The case of

Durban, South Africa

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I. INTRODUCTION: THE CITY

A. URBAN CONTEXT

1. National Overview

The national urbanisation, economic and social trends of South Africa in much of the previous century were structured by policies of racial discrimination. Prior to the early 1990s access to urban areas was restricted for the majority African population and only those regarded as necessary to the labour needs of the white owned economy were allowed access to urban areas and the associated amenities. These policies were rooted in the notion of Apartheid whereby so-called independent states were to be separately developed to justify minimal contact between different race groups. Based on ideologies of racial superiority, these policies resulted in severe poverty and deprivation for most of the African population and comparatively high living standards for the white population.

Urban areas were distinctive in that the poor (African) population came to be located, with few exceptions, furthest from city centres in state planned 'townships' and in unregulated and under-serviced settlements on "homeland" borders closest to the main urban areas. The viability of urban apartheid (for Whites) was secured in the short term by the exclusion of Africans and Asians from the centres of economic power; the minimisation of social and infrastructural expenditure for Africans and Asians; low wages and the creation of

a differentiated workforce based on relatively few Africans having permanent access to the urban economy and having to protect their interests against other Africans (Hindson et al, 1993). Eight years into the post-Apartheid era, urban areas by and large continue to reflect the pattern of racially homogenous and separate residential areas that are the product of the Apartheid years.

There were 40.58 million people in South Africa at the time of the last census in 1996[1] (RSA 2000, 3) and the national population growth rate is estimated at 1.9% (ibid). The 1996 Census indicates that 53.7 per cent of the population is urbanised (ibid). The HIV/Aids pandemic will be the most determining factor of demographic change in the medium term, affecting both the number of people who are economically active and contributing to a growing number of orphaned children. Nationally, the effective unemployment rate is nearly 40 per cent and 25 per cent of the working population earn less than R500 (US$50) per month[2] (ibid).

Since the 1990s and particularly after the first democratic elections in 1994, much effort has successfully been expended on untangling racially based bureaucracies and developing non-racial policies that can begin to redress past injustices. In 1994 the develop-

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ment vision for the country was captured in the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the mass-based African National Congress's manifesto for social and economic change. Despite this Programme now being politically downplayed, it remains an important touchstone for development efforts. The new government has implemented one of the most sustained housing programmes in the country's history. In the period April 1994 to March 2001 over 1,100,000 starter houses on sites with improved servicing have been completed or were under construction.

Recent critical reflection on post-Apartheid housing, urban development and other policies is, however, highlighting a number of weaknesses that reveal a failure to adequately address the spatial and socio-economic legacies of the past and sustain the positive impact of infrastructural interventions (cf. BESG 1999; Charlton 2001). At the same time housing backlogs are such that large concentrations of people continue to live in very poor, unserviced conditions. However, despite the predominance of these informal settlements in almost every urban area in South Africa and notwithstanding the National Housing Programme, there is no policy specifically designed to deal with the issues they raise (BESG 2000b, Huchzermayer 2001a). Given lower than

anticipated housing delivery rates, a formidable backlog in inadequate housing and population growth; a significant housing backlog remains.

2. History of Durban

Durban was established as a settlement in the mid 1800s with activities focused around the port. The formalisation of the settlement was ultimately secured through the suppression and containment of an extensive Zulu kingdom. The unwillingness of the indigenous Zulu population to engage in poorly paid wage labour and their ability to live off the land prompted the colonial British authorities to import Indian indentured labourers to work on the sugar farms. Once their period of indenture ended many of these labourers remained in the province and settled around Durban, contributing to the diversity of the city's current population.

The growth of Durban can be linked to the development of the sugar and food processing industry and its link in the transportation system to the burgeoning economy of the Witwatersrand. This was later supplemented by petro-chemical industries dependent on close proximity to the port facilities for importing and exporting products.

The current urban form is the result of successive attempts at racial segregation with racially homogenous residential areas separated by "buffer strips" often following natural features such as rivers or ravines. This form has been achieved through at times forcibly removing African and Indian residents from well-located areas such as Cato Manor, to more peripheral locations. The central, well connected areas (at the centre of the transport network) are occupied by the wealthy with the poorest segments of the population located furthest from amenities and economic opportunities.

The city has expanded its boundaries a number of times, largely driven by the regulatory impetus to gain control of burgeoning informal settlements abutting its borders and to protect and secure the economic privileges of the white population. Most recently in 2000 the new, post-Apartheid city borders were re-demarcated to recognise the functional interdependencies of the metropolitan economy and the need to redistribute resources from a relatively wealthy centre to a much poorer periphery. Following the re-demarcation of the municipality and to reflect its indigenous history, the metropolitan municipality has been renamed eThekwini Municipality - using the Zulu name for Durban.

While this report focuses on the city of Durban, most of the statistics relate to the broader metropolitan area which includes the central city area of Durban. For the purpose of this report we refer to the metropolitan area (defined by the eThekwini Municipal boundaries) as Durban.

3. Physical Characteristics

Durban is located on the eastern coast of South Africa and the municipality encompasses an area of 2,300km². This includes a 98km stretch of relatively narrow coastal plain that gives way to major river valleys that originate to the west of the city. The undulating nature of the topography has influenced the development of an urban form which follows a "T" shape as it spreads up and down the coastal plain and inland along the main transport route to the economic heartland of Johannesburg (see **Map 1**). The metropolitan area includes areas that are both urban and rural in character. Of the settled area, 18 per cent is occupied by formal households, 5 per cent by informal households and 10 per cent by peri-urban settlements. Agriculture occupies 22 per cent of the total area. In general the city is highly fragmented, sprawling and poorly integrated (eThekwini Municipality 2002a, 2 and eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 9). The city has a sub-tropical/temperate climate and vegetation.

4. Demographics

The current population of the eThekwini Municipal area is estimated at 3,026,974 (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 11). This population makes it the second biggest in South Africa after the Greater Johannesburg metropolitan area. The population breakdown for the eThekwini Municipality is indicated in the table below.

The gender breakdown of the population is 51 per cent female and 49 per cent male (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 23).

Durban has a very youthful age profile with 38 per cent of the population being under the age of 19 (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 11). For a selected range of informal settlements 38.6 per cent of the residents are likely to be under the age of 16 (Urban Strategy, nd) suggesting that dependency ratios are higher in informal settlements than other parts of the city. Average life expectancy for the city is 60 years (LTDF 2001, 33). This is expected to decline as the Aids epidemic peaks, although the impact of the pandemic on the Durban's socio-economy has not been calculated, statistically or in human terms (European Union 2002).

While the recent demarcation of the metropolitan boundaries increased the physical size of the city by 68%, this only increased the population of the city by approximately 9% (eThekwini Municipality 2002a), giving an indication of the predominantly rural nature of the newly incorporated areas. This dispersed under-serviced population introduces a new and additional set of service delivery challenges for the municipality.

It is not clear how much of the population growth is due to population growth within the city and how much to rates of urbanisation. Patterns of well-established circular migration have been documented (c.f. Cross 2000) and where urbanisation trends appear to be most notable is in the secondary towns in the Province, outside the Durban area

Table 1. The Population Breakdown for Durban

Population group	%
Black/African	63%
Asian	22%
Coloured	3%
White	11%

Source: eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 11

5. The Economy

The growth of manufacturing industries centred around the port has been the most important aspect of the Durban economy since the 1920s, and now accounts for about 30 per cent of the local economy (eThekwini Municipality 2002a). Tourism, concentrated along the coast, contributes approximately 24 per cent to the local economy, with finance and transport being the other major sectors (eThekwini Municipality 2002a, 2). The Durban economy accounts for approximately 60 per cent of the provincial Gross Geographic Product (Durban Metro Council, no date).

