THE IMPACT OF PERIPHERALLY LOCATED LOW INCOME HOUSING PROJECTS IN ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY:-A CASE STUDY OF SLUM CLEARANCE PROJECT, WELBEDACHT EAST

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ABSTRACT

The study was conducted in the community of Wellbedacht East in eThekwini Municipality. Welbedacht East (WE) is located north-east of Umlazi Township and west of Chatsworth and also expands into the eNgonyameni Traditional Authority. WE is about 23 kilometres from Pinetown, 43 kilometres from Durban, and 15 kilometres from Chatsworth Centre. It is one of the development projects undertaken to spearhead the very ambitious programme of slums clearance, in order to confront the challenge of informal settlements in the eThekwini Municipal area. The study area has been chosen because it is one of the largest slum clearance projects in eThekwini Municipality (Durban) and it is peripherally located. Due to its peripheral location, transport services, and facilities such as schools, a clinic, a police station, churches and shops are either scarce, or non-existent. A systematic sample of 60 households was drawn from a population of residents whose characteristics had been considered to reflect those of the larger population. The project has 5000 sites and 3000 beneficiary households were relocated to this project from the inner city areas.

The study is aimed at examining the impact and effects of relocation on beneficiary households in peripherally located low-income housing projects, to determine whether or not transport costs are higher in peripherally situated settlements than in more central locations, and whether residents in peripheral settlements are less able to access the benefits of urban living, including economic opportunities and social networks necessary for survival. It argues that the relocation of informal settlements to peripheral sites promotes an urban sprawl, and thus deviates from the eThekwini Municipality's goal of promoting development as a 'compact city'.

The findings in this study are that, firstly, there is clear evidence to suggest that relocations to peripheral areas can cause significant harm to relocated beneficiary households' livelihood strategies, and secondly, that the municipality's failure to co-ordinate its relocations plan with other spheres of government involved with social service delivery, especially the departments of health and education, resulted in medium-term deprivation of access to social services.

The conclusions drawn from the findings are that a holistic and integrated approach to housing development needs to be enforced, whereby the minimum facilities, such

as schools, clinics and other social amenities are prioritised if the project is poorly located. The study therefore recommends that low-income housing projects be located closer to the economic nodes, in order to eliminate transport costs and other social difficulties associated with peripheral location. The compact city settlement design epitomised by higher residential densities and the development of multifunctional habitats would, to a greater extent, reduce the need to travel, and improve quality of life and access to urban goods and services.

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CHAPTER ONE
BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH
1.1 Introduction
This study draws from three disciplines, namely Town Planning, Public Transportation and Sociology. Its fundamental objective is to focus on the effects and the impact of the peripheral location of low-income housing projects. This study will specifically look into the transportation component, focusing on the impact of locating poor households without providing affordable passenger transport, and will generally examine the sustainable location of low-income housing projects in terms of livelihoods.

Achieving effective integration of land use and transport planning systems is a well-publicised concern of local and other government agencies in both the developed, and the developing world. It has also been acknowledged and recognised that land use and transport impact on each other in a direct way, and that planning needs to be integrated to ensure sustainable and efficient development. Aucamp and Moodley (2002) point out that low-income housing project, in particular impact directly on the provision and cost of public transport, as the low-income segment of the population is entirely dependent on public transport. They argue that badly located projects will result in higher transport costs for the commuter, and higher subsidies for public transport. One cannot divorce the two, but for the purpose of this study, as indicated above, the focus pays attention to the impact caused by poorly located projects, poorly located, in the sense that they lack indicators of sustainable development principles, as espoused in legislation such as the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) of 1995 .

The underlying logic here is that housing fulfils a basic human need, and is both a product and a process. It is a product of human endeavour and enterprise, and a vital part of integrated development planning which is integral to the socio-economic wellbeing of the nation. Consequently, housing is no longer seen merely as an important part of the development process which needs to be guided by community development principles.

1.2 Problem statement

Welbedacht East (WE) is located in Durban and forms part of the eThekwini Municipal area. It was earmarked to spearhead the very ambitious programme of slums clearance, in order to confront the challenge of informal settlements in the eThekwini Municipal area. As a consequence of being poorly located, the project is neither close to, nor has its own facilities such as schools, a clinic, a police station, churches and shops. Transport services are only provided by the unsubsidised taxi industry. All the beneficiaries of this project benefited from the government housing subsidy scheme, and are low-income earners. As indicated above, taxi operators providing passenger transport service in the township are not subsidised, hence beneficiary households have to pay expensive transport costs which are a major burden on the beneficiary households' budgets.

The problem therefore, relates to the disjuncture between housing and transport subsidies, which does not respond to the principles of sustainable development espoused by the DFA, and the impact this has on relocated beneficiary households. Despite the DFA and other government policies, low-income housing projects are frequently located without provision of adequate facilities needed by the beneficiaries. The White Paper on Housing (1994) defines housing as "a variety of processes through which habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments are created for viable households and communities". However, low-income housing on the outer periphery of the major cities in Durban such as WE, causes numerous problems. Kruger (1992) points out that the need to commute long distances to work and to the city centre where most services are located, has had a negative effect on family life, and continues to contribute to the increase in violence, low productivity and absenteeism.

There are many problems associated with the new low-income housing projects. A report issued by 'The State of Human Settlements' (1999), which was prepared for the Department of Housing, raises serious problems with the urban quality of new housing projects. Many of the new neighbourhoods that are being established remain predominantly mono-use residential areas, similar to the dormitory townships of the past. "The peripheral allocation of low-income housing projects seemingly, has a negative impact on the beneficiary households" (CSIR, 1999). Smith (2004) points out that the location of low-income housing is a major problem. The cost of transport, in particular to places of work, as well as to schools, becomes a heavy financial burden. What has been noted, is that most new housing projects which are located in peripheral

areas result in increased transport costs and lack of livelihood opportunities, which can be a severe burden to poor households.

Aucamp and Moodley (2002) argue that eThekwini Municipality is faced with a situation whereby the current and proposed subsidised low-income housing projects are often poorly located and reinforce the apartheid land use structure. Even though many of the projects are *insitu* upgrades, no options are presented to allow people to locate to more accessible areas. Smit (2004) echoes the effects of the peripheral location of low-income projects. He observes that public transport inefficiencies in Durban, for example, include average trip lengths of 20 km, average travel times of 48 minutes for commuters, and annual transport subsidies of R400 million.

The situation prevailing in WE, as a study area, is no different from the situation narrated above and, specifically, the unreliable passenger transport exacerbates the problem of transport operating in the area. The taxi industry, which is the main mode of passenger transport in WE, is currently not subsidised, and therefore no government control exists to institute mechanisms for operators to meet the travel needs of the community. This lack of control has posed serious challenges to beneficiary households, for it has limited their access to livelihood and employment nodes, and thus increased travel time and transportation costs.

The study area has no primary or secondary schools, no clinic, no police station, no play-grounds and shops, yet the township currently consists of 4800 households.

1.3 Research Question

eThekwini Municipality is faced with the situation that the current subsidised low-income housing projects are often badly located and reinforce the structure of the apartheid city and negate the compaction or compact city approach which is espoused by most academics and politicians. The most quoted advantage of compacting the city is that it is one way of reducing travel distances and other proponents of the compact city have suggested advantageous forms ranging from large concentrated centres to ideas of decentralised but concentrated compacts settlements linked by public transport systems. The peripheral location of low-income housing projects impacts directly on the provision and cost of public transport, as the low-income segment of the population is dependant on public transport and hence they are seen to be lacking compaction. It is within this

context there is understanding that badly located projects result in higher costs for the commuter. Considerable time is consumed in accessing livelihoods and employment nodes, particularly for those who work, and whose children attend school outside of concentrated areas of employment, such as in the case of domestic workers.

The study examines the development and implementation of the low-income housing project within the parameters of compact city as a goal in pursuit of compaction principles with the end results being the quality of life. The WE development is peripherally located and lacks the compaction principles for the location for development which is aimed to benefit poor people. (see attached Locality Plan in this regard). The government is currently not providing transport subsidies to help reduce travel costs for relocated beneficiary households. The project has been earmarked to spearhead the very ambitious programme of slums clearance, in order to confront challenges and difficulties posed by informal settlements in the eThekwini municipal area. All beneficiaries of this project benefited from the government housing subsidy scheme and are therefore, from the low-income group. The majority of households in this project are people relocated from various well-located informal settlements, and it is likely that relocation to WE will have a negative impact on these households' livelihoods.

The research therefore assesses the impact on beneficiary households relocated from well-located informal settlements to WE which is peripherally located, and lacks passenger transport services and social facilities.

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

1.3.1 Key issues or subsidiary questions

- How has relocation to Welbedacht East affected access to services and facilities such as education, health and social services?
- How has relocation affected the livelihoods and employment of beneficiaries?
- What are the implications of relocation in terms of travel cost and time, and how does this compare to those aspects in the previous settlement area?
- How does transport provision in WE compare to that of the previous settlement area?
- What are the residents' perceptions of the new area and life in it, compared to their lives in the previous area?

1.4 The need for choosing this study

The main reason or need for this study is that, contrary to government policy about compaction or densification, people are being relocated from well-located informal settlements to more peripheral areas, with implications for access to employment and income generation opportunities, facilities, and transport costs. WE is one of these relocation areas. The study forms part of the debate over the significance of the urban compaction idea, with some arguments being advanced that people adjust to the locations that are available. The compact city approach seeks to avoid the development of low-income housing developments on the periphery, and promote integrated developments, where poor people will be able to afford public transport and have easy access to income-generating opportunities. The objective of the study is to assess the implications of relocation for households that were previously resident in well-located areas.

1.5 Purpose of the study

The study will examine the development and implementation of the low-income housing project known as WE, wherein transport services and facilities are scarce which in many ways displays indicators that it is one of the peripherally located projects, wherein transport services and facilities are scarce or non- existent. The purpose of the study is also to help examine and weigh the incorporation of compact city principles in new developments in eThekwini municipal area.

The study therefore, aims at:
- Examining the impact and effects of relocation on beneficiary households in peripherally located low-income housing projects such as WE.
- Determining whether or not transport costs are higher in peripheral settlements than in more central locations
- Considering whether the ability of residents in peripheral settlements is affected with regard to accessing the benefits of urban living, including economic opportunities and social networks necessary for survival.

1.6 Hypothesis

The relocation of poor people to the peripherally located low-income housing in WE has frustrated livelihoods, made access to employment nodes more difficult, and has increased travel time and transportation costs.

1.7 Case study

For the purpose of this study, only Welbedacht East is considered, in order to address the problem statement and answer the main and subsidiary questions. WE is situated in the south of Durban in a place called Demat. It is about 23 kilometres from Pinetown, 43 kilometres from Durban, and 15 kilometres from Chatsworth Centre (please see locality map).

The study area has been chosen because it is one of the largest slum clearance projects in eThekwini Municipality (Durban). It is located in the extreme south of the wider Pinetown area, and represents a portion of the first phase in the slum clearance programme in Durban. The project is considered to be badly located from a transportation point of view. The project is also very badly located in terms of job opportunities. There are very few, if any employment opportunities in the area and, in terms of a survey conducted for the purpose of compiling a Social Compact, only 20% of the community would find informal employment in the area.

Ever since the establishment of this project, there have been mixed feelings about the location of this project. The officials of Metro Housing felt the project was accessible enough to proceed with. They argued that the project was close enough to potential employment and major transportation routes, and was therefore, within what would be considered the Urban Core, which was defined by the then Durban Metro boundary with the Inner West City Council. This boundary now separates WE from Welbedacht West.

1.8 Research methodology

1.8.1 Introduction

In approaching the research question and validation of the hypothesis, a number of approaches and methods were utilised. These methods include the use of secondary and primary sources.

One of the difficulties experienced, is that there is little data available on the successful or positive impact on poor people relocated to the peripherally located low-income housing project. Thus it has not been possible to find an example of international best practice. The study has, therefore, picked up on national studies, which have only identified failure factors.

LOCALITY PLAN

QADI

VERULAM

RIETRIVIER

WA

OTTAWA

QINISELANI-MANYUSWA

NGCOLOSI

INANDA

MOUNT EDG

INANDA GLEBE

PHOENIX HIGHWAY

KWA KHABAZELA

LOWER LANGEFONTEIN

NTUZUMA

KWAMASHU

U5

BOTHAS HILL

LANGEFONTEIN

WATERFALL

NGQUNGQULU-THEMBA

KWADEBEKA

HILLCREST

ASSAGAY

EVERTON

KLOOF

NEW GERMANY

CLERMONT

GILLITTS

RB13 / ARTHUR HOPEWELL HIGHWAY

WESTVILLE

CHESTERVILLE

KWANDENGEZI

MARIANNHILL

PINETOWN

DURBAN

DASSENHOEK

VUMAZONKE

KLAARWATER

SHALLCROSS

QUEENSBURGH

WELBEDACHT

VUMANGAZI

M1 / HIGGINSON HIGHWAY

YELLOWWOOD PARK

LAMONTVILLE

Welbedacht East

M35 / MANGOSUTHU HIGHWAY

UMLAZI

SOBONAKHONA-MAKHANYA

ISIPINGO

N

0   7000   14000 Meters

- **Qualitative and Quantitative methods**

In this study, qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to collect primary data. These methods of data collection do not simply provide numerical information, but also give attention to people's views and evaluations of their own situations in the field. This study has used a combination of primary and secondary research material, as well as observations from my own involvement in low-income housing processes.

1.8.2 Primary data collection

While the secondary sources can provide valuable information, that alone will not be sufficient to answer the research question and address the hypothesis critically. The findings of the primary data collection have been incorporated into the text in Chapter Five. The questionnaire is attached as Appendix 1. The primary sources or data were collected through the use of interviews and survey research. Systematic sampling was used to provide respondents whose characteristics had been taken to reflect those of the larger population. For the purpose of this study, only relocated beneficiary households formed part of the respondents.

The researcher is an employee of eThekwini Municipality in the Housing Unit (Housing Project) and primary function of Housing Project is to plan and implement low-income shelter opportunities and provides infra-structural services, housing opportunities and full tenure and was actively involved in the relocation process. WE is a Slum Clearance development which its execution was planned by the municipality and the researcher was one of officials involved in identifying slums that were to be cleared. The respondents are from households, which were carefully selected in order to represent, divert experiences in terms of location. This is the location and relocation, which served to inform the respondents' understanding and perceptions about their quality of life before and after relocation.

Essentially, the information to select areas and households was used in order to ensure that the existing social fabric within the community was not disrupted and that it is used effectively to produce a balanced views and perceptions. This scenario was confirmed, when a pilot study was conducted wherein between five and ten respondents were surveyed, to test the efficacy of questionnaires in relation to areas and households.

The project has 5000 sites and 3000 beneficiary households were relocated to this project from inner city areas and, therefore, 2%, or 60 households were interviewed.

The settlement is clustered by origin of 10 to 20 beneficiary households. The focus was on people from inner city settlements. In order to test different experiences, the first group interviewed was composed of 30 beneficiary households relocated from Clairwood informal settlements, 15 from Esithebeni KwaGijima at Lamontville, and the last group consisted of 15 beneficiary households from The Ark, the Place of Safety. This group is made up of White, Asian, and Black people relocated from the Ark to Welbedacht East, to make way for uShaka Marine World Development. I conducted the survey using both isiZulu and English. The reason for opting for these languages was to ensure that the respondents understood questions and were comfortable in responding.

In addition to the beneficiary households, the researcher also interviewed officials from eThekwini Municipality; Metro Housing officials, and eThekwini Transport Authority officials. Ms Thandi Gwala, a member of the Youth Cultural Club was also interviewed.

- **Interviews**

The qualitative method was used to help collect data, and the techniques only included in-depth interviews undertaken to get views from various, relevant officials as mentioned below, on community structures. Interviews were undertaken with individuals involved in public transportation and housing. These interviews were structured to the specific areas of expertise and experience of individuals being interviewed. Structured interviews were conducted with two officials from two departments/units of eThekwini Municipality.

The following persons were interviewed:
o **Faizal Seedat: Housing Land Manager: eThekwini Housing Unit**

The interview was specifically intended to shed light on why, despite national policy to integrate, and have high-density, residential developments along the established routes, the Housing Unit decided to locate a project in WE and ignore the policy. It also aimed at finding out about alternative low-income housing projects, which were made available to beneficiaries to choose from.

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- o **Logan Moodley: Deputy Head: Strategic Transport Planning**

The aim of the interview was to elicit comments on the peripheral location of WE, and obtain input on the proposed low-income housing projects, particularly with regard to the implications for passenger transport planning, and a roads network to service the area.

- o **Ms Thandi Gwala, a member of Youth Cultural Club**

The rationale behind conducting interviews with this club was to establish the impact of relocation, and how club members are able to cope and conduct their activities. Questions probed their access to facilities such as sports fields for sports organisations, community halls for youth activities, and places of worship, and whether or not these facilities had been available in the various places where these responsents had resided before being relocated to WE.

- ▪ **Questionnaire surveys**

The primary sources or data were collected from beneficiary households through the use of the quantitative method. The traditional empirical quantitative technique used was the survey questionnaire, administered to a random sample of only relocated beneficiary households.

Participants in this survey were all recipients of housing subsidies who were living in their subsidised homes, and had been relocated from different informal settlements. Questionnaires consisted of both closed-ended and open-ended questions. The reason open-ended questions were used, was because such types of questions enable the respondents to provide their own answers, whilst in closed-ended questions, respondents are asked to select answers from a list provided by the researcher.

1.8.3 Secondary data collection

The secondary sources included literature such as books, conference papers, reports, journals, legislation, government documents and the information from various web-sites. These sources are well listed in the bibliography. Secondary sources have been utilised primarily in the theoretical framework. The significance of the secondary sources is largely at a conceptual level. One of the fundamental objectives of this study, is to assess

and reinforce the applicability of the compact-city approach in the South African context, and determine whether this context can validate the hypothesis. This is done in order to provide a sound basis upon which to improve, and to sharpen policy instruments.

The ongoing debate comprises those advocating that there is a link between development costs and benefits in more centrally located low-income housing developments, as perceived in terms of compact city ideals, versus those asserting that more peripherally located housing developments are perceived to be less suitably located. The value of using these debates lies in developing an understanding of the complexity, and the importance of, the compact city approach to housing delivery in South Africa.

The conceptual framework has therefore attempted to tease out the essential aspects of these debates, and to argue their relevance or irrelevance to the eThekwini Municipality. This has enabled the establishment of a theoretical starting point upon which the hypothesis argument has been validated critically.

1.8.4 Data analysis and presentation

Findings and data analysis are presented in the form of tables and photographs to illustrate some of the important aspects in the study area. It has to be mentioned that WE was the only area that was used as an original source of information. The rationale for choosing Welbedacht East lies in the highlighting of the fact that the peripheral location of low-income housing projects impacts directly on the provision and cost of public transport, as the low-income segment of the population is dependant on public transport. The study also forms part of the debate concerning the significance of the urban compaction idea, with some theorists arguing that people adjust to the locations that are available. The compact city approach seeks to avoid the development of low-income housing developments on the periphery, and to promote instead, integrated developments where poor people will be able to afford public transport, and have easy access to income generating opportunities. The situation in the study area poses serious challenges to the beneficiary households, as it has limited their access to livelihood and employment nodes, and has thus increased travel time and transportation costs.

1.8.5 Definition of key concepts

The following key concepts were instrumental in understanding this topic:

- **Housing**

Housing refers to a permanent residential structure with a secure tenure, ensuring privacy, and providing adequate protection against natural destructive elements; having potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal, and a domestic electricity supply.

- **Low-income housing**

Low-income housing can be defined within the context of the Housing White Paper of (HWP) 1994. The HWP analyses existing conditions, examines notions of supply and demand in terms of households with projected monthly household income distribution figures in 1995. Low-income houses would only be given to those citizens earning a gross income of not more than R3500.00 per month.

- **Slums**

In this study, slums refers to the worst type of informal residences within informal settlements, whereby shacks are located in un-developable areas such as those near, or on flood-lines, and on land earmarked for strategic developments. Quite often, slums located in these areas cannot be upgraded, and land cannot be transferred to individuals.

- **Slum clearance**

Slum clearance can be defined as the process of demolishing illegal slums, with or without compensation. However, this study will focus on beneficiary households relocated from inner-city slums under the Slum Clearance Programme which is associated with the provision of mass housing located on peripheral areas.

- **Urban Core**

Urban core has to do with location. Frequently, a key characteristic of these areas is that there is a low population density. These areas are characterised by high levels of infrastructure and services (roads network, water, electricity and sewer lines), economic activity, and they consequently have high land values, which often attract investors to develop the land for shopping centres, manufacture and factories.

- **Peripheral location**

This concept refers here to various settlement conditions, which exist within the boundaries of municipalities, but outside the urban core. This includes low-income settlements on the outer edge of towns or cities, many of which display middle-order densities, and large service backlogs. One should, nonetheless, be aware that periphery is not the same everywhere. Here it is referred to an as outer or unmobilized periphery, with weaker links to the urban core, often perceived to be less suitably located because it results in very costly infrastructure, excessive transportation costs and energy consumption, and environmental damage.

- **Accessibility**

Accessibility here refers to meeting circulation needs, the mobility (availability of affordable public transport), access to commercial and social facilities or services and access to employment opportunities by beneficiaries of the low-income housing scheme. The mobility of the poor is constrained by the lack of access to affordable transport, hence it is hereby argued that government should balance housing and passenger transport subsidies, to ease accessibility of these people to basic needs facilities.

