facilities) and services such

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as water, sanitation and so on. Project beneficiaries should be encouraged to construct their own houses using their own resources.

To conclude, it has become evident from the above discussion that the Slums Clearance Programme is an appropriate response to the problem of informal settlements because it is aimed at providing well-built houses with basic services for the affected households. However, upgrade or formalisation is not enough to deal with more structural difficulties. Future implementation of slum clearance programme needs to address among other things, the following key challenges:

- High rate of unemployment;
- Excessive distance between areas of work and areas of residence;
- Develop a more holistic planning and development approach and;
- Provide a diversity of housing types in order to maximise choice.

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APPENDICES

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL-DURBAN
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR QUARRY ROAD WEST INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

Name of Enumerator...

Address of Respondent...

(Tick the appropriate box)

I.   HOUSEHOLD PROFILE

1.1 Number of people living in this unit other than the respondent..............

Number	Age	Relationship	Activities (e.g. working, attending school)	Gender

1.2 Age category

18-20	
21-30	
31-40	
41-50	
Above 50	

1.3   Gender

Female	
Male	

1.4   Marital status

Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Widowed	
Other	

1.5   Highest Standard Passed

0-5	
6-10	
Tertiary	

2.0   SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND PROFILE OF LIVING CONDITIONS

2.1   In which area were born?...

2.2   Which other areas did you live in before coming to live in the area?..............................

....

....

2.3   Why did you leave the area of origin?..

....

....

....

2.4   Why did you choose to live in Quarry Road West?..

....

....

2.5   Who is the head of the house?..

2.6   How are you related to him?...

2.7   How did you know about this place?..

....

2.8   Are you the owner or tenant?..........................and how much are you paying for this

Unit?...

2.9   How long have you been living in this place?..

2.10   Are you satisfied with the living conditions?...................and why?.............................

....

....

2.11   What are the disadvantages and advantages of living in this area?..............................

....

....

....

....

2.12   No. of rooms...

2.13   What problems are you experiencing by living in this area?.................................

....

....

2.14   What facilities do you have in this area?

Pre-schools	
Primary School	
Secondary School	
Shopping Centre	
Tuck Shops	
Clinic	
Post Office	
Church	
None of the above	

2.15   What types of services do you have?

Water	
Electricity	
Sanitation	
Refuse Collection	
All of the above	
None of the above	

2.16   Are you paying for these services?

Yes	
No	

If no, why?.. if yes to whom

are you paying for services?...

2.17   What is the governing structure in this area and how was it elected?..........................

....

2.18   What is it doing for the community?..

....

....

....

3.0 ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

3.1 Which firm are you working for?...

3.2 In which area is it located?..

3.3 How do you travel to work?...

Private Car	
Taxi	
Bus	
Train	
On Foot	

3.4 Indicate the basis of your employment

Part-time	
Full-time	

3.5 How do you spend your income?

Transport	
Food	
Clothing	
Remittances	
Policies	
Other	

3.6 What is the household income per month?

1-500	
501-1000	
1001-1500	
1501-2000	
2001-2500	
2501 and above	

3.7 What are your other sources of income?

Wages	
Informal	
None	

4.0 SOCIAL NETWORKS

4.1 Do you know your new neighbours?

Yes	
No	

4.2   Do you have close friends/ relatives in this area?

Yes	
No	

4.3   Nature of relationship?

Assist each other financially	
Assist with child care	
Socialise only	
Other specify	

5.0   FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

5.1   What changes would you like to see within your area in the next five years and how do you

think those changes can be made?...

....

....

....

5.2   If you could be given an opportunity to move would you like to move?

Yes	
No	

If yes, where would you like to move and why?...

....

....

....

GENERAL COMMENTS

....

....

....

....

APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL-DURBAN
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARKGATE AND WELBADAGT WEST RELOCATION AREAS

Name of Enumerator..

Address of Respondent..

(Tick the appropriate box)

I. **HOUSEHOLD PROFILE**

1.1 Number of people living in this unit other than the respondent…………..

Number	Age	Relationship	Activities (e.g. working, attending school)	Gender

1.2 Age category

18-20	
21-30	
31-40	
41-50	
Above 50	

1.3   Gender

Female	
Male	

1.4   Marital status

Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Widowed	
Other	

1.5   Highest Standard Passed

0-5	
6-10	
Tertiary	

2.0 SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND PROFILE OF LIVING CONDITIONS

2.1 In which area were born?..

2.2 Which other areas did you live in before coming to live in the area?...........................

....

....

2.3 Why did you leave the area of origin?...

....

....

....

2.4 Who is the head of the house?...

2.5 How are you related to him?...

2.6 How did you get to know about this place?...

....

2.7 How long have you been living in this place?..

2.8 Are you the owner or tenant?............................and how much are you paying for this

Unit?...