However, growth in manufacturing has averaged only about 1 per cent per annum over the last 10 years and much of this has been "jobless" growth characterised by capital intensive improvements. While Durban has a very diversified manufacturing base producing many different goods, few of these are considered sufficiently well developed to compete in global markets. Many of the important sub-sectors within manufacturing - such as textiles, clothing, printing - are proving to be uncompetitive in a more open economy. The sectors that are regarded as attractive and competitive - such as industrial chemicals, paper and paper products - are more capital intensive and will not necessarily create jobs (Monitor Group et al 2000).

The metro economy has been declining in recent years. In fact, Durban has shifted from being South Africa's fastest growing metropolitan area in the 1960s and 1970s, to its slowest growing between the late 1980s and the present (Casale et al, 1999). Prosperity has declined by -0.34 per cent over the last 10 years with average annual per capita incomes of R19,000 (US$ 1,900) in 2000[3].

Unemployment is estimated to be between 30-40 per cent and is increasing. Job creation in the formal sector is estimated at only 0.7 per cent over the past decade in the context of much faster population growth (Monitor Group et al, 2000). Formal job losses in the manufacturing sector are estimated at 10,000 per annum over the last 4 years against a proposed future optimal job creation target of 15,000 new jobs per year for the next 10 years (Monitor Group et al, 2000). informal sector employment is growing rapidly but small enterprises struggle to build a sustainable presence above subsistence levels (Monitor Group et al, 2000, 13).

Significant employers in the formal economy such as the clothing, food and textiles sectors are losing jobs the fastest. All three of these sectors had large numbers of women in the workforce and the loss of these formal jobs has been particularly hard-hitting for a large number of households. Noting that at the level of national statistics, the number of people involved in the clothing and textile industry has not declined markedly, Skinner and Valodia (2001) reveal that many of these workers have continued to do the same work in the informal economy but without the same level of legislative protection in working conditions and minimum wages.

6. Governance

Since 1996 there has been dramatic transformation of local government throughout the country from the fragmented and racially based systems of the Apartheid era to democratic systems focusing on issues of equity. In Durban, formal systems of government have amalgamated over 40 local authorities of various forms in the city firstly into a Metropolitan authority and 6 local substructure authorities, and then into one municipal institution with the formal establishment of the eThekwini Municipality in December 2000. For the first time there is now one democratically-elected council responsible for the overall planning and management of the metropolitan area. The Metropolitan Council's budget in 1999/2000 (that is, prior to the re-demarcation of boundaries) included R5.7 billion (US$570 million) for operating expenditure and R1.6 billion (US$ 160 million) for capital expenditure.

As well as this institutional re-organisation, there has been a new emphasis on the developmental role of local government. Local government has had to adapt from a traditionally regulative and administrative role to that of responding to the many challenges posed by the severe levels of deprivation and inequality within its area of jurisdiction.

Recognised forms of civic organisation forged in opposition to Apartheid have generally declined with only one or two notable civic organisations growing in their place. Ironically, new local government legislation has incorporated notions of participatory democracy to an extent not witnessed before, such as the new requirements for integrated development planning by the municipality to be based on community participation at the local level.

In addition to the institutional complexities within the local authority, relations with the Provincial Authority and National Government Departments have had to be developed where, in the context of housing delivery for example, policy is set at national level, funding dispersed at provincial level, but the physical implementation and responsibilities of delivery are felt at the local level (Charlton 2001). Political power relations also complicate relationships in that the African National Congress (ANC) controls the eThekwini Municipal Council and has a majority in National Government while the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) currently has the balance of power at the provincial level in KwaZulu-Natal.

Three major processes are currently underway to develop a framework for achieving better levels of governance in the Durban metropolitan area. The first is a Long Term Development Framework that focuses on a development vision and goals for the next twenty years. The second is an Integrated Development Planning process that seeks to achieve better co-ordination in the planning, budgeting and delivery of services and facilities within the metro area over the next five years, and the third is the organisational transformation process of the council itself which aims to better reflect its development and democratic priorities.

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II. Slums and Poverty

B. Overview

1. Types

The predominant form of inadequate housing in the city is to be found in the informal settlements that have developed on Apartheid "buffer strips", marginal land within established areas or land that formerly lay beyond the city boundaries under the jurisdiction of "independent" states. Informal dwellings represent about 75 per cent of the metropolitan gross housing backlog of 305,000 units (Makhatini et al, 2002, 2). The population living in informal areas is overwhelmingly African, and indeed nearly half the African population of the entire municipal area lives in informal dwellings.

Informal settlements are characterised by structures that are constructed, to varying degrees of permanence, with a variety of found materials including corrugated iron, plastic, timber and metal sheeting. In some cases more traditional wattle and daub construction is used. The floor is typically earth covered by linoleum or carpeting. Sanitation is provided by an informal pit toilet and water is supplied through communal taps, and occasionally natural sources such as rivers.

While there have at times in the past been extensive harassment of residents and physical destruction of informal dwellings, all informal dwellings that were in existence in Durban in 1996 were granted some status and security from arbitrary eviction by the local authority[4].

New settlement is however, resisted by the municipality and attempts are made, with varying degrees of success, to keep vacant land free from occupation.

Other notable forms of inadequate housing in the city are to be found in the formerly predominantly single-sex hostels developed to house and control (usually) male workers employed by institutions such the railways, municipality or large industrial employers. The inadequacy arises through gross over-crowding and a high intensity of use which, combined with a lack of maintenance, has led to rapid deterioration. Informal, and sometimes criminal, control over the allocation of accommodation has led to a breakdown in formal systems of revenue collection and little formal reinvestment.

While there is also overcrowding and inadequate housing within some of the formal residential areas as well, this report will concentrate on the informal settlements that have historically and still presently, constitute an important form of housing for the poor in the city.

2. Location

Informal settlements historically developed beyond the early City of Durban's boundaries and reflected the lack of adequate formal provision of housing by the Apartheid state, as well as the lack of administrative and legislative control of these areas by the former white administration of the city. Historically, informal settlements or shantytowns that emerged within the city boundary were removed. Removals were justified by authorities in terms of hygiene and civic improvement, but the distant sites for relocation and poor levels of

servicing provided exposed the real intentions of the planners and city administration. Later, informal settlements incorporated through the expansion of the city's boundaries, such as Cato Manor, were removed in the image of an Apartheid masterplan through the mechanism of the notorious Group Areas Act of 1958.

More recently informal settlements have developed within the city's boundaries on private or state land - either with or without the approval of the landowners. In some cases, private landowners have encouraged the informal settlement of their land in return for rent. In other cases, landowners have faced considerable difficulty in realising the value of their land once it had been informally settled.