- **Beneficiary Households**

This is a multifaceted concept. Here it refers to groups of people, or persons who have benefited from the government housing subsidy scheme. The concept 'household' is used to assess how the aggregate public accumulates, spends, or uses and experiences transport, housing, infrastructure and urban services.

- **Livelihoods Systems**

This refers to the mix of individual and household survival strategies developed over a given period of time that seeks to mobilise available resources and opportunities. For the purpose of this study, it is argued that the relocation of people to peripherally located housing projects without providing necessary support systems such as affordable passenger transport, is likely to have a negative impact on beneficiary households.

- **Impact**

For the purpose of this study, impact here refers to an important or noticeable negative or positive effect on beneficiary households as a result of being peripheral located in

urban fringe. This could be in the form of travel cost and time, access to transport, shopping, employment, recreation and other facilities.

1.9 Limitations of the study

Using qualitative and quantitative methods to collect data allowed me to analyse data rich in detail, and produce themes that that can be explored in future research. Furthermore, since I used a random sample, the findings are representative of WE beneficiary households with their household members.

However, these analyses and the choice give rise to three limitations. The first is length of residence. While these families have lived in their new neighbourhoods for 2 to 3 years, this period is not long compared to the average of 10 years they had lived in the previous settlements. Secondly, this article specifically looks at changes in the beneficiary household networks and the household members in general, whereas it is very likely that relocation will have the largest impact on children and the youth. Finally, the sample is small, and only from one case study of low-income housing development. The experiences of these respondents took place within a specific type of housing and urban system. The transferability of case study findings must be evaluated on the basis of whether the new context matches the one in which the study was conducted (Lincoln and Guba cited in Clampet-Lundquist, 2004:424). For example, not all WE households required full-scale relocation; there are other beneficiary households, which did not originate from informal settlements who voluntarily opted for the low-income housing in WE. The findings from this random sample are generalizable to families that benefited from the programme, and should be viewed as exploratory, and providing direction for future research in different housing contexts.

1. 10 Chapter sequence

The overall dissertation consists of five chapters comprised of the following sections:

Chapter One: 'Background of the research'. This is a background of the study which is consists of an introduction to the study, and explanations of the reasons for undertaking the research, as well as an overview of the nature and scope of the study. The problem statement, the key research and subsidiary questions are also presented, and the key

concepts permeating the study are defined. This chapter also details how the research was undertaken; it explains the 'research methodology'.

Chapter Two: 'Conceptual framework'. This comprises a literature review of the underlying key concepts pertinent to the study. It includes issues and debates related to the compact-city approach; its practicality in the South African context, the relationship between transport, livelihoods and space. It also looks at issues and debates in relation to the problems of peripherally located low-income housing projects. The bodies of literature, which can help guide the conceptual framework, are the compact city approach, land use versus transport, and livelihoods and housing.

Chapter Three: 'Case study and research findings'. This chapter gives a full background to the study area and reasons why it was chosen from among many low-income housing projects in the eThekwini Municipality. The chapter also details the research findings and summaries of responses that were obtained from the questionnaires administered to 60 beneficiary households of Welbedacht East.

Chapter Four: 'Data analysis'. This chapter endeavours to analyse the data findings gathered through the use of various methodologies which *inter-alia* include observations, survey questionnaires and interviews.

Chapter Five: This chapter deals with the conclusion and recommendations of the study. It aims to show how the study has managed to achieve its aims and objectives.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Overview

This chapter refines and clarifies the impact of relocation within the South African context, with the view of laying a solid foundation for detailed discussion as to why the debate related to the compact city approach is a practical reality. The emphasis is on the relationship between public transport, livelihoods and space and these issues are examined within broader context of the compact city approach. The debates in relation to the issues and problems of peripherally located low-income housing projects is explored within the parameters of the compact city, in other words how could the goals and objectives of the compact city would have been achieved when the case study project was planned and implemented.

There are almost four bodies of literature which have been identified to assist in guiding the conceptual framework relating to this study:

- **Compact city** – the debate in the urban planning literature stems from the understanding that there is a strong link between urban form and sustainable development. The debate is essentially about this linkage, which is not simple and straightforward. In essence, the compact-city approach is to an extent premised on urban containment, to provide a concentration of socially sustainable mixed uses that will concentrate development and reduce the need to travel, thus reducing vehicle emissions (Jenks, Burton and Williams, 1996:5). The critique is that the compact city may become overcrowded and suffer a loss of urban quality, with less open space, more congestion and pollution (Breheny, 1992a, 1992b cited in Breheny, 1996:5).

- **Land use and transport**: fundamentally, travel needs, and hence the demand for transport provision are derived from the geographical separation of primary activities in urban areas, particularly those that are home-based from those that are work-based (Wilkinson, 2002:1). As in the compact-city approach, because of

the complexity of the phenomena of land use and transport, it is very difficult to provide a sufficient and logic argument that illustrates that the influence they have on each other is transparent. This body of literature will, however, assist in providing a somewhat better understanding of the relationship between the concepts of land use and transport, particularly in relation to accessibility.

- **Urban Livelihoods:** In many cities in the developing world, challenges of what is better known as 'urban poverty' exist. This urban poverty is tightly linked to micro-level household livelihood strategies, hence there are what is known as 'urban livelihoods'. The reason why there is a focus on the urban livelihood context specifically, is because in cities, given the accelerating urban growth, the high influx of people and fragmentation of cities, livelihoods are set in a much more complicated social, economic, political and cultural context than in rural areas. The patterns and layers of urban livelihood security are often contradictory and quickly shifting.

- **Housing:** the fundamental policy of South Africa's Housing policy is *changing the lives of the country's poor for the better* (http://talk.to/brcs). The policy's impact on the spatial, economic and social integration of South Africa's human settlements has however, emerged as one concern. The housing policy is largely 'remedial'. Remedial here refers to the notion that South Africa's housing policy must address an historically determined backlog in housing and human settlement patterns. Therefore, a housing policy should be understood as related to both economic inequality, and to the ongoing impact on residential discrimination underpinned by apartheid-type of urban form.

The common debate is that South African cities are characterised by patterns of urban sprawl, which results in excessively costly infrastructure and excessive transportation costs. The compact city approach has been offered as a solution to help curtail the outward expansion which is said to be likely to have a dire economic outcome for low-income people. The purpose of this chapter is, thus, to try to unpack the argument which has long been acknowledged and recognised, that land-use and transport impact on each other in a direct

way. This is the reason why physical planning needs to be integrated in order to ensure sustainable and efficient development. These issues could be dealt with by looking at the historical spatial development and racial segregation in human settlements, which has influenced the present spatial development which is, however, no longer based on race, but on social class and the financial constraints on the part of government.

2.2 Spatial development and racial segregation in human settlement: Where is South Africa coming from?

The history of the spatial development and human settlements in South Africa dates back to the 16th century. This historical background has also helped to shape eThekwini Municipality. Generally speaking, the relocation, location and segregation of blacks from whites started as early as 1658, when the Khoi were informed that they could no longer dwell to the west of Salt and Liesbeck Rivers and, in the 1800s, when the first reserves were proclaimed by the British and the Boer governments (Human Awareness Programme, 1989, cited by Thwala, 2003). The spatial development of human settlements can be explained in terms of various phases that inform the situation that exists today, for example, the Colonial City (1910), the Segregation City (1950), the Apartheid City (1985), the Ethnic City (1985), the Apartheid City in Transition (since 1985) and towards a Post-Apartheid City (since 1994).

- ### *The Colonial City (pre-1910)*
The establishment of colonial settlements in Southern Africa developed from the European perception of town planning, since there was no indigenous settlement model. European urban and economic patterns were superimposed on colonised political areas or countries, and human settlements were created by white people for white people. This consequently resulted in a situation whereby such areas have been perceived as 'a white man's place' and 'the domain of the white man'. After the establishment of these settlements, indigenous people were attracted as labourers. The dominant-subordinate relationships resulted in white people staying in the core, and indigenous groups on the periphery of these settlements. The townships were located on the outer periphery of the settlements for various cultural and political reasons. These areas were the focus of limited urbanisation of black people. The spatial development of the Colonial City can be perceived as the roots of urban apartheid.

- ## *The Segregation City (1911-1950)*

Segregationist policies continued in the pre-apartheid era as the *Land Acts of 1913 and 1936* were passed. These laws restricted black people to an unproductive 13% of the total land surface and limited their political rights. Draconian laws and a web of restrictive policies for urban areas came into being, laws such as the *Natives Laws Amendment Act* which prohibited Africans from buying land in urban areas. Furthermore, the Group Areas Act was promulgated in 1950. This Act racially segregated areas with respect to residence and business, and controlled interracial property actions (Thwala,2003:6). The spirit of the proclamation of the urban policies can be summarised in the words of the Stallard Commission in 1922, cited in (www.impuls.katho.be): "The native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and administer to the needs of the white man, and should depart there from when he ceases so to minister". Apart from the increasing pressure on blacks residing in urban settlements, the outward displacement of Africans to locations on the periphery continued for reasons similar to those during the Colonial City period (www.impuls.katho.be).

The spatial process of invasion and succession was experienced in a variety of urban areas in the older residential suburbs and inner cities of major cities of South Africa including Durban. Black urbanisation accelerated markedly to meet labour demands during the Second World War. The result was that, between 1946 and 1951, the number of blacks in urban areas outnumbered the whites for the first time in history, regardless of the strict urbanisation policies put in place. The provision of adequate housing lagged far behind, and squatter settlements mushroomed on the peripheries of major cities. The dramatic growth of the urban black population became a central issue during the 1948 elections, in which the National Party's use of the "Swart Gevaar" (black peril) contributed to their unexpected victory. For many years, the social and economic realities of urban blacks were resisted, regardless of the Fagan Commission's (cited from www.impuls.katho.be) recommendations which were published in 1948, which *inter-alia* stated that black urbanisation is a reality, influx control is unrealistic to achieve certain demographic objectives, that the influx of blacks to urban areas is a reality and that blacks are permanent residents of urban areas.

Figure 1 : RACIAL STRUCTURE OF THE DMA
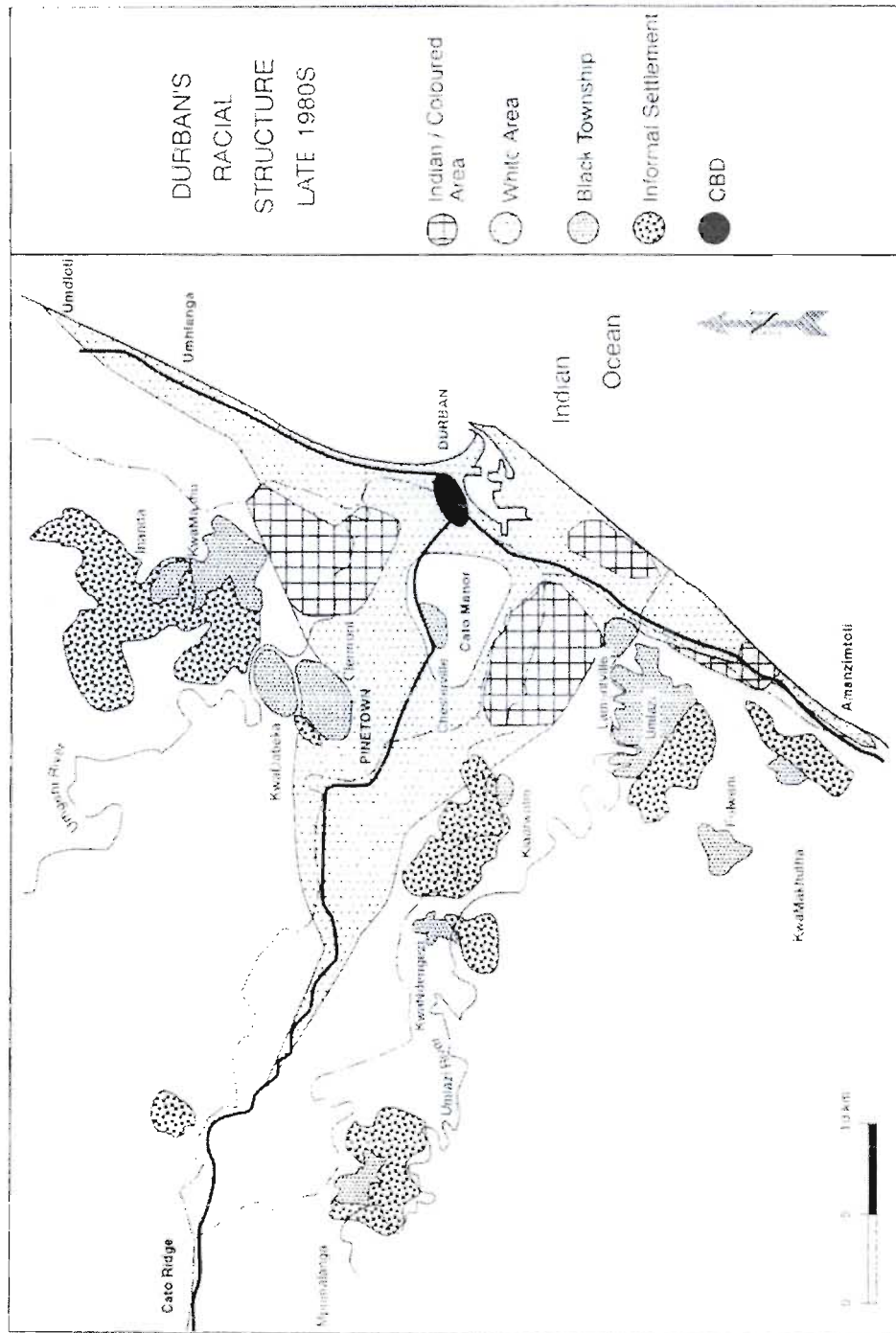
Source: Hindson, Byerley and Morris cited by Hndson, King and Peart (1996)
The Apartheid City (1950-1985)

Apartheid planning was a highly spatial policy which was formally adopted in 1948, although informal apartheid planning on all levels was visible before 1948 (www.impuls.katho.be). The rationale for apartheid was the presumption that contact between racial groups would lead to friction, and that harmonious relations could only be achieved by minimising points of contact. Racial segregation operated at three distinct levels, for example, 'petty apartheid' or detailed social segregation including separate sections for whites and non whites, 'urban apartheid' or how urban areas were moulded according to the Group Areas Act, and 'grand apartheid' or the creation of the so-called 'independent' homelands for each of the African ethnic groups (www.impuls.katho.be). The Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1966 have had more far-reaching effects on racial segregation than any previous legislation, producing distinctive apartheid cities which represent a major re-ordering of the segregation cities. Group areas formed the basis of segregation on an urban scale with separate education, health, social services and local authorities provided for each area. Buffer strips were created to increase the inaccessibility from one group to another. These buffer strips were either man-made, for example, railway lines, roads, industrials areas or physical, for example, rivers, ridges, open spaces etc. This situation had indeed resulted in the forceful removal of non-white people to make way for white people. Basically, the practice was to proclaim the inner cities and suburbs as white (where the majority of whites lived anyway) while the other groups were ferried to the periphery, pushing the poor to the outskirts. The variety of processes to achieve racial segregation since 1950 can be summarised as follows:

- **Residential segregation**: by 1985 more than 90% of all urbanites were residing in their own group area.
- **Commercial segregation**: each population group was only allowed to operate a business in the designated group area.
- **Outward pushing of residential areas for 'non-whites'**: the continuation of the process, which had its origin in the Colonial City, that specifically applied to blacks only.
- **Consolidation of residential areas and clearing up of ethnic islands and mixed areas**: the practice of minimising the number of non-white residential areas on the periphery of settlements. These locations have served as catchment areas for the 'disqualified', for example ethnic islands, clearance of mixed areas, slums and squatter settlements.
- **Clearing of slum areas and squatter settlements:** as stated above.

- **Ethnic separation of blacks:** for ethnic consciousness purposes.
- **Establishment of ethnic settlements in homelands:** the displacement of the black urbanisation process away from the core areas to the peripheral areas (www.impuls.katho.be).

- ### *Ethnic City (1960-1994)*

The grand apartheid vision was formulated in 1959. It was stated by the architect of aparheid, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, that the doors were opened for the homelands to develop into fully-fledged independent nation-states. The development of settlements such as townships, for example, Zwelitsha, Temba and Umlazi on the outskirts of Durban was the result or fulfilment of such vision (www.impuls.katho.be). What is noticeable, however, is that the majority of these settlements are within daily commuting distance of core areas in the former 'white' South Africa, and still function as dormitory settlements to the core areas. To make these settlements attractive, a variety of subsidies was provided, for example, transport to core areas, incentives for industrial development to help invest in the industrial zoned areas within settlements, and subsidised housing and serviced sites.

- ### Post 1994 City

Following the advent of majority rule in 1994, there has been remarkable progress in harnessing the distorted history of cities, towns and regions. Over the last 14 years, local government has gone through a series of institutional transformations. Parallel to these developments, was the advent of Integrated Development Planning. In the light of the institutional malaise at municipal level, the Department of Provincial and Local Government introduced a requirement, in terms of the then DFA, for all municipalities to formulate Land Development Objectives (LDOs); and in terms of the Municipal Systems Act (no. 32 of 2000), to produce Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The IDPs were intended to 'enable local government to deal with scarcity through aligning their budgets with their service delivery programmes'. The hope was that IDPs would result in sustainable new housing settlements, close to job opportunities, social services and economic development nodes. With a few exceptions, this has not been the result. New housing developments have largely taken place on the outer edges of existing townships, far away from jobs, facilities and services. This has marginalised new settlements, and contributed to the further fragmentation of the urban

fabric of eThekwini and other major cities in South Africa. State-subsidised houses have been received with gratitude by most beneficiaries, but living in an RDP settlement often means dislocation from job opportunities and social services. The greater transport costs of accessing these amenities have increased the net financial burdens placed on state subsidised householders, who may have previously occupied better-located sites in slums or informal settlements.

2.3 The problem of informal settlements

Almost all cities in the developing world face the problem of slums, and the authorities have to face the problem associated with slums. eThekwini Municipality, Durban, is no different from these cities. Informal settlements are growing at an alarming rate throughout the world and it is projected that they will double in 25 years (Cities Alliance). Urbanisation pressures have given rise to the development of informal settlements in a variety of environments, but the greatest spatial concentrations of the poor are found in urban centres and on the peri-urban fringes of cities. More than 56% of the urban population in Africa lives in informal settlements (United Nations Millennium Development Goals, 2002) and residents of settlements constitute between 40-60 percent of the labour force in many cities.

The term 'slums' and 'informal settlements' will be utilised inter-changeably here, as both concepts often denote one phenomenon, i.e. shack settlements or unplanned human settlements. The term 'informal settlements' is generally taken to refer to spontaneous settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities, or on pockets of marginal land within city boundaries. Hindson and McCarthy (1994) defined informal settlements as 'dense settlements comprising communities housed in self constructed shelters under conditions of informal or traditional land tenure'.

What many scholars have noted is that informal settlements have their unique problems. Understanding the dynamics of settlements is critical, if we are to address the present need and future growth of informal areas within a coherent overall urban and rural strategy. The process of movement and settlement has taken place in a number of overlapping stages, but for the purpose of this study, it is suffice to mention that the problem of urban slums in particular is dynamic.

Settlements are often located on marginal land subject to environmental degradation and environmental hazard, and the relatively unplanned nature, poor design and incremental growth of settlements complicates conventional service provision. Residents have very limited access to social amenities including schools, clinics, welfare offices and other community facilities. Public open spaces are either entirely lacking, or are unsafe and insufficient for community needs. The visible disparity between informal settlements and the surrounding formal areas typically gives rise to social tensions and fuels crime. The abovementioned factors coalesce to create situations of extreme poverty and social and economic exclusion.

Notwithstanding these negative factors, many informal settlements are well located in relation to economic activities and, accordingly, provide affordable and flexible accommodation for poor households. Settlements have also been established through community/household initiatives, and have typically been developed through the application of fairly significant individual and household capital. The level of organisation required to achieve the establishment of these areas is also a valuable source of active social capital.

Planners and politicians emphasise the physical aspect of housing, but most recently the issue of housing location and other issues have come to the fore, due to principles of sustainable development which seem to permeate all physical developments. There is general agreement among those involved in housing development to adopt a humane approach to the problem of housing the poor. Haroy (1987) argues that the poor rarely have the luxury of choice. They therefore have to build their houses close to their sources of income, taking whatever land is available to them. Often the land is ill-suited, and sometimes not zoned for human settlement, or has geo-technical problems. As a result, accidents caused by overcrowding (especially fire, causing burns and scalds) plus poor hygiene and rife malnutrition are the killers that plague the homeless. They have no option but to live in housing characterised by overcrowding, where there is no piped water and no provision for the removal of household and human waste.

The existence of, and need for, a policy to address informal settlements is not restricted to a third world discourse, but has increasing international relevance as a result of deepening income disparities and social dislocation within and between societies. The forces which

create informal settlements include increasing poverty and declining employment, urbanisation and natural population growth within cities, as well as migration caused by economic disparities, war, ethnic conflict and natural disasters. The dominant official response to poor people living in informal settlements has historically been hostile, and this has often led to evictions and removals, frequently under the banner of "urban renewal". Residents generally find themselves facing formal and informal measures which deny them access to urban services, social amenities and political voice. It is this policy and practice of social and political exclusion that has been, and continues to be, the single most important factor in the growth of informal settlements.

