Ematinini - Place of Tin

The Provision of Public Housing in South Africa: The Impact and Effect of Transit Camps on Residents and Its Place in the Provision of Housing

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Abstract:

Development in South Africa encompasses many things, and housing is one of these aspects. Post-apartheid South Africa has set out to provide housing to all, it is even a constitutional right. However there have been many problems with housing development and delivery. Transit camps, which are meant to house informal shack-dwellers temporarily, are an example of housing innovation and development. Yet they simultaneously reflect the many problems within the process, and also represent the challenges South Africa is confronting as a whole, for comprehensive development and the progress of a new, more united nation.

To study transit camps and housing development, I looked into one transit camp specifically, in the municipality of eThekwini/Durban, nicknamed Ematinini, or 'place of tin'. I spent a great deal of time at Ematinini, walking around the area and speaking with as many residents as I could. I conducted interviews (both formal and informal) with residents and municipal officials to collect information, which I added to my observations of the transit camp itself.

What I have found is that the transit camp of Ematinini is a place no one wants to live in because of the derelict conditions. The residents would rather be living in an informal shack than in this tin camp. Their stays have not turned out to be temporary, and they live with continual uncertainty as to when and where they will be moved, if at all. There is resentment amongst the residents towards the municipality and its officials because of the situation they find themselves in. They also believe that there is pervasive corruption in the government, which exacerbates tensions between the people and the municipality. I have found that the municipality largely sees itself as *the* source of legitimate knowledge and therefore developmental planning and action is fully controlled by them. This has caused the neglect of shack-dwellers and transit camp residents, who desperately want their voices heard and service delivery to occur fast and in a fair manner.

Hypothesis:

My hypothesis in this study is that transit camps which are intended as temporary housing for shack-dwellers to reside in while the municipality builds new homes for them, turn out largely *not* to be temporary, and that this causes problems for and conflict between the residents and the authorities. I further argue that often the only way transit camp residents feel that they can get a proper home is through bribery, which for most is out of their financial means, and that this creates fatalistic emotions.

Methodology:

For my project I wanted to obtain sociological, qualitative data, therefore I chose to use observation and interviews for my methodology. I began my research by visiting the transit camp Ematinini and observing the area. I also informally spoke with some of the people living there. I continued to visit at least three days per week for the month of my project, in which I was able to get to know many of the people there. Two of the residents there, Bongi and Philani, agreed on the first day of meeting me to assist in my research and to guide me around Ematinini. I met them everyday I visited, and they would introduce me to other residents and show

me around the area. They spoke English well, and they were able to translate for me when I had formal interviews with other residents. I also learned a lot about the lives and perspectives of Ematinini residents from Bongi and Philani, which gave me clearer direction in my research.

I believe my methods worked well, I acquired a great deal of information, some of it varied, and some of it contradictory to prior information. I spoke informally with approximately one hundred residents, and formally with about a dozen. Interviews with municipal officials, however, only scratched the surface of their side of the equation. Acquiring in depth knowledge of the municipality was difficult. I would have liked to shadow a councilor or member of the municipality involved with housing delivery, but this was impractical because of my time constraints, and my primary focus was on the residents of transit camps.

While I conducted interviews, even formal ones, I allowed the speakers largely to lead the conversation. Because I was not leading them in the information they shared, and the fact that I found consistent patterns among residents' experiences, my data collection should be considered reliable.

Introduction:

This paper is focused on housing delivery in South Africa, specifically a transit camp located in Durban, locally named Ematinini, or 'place of tin'. Transit camps are innovations created by municipalities in their attempts to provide housing to the poor. They are a national as well as international phenomenon. What happens in South Africa is that shack-dwellers are moved to transit camps, where they are supposed to stay temporarily, before they are moved into new, adequate homes provided by the government. The primary problem with transit camps is that those who are moved there often stay much longer than they originally expected before being moved to low cost houses. They end up living there for years without knowledge of when they will be moved to a proper home, if ever. And they must deal with the conditions of the transit camp while they wait, which are just as inadequate as the informal shacks they were moved from, and in many ways even worse. Transit camps have become a way to dump shack-dwellers away

from visible areas. The government cannot produce enough formal housing to meet the backlog, and so people have nowhere to go once they are put in the transit camp. In addition, many shack-dwellers and transit camp residents believe that the allocation of low cost houses is a corrupt process. Transit camps are a very large part of the housing crisis, yet there is very little research that has been conducted on them specifically. Transit camps are pertinent for all of South Africa, predominantly because they parallel the overall developmental struggles of the nation since the end of apartheid.

Objectives:

My objective for this project is to understand housing delivery and the place of transit camps. This includes what the residents of transit camps experience on a daily basis; what residents thoughts are on the housing services and the municipality; and the municipality's perspective on housing development and current circumstances, specifically transit camps.

I have long been interested in urban affairs, especially spatial patterns and housing. Informal settlements fascinate me, and my visit to Kennedy Road informal settlement to meet with residents and the leaders of the social movement Abahlali baseMjonodolo (literally shack-dwellers movement) opened my eyes to a different perspective and a different way of living. The movement is meant to promote the important place of poor people in South Africa, who have had little to no voice in the development of the nation since the end of apartheid, and who live in ever-increasing poverty. The movement is genuinely committed to democracy, consultation, inclusiveness, and equality. Although they push the government for homes, electricity and other material items, above all else what they strive for is to be recognized as humans, to have their dignity acknowledged and respected and to have a say and a place in the progress of the nation.

Shortly after my visit to Kennedy Road, there was a violent attack on the settlement that resulted in the death of few, the injury of many and the displacement of most of the residents. Abahlali members were targeted in the attacks, and thirteen have been arrested without bail (although a handful were

recently granted bail, after two-months), the rest have been forced into hiding. The attackers were not arrested, and there has been little attention given to the situation from the government.

I feel deeply sad for what has happened to Abahlali and the residents at Kennedy Road, who were so kind and welcoming to me when I, a complete stranger, visited them, walked into their homes, and had dinner with them. I share their frustration and anger at the government for their apparent lack of concern and their outwardly obvious inability to keep promises of providing homes and a better life for all.

I am unable to fully and safely investigate and research what has happened to Kennedy Road and Abahlali, but I am able to study something similar and interconnected, namely transit camps. Transit camps have many problems that are similar to those of informal settlements, however their problems are exacerbated because transit camps have had a tendency to move people far distances while also hiding them. I hope to contribute in some way, through my research, to the struggles of the homeless and shack-dwellers and to Abahlali baseMjondolo, in their bid to gain human recognition, and to win-over the municipality so genuine work can begin, to improve the lives of the people they are constitutionally accountable for helping.

Paper Structure:

This paper will begin with a broad history of South Africa in the context of housing, including the colonial and apartheid era housing circumstances. It will then lay down the general housing situation for the post-apartheid period to the present. The above information will come from secondary sources. After this the role of the government, essentially the municipality, will be examined in terms of housing delivery, policy and implementation. Next there is an in-depth look into the conditions of transit camps, and also the experiences of the residents there, specifically in the case of Ematinini in Durban. Finally, the paper will present the conflict between citizens and the municipality, based around housing delivery and transit camps.

The Housing Context (Literature Review):

Housing in South Africa is and has historically been a subject of great conflict while also being fundamental to the nation's development. South Africa's issues with housing began with colonial invasions and violent land take-overs of indigenous peoples. Colonial powers took African's land, and began agricultural commodity farming. They also attempted to turn a class of Africans into commodity farmers, with the goal of undermining the anti-colonial chiefs (Ntsebeza and Hall 2007). This created a group of proletariat, migrant workers, who worked on the white owned farms. Even for the indigenous people who did not farm on white owned land, their economies "were permeated by generalised commodity production, i.e. capitalist social relations of production and reproduction" (Ntsebeza and Hall 2007: 39). The colonial conquest of land and the introduction of capitalist production left a legacy of inequality in land tenure, spatial structures, and thus housing.