3 . Age

While informal areas have emerged and been removed at various points in Durban's history, the current pattern of informal settlement is largely a product of the second half of the 20th century. Areas where African people historically had freehold title to land, such as Inanda[5], provided an opportunity for settlement in reasonable proximity to the city, albeit with little or no access to services. In addition, the creation in the 1960s and 70s of so-called independent states within South Africa resulted, in the case of Durban, in the "self-governing" state of KwaZulu abutting the city boundaries and including formal African residential areas such as KwaMashu, and the consequent growth of informal settlements along this edge (Smit 1997). Informal settlements grew as a result of a lack of housing alternatives - the state having stopped building housing for Africans in the mid-1970s except for a very small new class of elite African civil servants – as well as the devastating drought which occurred in the rural areas in the late 1970s and 1980s, which forced people to seek livelihoods in urban areas.

Newer settlements emerging in the late 1980s and early 1990s have tended to be smaller, more clandestine land invasions closer to the city centre - often within former Asian residential areas (Smit 1997) or on marginal land at risk from natural disasters such as floods or landslides. In many cases, these newer settlements were developed by households fleeing political violence.

Recent estimates have suggested that approximately 35 per cent of informal structures are located within pockets of formal settlements; 55 per cent are located on the periphery of formal settlements and 10 per cent are peri-urban in location (Smit 1997, 6).

4. Population Size and Characteristics

The proportion of the population living in informal settlements is estimated at 33 per cent of the total metropolitan population and approximately half of the total metropolitan African population. This translates to approximately 920,000 people (Makhatini et al, 2002).

The average gender breakdown for selected informal settlements[6] is 44 per cent male and 56 per cent female while female headed households make up 27.9 per cent of households (Urban Strategy, nd).

C. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF SLUMS

1. Definitions

The provincial Department of Housing defines slums as both "erstwhile formal settlements that have degenerated to such an extent that there exists a need to rehabilitate them to acceptable levels" as well as being "loosely used to refer to an informal settlement" (Department of Housing, KwaZulu-Natal, 2002). While there is no clear definitive statement of what an informal settlement is, factors taken into consideration when 'classifying' an area as such comprise an evaluation of the nature of the structure, land-ownership, tenure situation, size of structure, access to services and land use zoning (Makhatini et al, 2002).

Metropolitan and provincial definitions build on the definition of adequate housing provided in the National Housing Act 107 of 1997, namely: "permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements with access to potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply (RSA 1997, 4). The Act commits the government to ensuring that households and communities have access to this standard of housing on a progressive basis, a point which underscores the incremental nature of housing delivery by the state. Adequate housing is also defined as being part of "habitable, stable and sustainable public and private environments" which ensure that households have convenient access to economic opportunities and health, educational and social amenities as citizens (ibid).

2. Official Perspectives on Slums

Informal settlements are officially recognised as an inadequate form of housing and a programme aimed at ensuring that they are not part of the housing typology in 15 years time has been developed by the Metro Housing Unit of the eThekwini Municipality. This programme is intended to be implemented within the National Government's Housing Programme. The main component of the Housing Programme comprises a capital subsidy, recently increased to a maximum of R23,345 (US$2,300), for those households earning less than R1,500 (US$150) per month. This is used for the purchase of land, development of infrastructure and construction of housing. The recent increase in the

Informal Settlement on Marginal Land

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subsidy amount has been accompanied by a new additional compulsory contribution from the beneficiary of R2,479 (US$250), or a labour contribution if this is unaffordable. Despite the increases in the value of the subsidy, the impact of inflation has reduced the value to below its initial formulation in 1994 and there is growing concern over the exclusionary impact of requiring a household to save or contribute labour before they can access the subsidy.

The informal settlement programme of the eThekwini Municipality consists both of upgrading existing settlements, through the provision of services and tenure, and the development of new 'greenfield' land which will provide relocation opportunities for those having to move from settlements which are considered technically unviable for upgrading. The Provincial Housing Department, which administers funding for housing development, has established a 'Slums Clearance Programme', through which to make subsidy money available for informal settlement development. The aim of this programme is to "accelerate the clearance of informal settlements by providing formal houses to those residents, to rehabilitate informal settlements in appropriate situations by doing an in-situ upgrade, to upgrade slums to acceptable levels, and to resettles excess families to greenfields projects" (Department of Housing, KwaZulu-Natal, 2002).

D. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS

1. Popular Understandings of Slums

Although the term "slum" has recently regained new currency in some political circles, it is politically problematic in the South African context because successive waves of Apartheid social engineering have, over the years, been justified in terms of "slum upgrading".

The term slum tends to represent something that devalues the foothold that the poor have achieved in the urban economy and provides the justification for external or technocratic forms of intervention rather than socio-political solutions. In addition, the term slum in the South African context has the negative connotations of a bad area where unsociable activities occur, and residents of informal settlements work hard to change this image of their living environment (pers comm Z. Mkhize 30/06/02).

Informal settlements have tended to be popularly regarded as incubators of vice and disease, harbouring those too lazy to find work and other groups of people regarded as the undeserving poor. Evidence of this emerges in the extreme not-in-my-back-yard (NIMBY) reactions from adjacent communities. The notion of giving permanence to an informal settlement through upgrading is also resisted because of perceived negative impacts on the surrounding property values. The extent of this view and the conviction with which it is held results in resource draining negotiations with

surrounding communities on a project-by-project basis in the absence of greater tolerance and understanding of the issues[7] (Charlton 2001).

On the other hand, there is also some nostalgia in the affectionate recollections of the vibrancy, creative energy and diversity of life in settlements such as Cato Manor in the 1950s, which offered opportunities not found in the sterile and monotonous formal township areas to which residents were relocated in the 1960s.

per cent of Africans are satisfied compared with 75 per cent of the White population (Nicholson 2001,13).

In discussions with residents of informal settlements, each of them referred to the fact that they felt that friends and relatives from formal areas look down on those who live in informal areas. They also spoke of feeling self-conscious and embarrassed about inviting people from formal areas to visit them, because of the poor conditions in which they live - the mud, bad smells, cockroaches, rats, flies and rubbish in their areas (pers comm 30/05/02).

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Informal Dwelling Constructed from Wattle and Daub

Table 2. Levels of Satisfaction with Life

	Access/ availability	% satisfied with life
Housing	**Living in an informal house**	25%
	Living in a formal house	49%
Electricity	**No electricity**	17%
	Electricity connection	56%
Water	**Access to a street tap only**	22%
	Piped water with pressure pipes	50%
Refuse removal	**No refuse removal**	29%
	Refuse removal	45%

Source: Nicholson 2001, 13

2. Local Terms

The Zulu popular language term for an informal dwelling is umjondolo (plural imijondolos). One interpretation is that the term is derived from the labelling on the side of wooden panels sourced from discarded shipping containers used to transport John Deer tractors and first utilised by dock workers constructing informal dwellings in the 1970s.

In English the settlements are popularly known as "squatter settlements" and the residents as *"squatters"*. However, many of those working in the development arena would find these terms problematic and would rather use the terms *"informal settlement"*, or "shack settlement".

The term 'slum' is used to describe a crowded, unplanned area where unsociable activities occur and does not automatically describe an informal settlement (pers comm Z. Mkhize 30/05/02).

3. Slumdwellers' Own Perceptions

It is clear that those living in informal settlements are typically less satisfied with life than others. This is confirmed by the racial comparisons which show that 29

E. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

1. Definitions

The eThekwini Municipality uses a simple income level as one indicator of poverty in public documents. However, it is recognised that the measurement of poverty is more complex and working definitions within the Municipality include institutional factors, ownership of assets and levels of human capital. This expanded definition of poverty that informs the development vision therefore suggests that 690,000 people or nearly 23 per cent of the population need to be uplifted from extreme poverty and an additional 510,000 people or nearly 17 per cent need their living conditions to be improved (eThekwini Municipality 2002b). More than half of the females within the metropolitan area are classified as being poor (eThekwini Municipality, 2002a, 6).