Many free-standing informal settlements in South African arose during the 1970s and 1980's as a result of the collapse of apartheid influx controls. Durban informal settlements are no different from these. Rapid urbanisation in the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, coupled with "... decompression, of overcrowded formal Black townships in the 1980s as controls of the past controls broke down, led to a massive growth of informal settlements in and around the city. By 1994, informal settlements accounted for a third of Durban's population, with most being located on the periphery, within or beyond old Black townships" (Todes, 2003:113).

Many of these settlements were originally earmarked for demolition with a view to relocating residents to more suitable sites. Community resistance to forced relocation resulted in the development of strong community organisations. By the mid-1980s, the apartheid government had mainly abandoned its "black spot" removal policy, and communities were generally left to their own devices, but without access to amenities. Population densities within informal settlements increased dramatically, and the demand for accommodation led to the extensive development of backyard shacks for rental purposes within existing black formal residential areas.

Post-1994, the occupation of land was exacerbated by high community expectations, the relatively slow pace of housing delivery during the initial years and widespread allegations of corruption in the allocation of housing which undermined public confidence in housing waiting lists. This increased the rate and pace of illegal land occupations, which were increasingly organised for financial gains by commercial syndicates or local warlords. Whilst

state resources were directed to the upgrade of pre-1994 settlements, settlements arising out of post-1994 occupation of land generally met with considerable political/bureaucratic hostility, as these occupations were thought to undermine the state-managed housing delivery process.

The residents of informal settlements tend to be poor and the majority are unemployed. Informal settlements also lack basic social amenities such as schools, clinics, community halls and recreational infrastructure, due to official government policies which precluded the construction of facilities on un-proclaimed land. High levels of functional and spatial illiteracy restrict the awareness of, and access to, welfare support. The informal nature of settlements, and, in particular, the absence of formal, demarcated roads and access points, creates opportunities for the operation of illegal activities by criminal syndicates. The youthful, unemployed and male demographic profile of informal settlements has led to the emergence of gangs and high levels of violent crime. The extreme social conditions, high unemployment, and the absence of social amenities exacerbate social stress which is often manifested in domestic violence, rape and child abuse.

The explosion of crime within informal settlements could not be addressed due to the institutional vacuum created by the lack of political will, and the absence of sufficient, effective and credible policing within informal settlements areas. Furthermore, physical design problems exacerbate vulnerability to crime. Exclusion, unemployment and poverty have created environments in which residents have lost their self-esteem, pride and human dignity. Many African local authorities have understood the urgent need to improve and upgrade slum settlements in their cities. They dream of cities without slums. Dissatisfied slum populations are a potential source of conflict whereas satisfied slum dwellers are an important source of votes for those seeking political office. Once mobilised, the poor are also an important resource in urban development.

2.4 The conflict between sprawl and compact city ideals

In South Africa, arguments in favour of urban compaction and spatial integration ideals are aimed at improving urban efficiency and securing greater equity in accessing urban

opportunities (Smit, 2004:70). Urban compaction has been cited as one tool among many used to respond to racially based spatial distortion which was shaped by the apartheid system (Venter et al, 2004). The arguments for compaction stem from the understanding that there are strong links between accessibility, location and the livelihoods, as areas with good accessibility and an economy can attract large numbers of people and commercial investment (Brown and Lloyd, 2002:194). The aim of urban planning should then be to provide a context in which people can access services and shelter, promote local economic development, urban livelihoods, and improve the quality of life, particularly for poor people.

However, Biermann (2004) argues that ideals of compacting and centrally locating developments are not an absolute solution to the problem of access and location. The argument is that most low-income households survive on second economy, or informal employment which is often within or near the low-income settlement itself. The proportion of households with access to formal work is small, so location is less important.

The debate on urban form is an international and national debate, and is often characterised by an ongoing conflict between sprawl and compact city ideals. In South Africa, this debate seems to have been settled (at least at a policy level) in favour of the compact city (Venter et al.:2004). It has however, been noted that the policy has not yet filtered down to local government structures, where decisions about locations of low-income housing projects are taken and implemented, and this has led to a situation whereby low-income housing developments continue to be developed on unsuitably located land. This subsequently imposes direct additional travel time and expenditure costs on beneficiary households, and also stretches the budget allocated for passenger transport. This view is shared by the national Department of Transport:

Current land use planning and development initiatives are exacerbating the spatial legacy, by locating new housing far from major business and, in most cases, far from primary rail and road networks. Currently, this sort of spatial planning occurs because of the lack of co-ordination or integration at the institutional level. Each individual institution plans the location of its fixed assets in a relative vacuum, maximising only according to individual departmental constraints or missions, without respect to larger systems costs of individual decisions (Department of Transport, cited in Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003:156).

South African literatures reveal that local government structures, as the implementing spheres of government, should adopt a more proactive role by acquiring suitably located land for low-income housing (Behrens and Wilkinson: 2003:172). This should be done in order to avoid the costs associated with public transport, and to improve access to commercial and social services or facilities. Although there is an existing policy, plans that have been designed by planners are still not implemented. Watson (2003:147) points out that these kinds of co-ordination problems between line function departments are not new, and are exactly what the integrated development planning process had intended to overcome. However, it seems the integrated development process only exists on paper, and not in the minds of the officials responsible for policy implementation.

The idea of compacting cities and thus curtailing outward expansion, is propounded as a solution to the problem of urban fragmentation and sprawl often perpetuated by the poor location of low-income housing projects. Supporting the government document entitled '*Towards an Urban Policy/Strategy*', Todes (2005) points out that the document recognised the failings of the past urban spatial policy. The fact that it has been noted that most new housing projects are located in peripheral areas, where increased transport costs and the lack of livelihood opportunities are perpetuated, might be the reason why a document like 'Towards an Urban Policy/Strategy' might see the light of day.

Spatial Development Frameworks (SDF) have typically included setting 'urban edges' to contain urban sprawl and promoting the identification of 'activity corridors' along major public transport routes (Smit, 2004:70). This has, however, been criticised, and there is now a widespread consensus about the ineffectiveness of spatial planning in reshaping the Apartheid City. One reason could be that there appears to have been a general decline in the co-ordinating role of spatial planning over the past decade, as other line departments, such as housing and transport, are also increasingly required to do their own planning, and that these plans frequently conflict, thus leading to fragmentation in project implementation. The national government is concerned about the lack of co-ordination among the three spheres of government. Policies are compiled and legislation is enacted by national government, but not implemented by other spheres of government. The document '*Towards an Urban Policy/Strategy*', supports a pragmatic approach focussed on creating polycentric cities

through the development of compacted housing projects. Todes (2005) argues that the approach goes along with an emphasis on many elements of compaction-integration which *inter-alia* involves identification, land-use mix, transit and development corridors, and urban edges.

Although there are reasons to criticise local government about its role in terms of project location, the problem however, does not lie with it alone, but with all line departments that should implement policy within the municipality and within the provincial departments. Perhaps it is with this understanding that most scholars have criticised authorities for continuing to provide low-income housing projects on urban peripheries, far from urban economic and social opportunities, thereby allowing quantity-housing targets to be met, at the expense of quality targets in terms of good location.

There is however another school of thought challenging the compact city approach. The argument is that compacting cities and creating centrally located developments are not absolute solutions. Biermann (2004) argues that "there is significant diversity in low-income households which each have different needs and priorities which translate into different criteria and levels of importance for different profiles of low-income household". The argument by Biermann is based on the ideals of first and second economy which seemingly suggest that most low-income households survive on the second economy, or informal employment. The first economies often found in cities have failed to provide employment in urban employment nodes that would have supported the argument for compacting cities. The non-provision of schools and shops further complicates the problem of beneficiary households. Part of the reason why such facilities do not exist, is because the main aim of the housing sector is to provide as many houses as possible with available funds, without caring for the post-settlement effects of such an approach.

The other factors that influence the decision to locate low-income housing projects at the urban fringe include political pressure for the present government to deliver; hence the housing sector is one area close to the hearts of politicians since it represents tangible results. As a result, the impact of such human settlement outcomes is not often afforded consideration. These reasons frequently become stronger than theoretical rhetoric. Aucamp

and Moodley (2002) observe that the reality is that the location of low-cost housing projects is influenced almost entirely by the financial constraints of the housing sector. As indicated, the main aim of the housing sector is to provide as many houses as possible with available funds. In support of this assertion, Smit (2004:75) points out that, despite the commitment of the Housing Act to the spatial restructuring principles and land development principles in Chapter One of the DFA, locations for new housing projects are largely selected for 'practical' reasons: where land is cheap; where it is possible to secure large pieces of land for mass housing projects which are perceived to have certain economies of scale over small projects; and where there is least resistance from surrounding ratepayers. Therefore it is quite evident that cost reduction to provide house structure outweighs issues of sustainability and meeting of the needs of poor.

Part of the argument is that, up until now, the delivery on low-income housing, let alone the peripheral location, has generally tended to focus purely on physical delivery, rather than on the context within which delivery takes place (Vaughan: 2002). This has driven the housing sector in a particular direction that in most cases has impacted negatively on beneficiary households.

The debate about the ideas of urban restructuring, compaction and integration has a particularly dominant policy discourse, with the majority of academics supporting the ideas on the premise that it is a tool to redress the social and economical effects of apartheid spatial segregation. The assumption by supporters of urban restructuring and integration is that these ideals do not only address economic disadvantages created by apartheid, but that they also strive towards a racially integrated society epitomised by all post-1994 legislation. Dewar, cited in Todes, (2003:111) argues that the creation of large dormitory townships on the urban periphery imposes considerable costs in terms of transport time and travel costs, and marginalises people from wider urban opportunities.

It is asserted that more compact city design with higher residential densities and the development of multifunctional habitats will reduce the need to travel, improve quality of life and access to urban goods (State of Energy Report for Cape Town, 2003).

This is based on the assumption that urban sprawl causes long commutes, which result in higher transport energy consumption, and a corresponding high release of carbon and other emissions. Long commutes also require longer days away from home, less productive time,

and increased vulnerability to transportation-related incidences which decrease quality of life, primarily for the poor (State of Energy Report for Cape Town, 2003).

It was also reported that there are other scholars who are not necessarily against the ideas as pronounced above, but who maintain that quite often, the empirical evidence does not indicate conclusively that more central locations have lower overall costs and higher livelihood benefits than ones located further away from the central city. With regard to transport, the view based on empirical evidence is that the relationship between household location and travel expenditure is not a simple function of distance from the central city, as many other factors are also important. Other factors could be proximity to other development nodes, transport costs to travel in those nodes, and generally, the households' lifestyle.

What is good about these debates is that they demonstrate that there is sometimes a gap between theory and practice; hence this study intends to assess both arguments.

2.5 Integrated housing and location issues

There is no agreed opinion that helps to define integrated housing. Literature on integrated housing points out a wide range of interpretations. Lull (2002) defines it as the sum total of all plans and actions that have been directed to the central objective of developing from commencement, which have been determined as the 'per need' assessment of the residents, and where the housing action has been designed as per the affordability of the household in question. In the case of a community approach, integrated housing should have all the conditions mentioned, and ought to fit in with the socio-economic characteristics of the community in question. It is thus a housing effort, interpreted in terms of a holistic approach to livelihoods, through shelter and income improvement.

The South African low-income housing programme has shown its ability to deliver at a scale. According to the National Department of Housing (NDH) 2003, cited in Charlton (2004) by 2003 1.4 million houses had been completed or were under construction. While there are notable exceptions, much of the housing that has been delivered for the poor since 1994 is not well-located with respect to urban opportunities, and in terms of integrated housing

definition. By and large, the bulk of housing delivery is located some distance from the main urban centres of activity. This is due to a range of factors including the high cost of well-located land, and the high cost of developing left-over land which has remained vacant because of severe technical constraints. Municipalities are also extremely sensitive to the concerns of 'host' communities who resist having to live near low-income developments, because this could impact negatively on the rates base (Charlton 2003).

The South African government's housing subsidy initiatives have been successful in delivering dwellings at scale for poor people. However, if the marginal location of many housing settlements significantly limits the livelihood opportunities and access to social services of housing subsidy beneficiaries, this may be seen as a failure to fulfil state obligations under the Covenant as stated below (page 32 and 33). If one agrees with the Covenant as well as General Comments, it is difficult to see how a peripherally located low-income housing settlement far away from schools, clinics, and job opportunities can hope to satisfy the Covenant's requirement that housing should be adequately serviced and well-located. In many cases, state housing policy has not been implemented in such a way as to help beneficiaries meet their broader socio-economic needs. This is largely because the developmental logic, which was supposed to make LDOs and IDPs tools of more compact urban settlement patterns, has been supplanted at a municipal level by cost considerations.

This has resulted in numerous marginalised settlements where, in the view of the intended beneficiaries, survival would be just too difficult. In some cases, communities have even refused outright to take occupation of houses offered to them. The classic example would be in the low-income housing development of 'France' at Imbali, just ouside Pietermaritzburg, where more than 100 houses built at a cost of over R2 million have been vacant since their completion in 2002. The intended beneficiaries have refused to take occupation or transfer, on the grounds that the houses are too far away from Pietermaritzburg, and from their present informal residences located close to the city (Zack and Charlton, 2003:29).

In Durban, most of the major new housing settlements are concentrated to the south and north of the city, distant from most of the major economic growth areas. The linkage between housing and income generation is also critical. In planning and housing literature, location is emphasized; the location of housing in relation to the 'higher order' facilities and amenities in an urban area, such as hospitals, tertiary institutions and arts facilities, and

crucially, the location of work opportunities. In this regard, travel and transportation is critical; how convenient, safe and affordable the means of moving from home to work or other facilities is. Increasingly however, there is a recognition of the diminishing role of formal jobs in the lives of the poor, and the increasing importance of a range of income generation and survival strategies, and the linkage between these and the home environment.

Location is an extremely important consideration and has a substantial impact on the success of upgrading projects. One of the most difficult issues to be addressed within the South African context is the poor location of many informal settlements. The upgrading of these settlements addresses constitutional imperatives, but does little for the structure of South African cities which are already deeply dysfunctional. Whilst the failure to upgrade these settlements is socially and politically unpalatable, their upgrading will reinforce long-term spatial inequality, maintain social and economic exclusion, and increase costs to all three tiers of government. This may likewise be considered a policy failure.

Projects which are well positioned within the structure of cities are able to take advantage of locational opportunities, and may be the subject of rapid transformation. In international experience, some areas have been converted into shopping centres, offices and business spaces, high-rise apartments and middle-income housing, yet this was not the purpose of the upgrading of the informal settlements, and the transformation has had exclusionary consequences (Firman, 1997:58). This may likewise constitute a policy failure although it is seldom acknowledged as such.

There is broad consensus that many of the neighbourhoods in which new Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing is located are not holistic, and do not offer the full range of amenities. This is despite an explicit recognition that "the environment within which a house is situated is recognized as being equally as important as the house itself in satisfying the needs and requirements of the occupants" (Charlton 2003:266:268). Often, provision has been made in the township layout for the necessary facilities and the land set aside therefore, but for several years or longer it remains as undeveloped 'wasteland'.

The Housing Subsidy Scheme review noted that access to schools was generally reasonable in new housing projects, but that a range of other facilities were often lacking (PSC 2003:

108). The availability and quality of a communal infrastructure such as roads and street lighting varies widely across projects; as does the existence of public facilities and amenities (Charlton 2003: 15). Crime and safety concerns and the lack of adequate public transport feature strongly in beneficiaries' complaints about their neighbourhoods (Zack and Charlton 2003:32).

The NDoH acknowledges that residential areas have been developed without the necessary social, and other amenities, and that this "detracts from the ideal to establish habitable, viable and sustainable human settlements" (Charlton, 2003:265). Many housing projects have manifested as low density and monofunctional neighbourhoods, lacking in integrated, holistic development. This situation does not facilitate the economic growth or socio-economic development of beneficiary communities, so necessary to cities. It also runs counter to the intention that "ultimately, the housing process must make a positive contribution to a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and integrated society" (2003:263).

2.6 South African Housing Policy and Housing Rights

The right of access to adequate housing, and to protection from forced evictions is well entrenched in international and South African domestic law. It is, in fact, possible to trace many of the protections built into broad international instruments, through domestic constitutional entitlements, to statute law and jurisprudence of the higher South African courts.

In terms of Article 11 (1) of the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 ('the Covenant'), Article 25 of the Declaration states that:

> Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, and medical care, a necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

In a partial recapitulation of this clause, Article 11(1) of the Covenant affirms:

> The State Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone
> to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including
> adequate food, clothing and housing and to the continuous improvement of
> living conditions. The State Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the
> realisation of this right recognising to this effect the essential importance of
> international co-operation based on free consent.

General Comment 4, adopted in 1991, focuses on the right to adequate housing. The comment unpacks the right to adequate housing as "the right to live somewhere in peace and dignity". Here the Comment affirms the right as an entitlement to something more than just bricks and mortar. Adequate housing, according to the Comment, means adequate privacy, space, security, lighting, ventilation, basic infrastructure, all at an affordable cost, and within a reasonable distance from job opportunities and social services. Paragraph 8 of the Comment sets out seven dimensions of 'adequacy' to be taken into account when assessing efforts to give effect to the housing right. These are:

- *Legal security of tenure*: From rental housing to full freehold, whichever tenure is considered most appropriate for a particular context, must guarantee "legal protection against forced eviction, harassment and other threats". Most importantly, the Comment concludes that forced evictions are *prima facie* incompatible with the requirements of the Covenant.

- *Availability of services, material, and infrastructure:* These include "sustainable access to natural and common resources, safe drinking water, energy for cooking, heating and lighting, sanitation and washing facilities, means of storage, refuse disposal, site drainage and emergency services".

- *Affordability*: Housing must not deny a rights-bearer the resources necessary to meet other basic needs.

- *Habitability*: Housing must be sufficiently spacious, safe and healthy.

- *Accessibility*: Adequate housing must be accessible to all entitled to it. Disadvantaged groups must be assisted to access housing and land.

- *Location*: Adequate housing must be situated so as to allow access to job opportunities, healthcare services, schools, child-care centres and other social facilities.

- *Cultural adequacy:* Housing must be constructed so as to enable the expression of cultural identity.

The above could be said to be in line with housing policies. Since the housing policy and programme were introduced in 1994, there have been a series of procedural and legislative milestones. These include a White Paper published in 1994, the financial accord of Botshabelo in 1995, the Housing Act of 1997, and the synthesis document, the Housing Code, produced in 2000.

Vision

The South African housing vision is:

> ... the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and to health, educational and social amenities in which all citizens and permanent residents of the Republic will, on a progressive basis, have access to.

While this vision encompasses a broad conception of human settlements, the national housing goal is phrased in terms of delivery of houses. This is "to increase housing delivery on a sustainable basis to a peak level of 350 000 units per annum until the housing backlog is overcome" (Charlton, 2003).

The housing programme is intended to serve broader economic and social development goals than merely the delivery of shelter. Housing is an important component of the social welfare system, but it is also a key component of the economy (Charlton, 2003).

2.7 The new Housing Plan: Attempting compacting cities

The 'Breaking New Ground' document of the National Department of Housing recognises many of the shortcomings of the existing housing subsidy programmes. By introducing this new instrument, which came into effect on 1 April 2005, housing intervention was made more flexible and responsive to demand. In particular, the 'Comprehensive Plan' (new housing plan) contained in this document, acknowledges that current inhabitants of areas undergoing urban renewal or inner city regeneration "are often excluded as a result of the construction of dwelling units that they cannot afford". The new housing plan tries to address this, by encouraging the development of social housing while also increasing affordability or 'effective demand' through new housing finance. The new housing plan also intends to

promote social inclusion and integration of poorer communities by providing for social and economic infrastructure, rather than merely housing.

The plan also introduces an important new funding instrument for the upgrading of informal settlements and their integration into the broader urban fabric. The new funding instrument for informal settlement upgrading would not be dispersed through standardised household-linked capital subsidies, but rather through area-based subsidies according to the actual cost of upgrading an entire settlement community.

Municipalities are given a central role in the implementation of the new housing plan, which therefore contains an elaborate capacity building component for municipal authorities. The accreditation of municipalities will be subject to the establishment of well capacitated housing units and cross-sectional communities in order to ensure holistic, integrated development, the completion of inventories of municipally-owned land for the development of well located low-income housing, and the willingness to address corruption.

In summary, the new Housing Plan acknowledges this problem and contains several mechanisms to address firstly, the issue of isolation/lack of integration encountered in the poorly located housing estates that were developed over the past years; and secondly, the location of new housing developments. The new housing plan contains a dedicated business plan for 'Spatial Restructuring for Sustainable Human Settlements', which is not yet in the public domain. The plan also proposes that new residential developments are to be authorised only on the condition that they provide 20% low- income housing units. Last but not least, the plan mentions that well-located public land is to be released to communities for low-income housing development. A strategy would be developed for the acquisition of well located privately-owned land. The next section attempts to look contextually at the IDPs and ITPs, and to consider how the two plans could help to bring sanity in urban planning that seeks to balance issues of public transport and livelihoods.

2.8 Is there a meeting point between IDPs and ITPs?

The study also undertook research with the aim of analysing the possible role that can be played by aligning the usage of IDPs and ITPs in integrating land-use and transport, in order

to achieve the aspirations expressed in various government policies governing urban planning.