When the National Party assumed power in 1948, they introduced the notorious system of apartheid, which legislated racial segregation. Like its colonial predecessors, the apartheid government promoted capitalism and used blacks as cheap sources of labor. Because apartheid called for inexpensive and controllable labor, but also for racialized, separate (white) development, the government had to restructure the migrant labor system (Smith 1992). This was achieved through the Group Areas Act enacted in 1950, which called for separate African townships, and urban influx control. The Group Areas Act was implemented mainly by forced removals, control of movements, and petty-segregation. The Bantu Law Amendment Act of 1963 tightened influx control of blacks to and within urban areas, imposed dire punishments for perpetrators, and pushed the homeland policy as the solution to the "African problem" (Smith 1992: 42). In 1968 leasehold tenure was suspended and blacks were only able to *rent* houses in white (usually urban) areas (Smith 1992). This policy created massive homeland areas outside of urban spaces or on the periphery, where employed blacks would have to travel to the city for work, or they paid rent and were housed in white-employer owned hostels.

The government's partitioned housing plans were working, while the international community was also beginning to recognize the economic viability of the nation, causing the industrial sector to boom and labor needs to skyrocket. The white labor force began to move from blue-collar jobs to administrative ones, and to replace them the readily available black labor force was brought in. Thus, blacks were needed in ever-greater numbers in the urban areas (Smith 1992). The controlled migration of Africans to the urban areas for work became a major source of conflict. There was great resentment by Africans because they were unable to own their own homes in urban areas, close to economic and social amenities, yet they had to work and travel there, and often lived there for much of the year. Add to this the constant, degrading and blatant racism and petty-segregation aimed their way; it was inevitable that the situation would boil over into rebellion.

In June 1976 massive rioting began in the African township of Soweto, and spread throughout the nation's townships. Directly after the protests, the state created the Cillie Commission to look into why the uprising occurred. It found that one of the major grievances was that blacks were unable to own homes in the urban areas, and that in the townships there was overcrowding, limited funding, high rents, lack of services, a massive housing shortage, and overcrowding (Smith 1992). The apartheid government knew it would continue to have problems and revolts from the African population, and so they began to reform their housing policies to quell the discontent, while concomitantly upholding their capitalistic demand for a stable labor supply. The National Party had realized that urbanization of blacks was inevitable, and that they needed to accept it, manage it, and take advantage of it.

By the 1980s, the popular black struggles were reaching new heights in their ability to sabotage the government, and they were gaining momentum towards a shift in power. The government's ability to maintain its grip on the country was slipping. To try to regain this power, measures were passed to alleviate the pressure from below. The National Party created a new, two-tiered strategy; upgrading black living conditions while also taking severe security actions against political opponents. For example, in 1986 influx control was repealed and new legislation was made, including the Black Communities Development Act, which was

to designate developmental areas and land to acquire for black homelands (Smith 1992). The removal of influx control allowed in-migration (urbanization mainly from peripheral townships) to increase greatly. However, because of the housing shortages, widespread informal settlements became the normal means of accommodation for blacks, both in the urban areas and the peri-urban homeland areas, wherever it was most suitable for their livelihoods.

Housing remained a central issue as apartheid ended and the ANC took control of South Africa, and new legislation and policies were devised to reflect the ANC's ideologies. John Hopkins of the Southern African Housing Foundation explains that Section 26 of the new constitution states that, "all South Africans have the right to have access to adequate housing," that it is the government's responsibility to achieve the realization of this right, and that adequate housing includes a core group of parts, "including legal security of tenure, the availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability, accessibility and location" (Hopkins 1994: 4). Housing in this nation is a human right and is seen as fundamental for individuals, and thus the collective, for development to occur. This duty of the government to provide houses for all is immense, primarily because of the context and legacy that the past had created on South Africa's economic, spatial, racial and housing arenas.

The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) came into existence with the new government in 1994. Its main goal was to allow development in the country by eradicating apartheid with "an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework" (ANC 1994: 1). Housing had a prioritized place in the RDP policy. It was recognized that the lack of housing and services had reached crisis proportions by 1990. Under the RDP policy the ANC set out to construct at least one million new low-cost homes for the next five years. They also made it a point to spend no less than five percent of the national budget on housing provision, including lump-sum subsidies, to make housing affordable to even the poorest South Africans (ANC 1994: 22). The RDP housing plan consists of much more, including outlines for services, employment and infrastructure related to housing, plus the objective of empowering communities and individuals through home ownership

and security of tenure. There are also guidelines for minimum standards, squatters, hostels, rural housing, private investment, construction, actors and legislation. The RDP began a comprehensive approach to escaping the apartheid legacy and moving on to develop properly in the future. However, a project of such great scale will certainly have its share of predicaments, and the RDP has not been an exception. The problems that the RDP and newer developmental projects have floundered upon are mainly *not* based on the policy-side, but rather the implementation aspect, where the national government does not have the power of action: the provincial, and more so the local governments do.

One major obstacle regarding the provision of adequate housing (which is actually a policy issue) is not the unavailability of suitable land, but the ability to have that land released for public housing. During the transitional period where governmental power was being exchanged, the ANC agreed to not forcefully take back any land from white landholders, but rather to buy it at market prices. The trouble with this is that prices of land in town, where social and economic opportunities are centered, are too high for municipalities to acquire in sufficient quantity for public housing purposes (Kok 1994). Post-apartheid South Africa has come into being with huge housing shortages; the most prevalent dilemma is the more than seven million people living in urban informal shacks (Kok 1994). The sheer numbers of people needing houses in the 1990s combined with the populist agenda of the ANC, plus the expensive land in town, led to the apartheid spatial and residential structures being perpetuated. White homeowners live in the city amongst the economic and social benefits, such as jobs, infrastructure, transportation, services, social exchanges, leisure, entertainment and health care. The majority of the population, the poor and unemployed Africans, have been forced to the periphery of the urban areas on land bought in the 1980s by the apartheid government for the purpose of separate 'township' development, where services and amenities found in city centers are greatly lacking or non-existent. "Thus, many apartheid urban plans have been implemented unquestionably by the post-apartheid government" (Harrison, Huchzermeyer and Mayekiso 2003: 212). This reality is counterproductive to the developmental goals of the ANC and the RDP.

Another major difficulty (but also a loophole) for local governments in providing genuinely 'adequate houses', as Marie Huchzermeyer points out, is that housing is to be "realised progressively, in accordance with the available resources of the state. It can therefore easily be argued that the available resources of the state allow only for low-income development on the urban periphery" and not in more central "middle-income areas" (Huchzermeyer 2003: 215). The continued racial segregation (de facto as opposed to the past de jure) and the inequality caused by the separation and distance from the valuable urban centers are largely responsible for the continuation, and arguably the worsening of poverty for the majority of blacks in South Africa.

The national, provincial and municipal governments have the tough task of handling funds and resources to provide houses for everyone, while simultaneously trying to develop other components of a reborn nation. Yet the government, national to municipal, has enabled apartheid spatial and community structures to persist. This should be considered a severe offense against their ideologies, their goals, and their responsibilities, but most importantly, against their own people. Not only has the public provision of houses continued structural inequalities, but the ways municipalities have implemented their programs have often been construed as undemocratic, lacking consultation and compromise. Richard Pithouse points out that simply building houses "does not mean that we have been building democratic and inclusive cities" (Pithouse 2009). Although the national South African government has a great liberal policy on housing, the poor and the homeless see the local governments, who are the direct actors in delivery, as authoritarian, corrupt and they believe they "see no need to engage ordinary people on policy formulation matters that affect them directly" (Zikode 2009). Zikode goes on to add, "this technocratic thinking will be supported with violence when ordinary men and women insist on their right to speak and to be heard on the matters that concern their daily lives" (Zikode 2009). And Pithouse continues to say, "both policy and law have been ignored in favour of an increasingly authoritarian discourse around eliminating or eradicating slums" (Pithouse 2009). The strategy the municipality is using to develop housing has become a numbers game, emphasizing the number of

shacks reduced and the number of people moved into public spaces. This is problematic for a number of reasons; an example is that the municipality does not take great account of the consequences and huge impacts on people's lives from removals. Another problem is that 'public spaces' are often not proper homes, so even moving a person to an inadequate transit camp will be deemed as that person having "accessed a housing opportunity" (Pithouse 2009). This has created a great amount of anger and tension between municipal officials and councilors with citizens, especially the poor and the homeless or shack dwellers, who desperately want and should expect democracy, consultation, and proper service delivery.