The Gini co-efficient measuring inequality is 0.54 for Durban which is better than for South Africa as a whole (0.63). However, South Africa is recognised as having one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world. **Table 3** vividly demonstrates the inequalities, partic-

Table 3. The Share of Income for the Highest and Lowest Income Groups in Durban

Share of	Mean for Durban	African population in Durban	White population in Durban
Population which is poor	44%	67%	2%
Average annual income	R10,542 (US$1,050)	R4,570 (US$ 450)	R32,389 (US$ 3,240)

Source: Monitor Group et al, 2000, 7

ularly that on average the African population earns 1/7th of what the White population earns. In 1994 a human development index applied to the area found a range of conditions from .00 in the poorest informal settlements on the urban peripheries to .96 in the wealthiest suburbs in the urban core, measured on a scale of 0 to 1 (European Union 2002).

2. Changes to Definitions Over Time

Definitions of poverty in Durban have improved and advanced from simple understandings of minimum income levels or poverty datum lines to more complex composite understandings of poverty as well as understanding poverty dynamics.

In particular, Carter and May (2001) have developed a model using KwaZulu-Natal provincial data to devise ways to distinguish between those that are unlucky enough to (temporarily) be poor at the time of measurement and those that are structurally poor.

People can be poor at any point because they possess very few assets, or because financial and other constraints limit their ability to use assets effectively. The passing of time offers an opportunity to resolve both these problems, but time can also be a space of negative shocks. The structurally poor are those whose assets place them below an asset poverty line that can not ensure a future income stream above the minimum living standard at the time of measurement. Carter and May (2001) argue that up to 70 per cent of South Africa's poor may be in a structural poverty trap and lack the means to escape poverty over time. The policy interventions required for this group of dynamically poor households differ from those that are temporarily poor.

Components of this structural trap are that only 8 per cent of the adult population in Durban have tertiary education qualifications. The picture worsens when

Characteristics of Structures in Informal Settlements

disaggregated by race – 37 per cent of Africans have had no secondary schooling. Out of a total of 707,350 households in the metropolitan area, 144,600 households (20.4 per cent) do not have adequate water services and 212,000 (nearly 30 per cent) do not have adequate sanitation (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 6). 13 per cent of the population cannot afford or do not have access to public transport (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 9)

While the importance of service delivery and adequate housing is acknowledged it will take a much more comprehensive programme of support to informal settlement residents to assist them out of the structural poverty trap (BESG 2000b).

F. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

1. Popular Definitions of Poverty

The poor are generally regarded as being a drain on society with causal factors being identified as laziness, lack of intelligence or misplaced expenditure priorities. In some cases, the distinction is made between the deserving and undeserving poor. The deserving poor are defined as those that are either accidentally or temporarily poor and who are regarded as taking active steps to improve their situation. The undeserving poor are those who are regarded as choosing to be poor and therefore undeserving of societal support. The deserving poor generally qualify for a minimal level of state support. A significant advance has however, been achieved in the case of water provision where no distinction is made and all households qualify for 6 kilolitres of free water per month[8].

2. The Poor's Perception of Their Own Poverty

Xoliswa S from Vukani settlement estimates that ¾ of the people in her settlement get food by scavenging at the nearby municipal solid waste dump. She mentions never having enough food or clothing, and describes how she collects used cardboard to sell for recycling, in order to buy stock for her business selling potato crisps and sweets in the settlement. Some of her neighbours who do manage to get employment generally get short-term work related to the construction industry. Others respond to any building work that might be taking place nearby by cooking food to sell to workers.

Lebohang P from Quarry Road West talks about the dangers of people getting old or rotten food from the dump and then re-selling it at cheap prices to others in the settlement. He notes that most people in his area have a very uncertain source of income – sometimes receiving donations from neighbours in formal areas,

sometimes getting casual work. Some make a living within the settlement through tuck shops, shebeens and prostitution.

Mbuso M from Quarry Road West has a partner who manages to get temporary jobs 2 or 3 times a week. When they have saved enough money he buys beer and sells it to his neighbours (pers comm 30/05/02).

G. ORIGINS OF SLUMS IN DURBAN

1. Socio-Political Forces that have Formed and Removed Slums, by Type

There have been four predominant forces that have formed and removed informal settlements over the years, these being:
- land alienation
- migrant labour policies
- apartheid spatial planning
- violence

1.1 Land Alienation and Migrant Labour

The 1913 Land Act alienated Africans from most of the land, thereby paving the way for white/colonial agricultural exploitation and forcing Africans to seek access to wage employment for survival. As the migration of Africans to urban areas increased the authorities had to respond to their "dilemma" of keeping available a stable (yet migrant) workforce that was not present in the urban area longer than necessary - for example, at night. As the manufacturing industry in Durban grew significantly from the 1920s, the African population grew steadily from 18,000 in 1918 to 71,000 in 1936 - many of them women (Smit 1997, 3). The Durban authorities were unwilling to bear the costs of providing housing despite the passing of the Native Locations Act 1903 which provided for the creation of "African Locations" (Smit 1997). Their invidious solution was to create a municipal monopoly of both the manufacture and supply of African beer to fund native administration and a comprehensive African "housing" programme (Maylam 1985, 47 in Smit 1997, 3). The establishment and enforcement of this monopoly on beer production and distribution had particularly adverse effects on women who traditionally prepared and sold beer as a means of survival.

The permanency of African urbanisation came to be recognised as worker militancy rose, employment declined in periods of recession and the rural areas became more and more impoverished. This recognition led to tighter controls on African urbanisation and the establishment of the first formal township for African families. By the time the second formal township for Africans in Durban was opened in 1943 the majority of

Africans lived in informal settlements beyond the municipal boundaries, municipal or private hostels and domestic quarters in white houses, and the development of these formal residential areas made little contribution towards housing the African population (ibid).

1.2 Apartheid Spatial Planning

Durban municipal authorities were unable to keep pace with the burgeoning urbanisation needs of African households and massive informal settlements such as Cato Manor, developed in the 1930s just beyond the city's borders at the time. The coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948 and enactment of the Group Areas Act in 1958 provided National Government support to white municipal planners and the inner city was cleared of the majority of Africans, Asians and coloureds.