2.8.1 Defining IDP and ITP

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is a five-year business plan that describes development plans for a municipality, and serves as a principal strategic management plan. It is a legal document that has to be completed by any municipality in terms of Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000, and it supersedes all other plans at a local level (kznplanning.co.za). Among other things that the Act requires, is that the areas of land-use planning, transport planning, infrastructure planning and economic development planning should be integrated in the IDP (Watson 2003:144). The Integrated Transport Plan (ITP) is a transport plan that has to be prepared by the transport authorities, core cities and other municipalities required by the MEC to do so, and which has to be submitted to the MEC annually by the date determined by the MEC (National Land Transport Transition Act of 2000). The selected transport authorities, core cities and other municipalities are required to submit ITPs for their respective areas for a five-year period commencing on the first day of that financial year. The ITP must formulate the planning authority's core city, and other municipality's official visions, policies and objectives, consistent with national and provincial policies, with due regard being given to any relevant integrated development planning or land development objectives. The ITP must at least include all modes and infrastructure, including new or amended roads, commercial and residential developments that have an impact on the land transport system.

2.8.2 A convergent relationship between IDPs and ITPs

It would seem that, in some cases, despite the general principle for the relationship between transport planning and land development, (which is well described by the National Land Transport Transition Act of 2000 as the requirements that an ITP must achieve in terms of land-use planning, transport planning, infrastructure planning and economic development planning) the specific content of an ITP prepared by those given powers to do so, such as the Transport Authority, could differ in one way or another from that of an IDP prepared by the municipality within the transport area. It would be important to highlight some of the

requirements of both IDPs and ITPs and compare them, in order to better understand issues of urban development through land-use and transport.

Behrens and Wilkinson (2003:168) point out that the Municipal Systems Act identifies the nine 'core components' of integrated development plan as comprising:

- the municipal council's vision for the long-term development of its area, with special emphasis on the most critical development and internal transformation needs;
- an assessment of the existing level of development, including an identification of communities which do not have access to basic municipal services;
- the council's development priorities and objectives for its elected term, including its aims in terms of local economic development and internal transformation;
- the council's development strategies, which must be aligned with any legislatively binding national, or provincial sectoral plans and planning requirements;
- a spatial development framework, including the provision of basic guidelines for land-use management system;
- the council's operational strategies;
- applicable disaster management plans;
- a financial plan, including a budget projection for at least the next three years; and
- key performance indicators and targets.

On the other hand, there are eight 'core components' of an integrated transport plan, and it must be a five-year period commencing on the first day of the year. In section 24 of the Transport Act it is specified that the integrated transport plan must formulate the planning authority's official vision, policy and objectives, consistent with national and provincial policies, with due regard being taken of any relevant integrated development planning or land development objectives, and must at least:

- specify the changes to the planning authority's land transport policies and strategies since the previous year's five-year plan;
- include a list of these that must:
  - show in order of precedence, the projects and project segments to be carried out in that five-year plan, and the cost of each project; and
  - be prepared with due regard to relevant integrated development plans, and land objectives set in terms of section 27 of the Development Facilitation

Act, 1995 (act no. 67 of 1995), or, where applicable, in terms of a law of the province.

- include all modes and infrastructure, including new or amended roads and commercial developments having an impact on the land transport system, and land transport aspects of airports and harbours;
- include the planning authority's detailed budget, including funding sources, with regard to land transport for the relevant financial year in the format prescribed the MEC;
- include the planning authority's public transport plan;
- set out a general strategy for travel demand management;
- set out a road and transport infrastructure provision, improvement and maintenance strategy; and
- set out a general strategy plan for the movement of dangerous goods, along designated routes, in accordance with the strategy or plan in the provincial transport framework contemplated in section 22 (3) (1) of the Act.

For the purpose of this study, it appears that the spatial planning framework (SDF) and the sections of the ITP that relate to infrastructure, including new or amended roads and commercial developments having an impact on the land transport system and the ITP, must be prepared with due regard to relevant integrated development plans and land objectives set in terms of section 27 of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (act no. 67 of 1995), or, where applicable, in terms of a law of the province.

What seems to be the issue, is the ability and readiness of those engaged in IDPs and ITPs to develop a common approach or practices, within which the requirements of the new policy framework for IDPs and ITPs have to be implemented systematically. The phenomenon that has been experienced in Cape Town seems to be similar to that experienced by eThekwini Municipality (see interview answers of Moodley and Seedat). The point about the newly created functional areas in the Cape Metropolitan Council is that, informed by national policy initiatives, there were clear imperatives to develop plans and policies within the functional areas concerned. Certain of these functional areas, such as transportation and housing, were promoting particular spatial forms whilst disregarding spatial planning initiatives. These kinds of coordination problems between line function departments are not new, and are

exactly what the integrated development planning process had intended to overcome (Watson 2003:147), and probably the ITPs. What seems to be at stake in such encounters is the question of precisely how commitments to deploying instruments of urban re-engineering such as mixed land-use, densification, infilling, and the promotion of public transport within identified development corridors are to be met operationally by the National Department of Transport cited by Wilkinson (2002). The issue so far is that it remains to be seen how most of the metropolitan municipalities will address, in practice, the issue of how the decision-making frameworks embodied in their IDP and ITP processes are to be brought into some relatively stable relationship, governed by the principles which lie at the heart of developmental local government.

In summary, the meeting point between the IDP and the ITP lies in effectively integrating land use and transport planning systems which, unfortunately, are still lacking in most South African cities including eThekwini. The important thing is that local IDPs and ITPs should essentially be aligned or made compatible with each other.

In this next section, the researcher examined the livelihoods, transport and land use relationship as it is argued here that they influence one another.

2.9 Livelihoods, transport and land use relationship

There is no single definition or explaination of livelihood, but there are useful explainations. Chambers and Conway cited Rossiter (2000:14) as saying that:

> Livelihoods refers to the means of gaining a living including livelihood capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets... Most livelihoods of the poor are based on multiple activities and sources of food, income and security. Security refers to secure ownership of, or access to resources and income – earning activities, including reserves and assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies.

The definition of sustainable human development (SHD) is in the UNDP document, *Sustainable Human development: From Concept to Operation* (T. Banuri, G. Hyden, C. Juma, and M. Rivera: New York: UNDP, 1994 cited by Banuri, 1998:1), defines the concept as "the enlargement of people's choices and capabilities through the formation of social capital so as

to meet as equitably as possible the needs of the current generation without compromising the needs of future ones".

The document goes on to advocate a multi-tiered programme for the implementation of SHD, including advocacy at the global level, participatory policy development, and stake-holder mobilization at national levels, and community development at the local level. It emphasizes that the underlying goal of such programs must be the building of *social capital* rather than physical, human, or natural capital. Rossiter (2000:14) points out that those livelihood frameworks require an understanding of the social, political and economic environment in which the assets exist. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is a framework for looking holistically at people's lives. It is useful as a shared point of reference for all concerned with supporting livelihoods. The first box in the central column refers to people's existing situations. This is analysed by looking at the five types of assets upon which individuals can draw to build their livelihoods. The analysis does not have to only consider the present, but can also look at changes over time and projections for the future.

Figure 4: SUSTAINBLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK
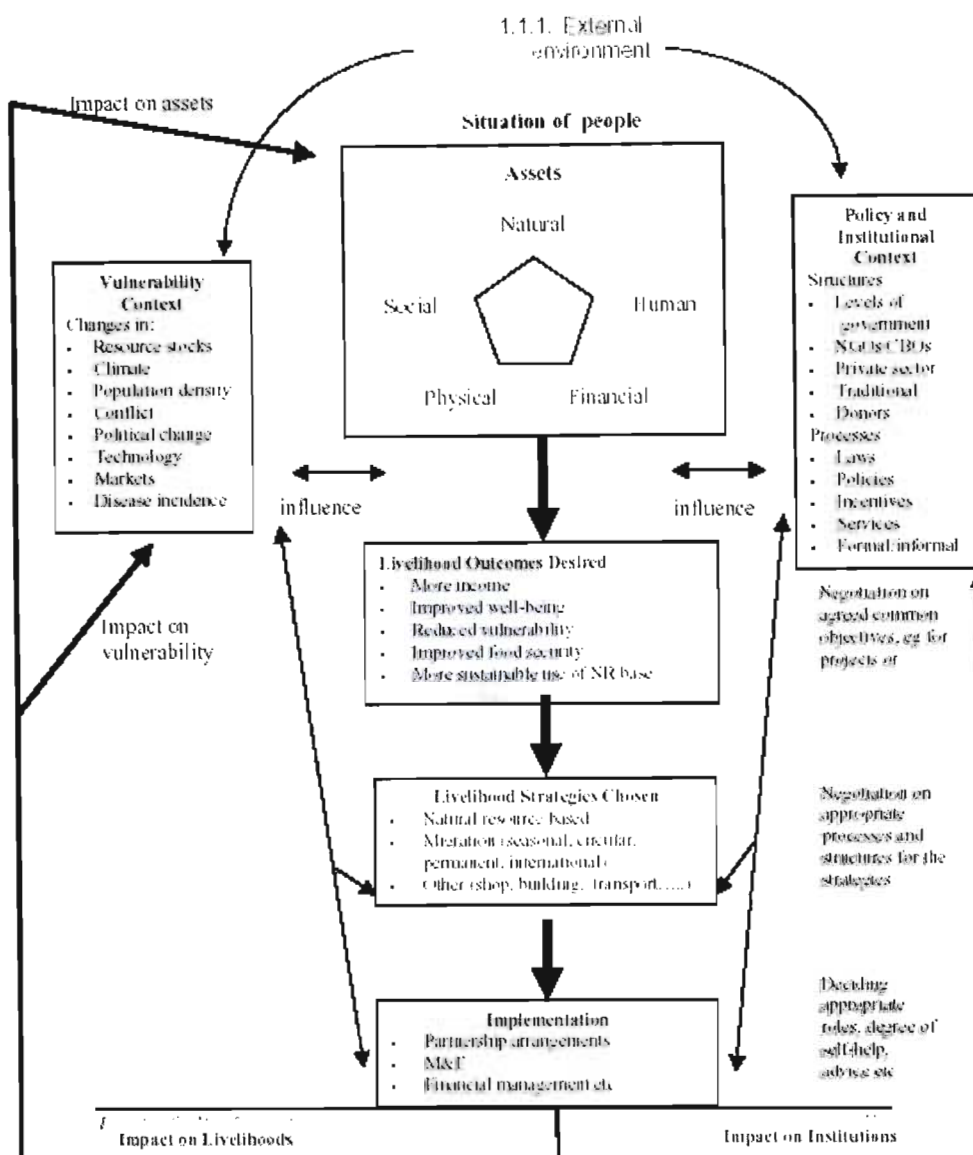
Source: Banuri (1998)

On either side of the 'Situation' box are boxes that represent aspects of the external environment that are important to include in a livelihoods' analysis. The policies of

government departments have a strong impact on people's lives. For example, pensions, transport and housing grants are integral to people's survival strategies. It is easily understood that the availability of services at local level such as roads, telephones, clinics, adult education, etc. impact directly on their lives. The institutional context is critical in determining who gains access to which type of asset. Apartheid laws were designed to racially skew access to educational resources.

Current policies such as land restitution, housing grants, credit schemes and the skills levy are all policies intended to give people access to assets. Returning to the central column, the second box down refers to a process of exploring with people what their livelihood outcomes are. The third box refers to the process of deciding on certain strategies. The fourth box represents the phase of planning and then implementing particular programmes.

The arrows linking the different boxes indicate how the various components influence each other. It has been said that the policy and institutional context, and the vulnerability context affect people's access to assets and, therefore, the decisions they make regarding livelihood strategies. However, there need to be feedback mechanisms from development activity as represented in the different boxes in the central column, which positively influence the policy and institutional context. In addition, improved livelihoods should increase people's ability to withstand the stresses captured in the vulnerability box.

Livelihood security or sustainable livelihood is directly related to the ability of an individual or household to maintain or enhance asset portfolios, namely:

Human capital, including skills, knowledge, creativity, good health, ability to labour;
• *Social (or socio-cultural) capital*, comprising of social networks and family relationships;
• *Economic capital*, or, less broadly, financial resources, including income-earning opportunities, jobs, credit schemes;
• *Physical capital*, basically meaning infrastructure, energy, communications and shelter;
• *Political or institutional capital*, i.e. participation and empowerment;
• *Natural or biological capital*, consisting of natural resource stocks such as land,

water, fertile soils, flora, fauna and minerals. (Marrakech,2001).

In order to make use of these assets, one must have access to basic resources, one must engage in certain activities, and one must be able to adapt to or cope with risks, stresses and shocks. Access, activities, adaptation, and coping, in turn, are highly dependent on the spatial and institutional setting, and on people's individual needs and wants.

Transport or urban transport systems clearly perform, in practice, more than just an economic function, they provide an important social function too. People use roads and, much more widely, tracks and footpaths to fetch water, move animals, bring in firewood, visit their relatives, go to school, travel to a health centre or visit the weekly market. Furthermore, people with little money usually travel in vehicles other than cars. For transport, in turn, cash is needed. The smallest disruption in this intricate network of activities and daily survival, of which only a tiny extract has just been described, may result in a severe shock for livelihood security, which many urban poor may not be able to withstand. In the urban environment, characterised by rapidly changing, unreliable and often unruly conditions, there are multiple risks of a breakdown of coping strategies.

The integration of transport and land use planning is widely recognized as essential to the achievement of sustainable development. The concept of accessibility - or what can be reached from a given point in space, and how, can provide a useful conceptual framework for this integration. More specifically, a shift of focus in urban transport planning from catering for mobility to catering for accessibility, helps one to see how more sustainable transport options can, under certain land use conditions, provide a competitive degree of accessibility that matches less sustainable options (Banuri, 1998).

Housing relocations are undertaken fairly often within the South African context with varying degrees of social, economic and political effectiveness. Legal frameworks exist to protect the rights of residents and impose substantial obligations on public authorities who seek to relocate households. There are however, no programmes which provide guidance or support to public agencies to effect relocation activities in an appropriate manner, through the creation of incentives for voluntary relocation, social support to relocated households, or mediation mechanisms to address disputes (South African Cities Network,2003). Frequently, low-income, high-density housing areas are often located in areas unsuitable for housing,

thus causing social and economic problems for urban dwellers. This situation results in men and women being forced to choose to live in the city centre (location of their jobs) in order to reduce transportation costs.

There is no doubt, however, that transportation is linked to livelihoods, survival strategies and space, as they influence one another, and have an impact on the peripheral location of low-income housing projects in the urban form. The arguments for compaction stem from the understanding that there are strong links between accessibility, location and the livelihoods as areas with good accessibility and economy attract large numbers of people and commercial investment (Brown and Lloyd, 2002:194). The apartheid policies that shaped South African urban forms have had a profound and systematic impact. The apartheid legacy had, and in most cases still has, a substantial economic impact, such as denying poor black people access to economic opportunity, and ensuring the increased production, retail and transport costs of urban sprawl. The document (1995) 'Local Economic Development (LED) in the Durban Metropolitan Area' highlights the impact of segregation planning policies inherited by the city. There is also a clear and urgent need to link housing to the long-term economic development/ income generation/survival strategies of the end-users, in a variety of ways - both physically and administratively – in order to create 'places of opportunity' in both new and existing areas. This must go beyond the employment-creation benefits related to the delivery process itself (such as construction jobs during implementation). Strategies around supporting income generation need to be conceptualized at various scales and in various ways: at the level of the project, the housing programme needs to engage with how end-users are going to survive and/or generate income in their new house. This might include backyard shack sub-rental or running a home industry. "More housing subsidy beneficiary households depend on informal economic activity as a source of income than on any other source of income" (Charlton 2003). This view is also shared by Biermann who argues that most low-income households survive on second economy or informal employment, which is often within or near the low-income settlement itself (Biermann 2004).

In addition, this income-generating strategy should include a focus on 'people development' in housing, as well as physical development. The Cato Manor Special Presidential project, for example, which includes the delivery of a significant amount of housing, has shifted over its lifespan to include an increasing focus on skills and economic development, not just the physical infrastructure that was the main focus in the early years Charlton (2003:176).

The linkage between housing and income generation is also critical. In planning and housing literature, location is emphasized – the location of housing in relation to the 'higher order' facilities and amenities in an urban area, such as hospitals, tertiary institutions and arts facilities, and crucially, the location of work opportunities. In this regard, travel and transportation is critical – how convenient, safe and affordable is the means of moving from home to work or other facilities.

Increasingly however, there is a recognition of the diminishing role of formal jobs in the lives of the poor, and the increasing importance of a range of income generation and survival strategies, and the linkage between these and the home environment. A key issue is the role that the house can play in supporting livelihoods.

Therefore, continued peripheral low-income housing delivery at scale, on poorly located land, perpetually marginalises poor people in terms of access to urban opportunities including employment, amenities and social networks, and thus negates necessary elements for sustained livelihood. Brown and Llyod-Jones (2002:189) points out that there is a perception that livelihoods approaches and survival strategies have been more comprehensively and thoughtfully developed for rural, rather than for urban contexts. Nonetheless, there is empirical evidence that the livelihood approach is also relevant in urban areas. Part of the argument related to this, is that poverty knows no boundaries, hence urban areas are also engulfed by poverty. It is argued that for low-income households, it is, in fact, a day-to-day struggle for survival, hence livelihood strategies have to be applied in urban settings. As indicated, poorly located low-income housing projects make it difficult for these people to access areas of opportunities. The decision to locate the low-income housing project detrimentally along the periphery should be reconsidered, for it can severely hinder the legitimate pursuit of livelihoods.

Operationalizing principles (as appearing in Figure 1) are not an easy task, not least because competences are often scattered between vertical and horizontal policy levels Van de Walle, (2004:182). There is a strong link between accessibility and the economy, as areas with good accessibility attract large numbers of people; hence urban spatial planning should contribute to the development process through the regulation of land use and development.

Figure 5: LAND USE-TRANSPORT FEEDBACK CYCLE
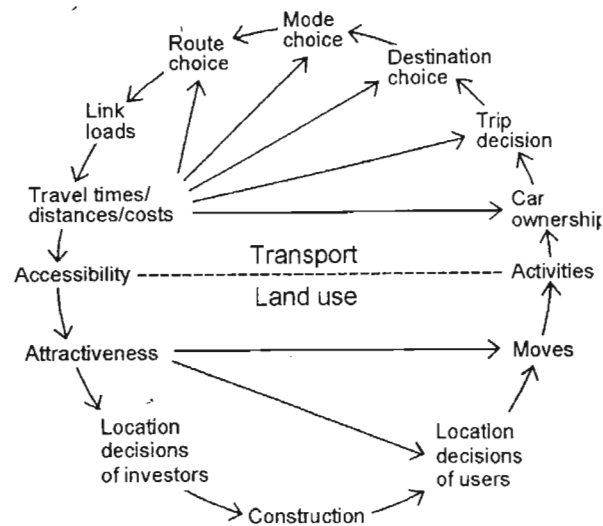
Source: Vande Walle (2004)

In order to meet livelihoods and maintain the sustainability of low-income housing projects, it must be recognised that trip and location decisions co-determine each other, and that transport and land use planning needs to be co-ordinated and lead to the notion of the 'land-use transport feedback" Wegener and Furst, in Van de Walle (2004:189). Brown and Llyod-Jones (2002) point out that the aim of urban planning should be to provide a context in which people can access services and shelter, which promotes economic development and environmental protection, and which improves the quality of life, particularly for the poor. There are two qualitative scenario-based assessments for possible development outcomes: costs and sustainable livelihood benefits.

When commenting on the Executive Summary of a report commissioned by the Department of Housing and An Urban Institute programme, Zack and Charlton (2003:53) noted that the location of projects near work opportunities and the ability of a project to sustain income-generating activities are often poor, hence economic activity seems to be largely survivalist. This basically means that the holistic approach in housing development has to be pursued, and that national government should heavily fund the badly-located projects in order to sustain livelihoods for beneficiary households. One way of doing this is to subsidise

passenger transport, to enable beneficiary households to access central areas where almost all opportunities exist.

2.10 Applying the asset vulnerability framework to housing policy: The issues of housing and livelihood

For the purpose of this study, it is argued that there is much more to a household's ability to secure their livelihoods, and thus more to poverty, than income and physical assets. Households' decision-making and motivations are thus more complex than a simplistic income-based view of poverty would suggest.

It may be argued that by providing free housing with secure tenure, the housing policy is automatically adding to the capital stock of beneficiary households. The asset vulnerability framework, however, raises the possibility that acceptance of state, the housing subsidy may in fact reduce households' stock of other, and potentially more important, assets, leading to an overall nett loss to the household. The following are some of the possibilities likely to occur which directly or indirectly affect the livelihood of relocated beneficiary households:

2.10.1 Impact of changed location

Most housing projects under the state housing subsidy system are 'greenfields' developments, i.e. developments situated on 'raw' or previously undeveloped land. Because costs are chargeable to the capital subsidy, there is a strong incentive to locate such developments on low-cost land, in order to maximise the amount left for a top-structure. This quite often results in developments on the urban fringe, frequently far from beneficiaries' previous homes.

By 'design', as it were, informal settlements are typically located as close as possible to viable economic opportunities. The residents of these areas also develop their own local economies over time, in which wage earners constitute the market for informal traders such as spaza shops. Household expenditure patterns develop around existing transport costs to work, schools, shops, and other amenities.

Therefore, relocation to a market-driven 'greenfields' development may involve significant short- to medium-term disruption to income flows as well as to household cost structures.