Because the delivery of houses by municipal governments has been limited and slow, shack-settlements have continued to grow at a massive rate since the end of apartheid. These citizens have chosen to live in shacks for numerous reasons, including the low or no cost of living in one, and the proximity to urban centers where jobs, schools, health clinics and public transport is found. Shack-living has its benefits, but it is a hard way of life, and real homes in proper places is what shack-dwellers and the poor population want. This is what the national policy aims for as well, but the only thing local and provincial levels of government have been able to or willing to contribute to, is ridding the nation of slums and eradicating shack settlements. But this has generally just displaced people, disrupted and often ruined their lives. New homes are usually too far from people's jobs, children's schools and other places of frequenting. Most of the time however, people are simply moved to governmentally crafted, 'temporary' tin-shack settlements. The reality of these 'temporary homes' is that people are left there and largely forgotten. This is the position of South African housing currently.

Home construction, shack-deconstruction and housing developments continue, but in the sense of poverty alleviation and helping poor people, they have stagnated. This malfunction in basic housing provision is ironic, especially since now is also a time of first-world, advanced and technological development, where magnificent stadiums are being built around the country for the World Cup, media and marketing groups are flocking and expanding, putting their energies into football promotion and presenting South Africa as a country that 'has arrived.' New

roads are being built, a new transportation system (the People Mover buses) has been created, new malls have been put up, hotels and backpackers are preparing for the tourist rush, and an aquarium has been made surrounded by varied restaurants and 'local' stores. This developmental dichotomy is a key cause for the present clash between the majority of the population (poor and black) and the wealthy, the politicians, the business people and the capitalist global community.

Housing in South Africa has been and continues to be an emotional issue surrounded by debates on resource allocation, differing viewpoints, corruption, poverty, politics, service delivery, spatial structure, segregation and funding issues. All of the above are just pieces of South Africa's housing circumstances, which is only a part of the country's larger goal of comprehensive development. Right now the nation is preparing for the World Cup, and therefore the development of the country reflects that. But a mass of people living in South Africa do not have adequate homes and they are frustrated and infuriated at the government and the economic-elites involved with developing the 'superficial' part of the state while intentionally neglecting the most important part; the people.

The eThekwini/Durban Municipality

The municipality is in a difficult position. They must abide by the national and provincial level of government's policies, laws and mandates, while also having to directly implement them. The municipality of Durban has goals and plans which reflect the national government's objectives of reconstruction and development. In terms of housing, they want to complete "the delivery of sustainable housing for all by the year 2015" (Ethekwini Housing Homepage, 2009: 1). The municipality describes this as including secure tenure, basic services, and support, to have integrated living environments with the necessary social, economic and physical infrastructure (Ethekwini Housing Homepage, 2009: 1). The means to achieve this ambitious target are complicated and diverse, involving interaction between different groups of people, who have diverse perspectives and varying levels of power and control.

Land

According to the Project Manager of Housing Projects within the municipality, the main goal is to develop land people are already living on, informally, and to make it formal via proper homes and services. Because proper homes and services require much more space than informal shacks do, not as many people can be moved back to where they lived as shack-dwellers. This therefore requires new land to be found and utilized to house people. However, funds are hard to come by to buy the land to start 'greenfield projects' (Interview, Project Manager, Nov. 23, 2009). The Planning Department must first identify land, and buy it from the owners at market price, which is often very expensive. The municipality also looks into using unoccupied hillsides that are often less pricey than flatter, more suitable ground for human settlements, businesses and industries. They then hand it over to the Project Department which deals with feasibility studies of water potability, electricity hookups, environmental impacts, slope analyses, costs, and budgets (Interview, Planner, Nov. 19, 2009). The project is then put up for tender and handed over to the best-qualified private contractor, with the Project Department acting as the employer and overseer, making deadlines and monitoring construction processes. Constructing homes just anywhere however is not sufficient, there are other measures the municipality must take in delivery.

Integration

The Planning Department of Housing has to take into consideration the national policy when building houses, which calls for 'integrated homes.' This means services, infrastructure, and social amenities must be in accessible areas to the people moved into new homes. This requires the Planning Department of Housing to work with numerous other municipal departments and also the provincial government, who determines funding, resources and staffing for new public works. A member of the Planning Department of Housing portrays integration as the hardest part in housing provision. Integration creates a clash in delivering houses. Houses as top-structures are simple things, but integrating homes into a sustainable environment with the economic, social and physical

facilities necessary is “extremely difficult to orchestrate,” it involves not only managing houses but “managing people” and “liaising” with them, both shack-dwellers, private players, and government officials (Interview, Planner, Nov. 19, 2009). Meeting with shack-dwellers in addition to working in an interdepartmental manner takes time and is a major cause for delays in providing homes.

Transit Camps

Temporal housing is not a new idea in South Africa, presently however it has been reintroduced because the municipality cannot upgrade informal settlements due to the extreme density of people and shacks. There is not enough space to build proper houses and provide services such as water lines, electricity and sewerage without moving people temporarily. The municipality’s plan for temporary housing, which is being used all over the country, is to remove informal shack-dwellers, including people renting backyard-shacks, and place them into ‘transit camps’ for a temporary period of time. During this waiting time their previous shacks will be demolished and cleared out, and proper homes will be built which they will then be moved back into.

According to an official of the Planning Department, the original municipal idea was to limit stays in transit camps to six months, but currently the policy is for residents to live there for no more than eighteen months. This contradicts what the Housing Project Manager said; that transit camp stays currently should be no longer than six-months, which also contradicts what a Councilor said; that there is no maximum time limit. The reason the Planner gave for the change in policy is due to constant delays, primarily in construction, and emergencies in shack settlements (Interview, Planner, Nov. 19, 2009). He went on to say that emergencies in shack settlements, usually floods, require the municipality to immediately move those people living there to a transit camp. If the municipality instead tried to help those people and fix their settlements, they would “be taken to the Constitutional Court” for allowing people to be killed or injured when “it [natural disaster] inevitably happens again,” on a floodplain or another vulnerable area (Interview, Planner, Nov. 19, 2009).

The Housing Planner of the municipality said that most of the people in transit camps are there because of emergencies that occurred in their settlements, and that emergencies cause unplanned and unpredictable removals of people. Because this is unplanned, the municipality does not see itself bound to their policy on length of time people stay in transit camps, and they believe it is acceptable if those citizens stay in transit camps longer than the maximum limit (Interview, Planner, Nov. 19, 2009). A municipal planner admitted that these long stays are undesirable, because the transit camps are not built or serviced for people to live there for an extended period of time, and he felt that the municipality as a whole acknowledges that. However, he also admitted that there is "exploitation" over the situation, whereby when the municipality cannot deliver homes in a timely manner, they can take advantage of the people by allowing them to remain in transit camps without taking any action to assist them (Interview, Planner, Nov. 19, 2009).

The Project Manager of Housing also recognized that there are many problems with transit camps, rooted in the long lengths of stays there, with people often living up to two years there. He even said that the municipality wants to keep transit camps (and thus the rooms there) as small and as dense as possible so that they can fit as many people as possible. However he did explain that there would be no future for transit camps, because the national and provincial levels of government do not like transit camps and want to get rid of them, but he also made clear that for now they are the solution, and will remain that way until the municipality devises it own alternative (Interview, Project Manager, Nov. 23, 2009). A housing Planner also said that transit camps would end soon, because there is too much controversy surrounding them. He added that their existence is under revision, and there are some alternative options on the table now, but he could not divulge those because they are still being strategized (Interview, Planner, Nov. 19, 2009). The Planning Department of the municipality seems to understand the problems with transit camps, and they admit that they are unwilling to provide expensive services to a 'temporary' human settlement.