By extending the city boundaries, the municipality was able to gain control of major informal settlements and the inhabitants were forcibly relocated to formal dormitory locations on the periphery of the city[9]. The state funded housing programme drew to a close by the end of the 1970s.
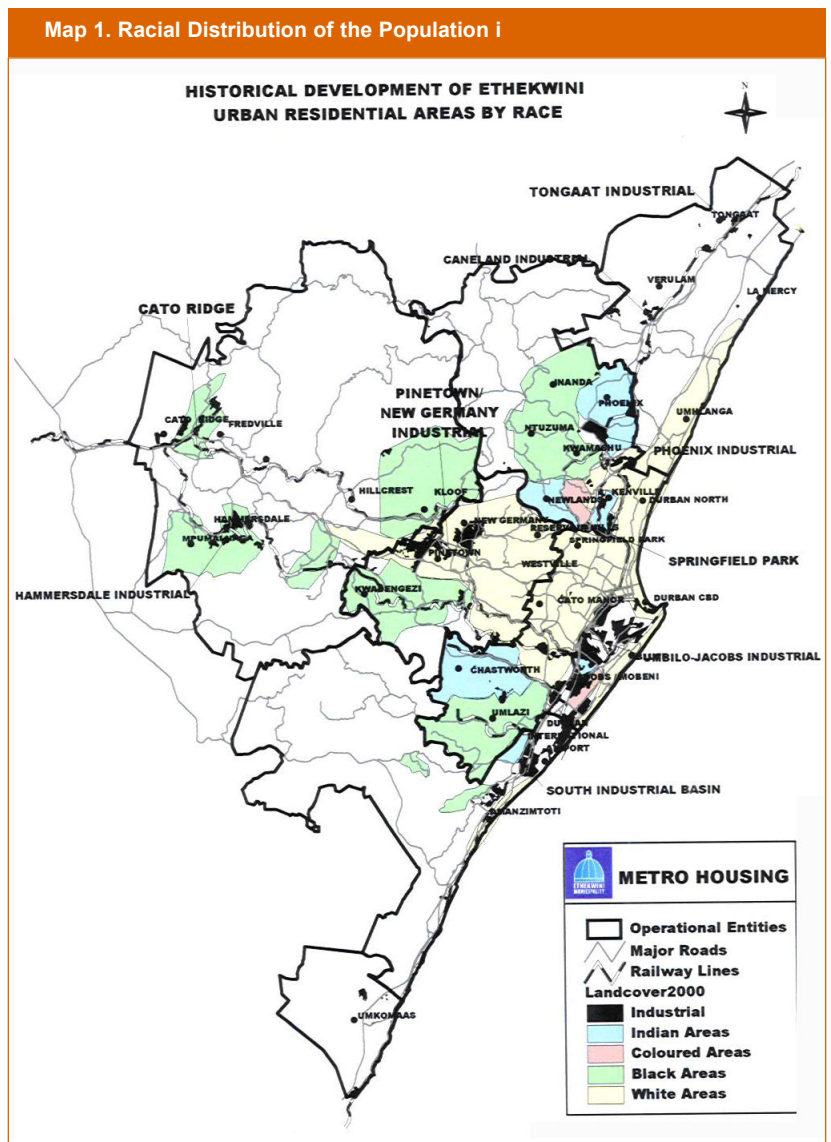
From 1960 to the early 1970s the South African State attempted to create nominally independent states where Africans would be forced to live. Around Durban the "self-governing" KwaZulu State was created and incorporated the formal dormitory locations of KwaMashu and Umlazi. As Smit (1997) notes, this provided settlement opportunities for those denied formal access to the city and as a result had the effect of reinforcing urban sprawl, increasing daily commuting expenses and increasing the costs of infrastructure provision. These settlements emerged much sooner than in other South African cities where the African urban settlements were located far further from city centres (Smit 1997). Given the hilly topography and administrative observance of KwaZulu's "independence" the growth of the population in informal settlements went largely unnoticed until the early 1980s. By the end of the 1980s over half of the African population were living in informal settlements and this situation has persisted to the present (Smit 1997).

1.3 Violence

Violence is a recurring theme in the formation and removal of informal settlements. In 1949, riots between Africans and Indians in informal settlements in Cato Manor provided a major justification for municipal intervention and ultimately, from 1960, the forced removal of the entire population to the dormitory locations on the periphery.

By the late 1970s, the Apartheid controls became too costly and began to disintegrate, making space for political struggles of competing and conflicting parties to capture and control and distribute resources within urban areas. This struggle for resources of the wider society and economy was deflected to within African areas and focused on a restricted set of resources only available to Africans because the differentials between African groups were promoted by the Apartheid State, rather than the differentials between Africans and the wider society.

Map 1. Racial Distribution of the Population i

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ETHEKWINI URBAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS BY RACE

METRO HOUSING

Operational Entities
Major Roads
Railway Lines
Landcover2000
Industrial
Indian Areas
Coloured Areas
Black Areas
White Areas

As these struggles developed the South African State systematically and ruthlessly detained the leadership of anti-apartheid organisations, promoting the spread of lawlessness and opening the way for the youth to become involved in the struggle for political control. Political allegiance became superimposed over social and material differences and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in conflict with the ANC-aligned mass democratic movement, consolidated its power base in informal settlements (Hindson et al, 1993). Violence that erupted in 1984 in the vast, sprawling settlement of Inanda was primarily directed against Indian landowners and traders, and marked the beginning of a struggle for control of the area, between self-appointed dictator warlords in informal settlements and youth and civic movements linked to the national struggle for democracy.

Between 1986 and 1992, 3,228 people died in violence in Durban and increasingly these deaths occurred in informal settlements as the political struggle focused against political opponents mobilising power bases in informal settlements (Hindson et al, 1993).

Table 4. Deaths from Political Violence in the Durban Functional Region, 1986 - 1992

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Formal African Settlements	100	88	186	227	289	151	246
Proportion of Total	70%	63%	50%	44%	36%	34%	30%
Informal African Settlements	43	51	188	288	515	290	566
Proportion of Total	30%	37%	50%	56%	64%	66%	70%
Grand Total	143	139	374	515	804	441	812

Source: A Louw, Project on Violence Statistics, Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal, in Hindson et al, 1993, 19

This level of violence had a profound effect on the intra-metropolitan rates of movement as people fled for their lives to escape death, often losing all their material possessions in the process. A large number of new settlements emerged in other parts of the city as a result of people fleeing violence or being left completely destitute.

2. The Social, Political and Economic Advantages of the Slums to the City

Understandings of informal settlements are officially couched in terms of offering no advantages to the city and a programme for their upgrading or removal exists. There is little official recognition that informal settlements contribute positively to the city. The costs to the city or the residents of informal settlements are identified as:

■ higher incidences of water and airborne diseases related to poor water supply and storage, inadequate ventilation, protection from damp and overcrowding (BESG 2000).

■ the negative impact on the investment image of the city - particularly as Durban is trying to capture an increasing share of the national and international tourism market

■ lower revenue and higher costs because greater levels of (albeit low) municipal services are provided with very little possibility of cost recovery

■ the time and cost associated with relocating residents from marginal informal settlement land (Charlton 2001, Makhatini et al, 2002)

■ the social, financial and psychological disruptions for the residents who are required to relocate from informal settlements on marginal land (Charlton 2001)

■ the costs associated with disaster mitigation and relief where informal settlements are located on marginal land (Makhatini et al, 2002)

■ the time involved in protracted land negotiations to realise the full development potential of the land (Smit 1997, Charlton 2001)

■ the difficulties involved in policing informal settlements because of their physical access constraints and their vulnerability to crime (BESG 2000)

■ the adverse effect on the productivity of the labour force due to exposure to disease and poor living conditions

■ low investment in the quality of dwellings due to lack of security of tenure (BESG 1999)

■ low investment in the quality of productive infrastructure for economic production such as electricity (Amis 1999)

■ lack of access to formal systems of credit and banking due to insecurity of tenure and no formal address (BESG 1999)

■ physical constraints to improving education because of poor home environments

■ the impact on the natural environment of the unplanned construction of pit toilets and poor refuse removal systems (Charlton 2001, BESG 1999)

■ access to houses and services are one of the most important forms of substantive democracy and exclusion from these relations with the state has adverse psycho-social effects on excluded households

■ women are known to suffer more under informal arrangements in terms of security of tenure and personal security with adverse personal and household effects (BESG 2000).