Informal businesses based on local custom must re-establish their businesses with new customers, and re-orient their supply networks. Such businesses may also face increased competition, if alternative sources of their products are more readily available in their new location. As it is the contention of this study, for their part, formally employed workers, scholars and shoppers may face increased transport time and costs as a result of their relocation. A decision to sell a subsidised house in a 'greenfields' development, may therefore reflect a lack of adequate prior information about their income prospects and expenditure patterns in their new location, rather than opportunism or irrationality. Low-income households in informal settlements may only come into a position which enables them to assess the situation accurately, once relocated.

2.10.2 Economic reconstruction of communities

By its very nature, the subsidy system tends to produce homogenous communities with uniformly low incomes. Because the maximum subsidy amount is only available to the poorest households, developers have an incentive to target the poorest members of communities, leaving out the better-off, in order to maximise the subsidy resources available.

Informal traders and service providers are dependent on the overall cash inflows into their market area. Wage earners and other higher income members of the community are often the critical vectors for such inflows. According to Bay Research and Consultancy Services 'Housing Policy and Poverty in South Africa' excising such members from the community in the process of amalgamating households for subsidy purposes, would tend to impact detrimentally on the cash base, markets, and thus income strategies, of self-employed persons such as traders and personal service providers.

2.10.3 Changes to the status of housing assets

There has been information from mass media that the Department of Housing has recently promulgated regulations requiring beneficiaries of subsidy projects to hand over materials from their previous informal dwellings, such as zinc sheets and plywood. This is intended to

prevent such households from surrounding their subsidy houses with informal additions. This signals another significant change to the asset profile of beneficiary communities.

In informal settlements, there are few, if any official regulations governing employment of housing assets, for example, relating to rentals. Although regulations do exist, they are typically based on implicit or explicit community agreements regarding such matters, and thus reflect local-level understanding of the new needs and opportunities of residents.

Once relocated to a 'formal' 'greenfields' development, however, such households may well find themselves subject to a range of externally determined regulations that limit their ability to use their housing assets as before. They may be forbidden to construct additional rooms except to a specific standard; backyard-shacks may be disallowed; and informal lodgings may also be discouraged, or become virtually impractical.

In terms of the asset vulnerability framework, such households may, on balance, have experienced a diminution of their housing assets. According to Thurman cited in the Housing Policy and Poverty in South Africa, 1/3 of subsidy beneficiaries in the Western Cape received houses that were smaller than their previous shacks. When freedom to utilise housing assets for income-generation is constrained, the value of such assets may well fall, relative to other parts of the household's asset portfolio.

- **Reduced savings capacity**

Savings are often a critical element of poor households' livelihood strategies, as the widespread use of stokvels and other group savings mechanisms in South Africa suggests. In terms of the asset vulnerability framework, a decline in disposable income may well be regarded as a negative aspect of relocation to a subsidised housing development, because it decreases savings and increases household vulnerability.

- **Disruption of social networks**

The most important, but least appreciated impact of subsidised housing on beneficiary households, is the impact on what is known as 'social capital' assets. In the Bay Research and Consultancy Services' report, it is mentioned that social capital consists of relations of

reciprocity within communities and between households, based on trust, social ties, and accumulated inter-household knowledge.

Relocation to a 'greenfields' development, which is often poorly located, frequently involves the disruption of existing neighbourhoods and communities. Beneficiaries are rarely allocated houses in relation to their existing residential and social networks. Friends, neighbours and colleagues may find themselves widely separated, with relative strangers as new neighbours. This has a variety of potential impacts on low-income households, all of which impact on their vulnerability and the value of their social capital assets. The report also highlights the following as pertinent to the disruption of social networks. Only three factors are discussed for the purpose of this study.

- **Increased insecurity**

As any household is aware, the mere fact of moving increases insecurity for a time. This is largely due to the lack of knowledge of neighbours, travel times and location of amenities, if any exist, since in many cases people are merely relocated without basic services, facilities and basic amenities. Families with children of school-going age are particularly affected if the children must travel to schools, or shops, through unfamiliar territory because there is not even reliable public transport.

- **Inability to absorb or support extended family**

Restrictions on use of housing assets and on disposable income, may reduce a households' ability to maintain important obligations to extended family members, which provide an important form of insurance in times of crisis.

- **Disruption of solidarity networks and institutions**

The most important impact on social capital assets is the disintegration and rebuilding of important social capital solidarity networks and institutions such as churches, women's groups, crèches, political groups, burial societies, sports clubs, and even shebeens, the very fabric of civic life in low-income communities.

2.11 Conclusion

There are competing and conflicting views, particularly in South Africa, between 'sprawl' and 'compact-city approach' ideals. The national literature on peripheral location of low-income housing projects seems to present two divergent views on the sustainability of these developments.

One position suggests that the fundamental problem lies with local government structures which, as the implementing spheres of government, should resist temptations to allow low-income housing projects to be allocated on the urban edge. Local government at its level, requires a more proactive role in the procurement of suitably located land for low-income housing projects (Harrison et al. 2003). These developments should be planned in such way that they resemble the principles espoused by the compact-city approach, which calls for centrally integrated developments to obviate costs associated with non-centrally dispersed developments.

The second position on the other hand, suggests the need for a holistic approach when looking at the impact of peripherally located subsidised housing on beneficiary households. Biermann (2004) agrees that the relationships between the positions are complex, hence one would argue that there is a need for a holistic approach when debating this issue.

The position is that, certainly, the compact city approach cannot alone be significantly better for poor households than a more sprawled pattern of development. Biermann further argues that there are differences between cities and also between locations within the cities, but these are not clearly attributable to the degree of compactness or centrality.

In line with recent thinking in South African literature on the impact of peripheral location of low-income housing, and often argued within the compact city approach, this dissertation seeks to argue that a relatively holistic approach should be applied, if the position is that the relocation has made access to livelihood and employment nodes more difficult, and has increased travel time and transportation costs.

The intention here is to find common ground that says that where local government has failed to secure suitably located land that could have eliminated problems associated with expenses or costs (often incurred when locating low-income houses at urban edge), the provincial and national spheres of government should provide affordable passenger transportation services and other social needs, in order to empower the argument that, indeed low-income housing projects can be pronounced to incorporate principles of sustainability, irrespective of their location.

The option of an holistic approach would be important in ensuring that despite the peripheral location of low-income housing projects, housing projects should meet sustainability principles if the project is planned and developed holistically, hence the study is guided by the systems theory and its holistic approach. Patton (1990:65) points out that the holistic approach assumes that the whole is understood as a complex system which is greater than the sum of its parts. The holist is interested in studying a 'whole system' and, therefore, assumes that a description and understanding of a person's social environment is essential for an overall understanding (Patton: 1990:69). Holistic thinking is central to system perspective. A system is a whole that is both greater than, and different from its parts. The parts are interconnected and interrelated (Patton: 1990:70). The function and meaning of the parts is lost when they are separated from the whole.

The systems perspective is important in understanding real-world complexities, and views issues as whole entities embedded in larger wholes. Thus in researching the impact of peripheral location of low-income housing to beneficiary households, the systems theory is important in order to understand the effects of micro, immediate and macro environments on beneficiary households and the community at large.

The holistic approach to housing is universally advocated by (Hopkins, 1992). It holds that housing cannot be seen in isolation, and that every aspect of beneficiary households' functioning needs to be taken into account when planning low-income housing, for the beneficiaries often do not have sufficient economics to cope with other human needs.
Korten (cited in Walker, 1993:58) argued that development is a process by which members of a society increased "their personal and institutional capacities to manage resources to

produce substantial and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations". The implications, therefore, are that the holistic-development approach would be the most suitable approach in deciding whether or not the peripheral location of low-income projects has a negative impact on beneficiary households.

Numerous models have been formulated to explain methods by which quality of life could be assessed. The most popular of the quality of life models is the basic needs approach, which sought to mobilise resources for social development. Housing is one of the most important domains affecting the quality of peoples' lives. Physical features have to be seen in relation to the total living environment. The residential environment could be seen as comprising three levels, namely, the proximate (housing unit), the immediate (neighbourhood) and macro (community in which the housing unit is located) levels (Naidoo, cited in Carter, 1995:89).

Within this wide view, the study considers that a house should be conveniently situated within a neighbourhood that will provide the amenities, which includes access to transport, shopping, employment, recreation and other facilities like schools, libraries, clinics and day-care centres. If this is unattainable, government should balance housing and public transportation subsidies to ease transport costs which are often a burden on beneficiary households' abilities to access the above-mentioned services and facilities.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1 Overview

This chapter deals with primary research undertaken regarding the impact of peripherally located low-income housing projects, and considers whether or not the relocation of poor people to the peripherally located low-income housing in WE has made access to livelihood and employment nodes more difficult, and has increased travel time and transportation costs.

Survey research is a very old research technique, and today, survey research is perhaps the most frequently used mode of observation in the social sciences. It is probably the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly. It was with this understanding that it was decided that this method would be appropriate for this study area.

The first section includes coverage of opinions solicited from those involved in the provision of housing and public passenger transport policies, and their implementation. This was to find out whether those involved in providing low-income housing and public transport had an understanding of policies, or a favourable opinion epitomised by various legislation with regard to the holistic approach towards human settlements.

The beneficiary households were actual recipients of low-income housing who were relocated from three informal settlements within eThekwini Municipality (EM) and given houses in WE. The basic purpose of the study was to establish, or examine the impact and effects of relocation on beneficiary households in peripherally located low-income housing projects such as WE. It was also considered necessary to determine whether or not transport costs were higher in more peripheral settlements than in more central locations, as well as to discover whether or not the residents in peripheral settlements were less able to access the benefits of urban living, including economic opportunities and social networks necessary for survival.

3.2 Slum Clearance Programme

It is within the above-mentioned context that local authority initiatives to clear slums must be seen. SCP was initiated by eThekwini Municipality, and is spearheaded by its Housing Unit in conjunction with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Housing (DoH). This programme was thought to have far-reaching implications in addressing a combination of housing, health and safety needs of the informal communities. eThekwini Municipality has a city status and the population is in the region of three million people. By 1994, informal settlements accounted for about a third of Durban's population. Most were on the periphery, within or beyond old Black townships (please see figure 1 below).

Figure 1:Urban development in the eThekwini municipal area (Durban)

Source: Todes (2003:)

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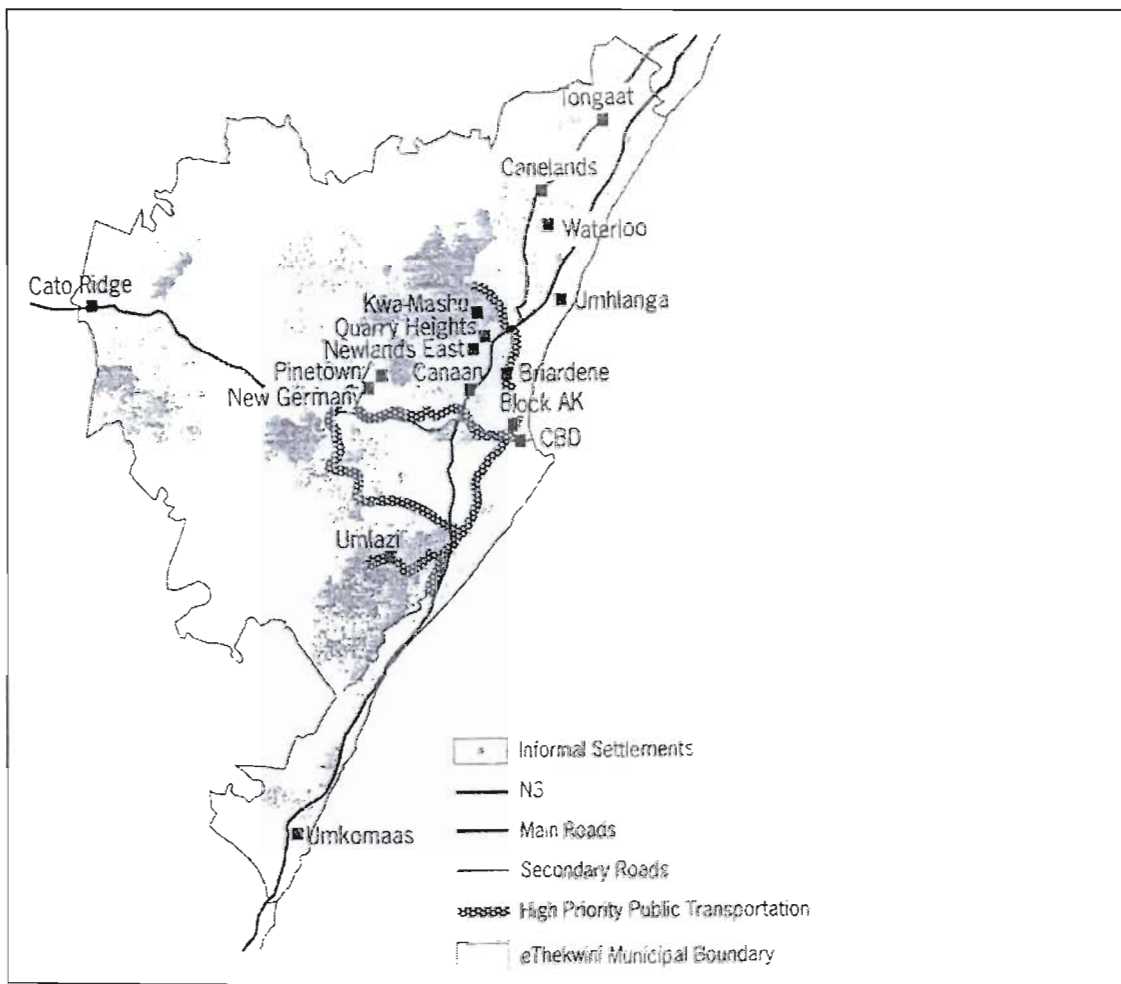
Since then, centrally located informal settlements have grown to 10% of all informal settlements, and the old Group Areas designations have started to break down, (Todes, 2003 in Harries et al, 2003).

Since the birth of democratic local government structures in 1996, and the subsequent formation of eThekwini Municipality in 2000, houses have been funded on the basis of the merits of individual and project-linked subsidy applications. Seemingly, emphasis has been placed on the delivery of houses in large numbers, in locations where the housing developments still perpetuate past patterns.

The programme began in October 2001 when the Provincial Minister of Housing, Mr. Dumisani Makhaye, approved R200 million in subsidies for the delivery of 14 000 houses. The eThekwini Municipality has committed itself to the funding of services to improve the standards of living in the municipality, and has contributed approximately R70 million in order to achieve this objective. The Municipality has also pursued a policy of bridge- financing the developments, in order to ensure rapid delivery of housing and services. The key projects under the slum clearance programme include the Greenfield projects in KwaMashu C (409 sites), Welbedacht East (5500 sites) and Welbedagt West (2900 sites), the latter located in the South, Parkgate (1530 sites) and Waterloo phase 6 (600 sites) both of which are located in the North. The informal settlement upgrade projects included Stop 8 Namibia in Inanda (2500 sites), Umlazi Uganda (400 sites) in Umlazi, and Joe Slovo in Lamontville (216 sites) (eThewkini Municipality, 2001).

The municipality is in the process of planning Phases 2 & 3 of the Slum Clearance Programme with the approval of the DoH. Approximately 80 000 households will be addressed over a six year period. While Phase 1 focussed largely on the central area of Durban, Phases 2 & 3 will begin to address settlements across all regions of the municipality. Over 70 settlements have been earmarked for complete relocation, while 50 settlements will be upgraded *in situ*. In order to accommodate many of the households which will need to be relocated, 20 Greenfield projects have been identified for implementation. The total cost of the Programme in terms of subsidy allocation will be in the region of R2, 9 billion (eThewkini Municipality, 2001).

3.3   Welbedacht East Project

For the purpose of this study, only Welbedacht East is considered in order to address the problem statement and answer the main and subsidiary questions. Welbedacht East is

situated in the south of Durban in a place called Demat. It is about 23 kilometres from Pinetown, 43 kilometres from Durban, and 15 kilometres from Chatsworth Centre.

The study area has been chosen because it is one of the largest slum clearance projects in eThekwini Municipality (Durban). It is located in the extreme south of the wider Pinetown area and represents a portion of the first phase in the slum clearance programme in Durban. The project is considered to be badly located from a transportation point of view. The project is also very badly located in terms of job opportunities. There are very few, if any, employment opportunities in the area and, in terms of a survey conducted for the purpose of compiling a Social Compact, only 20% of the community would find informal employment in the area.

The whole area of Demat was designated in terms of the Group Areas Act (GAA) and thereby declared an Indian/Asian community area. Black people were not allowed to settle on this land. It was only after 1994 that the area was released to all people, irrespective of race. By then, Welbedacht East had already been established as a project area by the then Welbedacht Development Trust (WDT) which started what exists today as Phase 1A with 364 sites. WDT was constituted to tackle the challenge of the shortage of housing in the area, however, as indicated above, beneficiaries were meant to be of the Indian race group in line with the GAA. Progress was slow due to construction related issues. However, when it was declared a Slum Clearance Project, the process was accelerated and developed into the project it has become. Welbedacht East was then earmarked to spearhead the very ambitious programme of the then Minister of Housing. R50 million was made available by the Department of Housing, with a further R150 million being released from the Municipal Housing Fund in order to speed up the housing delivery process. The township designation commenced, and was completed in terms of the Development Facilitation Act of 1995. The Old Phase 1A, which was to be designated in terms of the Ordinance Act through the Private Township Board was cancelled, and was included in the new project.

The initial intention was to use the project almost entirety as a destination for relocated informal settlers. The end result, after negotiation with the then Welbedacht Development Committee, was to work a 50/50 split between people to be relocated there from other slums within eThekwini, and those people within the 'resident' informal settlement (Clinton Morck, Welbedacht East Project Manager). The split in the allocation

of houses is approximately 53% and 47% in favour of people coming from outside the area. The end yield of this project will be approximately 4900 households, based on the detailed town planning, although the original submission was 5200 units. For the purpose of this study, the focus will fall on those relocated from other areas outside Welbedacht or Demat areas.

Ever since the establishment of this project, there have been mixed feelings about the location of this project. The officials of Metro Housing felt it was a project identified for implementation. They argue that the project was close enough to potential employment and major transportation routes and was therefore, within what would be considered the Urban Core, which was defined by the then Durban Metro boundary with the Inner West City Council. This boundary now separates Welbedacht East from Welbedacht West.

3.4 Data findings

3.4.1 Introduction

The following are summaries of responses which were obtained from the questionnaires administered to 60 beneficiary households of Welbedacht East.

In order to test different experiences, the first group interviewed was composed of 30 beneficiary households relocated from **Clairwood** informal settlements, the second 15 from **Esithebeni KwaGijima at Lamontville,** and the last group consisted of 15 beneficiary households relocated from the **Ark Place of Safety**. Beneficiary households from the Ark were not from informal settlements, but from Point Road, and were relocated to make way for the uShaka-Marine Flagship Development Project. They compromise White, Asian, and Black people. Their socioeconomic and racially mixed nature was only reason they were considered as respondents in this study, as they were being relocated from a well-located area to WE. This study, therefore, considers this group equally with groups from other informal settlements.

The findings will be used to attempt to answer the main research question (i.e. What is the impact of peripherally located subsidised housing projects on beneficiary households?) using the responses from the survey.

The analysis will follow the format of the questionnaire (see Appendix 1)

3.5 Research Analysis

3.5.1 Survey questionnaires

Table 1: Household members' category

No of household/s members	Frequency	Percentage
Household member alone	2	3%
Household member with one dependant	3	5%
Household member with two dependants	11	18%
Household member with three dependants	10	17%
Household member with four dependants	13	22%
Household member with five dependants	12	20%
Household member with six dependants	8	13%
Household member with more than six dependants	1	2%
Total	**60**	**100%**

All respondents were asked how many dependents were living with them. Table 1 above shows that only 1% of beneficiary households have one member in the household, 3% where only couples, with no other members or children stay together, 17% is composed of those couples with one child or member, (the member could be a child, sister or brother). Households with four to six members each are largely comprised of members who stay there because of an extended family set-up.

Table 2: The age of the household heads

Age	Frequency	Percentage
21 to 30 years	30	50%
31 to 50 years	19	31%
51 years +	11	18%
Total	**60**	**100**

The majority of the households are aged between 21 and 30 years of age (38), followed by those between 31 and 50 years, with only 4% being over 51 years old. What is significant about these statistics, is that household heads are still active and are a source of labour supply. It is very significant to note that there were very few who over the age of 51. This is related to the stage of lifestyle of African people, where old people retire in the rural villages in the outlying areas (i.e. traditional areas) seeking a relaxed atmosphere.

Table 3 : Gender of household heads

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Females	34	57%
Males	26	43%
Totals	**60**	**100%**

Table 3 shows that 26 respondents (43%) were males, and 34 respondents (57%) were females. This illustrates that the majority of households are headed by females as opposed to males. In terms of government, low-income subsidy schemes, this shows a remarkable improvement.

Table 4: Marital status

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Married	20	33%
Single	30	50%
Divorced	4	7%
Widowed	6	10%
Total	**60**	**100%**

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All the respondents were asked to disclose their marital status. The table above reveals that 20 respondents (33%) indicated that they were married, 30 respondents (50%) indicated that they were single and that 10 respondents (17%) indicated that they were divorced. This table suggests that all people were given an equal opportunity of living at WE, and no one was discriminated against based on their marital status. For the purpose of this study, the issue of types of marriages was not researched.