A Case Study of a Transit Camp: Ematinini- Place of Tin

The Physical Setting

The transit camp dubbed 'Ematinini' or 'place of tin' is not unlike other transit camps throughout South Africa, and indeed its name is no misnomer. Ematinini is located in Ridgeview, Durban and is situated between Westville, Chesterville, Dunbar and Cato Manor. It lays on a long, narrow stretch of land on a hill (hence Ridgeview), bordered by a rock-quarry to one side and the N2 freeway sloping down to the other. Coming from the main road, one approaches the quarry, but before reaching the entrance, on the left lays a potholed dirt path bordered by bush and overhanging trees that leads to the transit camp. The path curves to the right after about one hundred meters, where a central 'road' leads into the middle of the area. Once around this turn, the pale, yellow-brown ground slices straight up through a sprawling corridor of silver barracks with only the sky and dust visible up ahead. Bushes and trees surround the area, sloping down and away from the transit camp. People, mainly women and children, gather water in buckets from the handful of communal taps. Clothing and bed sheets wisp in the wind, hanging from clotheslines supported by branches sticking up out of the ground at awkward angles. Although there is the normal bustle of people moving through any tightly spaced area, Ematinini feels isolated. It is an area above everything else in the area, so unless one purposefully looks outside of the place, it is all that exists. Philani, a resident of Ematinini says that they are isolated, on an "island" (Interview, Philani Nov. 23, 2009).[1]

The 'homes' of the people are just simple rectangles with slightly sloping flat, tin roofs. Families upwards of seven or eight people sometimes have to share one room. There is often only one bed in the room, and mats are tucked away until the night when people sleep on them on the floor. Most rooms seem very cluttered. But it does not take much to appear so. The few belongings residents have, a table and a

[1] Most of the residents of Ematinini interviewed wanted their actual names to appear in this work. I have used these people's real names in this paper based on their requests.

chair, pots and pans, a paraffin stove, buckets for water, and a cabinet or two fill most of the room.

The Project Manager of Housing in the municipality estimates that there are about 4,000 residents living there in about 2,000 'homes' (Interview, Project Manager, Nov. 23, 2009). All the people living at Ematinini have come from informal shack settlements nearby, including areas in Wards 29, 30 and 31. There were five tin sections that were first built on the land to house people temporarily, six years ago. These sections are sorted by letters A, B, C, D, and E. Today, the area is full, with sections up to letter P. Each section contains about one hundred rooms, with ten to twenty connected in single rows, except for a tin wall dividing each. Each room has one door, with one small window next to it, and an identical window at the back. The chains of tin rooms have their foundations in cracking concrete. It is almost impossible to find a window in perfect working condition, many have cracks and shoddy fixes with different materials, ranging from tape to trash-bags. The paint on the doors is mostly light-pink and peeling, with thin, ominous red-painted numbers, used to identify rooms and people. Most of the rooms are positioned right across from others, leaving about one meter of walking space between, creating straight and narrow passageways.

There are a handful of tuck shops in Ematinini. Some residents use their own rooms to sell small foodstuffs and items, but most have created outside shacks pressed up against walls of the tin rows, created from mismatched wooden stakes, tree branches, tin, hard-plastic, cardboard and tarp.

There are shipping containers used as toilets and showers. Most sections have one, but some do not. They are all uniform in layout and space, about ten meters by five meters. There is an opening into the container, and straight ahead there are two bare sinks with the plumbing pipes exposed and rusting. To the right there are three elevated, small, open spaces with walls dividing each, which are the showers. To the left there are three toilet stalls. There is usually only one shower-head for the three showering rooms. The sinks either do not have running water, or the drains are clogged. The toilets, if they flush, leak and continuously run. The beige paint inside the container barely exists and most of the wood shows through

the thin layers remaining. There are holes straight through to the ground and in the sides of the container. The stench is horrible, and used, bunched up pieces of newspaper and plastic line the floors of the toilet stalls. Brown and greenish liquids flow out of the pipes surrounding the container, flowing downhill and between the rows tin homes.

Outside of the fencing circulating Ematinini, rubbish collects and spreads along the hillsides, blocking out the ground. Rats the size of fat house-cats scurry through the trash searching for any leftover crumbs or oils. Directly adjacent to these piles of trash are small plots of land for growing vegetables, mainly onions, potatoes, and cabbage. The nearby quarry rumbles throughout the day, spewing rock-dust through the air that blows over Ematinini and settles there at the top of the hillside. The other side carries echoes of car and truck engines plunging under an overpass on the N2 freeway up to the doors of the tin rooms. Across the N2 is the stark sight of RDP homes. There are three different sections there, delineated by exterior paint color: orange, pale green, and peach.

The above description is the basic physical layout of Ematinini and the area. The next section will deal with how residents live within this physical layout, their thoughts on the tangible aspects of Ematinini, the challenges they face because of it, and how they adapt to the immediate environment.

Living Conditions

The constant remark that residents of Ematinini make is that "it is hard to live here" (Interview, J.P. Duma, Nov. 24, 2009).[2] No one I spoke with likes living at Ematinini. Most said they would accept living there in a proper house, but they are very frustrated with their living conditions currently. Everyone complains about the small size of the rooms, which are only twenty meters by ten meters. Adults have to share their bed with children, and the floors are usually littered with children's bodies during the night. The rooms do not provide any privacy. Some

[2] Actual name is used

residents have hung up curtains to try to divide the space, but it does not do much. More radical residents have built actual walls to partition the room, but it often produces more claustrophobia than comfort. The residents who have chosen this route usually use one side to sleep and cook in, and the other side is utilized as a tuck shop. People must bathe, using water buckets, in their rooms, where their other family members are, which can be quite uncomfortable, and often difficult to find time to wash.

Finding privacy and space in the transit camp to have sex is also very tricky. An older resident named Pretty[3] lives with her adult daughter and grandson. She says she does not allow her daughter's boyfriend into the room, because when they try to get romantic she is forced to leave with her grandchild (Interview, Pretty, Nov. 20, 2009). Residents also laughingly complain about their neighbors having sex, which is heard, and often felt through the thin, dividing tin-wall. A more sever complaint with sounds from neighbors is the inevitable verbal arguments between family members, spouses, friends and children. Not only are the sounds and screams heard, but whole conversations are audible. Even calm, routine dialogue can be heard through walls, and discussions often take place between residents through walls. There is also the aggravating, insomnia-producing sound of babies wailing throughout the night.

The size of the rooms makes it hard for residents of Ematinini to make their living space nice. Even residents who have a little money that they wish to use to buy fancier things to spruce up their 'homes', they have no place to put these things (Interview, Pretty, Nov. 20, 2009). One woman's residence I entered had an old, dusty chandelier hanging from the ceiling. There is no electricity there, so it was only for show, but it is an example of how the residents attempt to make their 'temporary' homes feel like an actual home. Throughout Ematinini the residents, especially women, say that the only thing they really have control over to make the area nicer is the ability to garden. Because the ground around the homes is concrete

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[3] A false name is used here to protect her identity

and hard-dirt though, the majority of the gardening is done outside of the fencing, on sloping hills, next to the large areas of rubbish, and out of immediate sight.

Izulu Libi

The composition of the rooms, the meager size, and the position of the transit camp on top of a hill make it an area extremely exposed to weather conditions. When the wind blows, the tin walls and roofs blow up and down and side to side, smacking against each other loudly. It is a frightening noise, which scared me the first time I heard it. I can only imagine how young children interpret the noises, which make it very difficult to hear others speak. Residents sometimes put heavy objects like wheelbarrows, rubber tires, broken bicycles, large rocks and abandoned, detached car doors on top of their roofs so they do not bend up and slam down during windy conditions.

When it rains at Ematinini the sound is amplified because of the flat, tin roofs. Instead of having a softer, angled landing, the raindrops nose dive directly onto the thin tin tops, making it extremely tough to fall asleep or focus on anything. Rain is also exacerbated by wind. The biggest problem with rainwater unfortunately is not the noise, but the flooding. Because of the poor construction and years without maintenance, holes exist in most rooms. Rain gets in between tin panels, under decaying windowpanes, and underneath doors. The concrete foundations are cracked so bad in some places that water seeps through and enters the homes where the tin walls meet the concrete floors. One room I visited the day after a heavy rainstorm was filled with water above ankle level. They explained how the rain seeps in through the ground, and someone demonstrated. He put his foot on the ground by the wall, and put pressure down, bubbles appeared and it was obvious that water was coming through from the other side. All the residents could do was put all their belongings up on the bed and table, and use buckets to get rid of the water. Beds were raised on brick stilts barely above the water. The outdoor passageways between the rows of rooms were flooded in most areas as well, carrying trash and dirt onto people's doorsteps and flooding underneath doors.