Given the lack of official recognition of the positive role informal settlements play in the city, there is very little data available on this issue. Where possible we have drawn on other studies in similar environments to suggest how informal settlements could be contributing to the city of Durban.

The informal settlements contribute to the city in the following ways:

- the immediate cost of housing is borne entirely by the household and not by the state - again freeing up budget resources

- there has always been a strong identification between informal settlements and the patronage of political parties which might suggest that:
  - political parties need informal settlements more than the other way round, for constituency purposes (Cross 2000, Hindson et al, 1993)
  - formal, explicit linkages to political parities may be a proxy for more substantive forms of citizenship

H. Data

Census Data

1. Recent Data

The data provided below indicate the gaps in service provision[10]. The major backlogs coincide spatially with existing informal settlements and peri-urban areas (eThekwini Municipality 2002b). **Table 5** indicates how race, poverty and lack of services coincide with informal settlements.

All statistics in this section are drawn from eThekwini Municipality (2002, 17) unless otherwise stated. While these statistics have been published officially by the Municipality, they should be regarded as indicative given the difficulties of recording information on informal settlements. The statistics show that the Municipality has managed to make substantial improvements to the quality of life of many of the city's citizens. However, those that lack access to the services listed below typically have very low levels of access and this is compounded by a complete lack of access to services across the spectrum.

a. Permanent Structures by Type (per cent of total in slum area)

The official acceptable minimum of a permanent structure is defined as a starter house of 27-30m² on a serviced site with secure tenure and access to credit. The number of households in Durban below this minimum level is 175,000 out of a total of 707,350 households or 24.7 per cent. This equates approximately to 33 per cent of the population indicating slightly higher household sizes in informal settlements than the average.

b. Access to Water (% of households served in slum area)

The official acceptable minimum level of water delivery is defined as every household having access to 200 litres per day of potable water. The number of households below this minimum level is 144,600 or 20.4 per cent.

c. Access to Sanitation (% of households in slum with sewerage and/or solid waste collection)
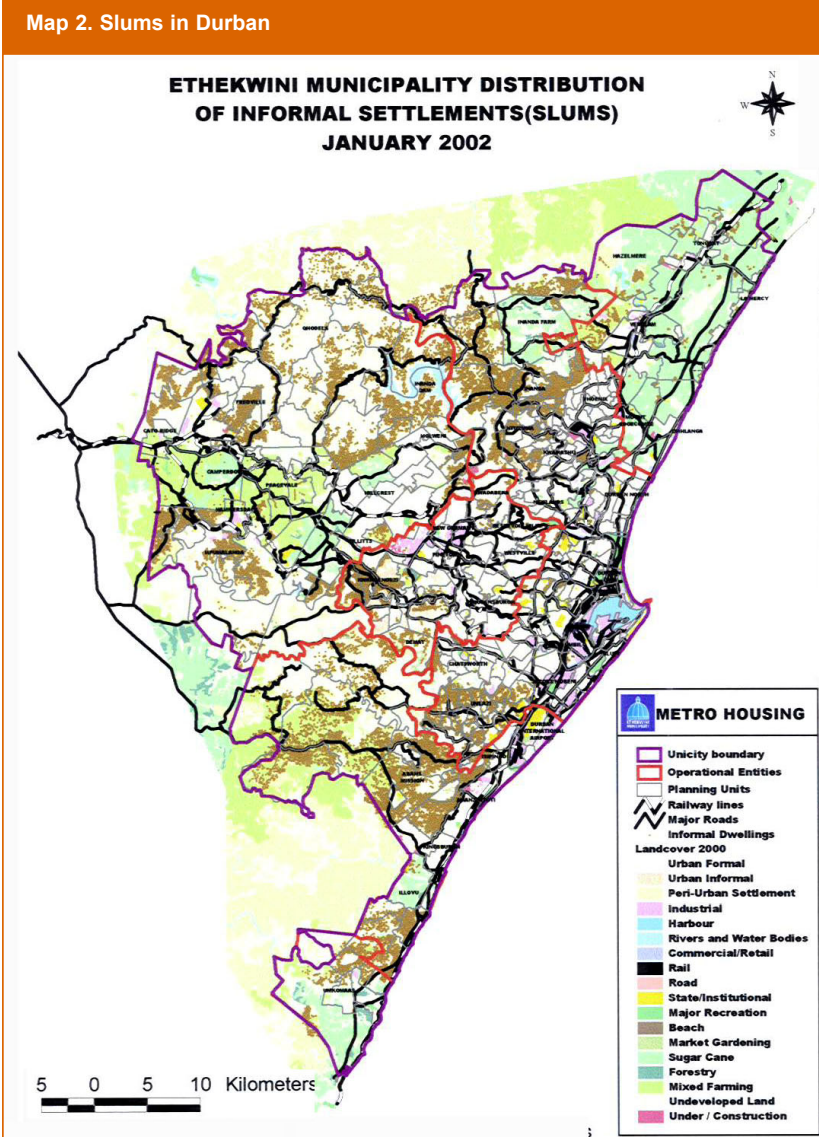
The official acceptable minimum

Map 2. Slums in Durban

ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS(SLUMS) JANUARY 2002

Table 5. Breakdown of Levels of Housing and Services by Population

Segment	Formal Housing				Informal Housing	
	High services High income	Formal housing High services	Formal Housing Medium services	Formal Housing Low services	Informal housing Medium services	Informal housing Low services
Households %	5	55	6	10	6	18
	Pop. 108,317	Pop. 1,505,261	Pop. 141,154	Pop. 253,309	Pop. 174,193	Pop. 546,441
	H/holds 34,009	H/holds 358,341	H/holds 35,045	H/holds 64,351	H/holds 37,959	H/holds 117,331
	African 13%	African 43%	African 89%	African 98.5%	African 95.4%	African 99%
	Coloured 2%	Coloured 5%	Coloured 1%	Coloured 0.3%	Coloured 0.3%	Coloured 0.2%
	Asian 8%	Asian 37%	Asian 8%	Asian 1.1%	Asian 2.6%	Asian 0.7%
	White 77%	White 15%	White 2%	White 0.1%	White 1.7%	White 0.1%

Source: StatsSA Census 1996 in eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 16

level of sanitation provision is defined as a Ventilated Improved Pit Latrine where on-site circumstances are suitable, otherwise alternative on-site disposal systems up to full waterborne sanitation. The number of households below this minimum level is 212,000 or nearly 30 per cent.

d. Access to Electricity (% of households with home service in slum area)

The official acceptable minimum level of energy provision is defined as a 40 ampere connection available on application to all households within 6 months of civil infrastructure being provided. Street lighting is provided to all sites that are eligible for connection. The number of households that are below the minimum level is 130,000 or 18.4 per cent.

e. Transport and Delivery (% of streets/paths passable by small truck)

The official acceptable minimum level in dense areas is vehicular access for emergency vehicles to within 200m of each dwelling unit and all-weather pedestrian access to each site. In less dense areas the minimum is relaxed to vehicular routes to within 1km of each household and 2km for public transport. 165,000 households are below this minimum level or 23.3 per cent.

f. Access to Health Care (residents per primary health point)

The official acceptable minimum level of access to health care is a threshold of 15 minutes public transport to a clinic. Initial investigations have shown that 62 per cent of the population earning under R3,500 (US$350) per month have this level of access. However, only 36 per cent of the physical area of the Metro is served.

g. Access to Education (primary schools per 1,000 school aged children within slum area; average school fees per student)

No data currently available.

h. Crime Rates (homicides, rape, assault)

Crime statistics are not kept on the same geographical areas as other data such as the Census or Quality of Life surveys making it difficult to produce meaningful comparisons with other data sets. However it is acknowledged that, "the vast majority who live in townships or informal settlements, are far more likely to be the victims of violent crimes than people living elsewhere" (Durban Metro Council 1999, 1).