Table 5: Location of employment (household heads only)

Places of employment	Frequency	Percentage
Durban	9	25%
Clairwood	8	22%
Mobeni	7	19%
Isipingo	6	17%
Other areas	4	11%
Pinetown	0	0%
Chartsworth	2	6%
Total	**36**	**100%**

All participants were asked about the location of their employment. This table indicates that people were employed in Durban and on the southern urban industrial nodes. Places such as Durban, Clairwood, Mobeni and Isipingo were cited by all respondents. It was noted that the sample did not produce respondents that were employed either in Chatsworth or Pinetown, the nodes that were cited to have the potential to absorb or provide job opportunities for relocated people.

Table 6 : Location of schools

Schools	Frequency	Percentage
Chartsworth	24	40%
Previous locations	36	60%
Total	**60**	**100%**

With regard to location of schools attended by household schooling members, it appeared that the majority use taxis as a means of transport to get to school, as the majority of them are still attending schools located in the informal settlements from which they were relocated. What is important is that even some of those attending local schools also used taxis to go to school. There is only one 'local school' in this area, which is across the river, and the parents indicated that their children do not go to school if the river is full, since there is no bridge to be used to cross the river.

Table 7: Income source

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Formal employment	8	13%
Informal employment	15	25%
Domestic work	13	22%
No employment	24	40%
No answer	0	0%
Total	**60**	**100**

Table 8: Transport costs

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Costing more	49	82%
Costing less	11	18%
No change	0	0
Total	**60**	**100%**

The respondents were asked if living in the outer city increases their travelling costs. 49 (82%) of beneficiary households responded by saying that indeed, transport cost them a lot, whilst 11 (18%) indicated that it cost less. The lack of services and the costs associated with transport are factors that severely limit their ability to participate in the broader urban system. In particular, respondents cited the cost of accessing schools as a major issue. They even said that poor transport prevents people from reaching other services not existing in their area.

Table 9: Proximity to a transport route

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Closer to transport route	24	40%
Not closer to transport route	36	60%
Total	**60**	**100%**

Proximity to a transport route was also found to be problematic. 36 (60%) of respondents indicated that they cannot easily access public transport as they are not in proximity to a public transport route. They said they walk more than 20 minutes to get to a transport route. It was only 24 (40%) who indicated that they were or were found to be closer to a transport route. What is evident is that the situation in Welbedacht East is not in line with international standards. Different transport studies have found that, in general, walking times in excess of 15 minutes (± 1 000 metres) are unacceptable. A possible yardstick for a transport network should be that, say, 80%-90% of the community should live within 15 minutes (1 000 metres) of the public transport route Bruton, MJ cited in (*Public Transport Planning Module* of Department of Transport and Logistics Management (RAU)).

Table 10: Household income

Values	Frequency	Percentage
0 to R500	14	23%
R501 to R1000	11	18%
R1001 to R1500	12	20%
R1501 to R2000	10	17%
R2001 to R2500	7	12%
R2501 to R3000	4	7%
R3001 to R3500	2	3%
R3501 +	0	0%
Totals	**60**	**100**

All respondents were asked to give an average of the household income. The results concerning the income situation do not have the same degree of reliability, because it is very difficult to assess the total incomes of households of poor people. There is always a tendency for individuals within one household not to be willing to disclose information in

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front of other household members. Therefore, it is almost certain that the answers reflect the regular monthly income mainly of the employed household members and those accessing pension grants, since adding all the other bits and pieces of informal income would have been too lengthy a process to fulfil. 14 respondents (23%) formed the majority of the households' income and the research found that this is mainly composed of people earning child support grants.

- **Places where beneficiary households lived before relocation**

The researcher is an employee of eThekwini Municipality in the Housing Unit and, prior to the survey being carried out, information on beneficiary households relocated from various informal settlements, clustered or located in houses together, was already available. This information was used in order to ensure that the existing social fabric within the community was not disrupted. This scenario was confirmed, when a pilot study was conducted wherein between five and 10 respondents were surveyed, to test the efficacy of questionnaires. The following table shows areas where respondents lived before coming to WE.

Table 11: Places where beneficiary households lived before relocation

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Clairwood	25	42%
Esithebeni, KwaGijima at Lamontville	20	33%
Ark (Place of safety)	15	25%
Total	**60**	**100%**

The majority of respondents 25 (42%) indicated they were relocated from the Clairwood informal settlement. 20 respondents (33%) were relocated from Esithebeni which is one the areas of the KwaGijima informal settlement located in Lamontville Township. The last group consisted of beneficiary households relocated from the Ark. The Ark is not an informal settlement, but rather a Place of Safety. People were relocated from the Ark to make way for the development of uShaka Island. The interesting aspect about these beneficiaries is that they are comprised of all races in terms of South African race groupings - that is White, Black, Coloured and Indian people.

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Table 12: Households proximity to the inner city centre or areas of work or income: Welbedacht East and Previous Location Welbedacht East

Values	Frequency	Percentage
30 minutes to one hour or more	30	83%
30 minutes or less	6	17%
Totals	**36**	**100%**

Previous Locations

Values	Frequency	Percentage
30 minutes to one hour or more	10	28%
30 minutes or less	26	72%
Totals	**36**	**100%**

The comparison of Welbedacht East and various previous locations clearly demonstrate that the residents have been worse off as a result of being relocated to the new settlement area and this has an impact on a quality of life.

Table 13: Access to places of work where the household lived previously compared to Welbedacht East

Value	Previous Locations		Welbedacht East	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Easy	33	92%	4	11%
Difficult	3	8%	32	89%
Totals	36	100%	36	100%

Proximity to places of work had been complicated as a result of relocation. From table 13 above, it is observable that (89%) of respondents indicated that it is difficult to easily reach places of work and if one compares with the previous locations wherein 92% has better or easy access , it becomes apparent that relocation has indeed affected them. The issue of easy or not easy access to places of wok was largely cited by the respondents as key indicator of quality of life. Although the majority of respondents were not permanently employed but the fact that they were able to secure temporal

employment, it meant a great a deal for them in terms of sustaining and satisfying their day to day human needs.

Table 14: The cost of living comparing where you previously lived and Welbedacht East

| Value | Previous Locations | | Welbedacht East | |
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Better	45	75%	8	13%
Worse	8	13%	42	70%
No change	7	12%	10	17%
Total	**60**	**100%**	**60**	**100%**

Table 15: How has moving to Welbedacht East affected access to employment and income?

The basic purpose of this question was to find out what employment and/or income sources each member of the household had access to prior to relocation, and whether any employment and/or income sources existed in their new location, and where these were located?

Values	Household heads	Spouses	Other household members
Household member employed	36	10	43
Employment in previous place	36	10	30
Location of employment in previous place	Durban, Clairwood, Mobeni, Isipingo Chatsworth and Other areas	Clairwood, Durban and in other areas	Durban, Clairwood, Mobeni, Isipingo Chatsworth and Other areas
Other income sources in previous place	Running shebeen and hawking and vendoring	Running shebeen and hawking and vendoring	None

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- **Where people have had to change their place of work, has this been the result of increased travelling costs to their work places?**

This question was fairly comprehensively explained in question 5, but it only covered the employed beneficiary households, and it became evident that relocation not only increased travelling costs to people's work places, but that some people lost their employment as a result of relocation.

Table 16: Do you think that living in the outer city township increased costs compared to the housing nearer the city centre?

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	45	75%
No	15	25%
Total	60	100%

Transport costs associated with travel to the work place, or to look for job opportunities in the employment nodes were cited as the reasons why living in the outer city township was the cause of the cost increase.

Table 17: Transport mode used for public/passenger transport

Mode	Frequency	Percentage
Taxi	55	92%
Bus	5	8%
Total	60	100%

Table 17: shows that 55 respondents (92%) used minibus-taxis, and that the reason for using this mode was the fact that it was the only mode of transport that ensured the availability of the service, as it is able to provide a frequency and spread of service related to the number of hours over which the service was operated by minibus-taxis. Only 5 respondents (8%) used the bus service, which was only used by beneficiary households who had been relocated from Esithebeni KwaGijima at Lamontville. These are

only people who were given houses which are well-located in terms of public transportation.

Table 18: Transport costs in general

Transport costs	Places which used to be travelled or walked to	Costs accrued to households then	Costs accrued to households now
Public transport costs	Mobeni	R4.00	R8.00
"	Clairwood centre	R4.50	R8.00
"	Isipingo	R3.00	R10.00
"	Durban	R5.00	R8.00
"	Chatsworth Centre	nil	R4.00
"	Pinetown	nil	nil
Social infrastructure and services			
	Schools	Walk	R5. 00 per day
	Cliniics	Walk	R8.00 return trip
	Recreation	Walk	No data
	Shops	Walk	R10.00 return trip
	Police station	Walk	R10.00 return trip

Many of the employed people indicated that it had been cheaper to travel to work from the informal settlement, because it was closer to where they lived, or they could naturally walk to work. Almost all people living in Clairwood who worked nearby could walk to work.

Table 19: Expenditure devoted to transportation per month: to go to work and for children to go to school: Previous locations and Welbedacht East?

Value	Previous locations		Welbedacht East	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
R0 to R100	24	40%	20	33%
R101 to R200	19	32%	13	22%

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Value	Previous locations		Welbedacht East	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
R201 to R300	11	18%	11	18%
R301 to R400	6	10%	9	15%
R401 to R500	0	0%	3	5%
R501 +	0	0%	4	7%
TOTALS	60	100%	60	100%

Although this question has been partially addressed under transportation/ travelling costs to the work place and general livelihood, what has been ascertained in the research is that the share of household expenditure devoted to transport by those employed varies, depending on the employment location. 13 respondents (22%) devote up to R200 per month, 11 respondents (18%) devote up to R300 per month, nine respondents (15%) devote up to R400 per month, whilst three respondents (5%) devote up to R500 per month. What has been observed however, is that 24 respondents (40%) spent up to R100 towards the transportation of their children to schools. The reason given was that there were no local schools, and that those managing to walk to schools had to cross the river to attend a school located at Ngonyameni traditional community.

Table 20 : Accessing facilities and services

Facilities and services	Where do you go for these facilities?	How you get there?	What does it cost to get there if using a bus or taxi?	How long does it take to get there?
Schools	Chatsworth Umlazi Ngonyameni Previous locations	By taxis Walking Walking By taxis	R2,50 to R3.00 Nil Nil Depend on locations	30 to 60 minutes 30 minutes 30 minutes Up to one and half hour
Clinics	Chatsworth	Taxis	R8.00 return trip	30 to 60 minutes
Recreation	Chatsworth	By taxis	R8.00 return trip	30 to 60 minutes

Facilities and services	Where do you go for these facilities?	How you get there?	What does it cost to get there if using a bus or taxi?	How long does it take to get there?
Shops	Chatsworth Durban	By taxis and buses	R6.00 by bus to Durban	30 to 60 minutes
Police station	Chatsworth	Taxis	R8.00 return trip	30 to 60 minutes

Accessing social facilities and services is always a yardstick for assessing the quality of life in a housing area and, therefore, the availability, or unavailability thereof gives an indication of the impact on those relocated. For the beneficiary households in Welbedacht East to access facilities and services, they have to travel by taxi. There are no nearby schools, health posts, shopping facilities, etc. which are important for quality of and security in life. The analysis of the insufficiency of social facilities in the study area brings to light other facets of poverty and challenges to livelihoods and survival strategies of the poor.

3.5.2 Interviews

Interviews with the eThekwini Metro Housing official and eThekwini Transport Authority (ETA) Official indicated the following:

3.5.2.1 Interview with Faizal Seedat: Manager - Land for Housing - Metro Housing Unit

When asked why Welbedacht East (WE) as a Slum Clearance Project was located where it is, Mr Seedat (2005) responded by stating that it should be noted that WE falls within the Urban Edge of the City - an area delineated by the City's Corporate, as well as Development Planning and Management Units, in terms of where development would be supported. The Urban Edge contains:
- 80% of the City's population
- the entire High Priority Public Transport Network (HPPTN)
- adequate bulk infrastructure capacity

In addition, WE adjoins the suburb of Chatsworth which many regard as a sufficiently well-located and serviced hub; especially in terms of access to facilities. The demand for sites is also very high in Chatsworth. Thus, in terms of location, WE cannot be regarded

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as a peripheral area considering the above. The interest shown in, and demand for sites in WE by beneficiaries is a clear indication that the area is favoured.

Why WE in particular? Given the fact that the City was tasked with the huge challenge of implementing the Slum Clearance Project Phase 1 by the late MEC for Housing, Dumisane Makhaye, in a very short space of time, suitable 'Greenfield' land had to be acquired immediately, to house the large number of families affected by the poor health and safety conditions in their informal settlements.

The question was asked whether the issue of public transport had been considered before the decision was taken with regard to the location of the project. Mr Seedat responded that WE fell within the HPPTN area. A major bus/taxi route had been planned and designed for the project, although it could be a case of the local taxis and buses not being sufficiently equipped to begin operating in the area. However, the City had provided the necessary infrastructure, as well as the catchments (in terms of sufficient numbers of people) to make the provision of public transport a viable and feasible operation.

The majority of beneficiaries were from informal settlements located inside the urban core. Was the issue of livelihoods (the impact on job opportunities) considered before the decision was taken that the piece of land was suitable for human settlement? Mr Seedat responded by saying that these had been hard decisions for any City to make. If one had to look at the areas from where these settlements were initially located, there had been insufficient developable land to accommodate the large numbers of families. Apart from the size of the land, there were a host of constraints affecting the areas, such as floodplains, geo-technically unsuitable land, environmental concerns, overstep slopes etc. Once again, given the priority placed on this project by the MEC, as well as community anticipation for housing, the project was required to be implemented quickly.

It should be noted that there were no forced removals reminiscent of the past. The large majority of people volunteered to relocate, which was an indication of their acceptance of the end product. Also, if people were unemployed where they had resided, they would be no worse off economically in the new area. However, the benefit would be that they would have title deeds to their property, free services through the lifeline tariff, and no rates payable on their properties.

The City is now investigating the possibility of increasing densities in all new projects within its core urban areas. This could result in double-storey units for instance. However, this proposal needs to be tested and community reactions gauged, prior to a mass roll-out of this idea. It would appear to be the only option if the City is to reduce the number of relocations to areas away from people's livelihoods. Communities would need to make a choice in future – either to accept living in a new type of unit which might not result in one having a single detached house on a plot of land, or to be prepared to accept being located much further way from the urban core.

With regard to the destitute people from the Ark, the Place of Safety, who were evicted and relocated to WE, Mr Seedat was asked to give a general comment as to whether the development was suitable for these people. He indicated regretfully, that the decision to relocate people from the Ark had once again been a difficult one. According to the articles in the media, every community in the City, from Albert Park to Cato Manor had been against the Ark relocating to their respective area. It had been an emergency, and something had had to be done. It was coincidental that sites had been available at the time in WE for their temporary location. The project with the Ark was not over, as more suitable alternative accommodation was being sought for those who are not married.

3.5.2.2 Interview with Logan Moodley - Deputy Head - Public Transport Planning, ETA

Mr Moodley was asked whether the Housing Unit had collaborated or worked together with ETA to determine the suitability of land in respect of public transport, for low-income housing projects. His reply was that his department had raised this issue on a number of occasions, unfortunately, housing could only afford land at a certain rate, so his department's influence had been governed by land price and availability. On the question of whether beneficiaries had been given a chance to comment on public transport issues before the location of WE, he said they had, indeed, been given a chance to comment on the full Transport Integrated Area (TIA). He was asked to indicate whether WE, as a Slum Clearance Project, was a well-located project given that beneficiary households consisted of people relocated from settlements located near or in the inner City areas. He responded in the negative, in the context that many of them

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most probably had jobs close to the inner City. On the issue of public transport, taking the location of the project into consideration, he said the project was not well-located. Ideally, low-income housing should be located close to the North-South Rail Corridor, as this formed the backbone of the Durban Transport Planning system. Having said this – he pointed out that there was the potential to travel from Welbedacht by road to the Chatsworth rail-line which was very under-utilised. Lastly, he was asked to comment generally about the location of low-income housing projects in eThekwini Municipality. Mr Moodley mentioned that they were trying to promote low-income housing close to the PT network, preferably close to the rail-line, densification along the main corridors was supported, and high-rise housing needs to be seriously considered along key corridors.

3.5.2.3 Interview with Ms Thandi Gwala, a member of Youth Cultural Club

When asked to comment on how the youth spent their time, given that there was no community hall, she responded by saying that it was very difficult for them. She said that even the Youth Cultural Club only existed in name –

"There are no activities, young people are have become lazy and spend their leisure time in their homes or those who can afford it simply go to areas outside this settlement for amenities".

With regard to access to facilities such as sports fields, she said those interested in sport used to go Chatsworth 5 or Chatsworth Centre, where they were various facilities. In WE there are only houses and sites that are zoned for community facilities, but have not been developed. In previous locations there were neither community facilities nor sites earmarked for facilities, she said. She advised that the community was still waiting on the municipality and other spheres of government to build community facilities, schools and clinics in the area. Asked about crime and violence in the area, she said crime and violence were widespread. The cases of violence were linked to liquor abuse by the young people, poor policing, and a lack of job opportunities. Crime had been raised as a serious concern that had to be tackled by the authorities head-on.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the data analysis and synthesis of findings from the information collected from the study area, which was gathered through questionnaire surveys and interviews with relevant officials from eThekwini Municipality.

While a lack of employment or loss of employment cannot be addressed by housing alone, these factors have a severe impact on people relocated to housing developments with no facilities or services. The co-ordinated efforts of various departments and agencies concerned with housing, transport, health, education, safety and security and economic development have to be integrated if the circumstances of the relocated poor people are to be improved.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter endeavours to analyse the data findings gathered through the use of various methodologies which *inter-alia* included observations, survey questionnaires and interviews. It is vitally important that an analysis of data is made, in order to validate the assumptions or hypothesis upon which the study has been formulated.

4.2 The eThekwini Housing Informal Settlement Strategy

The eThekwini municipal informal settlement strategy is multi-faceted. According to eThekwini Mayor Obed Mlaba, housing interventions have been divided into categories according to the municipality's Informal Settlement Programme. These are In-situ upgrade; Relocation; Partial in-situ upgrade and partial relocation; and approved *in-situ* upgrade housing projects (Cities-Network, 2004).

The Mission of Housing Unit reads:

> To facilitate and actively participate, in housing delivery and the creation of sustainable human settlements in the eThekwini Municipality area with a view to ensuring that all citizens of Durban have access to a housing opportunity which includes secure tenure, basic services and support in achieving incremental housing improvement in living environments with requisite social, economic and physical infrastructure (www.durban.gov.za ethekwini/services/housing).

However, based on the information gathered from the study area, the informal settlement strategy and the mission are not reflected in what is happening, in reality. Firstly, the researcher found evidence to suggest that relocations to peripheral areas can cause significant harm to relocated beneficiary households' livelihood strategies. Secondly, it was also found that the municipality's failure to co-ordinate its relocations plan with other spheres of government involved with social service delivery, especially the departments of health and education, resulted in medium-term deprivation of access to social services.

In the next section, the researcher examines the importance of the compact city approach in relation to the research topic and thus argues that providing well-located land should not be underestimated.

4.3 Overview of the Compact City Approach

There is no doubt that the compact city approach in urban planning has been accepted as the tool to redress apartheid ills that permeate the urban form in South Africa. National government has passed various pieces of legislation relating to urban planning, housing, land and transportation in an attempt to promote densification and compaction of urban areas, and to discourage sprawl, with the hope that this will bring about efficient, equitable, sustainable and integrated development projects. The housing sector has been identified as a key linked delivery programme and, as such, adequate housing is seen as an essential component of sustainable livelihoods, and is recognised through its inclusion as a right to access to housing in the South African Constitution of 1996. There is no doubt that great strides have been made in delivering new housing units for the poor through the housing programme since 1994.

What has been experienced though, is that the spatial pattern of South African cities still bears a hollow mark of the previous dispensation. The acceptance of the compact city approach seems to be a theoretical discourse that serves no interest if it cannot be practically implemented. This, however, does not mean that the approach is 'bad', or is a romantic ideal, but that the obstacles that delay its implementation have to be tackled both economically and politically, as low-density sprawl, fragmentation and separation has become synonymous with South Africa, which to a larger extent were created for economic and political reasons.

The meeting point of this study with the compact city ideals is essentially informed by logic, in understanding that low-income projects should be located where issues of public transportation will ensure the promotion of beneficiary households' sustainable livelihoods. The main reason or need for this study is that, contrary to government policy about compaction or densification, poor people are being relocated from well-located informal settlements to more peripheral areas, which has implications in terms of access to employment and income generation opportunities, facilities, and transport costs. Yet Venter and Biermann (2003) argue that in South Africa, the debate characterised by an ongoing conflict between 'sprawl' and 'compact city' ideals has been settled (at least at a policy level) in favour of the compact city (please see comment about CSIR in Chapter Five) .