Wind and rain are often not everyday occurrences, but dealing with the temperature is a constant struggle. "The tins are cold when [it] is cold, when [it] is hot the tins are hot" (Interview, Andisile, Nov. 20, 2009).[4] The cold and the heat were the major complaints I heard from residents regarding weather conditions. It was noticeable to me before I even entered a room that the heat would be a major problem. There are no trees to block out the sun over the homes. The rays just beam straight onto the roofs and walls, making the tin rooms more like ovens than living spaces. During hot days, if residents stay in their homes, they will not shut the door because it is considerably cooler outside than inside. The small windows, which often do not open, are insufficient to bring in any existent breeze to circulate the muggy air. Residents cannot buy fans or heaters because there is no electricity to run them. Men rarely wear shirts while inside their hot rooms. Women rub their faces with clay-dust to keep from easily getting sunburned outside. When it is cold blankets are often not enough to stay warm. Older residents struggle to make it through hot and cold nights. Children easily get sick from sleeping on concrete floors in the cold. The heat and the cold present a battle for the residents day in and day out. It causes sickness, worsens chronic diseases, and contributes to the resident's views on the harshness of life at Ematinini.

Toilets

The toilets at Ematinini are few and far between, but people need to use them. There are a number of problems with them though. I already gave a description of the toilets, but that does not encompass all the issues regarding their usage. There are only fifteen toilets to be shared by the thousands of residents, and some of these do not work. In the mornings there are huge queues of people trying to relieve themselves at the same time. Because of this most children and men will just urinate at the edge of the property, onto the hillsides where trash decays. There is even a narrow stretch of open gravel-ground that has been designated for people

[4] A fake name is used here to protect her identity

to go to defecate, which carries the smell of human feces throughout the compound. The toilets are not divided according to gender, which is awkward for many. Graffiti on the outside of stall doors depicts pictures of boys or girls and words are written to notify people which stalls should be used for men, women, and children. It is the only way residents can go about trying to separate toilets by gender, and by age (which is about respect and timeliness). The toilets are far from most of the resident's rooms, so at night in the pitch-black people just step out of their doors and go right outside. People are very afraid to go to the toilets at night because of animals like snakes, rats and bush-bugs. Women and young girls are especially afraid to go to the toilets at night because of the possibility of being raped. According to many residents, especially women and young girls of Ematinini, the want for proper and gender-divided toilets is at desperate levels.

Animals

Ematinini is fenced in to try to keep animals out, but it is inevitable that they still get through the inadequate chicken-wire fence. Residents complain mainly about snakes, rats and bush-bugs. Bugs and cockroaches are annoying and often get into the rooms and food. Large numbers of mosquitoes add to this discomfort. Residents are scared of snakes, which they say are poisonous. Andisile said that she has found snakes in her cupboard numerous times, and she has had to kill them if she can catch them, but they keep coming back (Interview, Andisile, Nov. 20, 2009). Rats are probably the biggest problem in terms of animal intrusions. They are very big and usually multi-colored. Many of the residents have had issues with rats and are very afraid of them. Some people take in cats with the intention of having them catch and kill rats. The rats are said to get into food containers and infect the food. If a person eats the infectious food, or if a rat bites someone, they will develop a rash. All the people at Ematinini say if you get that rash, you will know you do not have much time left to live. The consensus is that the people who have gone to health clinics for the rat bites still die because the doctors do not know how to treat them, and so now people do not even bother with troublesome traveling.

Transport

One of the most prominent reasons people build shacks is to be close to the places they need to frequent. Being moved to Ematinini has distanced them from those places. For the residents of Ematinini, their shacks were close to schools and were walk-able distances for their children. Job opportunities were more available and easier to get to. Shops to buy groceries were nearby. At Ematinini, unlike their previous homes, the residents end up spending much of their time, energy and meager incomes on transportation. The vast majority of children attend the same school as they did before moving to Ematinini. The problem with this is that they are very far away, and there is no public transportation provided from Ematinini to schools. Kids that were from Chesterville and attended school there either have their parents pay for their transport, but more often they will walk, which takes an outrageous hour and an half. Resident J.P. Duma, like many Ematinini residents believes school is critically important for children, and she said she spends a whopping R300 every month on her children's transportation for school (Interview, J.P. Duma, Nov. 24, 2009).

Traveling to town by mini-bus taxi costs R6 to and R6 back. This cost adds up fast, because residents must go grocery shopping in town often, since they have no electricity to refrigerate perishables (Interview, Pretty, Nov. 20, 2009). Spending R12 just to go get basic foodstuffs depletes residents' money very rapidly. Health clinics are far away, shops with household goods and clothing stores are also far away. These places all require transportation, which costs money and exhausts savings, often deterring the Ematinini residents from getting things they need for themselves and their family.

Sources of Income

South Africa is a nation struggling to uplift their people out of poverty and to provide employment opportunities, but this is not happening fast enough, so a very large percentage of the population is unemployed and living off of government welfare. There is a minority of Ematinini residents with jobs, most of whom are younger men who work temporal jobs for little pay. The majority of people who do

not have jobs only have social grants for sources of income. Parents at Ematinini usually collect social grants for their children. If their child is under the age of fourteen, they get R240 monthly, for each child. Many residents have taken in orphans, some of whom are relatives and some who are not. Adults can apply for child grants for these children, but unless they have the child's birth certificate, they will not be given a grant, which is the case for many Ematinini residents who have informally adopted children.

Older men and women often depend on their disability grant to pay for health care and pharmaceuticals, along with their other, basic material needs. Disability grants max out at R1,010, which is what disabled or sick residents are given, like Isaac Mhlongo,[5] who very recently had a stroke. When he had his stroke, it was at night and his wife called for an ambulance, but it never came. They were forced to call for a metered taxi to take him to the hospital in Wentworth. It cost R150, an outrageous amount far above their means. Mr. Mhlongo's wife has epilepsy, but she does not receive a disability grant. The reason she does not receive one is not medical; her doctor has given her written permission on five different occasions to go to the Department of Home Affairs and apply for disability coverage, but she and her husband say that the social welfare workers will not approve a grant without a bribe of R1,000 (Interview, Isaac Mhlongo, Nov. 20, 2009).

Residents of Ematinini also deal with bribery issues when the police come. The police visit on a fairly regular basis and will seek out people selling dagga or alcohol. Selling dagga is illegal, but selling liquor only requires a license. The problem for residents of Ematinini trying to make money through alcohol sales is that they do not have addresses, which means they cannot even apply for a liquor license. The police exploit this fact by giving residents the ultimatum of either handing over their money and products, or being arrested. Bribery and corruption

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[5] Real name is used here

however are not only experienced in residents' daily lives, but they are perceived as being the most significant cause for their extended stays at the transit camp.

Conflict and Perspectives on Corruption

The problems people face living in transit camps stem from the fact that they are made for short-term stints, but residents actually stay for long periods of time. The reasons for extended stays in transit camps vary depending on perspective. The municipality believes that the major cause for delays in delivering houses and long stays in transit camps is due to the fact that not enough proper homes fit where numerous shacks could. This means some people cannot go back to where they were living originally, and new land needs to be found to build homes for those people (Interview, Councilor, Nov. 26, 2009). It takes time to identify land, conduct feasibility studies and construct houses. Then the municipality still must carry out allocations.

Residents of Ematinini believe that their prolonged stays at the transit camp are largely not due to a lack of space or homes, but because of corruption in housing allocation. Resident J.P. Duma frustratingly stated, "if you don't have money to bribe, you will stay here until you die" (Interview, J.P. Duma, Nov. 24, 2009). This idea is permeated throughout most of the resident's minds of Ematinini. This is not to say that the people do not understand problems of space and time involved in housing projects, but all the residents I have heard from at Ematinini would rather be living in their previous shacks than continue living in the awful, and worse conditions of Ematinini. Most of the people had shacks larger and much more comfortable than their rooms at Ematinini. For Isaac Mhlongo and Andisile, they considered life to be better in Cato Crest (the informal settlement they were removed from). There was much more space, and their shack even had six rooms. They had a television and a working refrigerator (Interview, Isaac Mhlongo and Andisile, Nov. 20, 2009). They believe they have been living in poorer conditions at the transit camp than at Cato Crest, and it has been years longer than they were promised they would stay. Because of this they, and the Ematinini residents as a whole, no longer trust the municipality and politicians.