Figure 1, below, shows crime statistics for the Durban area as a whole and should be used for indicative purposes only.

The South African National Victims of Crime Survey (StatsSA, 1998) shows that more than 40 per cent of all burglaries, more than 60 per cent of all livestock theft and more than 70 per cent of all personal theft is not reported. At a local level in informal settlements where there is little faith in the police services, these figures are likely to be higher (c.f. Meth 2001).

While theft of property is a frequent and damaging

Figure 1. Total Crimes for Selected Categories in the Durban North and South Police Areas, 1994-2001
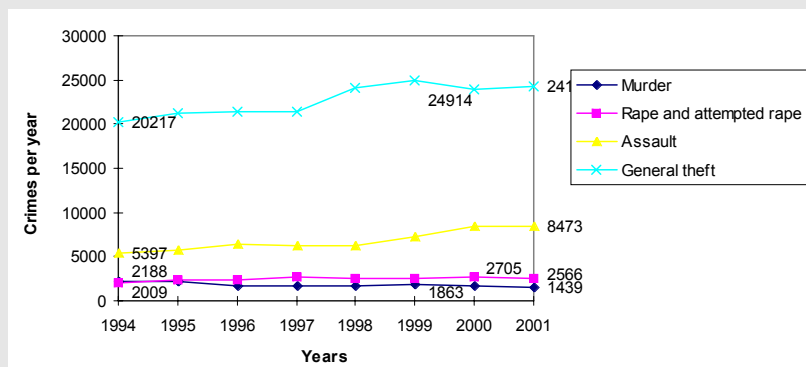
Source: South African Police Services (2001a, 2001b)

occurrence, levels of assault in one large informal settlement have tended to be lower than national averages suggesting that it may be a relatively safer place to live (Leggett 2000). These perceptions change at night however, when 80 per cent of the participants in the survey felt either unsafe or very unsafe (ibid). This highlights the importance of street lighting in improving the quality of life of informal settlement residents.

i. Under Five Mortality Rates

Unable to source data.

j. Density (population of slum divided by area of slum in km2)

The population density for the metropolitan area as a whole, averaged across both urban and rural areas, is calculated at 1202 persons per km². Densities in informal settlements can be as high as 37 000 people per km² (Urban Strategy, nd). The average density for a selected range of informal settlements is calculated as 7 000 people per km² (Urban Strategy, nd).

k. Secure Tenure (% of households with secure tenure)

Security of tenure is calculated from the general association of tenure with dwelling type and geographical location in the metropolitan area. From the combination of these two factors it can estimated that 75 per cent of households live in formal areas (Nicholson 2001, 7) and therefore have full security of tenure. Of the remaining 25 per cent, approximately 20 per cent (41,000 dwellings) have a level of security of tenure derived from tribal land allocation systems and the remainder (150,000 – 195,000 dwellings) have little or no security of tenure (Makhatini et al, 2002, 2).

l. Solid Waste

The official acceptable minimum level is defined as areas that have adequate road access have all domestically generated waste collected once per week and disposed of at permitted landfill sites. Areas without adequate road access or with very low densities should have appropriate on-site disposal methods. There are 46,604 households below this minimum level or 7 per cent.

I. POVERTY DATA

Census Data

1. Recent Census Data

It is estimated that 23 per cent of the population suffers from extreme poverty (measured as per capita earning less than R300 (US$30) per month) and that approximately 40 per cent suffer from poverty (defined as earning less than R410 (US$ 40) per capita per month) (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 19)

2. Poverty Data Disaggregated

Poverty is concentrated in the African population with 67 per cent measured as either suffering from poverty or extreme poverty. For the Asian and Coloured populations this figure is 20 per cent and for the White population it is 2 per cent. Poverty is concentrated amongst women with more than half the women in Durban classified as being poor (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 19).

III. Slums: The People

J. WHO LIVES IN SLUMS

1. Short Histories

The following extract is a testimony recorded at a session called Speak Out on Access to Land convened by a network of informal settlements in the Durban Metropolitan Area and the Built Environment Support Group in 2000:

Euriam K, Simplace.

I was born in Mzimkulu and came to Durban in 1963 to seek work. I found work in Mayville at R3 per month. When my employer moved to Umbilo, I could not afford to go there so I had to look for another job. My next job paid R4 per month.

My children had stayed with my mother because the blackjacks would not let domestic workers keep their families with them. When my mother died I had to find another place to live so that I could keep my children with me. I went to Bantu Affairs Office at Oxford Road to request a special permit to stay with my family. I was granted a 3 months permit for my family to stay with me, by Uzinti, the white official. That period gave me an opportunity to look for an alternative place to stay. I got it at Inanda, Amaoti. I started renting a house in 1968 and was finally allocated land to build.

In 1983 there was the flood called Demoina. In 1987 political violence started and forced me to flee. I built a shack at Lakzoo. But the police told me I could not settle there because the land belonged to someone else. Some people were relocated to ekuKhanyeni but I refused. In 1990 me and my friends went to clear a bush area in Effingham currently known as Simplace.

In 1991, the police came and put numbers on the houses in Simplace. These were written in black. They said we were not needed there. The next year they came back and wrote the numbers in red.

I found a man at the office who tried to help. He said we should go to Dassenhoek but we did not like that place. My employer also tried to help and went to the office and talked to lawyers.

The family stayed together there but were told they could only have one house and had to accept others coming to live there. They said the area was to be developed and a committee was formed. At first there was no water. We went to the park to get water but then the corporation closed the taps. We

Living Conditions in Informal Settlements

then went to the neighbours. We requested a tap but we had to pay 10 cents a litre for 25l water. There were also no toilets.

It was then found that the land did have owners. First the owner was thought to be the NPA (Provincial Administration). Now it is found to be Durban Metro. The land originally belonged to an Indian man. He has said that houses can be built there. It is not clear why houses are not being built. The community has been waiting a long time, but we see only suffering. The authorities do not come to us. We only get messages through the committee.

When the land issue was resolved, they did start building small toilets. However, these are too close to the shacks and the whole area is filthy. The children suffer from tuberculosis, child sores and dysentery. There is no access for ambulances.

I, myself suffer from diabetes. I have to look after my grandchildren because their mother has died. She had dysentery and coughed as if she had TB. One of my grandchildren has died of TB. Both me and my 20 year old son have had TB but were treated and cured.

The community asked the corporation for plastics to put refuse in and were told where to leave the bags on a Thursday.

There is no electricity. People use candles which can start shack fires. There is no access for fire engines.

People are not building with brick because we are told the area is to be developed. There is nothing nice there. There is no space to plant in front of the houses. But it is close to Durban and to work and the children can go to Indian schools where there is no violence.