Therefore, the study was also concerned with the debate over the significance of the urban compaction idea, with some arguments being advanced that people adjust to the locations that are available. The study has considered people relocated from well-located informal settlements who find it difficult, if not an ordeal, to adjust and exist on the peripherally located low-income housing projects. When one official from Metro Housing Unit was asked why Welbedacht East (WE), as a Slum Clearance Project, was located where it is, he responded by stating that WE falls within the Urban Edge of the City, an area delineated by the City's Corporate, Development Planning and Management Units in terms of where development would be supported. The Urban Edge contains:

- 80% of the City's population
- the entire High Priority Public Transport Network (HPPTN)
- adequate bulk infrastructure capacity

In addition, WE adjoins the suburb of Chatsworth, which many regard as a sufficiently well-located and serviced hub, especially in terms of access to facilities. The official concluded by stating that WE cannot be regarded as a peripheral area considering the above.

4.4 The socio-economic impact of the relocation

The trauma and injustice of relocation sometimes goes beyond the immediate effects of the event. Even when well-managed, the relocation of a large number of very poor people from outside their immediate localities has the potential to disrupt the social and economic networks on which they depend. The findings and analysis of the data on the Welbedacht East community suggests that their relocation from Clairwood, Lamontville KwaGijima-eSithebeni and the Ark had a severe and adverse impact on the quality of life of residents. The relocations had a huge social and economic impact; not only on the people directly affected, but also on their friends and relatives, to whom they have had to turn for shelter. It has, and continues to have a far-reaching impact on those relocated, their friends and relatives, and the urban poor in general. The families had built not only their homes, but also a social network of friends and families that ensures their survival. These networks are important to people, especially women, as they can rely on them to support them in their social and economic activities. These could vary from the fetching of water, taking care of children or an elderly person while the woman shops, taking the sick to the doctor, to going to earn a living, or any number of other good neighbourly actions. These networks are relationships with families around one's dwelling place which are cultivated over time. These relationships are carefully

interwoven into the fabric of the life of squatters, and assist greatly in their survival and development. They are non-quantifiable, but are extremely important to poor people's economic survival and development. Relocations or unplanned relocations destroy these crucial networks.

Some of the other human and social costs of relocations are insecurity for the future, community and family break-up, worsened living conditions, removal of children from school and higher transport costs.

4.4.1 Access to social services
All the beneficiary households, from Clairwood, Lamontville KwaGijima-eSithebeni and the Ark had better access to a range of social services at their informal settlements. In all areas, schools (both primary and high schools) were within a one to three km radius of the settlement and children used to walk to school. The Ark was one km or less away from Point Road Police Station, eSithebeni was also closer to SJ Smith Hostel or 'Wema" Police station, and the community from Clairwood informal settlement had better access to police services. Because of reliable and affordable transport, there was easy access to hospitals such as Addington, King Edward and Prince Mshiyeni Zulu.

Comparing where they had resided to the advantages they enjoyed in Welbedacht East, the physical situation of the relocation site is highly unsatisfactory. The majority (90%) of the project is a peri-urban centre, cut off from major arterial routes and badly connected to Chatsworth, whereby no commercial areas are available within walking distance. In all three groups schools were accessible, but in Welbedacht East there is not even one accessible school, all schools are located inside Chatsworth. The nearest grants and government offices are in Chatsworth, and beneficiaries have to use minibus-taxis to reach them. The nearest hospital (R K Khan) is seven kilometres away. There are no recreational facilities nearby, and people indicated that they only consider recreation during the festive season.

What was noted in the study was that, although these differences in distances between areas appear insignificant, they represent a crucial difference between a short walk and an essential taxi journey, costing between R10 and R13 per return trip. These costs impact significantly on household budgets when the journey has to be undertaken regularly, as is necessary for school-going children, and those needing to travel to seek job opportunities. One should also take note that the concentration of particular

recreational facilities accessible from the relocation sites was much more user-friendly from a cultural perspective.

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Photograph 1

Greater part of the study area.
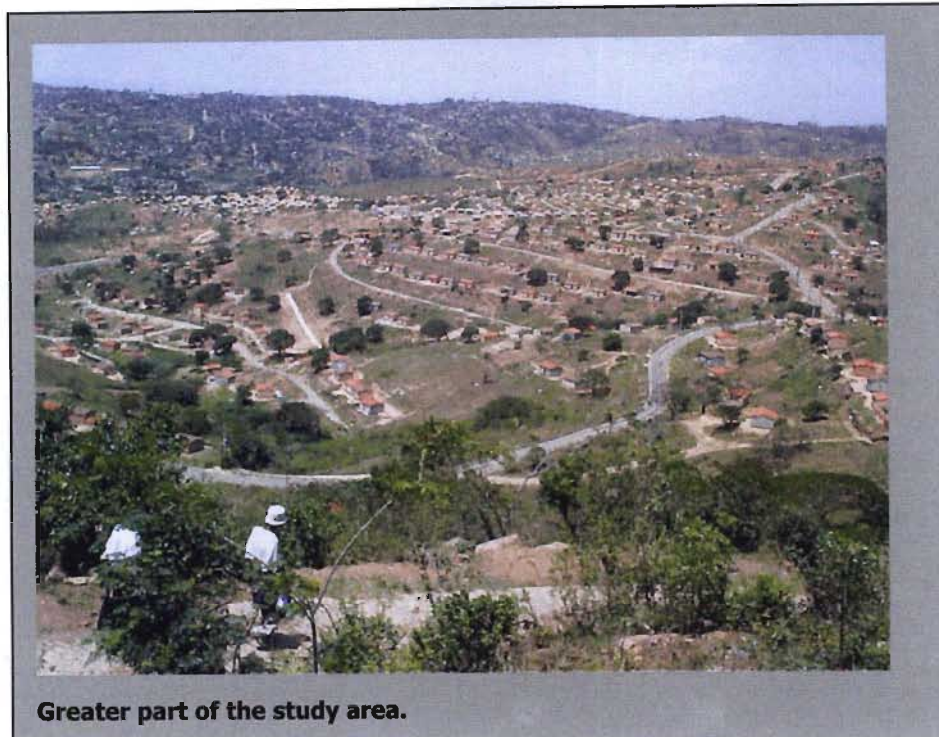
Welbedacht East is significantly located in north-east of Umlazi Township and west of Chatsworth, and also just across eNgonyameni Traditional Authority.

Arguing about the issue of social ties in the new neighbourhoods, officials pointed out that the development has a number of neighbourhoods, although only Chatsworth, Umlazi Township and Ngonyameni were cited as potential neighbouring areas for social ties. The officials also mentioned that families had not been relocated from severely distressed informal housing in the hope that their lives would improve as a result of moving out of areas of concentrated poverty. Perhaps the view or approach by the municipality is informed by the social capital theory which is defined by Portes cited by Clampet- Lundquist (2004), wherein social capital is seen as "the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures". It is therefore assumed that social capital does not just happen to passive individuals, but that people have to engage themselves in managing their opportunities so as to increase

or capitalise on the resources available in their social relations (Clampet- Lundquist (2004:416).

Photograph 2

Part of the residents originated from KwaGijima (Lamontville)
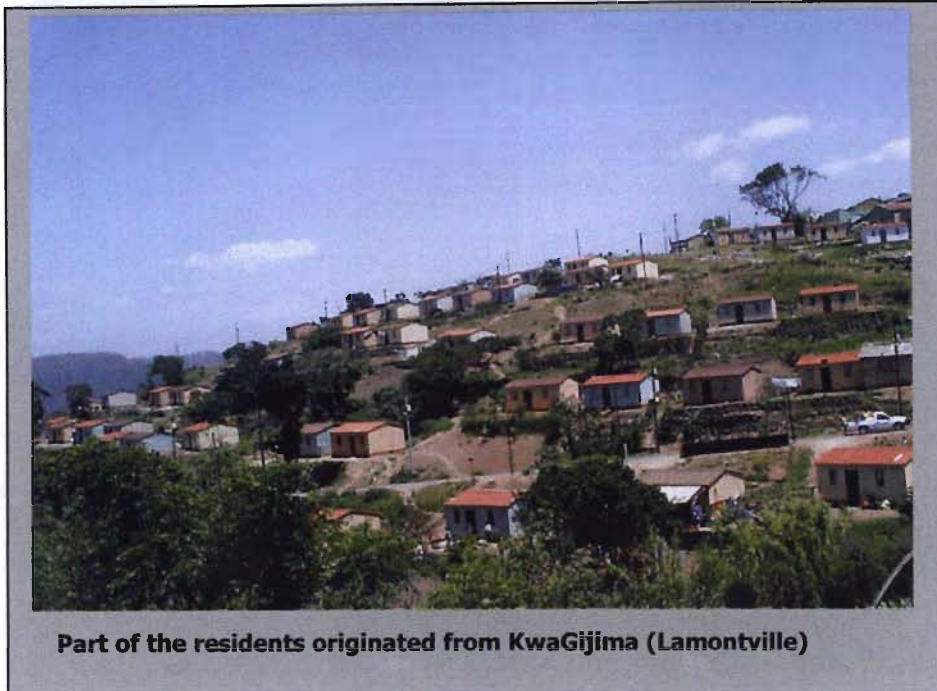
This is the only well-located settlement compared to households relocated from the Ark and those that came from Clairwood. There is reasonable access to public transport services and facilities such as schools and clinics are easily accessible.

One of the beneficiaries interviewed was Danny Pedersen. He is one of those beneficiaries who complain that social and economic conditions in WE are harsher than they were in the Ark Place of Safety. He said that although they had no money in the Ark, they were given food, soap and other daily human needs. In WE 'you are on your own' he lamented. He said he had occupied his house 18 months ago, but that it still has no electricity.

Photograph 3

Kids without a school nearby to further their education
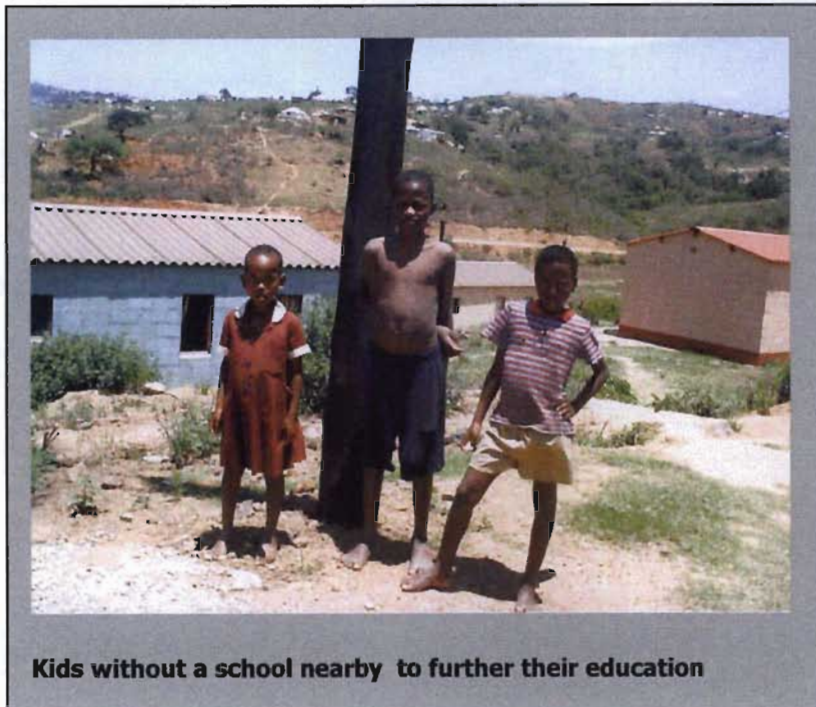
This child wearing a school uniform is Buhle Dladla. She has lost the lost the opportunity to receive schooling as a result of relocation to WE. She says:

> I used to attend Ekuphileni Primary School in Ilovu, and grand-mother was given a house here because she had a shack in KwaGijima and it was cheaper to attend at eKuphileni if you are from KwaGiijima. Since we came here, my grand-mother told me she had no money to pay for me to travel to Ilovu so I had to stop schooling.

The research revealed that half of Welbedacht East school-going children, particularly those at high schools, were still registered in previous settlements, paying exorbitant transport fees. The research also revealed that those children who chose not to be educated in schools dominated by Indian community, were, instead admitted at the Primary School at Ngonyameni, which is seven km away, and that they have to cross the river without a bridge to get there. The reason for not attending schools dominated by the Indian community was purely a cultural issue, the study found.

Children have to cross the Umlazi River and, if it is full, children are unable to cross the river. This impact negatively on their education, as they lose out on school days. The provincial department of education (eThekwini Region) indicated that it had not been advised of the relocation and that it might, as a result, take two to five years to help accommodate all Welbedacht East's school-going children in a school closer to their

homes. The study found that 10% of Webedacht East children simply stopped attending school for financial reasons. Parents had indicated they cannot afford public transportation to ferry their children to and from previous settlements.

4.4.2 Livelihoods

eThekwini Housing Unit is to be commended for its effort to group people in relation to their origins from previous settlements. This is based on the understanding that people develop their own local economies over time, in which wage earners constitute the market for informal traders in local shops, and that this helps to maintain continuity in terms of social bonds and economic prosperity.   The research has however, found that there was an overall agreement that relocation has had a negative impact on the livelihoods and employment of those who were employed before relocated. The reason for the unemployment amongst the youth and other potential sectors of the work force is that there are no industries or commercial nodes near the project. The only new jobs available in the area emanate from the construction industry, as the construction of houses and bus/mini-taxi roads is still in progress. The study has found that the relocation impacted on all people, employed or unemployed. For those formally employed (this includes domestic workers), transport costs were found to be between 40% 60% above the costs they were paying whilst they were still in their previous locations. Once again, what seems a small difference on paper has a big impact in practice. Walking to work was no longer a possibility, not even for those working in Clairwood. A return taxi journey from Welbedacht East to the city centre (Durban) costs R16. The amounts to a monthly transport burden of more than R500 per month for the relocated workers. Many residents indicated that incomes had suffered as a result of increased transport costs after relocation to Welbedacht East. For those who were informally employed, the relocation cut them off from the informal economic networks which had sustained them whilst they were in previous locations. These informal jobs range from taxi cleaning to any form of menial work undertaken for a daily fee.

It has also been found that informally employed adults are now being completely cut off from their livelihood strategies by the relocation to Welbedacht East. They indicated that the amounts they had been earning around their previous locations did not justify the costs of commuting back to the areas where they had worked, as this would mean having to work for transport, as they would be working only to afford to 'travel there'.

4.4.3 Public transportation

The research found that issues of public transportation are intertwined with other issues that affect the livelihood systems. Public transportation in Welbedacht East is largely shaped by a number of factors.

Photograph 4
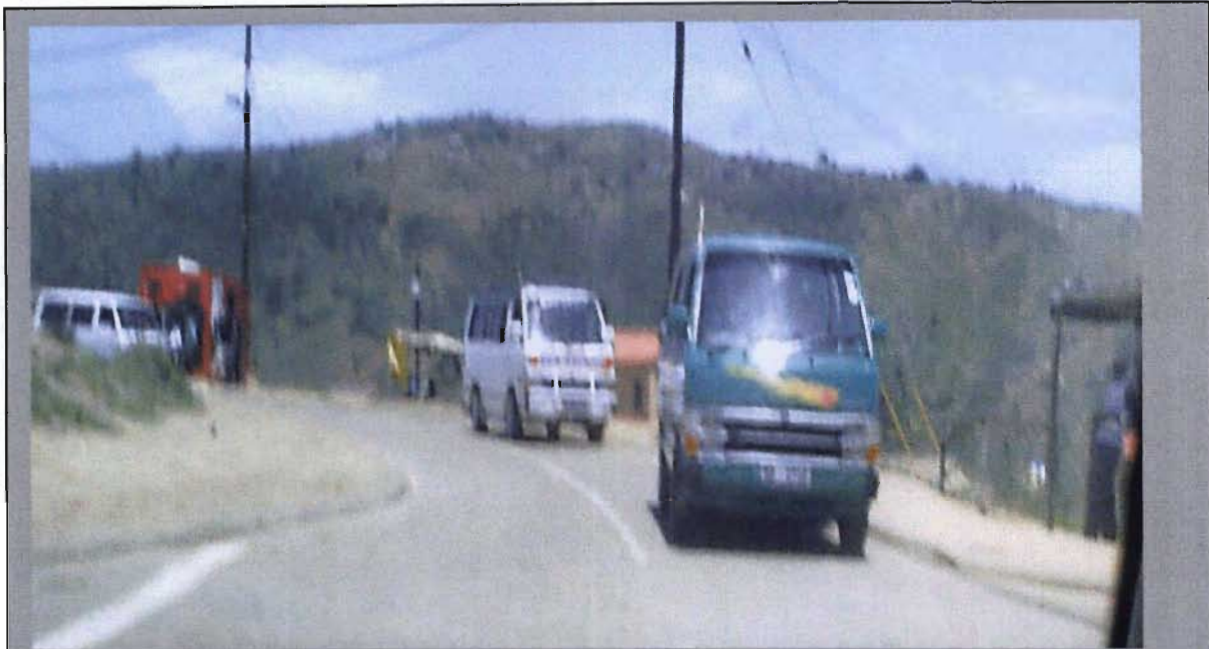
Informal taxi rank near the section populated by beneficiary households relocated from Clairwood.

There is no bus service in the area, and only those relocated from Lamontville informal settlement can access this service, since it is much closer to where they were relocated. The rest of the beneficiary households depend on the public transport service offered by the minibus-taxi industry which is often expensive, and not scheduled to suit all passenger needs.

Photograph 5

Bus/Mini-taxi road under construction to link the study area with Chartsworth.
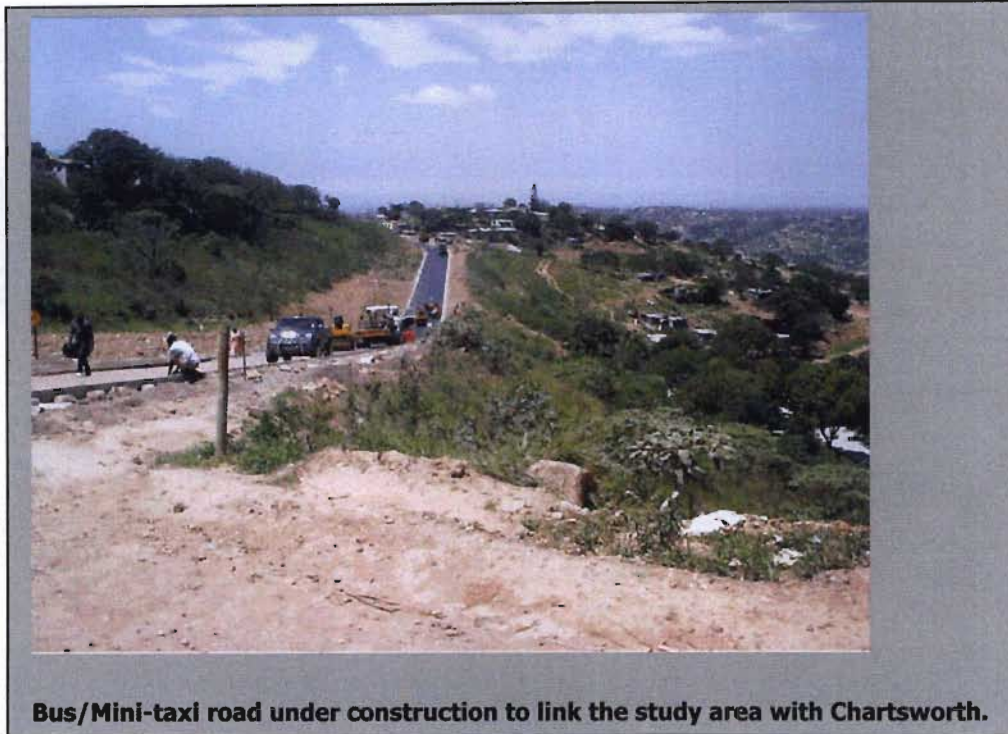
The lack of tarred bus/taxi roads is a major problem. This not only results in dusty or muddy conditions for pedestrians, but also severely limits transport options, as taxis avoid rendering service if roads are not tarred.

The road, as per the picture will, therefore, play a pivotal role in providing an efficient feeder system from WE into the High Priority Public Transport Network (HPPTN). This road will also address some of the issues that define the study area as being unsuitable for a number of reasons:

- its distance from main arterial transport routes
- its distance from the nearest healthcare facilities
- the lack of a primary school to cater for young school-going children

Photograph 6

The bridge linking WE and Umlazi Township.

The only existing bridge crossing Umlazi River currently used by former Ark residents to access cheap public transport, and most conveniently located schools in Umlazi Township.
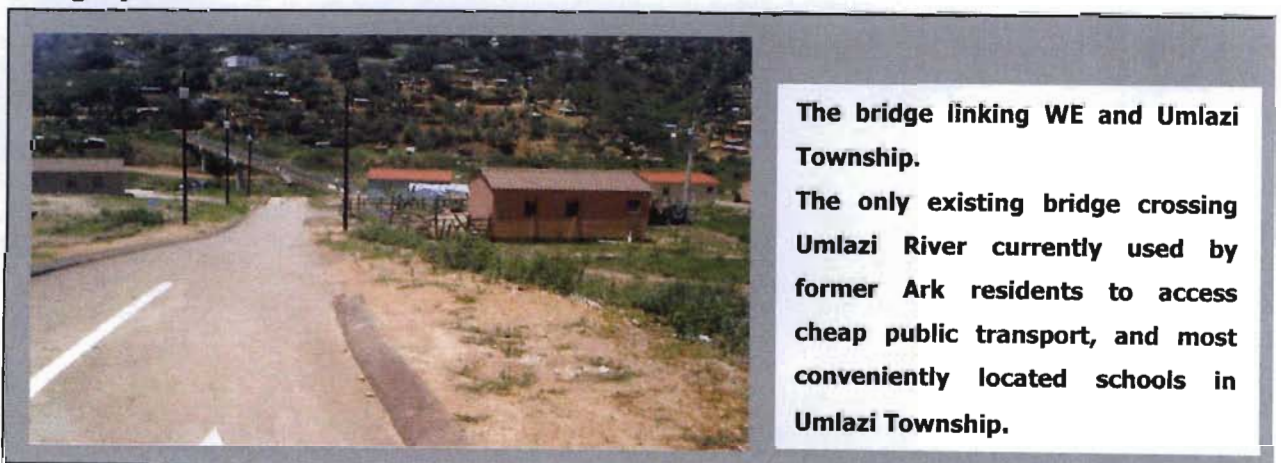
The urban spatial structure, which is characterised by its location far from employment areas, has resulted in long daily commutes for beneficiary households. Public transportation is dominated by mini-taxi services and, although the study did not investigate private car ownership in the area, it was quite evident that there is low private car ownership.