Councilors

Ward Councilors are in charge of their specific ward area, usually comprising three towns geographically located next to each other. They are the liaisons between their constituents and the municipality. Residents of Ematinini try to speak with their councilors to find out when and where they will be moved, but they are often denied even a meeting. When the people have had the opportunity to speak to councilors and if the councilors speak semi-pragmatically to the people, they will say things along the lines of nothing can be done, that there are no more houses, and that maybe on the next project they will be allocated a house. More often though, residents feel that they receive feigned optimism and promises that have repeatedly been broken, and these continue to be dished out so councilors can avoid dealing with what their people want and have to say. The Councilor of Ward 30 seems busy indeed, but as one Ematinini resident implied in a conversation I had with him, the councilors should be busy, but with their people, not extraneous matters, especially affairs which benefit themselves and their cronies.

Ematinini residents point to councilors as being some of the most corrupt people involved in housing fraud. They have specifically called out the Councilors of Ward 30 and Ward 29 as corrupt. Many residents lament over their former Councilor Gloria Borman, who has been promoted to the provincial government. They all felt that she was a very good councilor who worked with them and understood what they were going through during their time of removal to Ematinini. She pushed the allocators to place old women and disabled people into proper homes firstly. Ematinini resident J.P. Duma said Gloria Borman was excellent, but Zakhele (a housing allocator) has not listened to Borman's instructions, and for that Ms. Duma "hates Zakhele" (Interview, J.P. Duma, Nov. 24, 2009). The consistent perception of Ematinini residents that councilors are corrupt needs to be looked into further.

Because of the relentless finger pointing at councilors for corruption, I had to try to speak with a councilor to get their side of the story. I was able to make an appointment with the Councilor of Ward 30 for November 26th. His office is located in Wiggins Hall, right next to the school. It is about six kilometers from Ematinini,

and I walked with two Ematinini residents, because fare for a taxi is too much to afford for them. When we got there one of my guides pointed to the Councilor's big Nissan SUV and said it was a very expensive car, costing about R500,000. There were three wooden benches set up next to his blue office door, with a handful of people waiting. While waiting, the Housing Projects Manager I had met with the week before was walking across the open hall, saw me, and continued to the housing office. A minute later he walked across the hall to the councilor's office. We waited another twenty minutes or so before he came out. I approached the Councilor's office and found he was standing in the doorway on his phone. I told him I was here for the interview we had scheduled, but he said it was too late and he had to be going. I pressed him for just a few minutes of his time, and to my surprise he agreed.

Interview with the Councilor of Ward 30

The councilor's office was very empty, there were some metal filing cabinets, a pair of desks, some cushioned chairs and a lone phone lying next to some scattered pieces of paper. I had my friends Bongi and Philani from Ematinini come with me because they said his English was not great. I also wanted them to come for the opportunity to speak to him, since they normally have so few chances to do. I introduced myself to the Councilor and told him I was studying housing in South Africa, specifically transit camps in Durban, and I wanted to know his perspective on the issues of housing delivery and transit camps. Before I could even ask him any questions though he blurted out that housing allocation is not the councilor's job. He continued to lecture on allocations but I tried to backtrack so he was not immediately on the defensive.

He was elected in 2006 to councilor, but has been involved in politics for over thirty years, primarily as a self-described "freedom-fighter" (Interview, Councilor, Nov. 26, 2009). In terms of housing, his role is to monitor the delivery of homes, and make sure the right people are being moved. But he emphasized that he does not allocate the houses to people. He continued on, without my asking, that there are a lot of rumors going around that he sells houses, and that people try to give him a

bad name. The Councilor admitted that there is corruption and housing fraud within the municipality, but he proclaimed, "I'm innocent," and went on to blame people under him for the problems. He relayed to my Ematinini translators that he recently fired his entire ward committee because he believed they were selling homes. He said for corruption to stop he must do the allocations himself, and sellers and buyers of public homes "make me to be angry" and should be put in "cells" (Interview, Councilor, Nov. 26, 2009).

Aside from issues of corruption, the Councilor had similar views concerning housing provision as the members of the Planning Department. He focused on the need to move people into proper homes back in the areas they were living previously, emphasizing the need to move disabled and elderly people first. He used the word "exchange" to describe how transit camps should work (Interview, Councilor, Nov. 26, 2009). According to him people are moved into transit camps and the land they were formerly on is used to build new homes. Those same people are then moved back when the houses are complete, and the next section of people, usually ten to twenty families, are moved to the transit camp. This cycle continues until the entire area is filled with proper homes. The municipality's goal is to reduce the number of shacks, and they are trying to stop people from building more.

The councilor does not meet or consult the people in his ward before they are moved to transit camps. He believes other people are responsible for that. When I asked him if there were any meetings or negotiations with the shack-dwellers before relocating them, he said that there are no negotiations. He said the reason for the lack of consultation is due to resistance by people to move to transit camps because they know others have stayed there for long periods of time. He also commented that the municipal officials who do meet with the residents often move them the day after the eviction notice, but he thought that that length of time "is wrong", and that "at least three days is right" (Interview, Councilor, Nov. 26, 2009).

His thoughts on the problems with transit camps were realistic and generally consistent with the Planning Department. According to him, delays in housing delivery occur because there is not enough space on previously informally housed land to contain those same residents in bigger, formal homes. He agreed stays in

transit camps were too long, and that most people living in Ematinini from his ward have lived there for almost four years. But he made the point that transit camps, even Ematinini are well maintained, and that the municipality "provid[es] them with lovely toilets" (Interview, Councilor, Nov. 26, 2009). He believes transit camps are not so bad until the people living there destroy the property, giving the example of people taking apart toilet pipes to sell the metal. The Councilor, like the Housing Projects Manager, said that the plans for Ematinini are to knock it down and build proper homes there. And just like the Housing Projects Manager, he did not know where those residents would go while new homes are being built.

A point of differentiation in attitude (or maybe awareness) from the Planning Department by the Councilor is, as he said, the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government supports using transit camps to deal with shack-dwellers. He feels plenty of pressure from the province to deliver homes, and they agree that transit camps help to facilitate that. The only problem the province acknowledges, or at least pushes down on to the Councilor's shoulders, concerning transit camps, is the lack of electricity. He said there is a deadline to have electricity installed in all area transit camps by next year, however it has to be paid for by the residents, who will have to use pre-paid meters. When I asked him how poor people without jobs would pay for it he matter-of-factly replied, that if they do not have money then they will not get electricity until they buy some.

While meeting with the Councilor he told one of the Ematinini residents, Philani, that he would be moved into a home in C-section of Old Dunbar by sometime next week. He said there would be a total of thirteen residents from Ematinini moved there. Afterwards more informal shack-dwellers from the area would be moved into Ematinini. The residents who accompanied me, Bongi and Philani each have lived at Ematinini for six years, but because Bongi is from a different section, he did not qualify to be moved into one of the new houses. Our conversation finished with the issue of corruption again, and he reiterated his lack of involvement, and supported people going to the police and to court if they have evidence of perpetrators committing housing fraud.

Housing Fraud

When Ematinini residents mention corruption or housing fraud, what they mean is that the councilors, allocators, or whoever it may be, have the power to distribute new homes to people. They see these people abusing this power by gifting or selling those houses, for their own profit or to help friends or family. Ematinini residents largely agree that most of the homes are sold for about R20,000. Some residents, like Joshua Boysie Mdlovu and Zibonele Johannes Hlongwa say that they were allocated new homes, but people were already living in them when they went to move in. They believe these people occupying 'their homes' have bought them from members of the municipality, and they are very angry with the buyers and more so the sellers.

Ridgeview

From Ematinini across the N2 freeway lays Ridgeview, an area exclusively covered by RDP homes. This is where the supposed homes of Mr. Mdlovu and Mr. Hlongwa are located. With the company of Ematinini residents Bongi and Philani, I trekked down the steep, joint-grinding slope leaving Ematinini heading to the overpass, leading to Ridgeview. My plan was to try to speak with the people residing in homes that were allegedly the homes of Mr. Hlongwa and Mr. Mdlovu.