2.9 What are the disadvantages and advantages of living in this area?.............................

....

....

....

....

2.10 What facilities do you have in this area?

Pre-schools	
Primary School	
Secondary School	
Shopping Centre	
Tuck Shops	
Clinic	
Post Office	
Church	
None of the above	

2.11   For children attending school how far is the school from this place?

0-5 minutes walk	
6-10 minutes	
11-15	
16-20	
Above 20 minutes	

2.12   What types of services do you have?

Water	
Electricity	
Sanitation	
Refuse Collection	
All of the above	
None of the above	

2.13   Are you paying for these services

Yes	
No	

If no, why?………………………………………………………………………… if yes to whom

are you paying for services?…………………………………………………………………………...

3.0   ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

3.1   Which firm are you working for?…………………………………………………………..

3.2   In which area is it located?…………………………………………………………………

3.3   How do you travel to work?…………………………………………………………………

Private Car	
Taxi	
Bus	
Train	
On Foot	

3.4   Indicate the basis of your employment

Part-time	
Full-time	

3.5   How do you spend your income?

Transport	
Food	
Clothing	
Remittances	
Policies	
Other	

3.6   Has the cost of living in this area different from where you lived before?

Yes	
No	

If yes, how has it changed?...

....

....

....

3.7   What is the household income per month?

1-500	
501-1000	
1001-1500	
1501-2000	
2001-2500	
2501 and above	

3.8   What are your other sources of income?

Wages	
Informal	
None	

3.9   Do you think that living in this area will give you access to economic opportunities (e.g.

informal markets) and how?

Yes	
No	

....

....

4.0   SOCIAL NETWORKS

4.1   Do you know your new neighbours?

Yes	
No	

4.2   Do you have close friends/ relatives in this area?

Yes	
No	

4.3   Nature of relationship?

Assist each other financially	
Assist with child care	
Socialise only	
Other specify	

4.4   Did you have relatives or close friends form your previous residential area?

Yes	
No	

If yes how far were they from where you lived?

0-5 minutes walk	
6-10	
11-15	
16-20	
21mins and above	

4.5 Have they relocated as well?

Yes	
No	

If yes where to?..and how far

from where you live had they relocated?

0-5 minutes walk	
6-10	
11-15	
16-20	
21mins and above	

4.6   Are you still in touch with them?

Yes	
No	

If yes, how?..and if no, why?...............................

....

4.7   How often do you see them?

More since relocation	
Less since relocation	
Lost contact since relocation	
No change	

5.0   FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

5.1   What changes would you like to see within your area in the next five years and how do you

think those changes can be made?...

....

....

....

5.2   If you could be given an opportunity to move would you like to move?

Yes	
No	

If yes, where would you like to move and why?..

....

....

....

GENERAL COMMENTS

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APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR PROJECT MANAGERS

1   When did the slums clearance programme start?

2   Do you think that this programme is going as scheduled?

3   What problems are experiencing in implementing this programme?

4   What are the advantages and disadvantages in implementing the programme?

5   Is the programme implemented in accordance with the National Housing Policy?

6   Are the beneficiaries c-operative? If yes, how? And if no, what do you think is the problem for not co-operating?

7   In your opinion, is the programme an appropriate response of dealing with the affected informal settlements?

8   Who owned the land before the start of the slum clearance programme?

9   How was the land acquired?

10   What criteria do you use to allocate sites?

11   How is the project financed?

12   How are the services provided?

13   Are the beneficiaries informed of liabilities for utilising services and how are they informed?

14   Who decided on the level of services to be provided?

15   Any comments about the replicability of the programme?

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR HOUSING EXPERTS

1   What do you understand about the slums clearance programme?

2   How did the programme come about?

3   What are its features?

4   Is slums clearance programme, an appropriate response of dealing with the affected informal settlements and why?

5   What are the key problems and opportunities associated with the programme?

6   Is there a role that could be played by the communities to ensure that the programme is implemented in an appropriate manner?

7   How do you think the process of relocation impacts on the quality of life of the households?

8   Is there any mechanism in place to ensure that the number of targeted beneficiaries from affected informal settlements remains constant?

9   Is there any other programme that you think can substitute slums clearance and how is it different from the programme?

10   Do you have any comments about the replicability of the programme?

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR COUNCILLORS

1. How would you define slums clearance?
2. What are the crucial issues that the slums clearance programme intends to address?
3. In your opinion, is the slums clearance programme, an appropriate mechanism of dealing with informal settlements?
4. What are the key problems in implementing the programme?
5. What are the features of this programme?
6. What are the benefits on implementing the programme?
7. Do you think that the programme is meeting the housing demands of people to be benefited?
8. What criteria should be used to allocate sites and how will it address the issue of corruption?
9. Any comments in relation to the slums clearance programme?