The findings of the survey confirmed that usage is concentrated on routes between Durban and Chatsworth Centre, and the three largest employment nodes which are Isipingo, Mobeni and Clairwood. During the survey it noted was that some minibus taxis are old and generally in a bad state of repair, unregulated and unsafe. It is hoped that the mini-taxi recapitalisation programme initiated by the National Government will be able to address this issue, so that those qualifying operators can purchase new safe mini-buses which will help to reduce overloading, and may thus minimise roads accidents which have a serious negative impact on poor households.

4.4.4   General perception of beneficiary households

The major point that emerged from the research is that many beneficiaries now feel that their circumstances have improved. Underpinning this is a very positive perception of the value of home ownership. Respondents are largely proud of owning their new homes and derive a great sense of dignity, independence, and security from this.

Photograph 7:

A house showing what makes beneficiaries have a great sense of dignity and independence

While there is significant criticism of the relocation process, beneficiaries generally believe the municipality has done well, and has fulfilled its promise of providing them with decent houses. Beneficiaries' new homes have given them a strong sense of permanence, and many believe they will live in this development for the rest of their lives.

The cost of living of many beneficiaries has, however, risen since moving into their new homes. Whilst the benefit of shelter from the elements as a basic improvement on people's former precarious existence is undisputed, their new homes have generally added to their financial burdens. Monthly service charges in particular are new expenses for the vast majority of beneficiaries. Besides this, transport costs to and from WE are high. This indicates that the project is relatively far from industrial and commercial centres and other amenities. The availability of minibus taxis, which are used by the majority should not be confused with good access to transport systems, or seen as a solution to the problem of long distances. There is a striking lack of alternative forms or modes of public transport. It should be mentioned though, that the delivery of houses in general has broadly met the basic needs of shelter, access to clean water and sanitation, and despite widespread concerns about quality, beneficiaries generally seem better off than before.

However, there is doubt as to whether the housing allocated to these beneficiaries provides a platform for future development and access to opportunity, or whether, beyond fulfilling basic needs, it helps to improve economic circumstances or promote survival strategies. For many people though, occupying a formal house has not offered a means to a better life, but instead has added to their financial burden. There is a clear evidence of dire poverty in the project.

4.5 Conclusion

Ultimately, the relocation of people from the informal settlements of Clairwood, Lamontville, KwaGijima-eSithebeni and the relocation of the Ark communities reveals two sets of shortcomings in the manner in which eThekwini Municipality's Slum Clearance Programme has been implemented with regard to the study area.

Firstly, there was, and continues to be, evidence that there was little effort to widely consult informal settlements' dwellers on their needs and aspirations. Clearly, from accounts of the eviction and relocation process emanating from samples used to study the impact of relocation, a bad picture was painted about co-ordination capabilities on the part of the Metro Housing Unit under which the relocation was undertaken.

The Welbedacht East case suggests that the municipality need to find new methods to approach and engage with informal settlement communities if the Slum Clearance Programme is to be successful. This re-engagement might not only have to encompass a change of the institution used to engage with informal settlers, but may also require a change in the manner in which the senior professional officials engage with informal settlers and implement policies of national government.

Secondly, there needs to be a much more careful assessment of the risks and rewards of relocations for informal settlers. The Welbedacht East case is an instance in which there might have been no alternative to the relocation of at least some of its residents. What Clairwood, Lamontville KwaGijima-eSithebeni and former Ark residents and the municipality could always agree on, was that the areas were over-dense, inadequately sanitised and therefore unhealthy and possibly unsuitable for an *in-situ* upgrade. However, options other than a long-range relocation could have been considered. Land closer by could have been identified. In addition, medium or high-density *in-situ* upgrading options could have been considered.

Finally, even if it is assumed that a long-range relocation really was the only available option, more could, and should have been done to investigate the social and economic opportunities available in Welbedacht East, and to co-ordinate the relocation with other spheres of government responsible for the provision of essential services such as schools, clinics and urban farming, in order to ensure that poor people do not endure the pains of relocation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The principal purpose is to show how the study has managed to achieve its aims and objectives. The analysis of findings has been made in Chapter Four, and this chapter seeks to examine whether or not the findings managed to provide answers to the main research question, and subsequently to the subsidiary questions. It will also look at how, and in what manner the hypothesis could be validated, in the light of the answers provided by the subsidiary questions. Recommendations will be made as to how to reduce the impact of peripherally located low-income housing projects.

5.2 Conclusions

The study has indeed shown that it makes economic sense to locate housing projects on more accessible land, and if this had not been done, it would have had a negative economic impact. It is within this context that the compact city approach is supported. The reason to support the approach is because it premised on urban containment to provide a concentration of socially sustainable mixed uses that will concentrate development and reduce the need to travel. A common theme that permeated the study concerns the quality of life of urban residents particularly the poor people from informal settlements. It is the quality of life that might be offered by the various solutions to sustainable urban form that is crucial in making them attractive and achievable options. The compact city approach is thus supported since it is not the only method to break down the apartheid geography, but also to provide decent public transport and access to employment and urban resources.

The study has been conducted at quite a broad level, but concentrated on trying to discern what impact beneficiary households endure when they are relocated to peripherally located projects such as Welbedacht East and the nature of the quality of life in the new settlement. It has been found that the layout of WE still reflects the layout of public sector townships of pre-1994 urban form which involved a sprawling low-built density layout plan. Not only was this layout plan specifically

inefficient and costly for service delivery, but so too was the location on the urban periphery and thus negate all principles of sustainable urban form espoused by compact city approach.

The research was conducted with the understanding that there are people in government departments and in urban planning circles who often express the view that peripheral settlements do not necessarily mean economic disadvantage to beneficiary households. In support of this, they often cite research conducted by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and this study is inconclusive. The report entitled "*Cost benefit comparative assessment of low income housing localities*" (report for Housing Finance Resource Programme), 2004 compares livelihoods between Alexandra's informal settlements and Diepsloot in Gauteng Province. The report is about the sustainable livelihood and other economic opportunities between the two locations are compatible in the areas studied. It states that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the best location of housing project differ from place to place. The authors argue that in the case of low income housing location, it is not simply a case of "one size fits all". The report contends that there is significant diversity in low income households which each have different needs and priorities which translate into different criteria and levels of importance for different profiles of low income household. The CSIR report also suggests that there is no uniform relationship between economic opportunity and proximity to the urban core, and thus rejects the argument advanced by those believing in the compact city approach, that it is a tool to tackle the spatial organisation of South African cities that has been shaped by the legacy of the apartheid system. A further argument in this report is that urban development in Johannesburg emanates from a number of differently located economic nodes, and that economic opportunity in Johannesburg does not emanate solely from its urban core.

These statements, although generalizations, are undoubtedly true. Certain officials from eThekwini Housing Unit have said that WE is not a peripherally located low-income housing project, and thus justify relocating people there (interview with Mr Seedat). The premise is that relocation is not necessarily damaging to the economic welfare of the resettled beneficiary households, and thus the notion that the project

is poorly located is rejected.

This study undertaken in WE runs contrary to the CSIR research for obvious reasons. Firstly, the CSIR research has nothing to say about relocations. What is obvious about this report is that it offers no concrete comparisons of individual households' welfare before and after relocations. Secondly, the comparisons the CSIR research made were between two relatively well-placed locations to the north and west of the municipal area of Johannesburg, in relatively close proximity to a number of economic nodes. There was no attempt to address livelihood opportunities, as has been done with regard to Welbedacht East.

The conclusion in this study is drawn from issues such as the impact on livelihoods, public transportation and quality of life in general. These issues were found to be two sides of one coin. The critical aspect is that the eThekwini Municipality's own commitment to managing urban growth should be a key consideration in its human settlement programme in general, and the Slum Clearance Programme, in particular. Relocation of informal settlements to peripheral sites promotes urban sprawl, and thus deviates from the municipal goal of promoting eThekwini Municipality's development as a 'compact city'. This makes the identification of well-located land for housing development an ongoing, pressing problem which the municipality should aim to address.

However, it is a problem for which the municipality cannot be held solely responsible. The researcher found evidence that, in certain instances, the supply of well-located land for the provision of housing to the poor is limited by collusion amongst private landowners, developers and industrialists. In that case, therefore, the difficulties of providing well-located land should not be underestimated, since the issue of the location of housing settlements is complicated by the limited availability of land and the limited funds available for subsidies. The land issue overlaps the responsibility of the housing subsidy scheme and the role of local government in service and infrastructure delivery.

In the next section, answers are provided to some of the issues or questions raised in Chapter One.

- **Research question**

The research was intended to investigate what the social and economic impacts are on beneficiary households relocated from well-located informal settlements to WE, which, it has been argued in this study is peripherally-located, and lacks passenger transport services and social facilities.

- **The answer to the research question:**

Even well-managed, the relocation of a large number of very poor people from outside their immediate locality has the potential to severely disrupt the social and economic networks on which they depend. The research undertaken in WE suggests that, indeed, there has been a social and economic impact on beneficiary households as a result of being relocated to this housing development.

Subsidiary questions and answers:

- **Has relocation to Welbedacht East affected access to facilities such as education, health and social services?**

Travelling to social facility/service delivery points has proved to be much more difficult and expensive in Welbedatch East when compared with previous settlements. Equally important is the fact that eThekwini Municipality, together with the provincial department, failed to assess the capacity of local social services in order to deal with an influx with regard to education, health and essential service providers. The research results point out that the increased pressure on the resources of an already poor community has mounted, as a result of the badly executed relocation.

- **Has relocation affected the livelihoods and employment of beneficiaries?**

It is generally accepted that livelihood strategies are localised, and rely heavily on local economic flows. The relocation of a large number of people dependent on those local economic flows puts them at the mercy of a new, unknown, and in many cases still underdeveloped situation at the new development, as experienced by the

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beneficiaries of the study area. Therefore, relocation has affected the livelihoods and employment of beneficiaries.

- **Has relocation increased travel costs and time, particularly when compared to the situation in the previous settlement area?**

The study has found that relocation to WE has increased travel costs and time when compared to the previous settlements. The study found that beneficiary households commute long hours away from their homes and, as a result, they are often exposed to an increased vulnerability to transportation-related incidences which decrease the quality of life, primarily for the poor.

- **Public transport provision in WE compared to the previous settlement areas**

The survey results pointed out that the absence of a reliable public transport system, as well as a lack of opportunities in the new neighbourhood were the key constraints in terms of the wage earners continuing with their normal life, in comparison to their lives in the previous settlement areas.

- **How do residents' perceptions of the new area, and life in it compare to that of the previous areas, and are they generally accepting of conditions?**

Beneficiaries' new homes have given them a strong sense of permanence, and many believe they will live there for the rest of their lives. This is not matched with a commitment to improving the area, or with an anticipation that the inadequate job opportunities will improve. However, respondents are strongly committed to their new communities; again, the sense of pleasure at having a 'home to call mine' permeates the quotes. Nonetheless, the perceived lack of opportunities for many respondents indicates that they do not see a future for their children in those areas.

- **Hypothesis**

The relocation of poor people to the peripherally located low-income housing in

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Welbedacht East has made access to livelihood and employment nodes more difficult, and has increased travel time and transportation costs.

Findings of the study: The research findings illustrate that, indeed, the relocation of poor people to the peripherally located low-income housing projects does increase travel time and transportation costs. The fears and concerns that informal settlement people have about proposed relocations are invariably related to the impact the relocation will have on their livelihoods and access to social services. For individuals, families and communities living on the edge of the economy, for whom survival is a daily struggle, the trauma of relocation, and the loss of networks and opportunities, are burdens which are difficult for them to bear.

- **Purpose of the study**

The study managed to investigate the impact on beneficiary households relocated to peripherally located low-income housing project. The assessment of Welbedacht East has been successful, since the project in many ways displays indicators that it is one of the peripherally-located projects wherein transport services and facilities are scarce, or not existent. The hypothesis has, thus, been conclusively validated.

5.3 Recommendations

The research report, including these recommendations, is a draft for further discussion and research. I would passionately look forward to elaboration and improvement of these recommendations in the course of discussion and debate.

Below are some recommendations as to how the negative impact on relocated beneficiary households can be improved.

- **Ensure that well-located and suitable land is made available and accessed for low-income housing projects:** The WE as a slum clearance project is badly located at the urban periphery, and is far from the areas of economic opportunities. It is therefore recommended that low-income housing projects be located closer to the economic nodes, in

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order to eliminate transport costs and other social difficulties associated with peripheral location. This means that more compact city design, with higher residential densities and the development of multifunctional habitats, would reduce the need to travel, and improve quality of life and access to urban goods.

- **Review housing allocation policy:** The municipality needs to consider reviewing its policy on the current allocation process and to consider giving priority to people working in the vicinity of housing developments. This would be relatively inexpensive to undertake, and would have great transport subsidy savings even within the current housing projects location.

- **Enforce a holistic approach to housing development:** Ensure that holistic development, with minimum facilities, such as schools, clinics and other social amenities such as sport fields and community halls are prioritised, if the project is poorly located. Ensure that affected families receive assistance in preparing to move, even temporarily. Several programmes should be held for relocation families concerning what they should expect. The research found that some children had to abandon schooling, because parents could not afford transport costs to travel to schools located either in previous locations, or in existing schools in Chatsworth, as there are no schools in the WE.

- **Strategic implementation of Slum Clearance Programme:** The concern for sustainable shelter for poor people is basically an economic issue. From a livelihoods perspective, *in-situ* upgrading is far preferable to 'greenfields' development. There are four distinct advantages of *in situ* upgrading:
  1. It preserves existing economic systems and opportunities for the urban poor.
  2. It preserves low-income housing stock already in existence at its current location.

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3. It preserves community structures, and the safeguards that exist within the family and the community.

4. The alternative, resettlement, is socially disruptive, economically damaging, and costly to households and communities.

The Housing Unit of eThekwini Municipality needs to identify suitable land near areas where informal settlements exist. The option of moving informal settlement communities to sites where their tenure can be formalised and secured, and they can thus have access to social services needed to be the last resort. This could minimise disruptions of communities which frequently have a negative impact on livelihoods systems.

- **The National and Provincial spheres of government should ensure alignment of subsided housing provision with combined objectives of land-use and transport plans**: Given the power allocated to provinces in matters of transportation and housing, and in this case, guided by legislation such as Development Facilitation Act of 1995 and the National Land Transport Transition Act of 2000, the Province should lobby National government to consider further subsidising some badly located housing projects which, it is proposed, should be moved to more accessible land. This will have large and long term benefits and assist in tackling the housing-transport nexus.

- **Empower Transport Authorities and Municipalities by decentralising the function of transport:** The transport function should be located within the local government structures, where cross-subsidisation of housing projects from the transport budget could be more easily facilitated, and thus benefit beneficiaries that are given houses in peripherally located housing projects.

5.4 General conclusion

It is well recognised that the problems being faced by the eThekwini Municipality are

not primarily of local origin. The influx of poor people from rural areas pushed by poverty and migrate to urban centres, pulled by the economic opportunities is a national, and international phenomenon, with complex causes, which demands the vigorous implementation of a combination of local, provincial and national strategies, backed by the necessary resources. The eThekwini Municipality and other cities in South Africa need to ensure that the concept of integrated planning is translated from its largely rhetorical exercise in the policy discourse, into an effective institutionalisation of the new rationality and practice within local planning systems. It is important that a social package (shelter, health, schools, amenities and job opportunities) be as accessible as possible for all those intended to benefit. The general conclusion is that it is important that officials of the Housing Unit in the municipality understand how, and why unplanned relocation can affect those that are supposed to be intended beneficiaries.

Is it possible to focus more attention on the relocation impact aspect of WE so as to improve the opportunities for relocated families? The answer is neither yes nor no, but what is important is that an effort needs to be made to connect relocated beneficiary households with institutions in their new neighbourhoods, so as to at least sensitise such institutions to the new people who have to gain access to services offered by such institutions. The array of such supportive services, as well as their delivery, varies from project to project, so it is difficult to make a general statement about what should be offered. The main nonetheless, should be to push families into self-sufficiency.

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CSIR   : Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research

DFA   : Development Facilitation Act

DoH   : Department of Housing

EM   : eThekwini Municipality

ETA   : Thekwini Transport Authority

HWP   : Housing White Paper

GAA   : Group Areas Act

IDP   : Integrated Development Plan

ITP   : Integrated Transport Plan

LDO   : Land Development Objectives

MSA   : Municipal System Act

NLTA   : National Land Transportation Act

NDH   : National Department of Housing

RDP   : Reconstruction and Development Programme

SCP   : Slums Clearance Project

SDF   : Spatial Development Framework

WDT   : Welbedacht Development Trust

WE   : Welbedacht East

APPENDICES

APPENDIX1

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WELBEDACHT EAST BENEFICIARY HOUSEHOLDS

Respondent Number ☐

Address of Respondent...

(Tick on the appropriate box or space)

1.

Household member	1	2	3	4	5	6
Age						
Gender						
Relationship to head of household						
Marital status						
Occupation						
Where do you work/ go to school						
Income source						
Transport costs						

2. What is the total gross income of your household?

R0 to R500	
R501 to R1000	
R1001 to R1500	
R1501 to R2000	
R2001 to R2500	
R2501 to R3000	
R3001 to R3500	
> R3500	

3. Where have you been living before moving into these houses?

Name of the place or settlement	

4. How was the household proximity to the inner city centre or areas of work?

or income?

To where you lived before, how can you categorized proximity:

30 minutes or less……………………………….

30 minutes to one hour……………………..

5. Was this household previously living together, and would you say access to areas of work or income was relatively easy or difficult where the household lived previously?

Previously living together	Yes or No	
Access to areas of work or income	Easy or Difficult	

6. Does the cost of living here differ from where you previously lived?

1. Yes   2. No

Explain…………………………………………………………………………………………..

7. How has moving to Welbedacht East affected access to employment and income?

What employment and income sources did each member of the household have prior to relocation, and where was it located?

Household member	1	2	3	4	5	6
Employment in previous place						
Location of employment in previous place						
Other income sources in previous place						
Location of other income sources in previous place						

8. Where people have had to change their place of work, has this been the result of increased travelling cost to work place?

Explain

....

9. Do you think that living in the outer city township increased costs compared to housing near the city centre?

Yes   No

Explain..

....

10. What transport mode is used for public/passenger transport?

Taxi	
Bus	

11. Public transport costs

Household member	Where does each household member travel to?	How frequently?	How much do you pay for transport to get there?	How does that compare to your previous place?
1			R	R
2			R	R
3			R	R
4			R	R
5			R	R
6			R	R

12. What is the amount of expenditure devoted to transportation per month: to go to work, and for children to go to school?

R0 to 100	
R101 to 200	
R201 to 300	
R301 to 400	
R401 to R500	
R501 +	

13. Accessing facilities and services

Facilities and services	Where do you go for these facilities?	How do you get there?	What does it cost to get there if using bus or taxi?	How long does it take to get there?	To which places do you usually travel?
Schools		Taxi /bus/walking	R		
Clinics		Taxi/bus/walking	R		
Recreation		Taxi/bus/walking	R		
Shops		Taxi/bus/walking	R		
Police station		Taxi/bus/walking	R		

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR HOUSING, LAND FOR HOUSING AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT EXPERTS

1. Why is Welbedacht East (WE) as a Slum Clearance Project, located where it is?

2. Was the issue of public transport considered, given the location of the project?

3. The majority of beneficiaries are from informal settlements located inside urban core. Was the issue of livelihood (the impact on job opportunities) considered, before the decision was made that the piece of land was suitable for human settlement?

4. Destitute people from the Ark, Place of Safety, were evicted and relocated to this project. Would you generally say the development was suitable for them?

5. Does the Housing Unit collaborate, or work together with your department to determine the suitability of land in respect of public transport for low income housing projects?

6. Were you given a chance to make comments on public transport issues before the location of WE? Yes – we commented on the full TIA

7. Would you say WE as a Slum Clearance Project is a well-located project given that beneficiary households are the people relocated from settlements located near or in the inner City areas?

8. Would you say specifically that WE is wel- located considering public transport issues?

9. What can you tell me about the location of low income housing projects in eThekwini Municipality?

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE YOUTH CLUB LEADER

1. How do the youth spend their time, given that there are no community halls?

2. Are you able to access facilities such as sports fields and other recreational facilities in this settlement?

3. What is the crime rate like in this area?

4. What is the rate of unemployment amongst the youth?

5. Any comments in relation to the youth activities?