The first house we reached stood out from most of the other homes in the immediate area. The windows were replaced and looked much nicer than the neighboring homes. There was a satellite dish for DSTV. There were cinder blocks stacked in a circle on one side of the yard. A man was digging a ditch in the back of the yard, adding on to a perimeter-wall. There were three younger people sitting on the newly made wall, and we said hello and asked if they lived in the house and where their parents were. One of the boys lived there and said his father was inside. We were chatting with the boy and asked where his family lived before moving to Ridgeview, and he said Umlazi. We asked him to please get his father and he did so. While we waited for him to come out we went to speak with the man building the wall. He was actually a resident of Ematinini and was happy to have the temporary job. We asked him if he knew where the residents of the house were from. He told

us Umlazi. On a later day he would tell us that the man had bought his home for R32,000.

When the man came out of the house I introduced myself and he agreed to try and answer some of my questions. He said he was living in Cato Crest before being moved to Ridgeview. I asked which transit camp he was moved to before and he said he went straight from Cato Crest to Ridgeview. He also did not know who Gloria Borman is, who would have been his councilor at the time he was living at Cato Crest. He said he works in New Germany, and emphasized that it was at a *small* business. I wanted to see if he had any documents for owning the house, and he said that his wife was at the Department of Housing and she had all of the papers. With each question I asked he seemed to get more nervous, and after asking him about records for the house he had already lit a cigarette and said he had to leave for work. It was obvious to me that he was avoiding what I was trying to uncover, and the answers he gave me contradicted almost everything I had heard from Ematinini residents and the municipality, especially his statement that he moved directly from Cato Crest informal settlement to the Ridgeview home and did not have to spend any time in a transit camp.

The next house was further down the paved road, behind some other houses, and a bit hard to find from the main road. When we arrived there was a woman by the open door with her young son. We said hi and I introduced myself to her. She welcomed us into her house. It was not a luxurious place, but there was a living room and kitchen about the size of one transit camp room. There was a bathroom with a toilet and a shower, and there were two bedrooms, one had two twin beds inside. There was a television in an entertainment cabinet. There was a sink and a refrigerator, and everything worked. I asked her where she was living before moving to Ridgeview and she said that she and her family came from Ntuzuma Township, and that they had lived in a RDP house there. I asked her how she was able to move from one public low-cost home to another, and she said that they just applied for it. Her husband works as a chemist, and there was a certificate for a five-year achievement from there, framed and sitting on top of the entertainment cabinet.

Evidence of Fraud

As the Ward 30 Councilor said, people must go to the police if they have evidence of housing fraud, and those people should be put in prison. The problem with this is that evidence of housing fraud does not readily exist. Ematinini resident Philani once said in a demoralized tone that there is "no proper evidence" to bring to the police, we "just know" (Interview, Philani, Nov. 26, 2009). If there are municipal officials selling homes illegally, why would they make contracts with the buyers who also know they are doing something illegal? It is an exasperating situation for residents of transit camps who 'know' that homes are being sold and bought yet they have no hard evidence to win court cases. There is also fear among residents at Ematinini that trying to bring evidence to the police or attempting to begin a court case against housing fraud will result in their arrest or even death. This has caused Ematinini residents to lose hope in ever moving into a proper house and to have a better life.

Conclusions:

The transit camp Ematinini is just like the many transit camps in the nation of South Africa. They are designed to house shack-dwellers temporarily, while their previous shacks are destroyed and proper homes are built. Transit camps are built and serviced for people to stay for a matter of months. The problem is that people live there for years. Conditions are wretched. Rooms are small and cramped. The weather is a struggle to deal with. Toilets are inadequate and in short supply. Transportation is too expensive to travel to places residents used to frequent by foot. There is no electricity and no lights. The municipality acknowledges these facts, yet nothing has changed in the way transit camps are made and maintenanced.

The municipality by no means has an easy task finding suitable land for housing projects, for allocating homes to the right people, for working with limited budgets, cooperating with private contractors and other departments, and installing sewer-lines, water and electricity, but the way they implement their projects disregards the people they are meant to be assisting. The municipality has taken an undemocratic and authoritarian role in delivering houses. As the Housing Projects

Manager explained, the Planning Department tries to "minimize their interaction" with shack-dwellers (Interview, Project Manager, Nov. 23, 2009). The Councilor of Ward 30 thinks that negotiations with shack-dwellers, when moving them to transit camps, should not occur because they are resistant to go. This approach is completely top-down and arrogant. The municipality sees themselves as the only people able to help the poor, and thus they believe that the poor should have no say in how housing delivery and 'progress' is enacted.

Aside from the autocratic and domineering stance of the municipality in housing delivery, there are the notorious and widespread allegations made by transit camp residents of housing fraud and corruption. Based on my interviews with the Councilor, a Housing Planner and the Housing Projects Manager, the residents living in Ridgeview, and the transit camp residents of Ematinini, I believe corruption and housing fraud is not simply a blame-game, but something that genuinely exists and has a significant, detrimental impact on getting the right people into their proper houses.

The residents of Ematinini live in horrid conditions, and they hate living in the transit camp. Every single resident I spoke to would rather be living in his or her previous shack. People built informal shacks because of their location, and the shacks themselves were built to suit their family's specific needs. The 'homes' of Ematinini are all the same, monogamous tin boxes lined up in prison-like rows. They do not fit all of the people's belongings, let alone family members. The residents all moved into the transit camp optimistic that after a three-month stay they would be moved back to their previous locations into proper homes. Now they know that this decision to listen to the municipality was a mistake, and they are all afraid of and angry towards the councilors and the municipality, who they see as egotistical, profiteering, neglectful and corrupt.

The transit camp Ematinini was planned to be a temporary site for informal shack-dwellers to live while the Durban municipality built homes on informally settled land. Ematinini however has become somewhat of a permanent fixture in Durban, with many of the residents living there since the inception of the transit camp, six years ago. Their extended stays have proved to cause problems for

residents. They also feel that the municipality is filled with corrupt officials who will only allocate homes to people who can provide bribe money. Ematinini resident's lives are rife with struggle, frustration and hopelessness, and most have given up trying to do anything to get a home.

Recommendations:

In my opinion the municipality needs to have their people and their departments working more closely together, because currently there seems to be too much confusion and too much conflicting information, which inevitably leads to poor implementation. I would suggest the streamlining of multiple departments into one, more efficient housing implementation/planning department.

I believe an independent commission needs to be created to look into housing fraud specifically, to determine levels of corruption and players within the selling and buying of houses within the municipality.

I would recommend further studies into the municipal side of housing delivery, in terms of private contractor's roles, housing and greenfield project planning, and communication within the municipality and between city and shack-dwellers. I would also recommend a study of the interaction between the provincial government and the municipal level of government. And a follow up on the residents of Ematinini would be very insightful as well, to track where those people will eventually go and end up while the transit camp is replaced with proper homes.

Limitations of the Study:

The major limitation to my study was my inability to interview more members of the municipality, specifically housing allocators. It took time to formulate who precisely I would need to speak to within the municipality. The information I wanted evolved as I spoke to more people, and the number of people I wanted to interview grew as well. It was tedious to track them down, and hard to devise questions to obtain information that would not easily be released. I was limited in my ability to investigate corruption and housing fraud, simply because of the nature of the subject. I also went into some interviews, mainly with the

municipality, biased in favor of Ematinini residents and with the intention of uncovering some sort of corruption within the municipality, which may or may not have existed, or which those people may not have known anything about.

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Appendices:

A: Interview Questions: Municipal Government Agents

What is your job title?
What are your responsibilities for the municipality?
Do you deal with temporary/transitional housing? If so, then in what capacity?
When did transitional housing become part of the local government's practice? And why, what were the reasons? Is there a document on this? May I see it?
Is there any national, provincial and/or local legislation on Temporary Relocation Areas?
What is the local policy on transitional housing? What is the maximum time residents are supposed to live there?

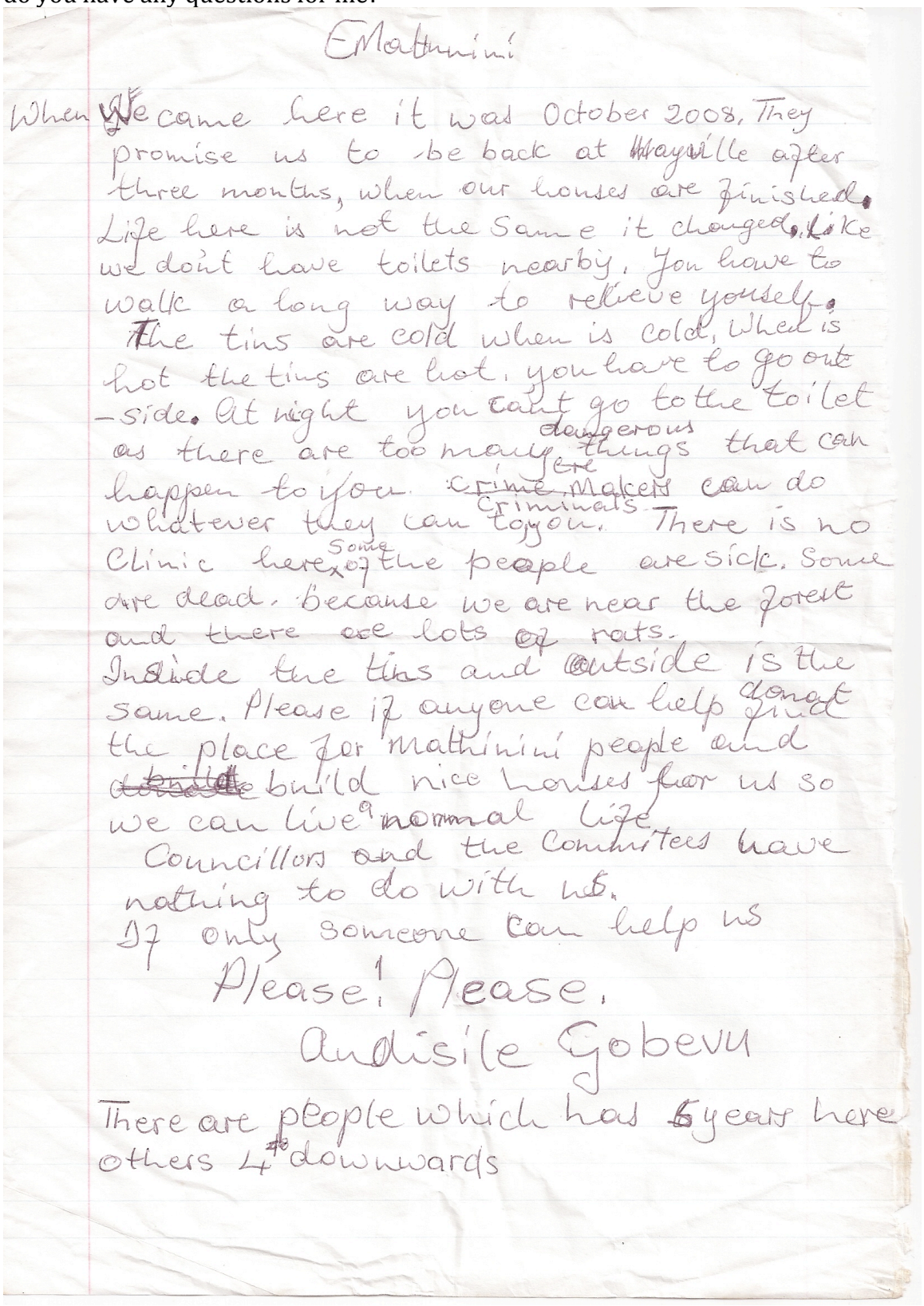
Are there any services, such as electricity, water, sewage, or refuse collection, the municipality is required to provide at the temporary housing areas? How are they implemented and maintained?
What type and amount of funding does the municipality receive for housing provision? Is there a certain amount/percentage of money allotted to transitional housing specifically? If so, who and how is this determined?
How are informal settlements and residents selected to be moved into formal housing? Do they always move into transitional housing first, why or why not?
How are Temporary Relocation Areas created? When and why are they individually formulated, and seen as needed? How are locations chosen?
Are there meetings/discussions with the people affected by the municipality's plans and actions? Before they are decided upon and undertaken or after?
How is the private sector involved? How does the municipality decide what private company will get the job? What is the general rule in payment plans and time given to complete a job?
Is there oversight on the construction? Please give details.
What is the policy on maintenance? Who goes and how often?
Are transitional homes reused? Does one family move out and another move in?
Is there a policy on how many times the homes can switch hands?
Is there a policy on when to deconstruct the tin homes?
What are some of the major complaints from residents of transitional tin-homes?
What does the municipality see as the biggest challenge for providing houses to the poor?
What is the biggest challenge in terms of transitional housing?
Is it likely that transitional housing will continue and grow in the future? Why or why not?
Where do you see implementation straying from policy? Is there any corruption in housing delivery? In what parts and who, the private contractors the provincial government or the municipality, etc.?
Do you have any other thoughts on the issues of housing, specifically on transit camps?
Is there anything else you would like to add? Or do you have any questions for me?

B: Interview Questions: Residents
What is it like living here?
How long have you lived here?
Where were you living before coming here?
Do you know who specifically told you to move? How did they get to move, forcefully, or did you want to go?
Were their eviction order papers you received before being moved?
Were there community meetings before the removal?
Were you told where you would be moving? By who?
Were you told where you would be moved after here?
Were you told how long you would be living in here? If so, for how long did they say?
Is there any leadership in this community? What is it like? Elections? When?

Are there any community meetings here? How often? Are they open to everyone?
What are some benefits and negatives of living so close to your neighbors? Is it noisy?
What is the community like here? Do people get along and work together, or do people not like each other? Why do you think it is like that?
Are there any hazards living here in the tin shacks? Are fires a problem?
What do you like about the shacks here and what do you dislike? Are these different from your previous home? If so, how?
What were some of the biggest problems that you had in your last home? Do you still have these here? And have they gotten better or worse? Why?
What are your short-term goals for your housing situation? Long-term?
Do you think the government moving people to temporary shacks is smart, or even needed for the government to provide new houses?

What sorts of services are provided here, electricity, water, and sanitation? If yes are there any problems with them? How do these services differ from your last home, did you even have them, or do you now not have them?
Who do you live with here? Did you live with them in your last home? If not why are you now living/or not living with them?
Do you have children, if yes do they attend school? Is it the same school they attended previously? How far away is there school from here? Is this further or closer to here than your last home?
Were you employed while in your last residence, or did you have any source of income? If so, do you still have the same job or level of income? If not, why has that changed?
How far are you from places you frequent, such as your job, food market, clothing store, and so on? Is this farther, or does it take more time, effort, or money to get to than your last home?
What sort of transportation do you use? Is it easy to access from here? Are there problems? Time restraints? How does your current transportation compare with your past neighborhood's?
Do you have any medical conditions that require you to visit a doctor, hospital or health clinic regularly? Or since living here have you ever had to go to the emergency room? Is it easier or harder to get there from here than your last home? Why?
What is your opinion on the level of policing here? Would you say the police come here frequently or rarely? Do they help or hinder you or the community in any ways?
Do you try to make your home here comfortable and nice? Is it worth the money and energy to do so? Do you have furniture, kitchen equipment and such? How did you acquire these things? Did you get them before you moved here, or since you have been here? If you got these things since moving here, what is your reasoning for getting them now, and not in your last home or waiting to get them when you move into your new home?
Are there any tensions in the community? Over what?

Is there anything else you would like to add, about living here, about yourself? Or do you have any questions for me?



EMathinini

When We came here it was October 2008, They promise us to be back at Hayville after three months, when our houses are finished. Life here is not the same it changed. Like we dont have toilets nearby. You have to walk a long way to relieve yoursely. The tins are cold when is cold, When is hot the tins are hot. you have to go out-side. At night you cant go to the toilet as there are too many dangerous things that can happen to you. Crime Makers Criminals can do whatever they can to you. There is no Clinic here Some of the people are sick. Some are dead. because we are near the forest and there are lots of rats.
Inside the tins and outside is the same. Please if anyone can help donat the place for Mathinini people and ~~build~~ build nice houses for us so we can live normal life.
Councillors and the Committees have nothing to do with us.
If only someone can help us
Please! Please.
Andisile Gobevu

There are people which has 5 years here others 4th downwards