I would be happy if I could have a house, if there were electricity so people did not have to use candles, if there were roads and transport and emergency vehicles could gain access to the area (BESG 2000).

Research conducted in informal settlements for this report reveals similar themes. Xoliswa S moved from Clermont to the Clare Estate area of Durban because there were better work opportunities there and it was better not to have to pay bus fare to get there. She was part of the original group of people that cleared the land of rubbish and old cars in 1992, and started the Vukani settlement. She is always worried about the threat of fire in the settlement (pers comm 30/05/02).

Lebohang P moved to Quarry Road West in January 1996, after losing his place to stay in nearby Clare Estate when he was dismissed from work for his activities as an ANC supporter. He had friends in informal settlements, and had comrades in Quarry Road. He got a place to rent in the settlement. He paid R50 per month for 18 months before he was then allocated a place to build his own shack in the settlement (pers comm 30/05/02).

Bukiwe S moved in 1998 from the Eastern Cape to Durban to get work, because she had relatives there. She lived with her brother but when he got married she built a shack at Lusaka settlement, where there were others from the Eastern Cape also living (pers comm 30/05/02).

2. Aspirations

The aspirations of residents of informal settlements are modest and realistic.

Xoliswa S aims to raise her children and ensure that they are healthy and educated so that they can get good jobs and have a better life in the future than she has. She wants her children to study at Technikon or University and to have careers. She hopes not to be in

Vukani settlement for more than a further 2 years, and is looking forward to relocating to the new area which the government subsidies will develop for them as part of the Slums Clearance programme.

Lebohang P wants to move to the new housing development so that he can bring his 3 kids (who are currently staying with various relatives around the province) to live with him there. He intends to set up a business using his skills to repair radios, TVs and other electronic equipment. He wants to educate himself and his kids further.

Mbuso M is currently unemployed but would like to get a job with the municipality – working on the roads or something similar.

Bukiswe S wants to move to the new housing development as she thinks she will get a better job in that area. She is looking forward to having better services for her and her two children (pers comm 30/05/02)

K. HOUSEHOLD INDICATORS

Very little data is available specifically for women-headed households, but it will be included where possible.

1. Household Types

Of all household heads in the EMA, 52 per cent are unemployed, 32 per cent are women and 24 per cent are pensioners (Nicholson 2001, 6).

2. Household Size

Of all households in the metropolitan area 57 per cent consist of four or fewer people (Nicholson 2001, 7).

3. Literacy Rates

16 per cent of adults in the EMA are classified as functionally illiterate (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 20)

4. Length of household residency in slum

The 2001 Quality of Life survey reveals that "over half of the household heads with informal dwellings have lived in their homes for between five and ten years and a quarter have lived in them for over eleven years" (Nicholson 2001, 16).

In **Table 6**, the Quality of Life survey also indicates the level of movement within the metropolitan area.

L. COSTS OF LIVING IN SLUMS

1. Commuting to Work

The average home-to-work travel time is 48 minutes with an average trip length of 20km for the population as a whole. It is calculated that 13 per cent of the population (largely in informal settlements) cannot afford or do not have access to public transport (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 9). The average obscures vast differences in commuting times considering the high-speed motorways connecting predominantly white areas to the inner city and high levels of vehicle ownership amongst this group, and the poorly served African areas that are reliant on public transport, taxis and a limited rail service.

Observation suggests that walking is the main mode of transport for a significant proportion of residents in informal settlements located in the inner city. Female residents of an inner city informal settlement have been recorded as walking an additional 45 minutes to save R0.20 (US$0.02) each way. A return trip from a peripheral informal settlement (approx. 30 km from the inner city) to the inner city can cost as much as R20 (US$2) (BESG 1999).

Surveys from the South African Homeless People's Federation indicate that the return trip to town from Chris Hani informal settlement in Lamontville (a centrally located area) is R11 (US$1) bus fare and R7 (US$0.7) taxi fare.

2. Price of Water and Other Services

South Africa has a national water policy that provides the first 6 kilolitres per month free to every household. This is based on an estimation of a minimum requirement of 25 litres per person per day for a household of 8. The block rising tariff establishes a cross subsidy mechanism from wealthier households to poorer households[11]. This policy was pioneered in Durban by the municipal water authority - eThekwini Water Services.

The municipal water authority has also pioneered an innovative range of water supply options and the low

Table 6. Percentage of People Per Race Group Who Have Moved at Least Once Within the Metropolitan Area in their Life

Group	%
Indian	79%
Coloured	77%
White	56%
African	52%

Source: Nicholson 2001, 49

pressure, 200 litre ground tank system has enabled the delivery of water to a wide range of informal settlements previously without a potable water supply (Palmer Development Group 2000, 4). Despite these innovations, 144,600 households or 20.4 per cent (mostly in informal settlements and peri-urban settlements) do not have access to the minimum level of water provision (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 17). Of this total, 63,100 households have no service and 81,500 households have access to a standpipe, representing 8.9 per cent and 11.5 per cent of households respectively.

The most determining obstacle to the provision of a basic water supply is land ownership. The municipal water authority is unable to provide a household connection to dwellings in informal settlements without authorisation from the landowner.

It is acknowledged by the municipal water authority that unless the water supply to a group of households (such as an informal settlement accessing a communal standpipe) is indexed to the number of households, the perverse situation arises where a policy that is intended to be pro-poor, actually discriminates against the very poorest. This is because it is very expensive to regulate the distribution of water to each household from a single point and their collective consumption pushes the consumption for a single connection into the highest tariff charge. Solutions to this problem are currently being designed.

Until these problems are resolved, residents of informal settlements may be paying between 6,000 per cent and 12,000 per cent more for 6 kl of water per month than households with a basic household connection obtaining 6 kl per month[12]. In addition, households in informal settlements face a higher exposure to waterborne diseases arising from the rapid deterioration in the quality of water that occurs from the personal storage of water.

Differences in household size also present problems for providing adequate levels of potable water. The average household size in a selected range of informal settlements is estimated at 4.9 people per dwelling (Urban Strategy, nd). This suggests that most households receive more than 25 litres per capita per day but presents difficulties for households larger than 8 people or where one household may be renting out rooms to other undeclared households.

The current provision of water also presents long term costs to the households in informal settlements and the city as a whole (Bond 2001). Durban is economically dysfunctional because of the racially segregated nature of the urban form. Apartheid also ensured that different racial groups were provided with differing standards of municipal services. Given that there is a high correlation between race and poverty, the stipulation that water (and sanitation) should be provided on an affordability basis is perpetuating racially based forms of segregation. It is prohibitively expensive to upgrade water and

sanitation infrastructure on an incremental basis. The end result is that poorer households are collectively trapped in areas of low service provision (Marx 2002).

Fuel

A major study of domestic energy consumption by households in low-income settlements distinguished between strategic and involuntary multiple fuel use and fuel substitution (Jones et al, 1998). Whereas strategic multiple fuel use occurs by choice and is informed by a range of factors involuntary multiple fuel use occurs in the absence of choice. In informal settlements, fuel sources range from electricity to paraffin stoves and lamps to wood fires and to candles for illumination (Tshikini 1999). Liquid Petroleum Gas is rarely used, despite knowledge of its efficiency.

Interestingly, many newly electrified households adopted a multiple fuel use strategy and in many cases this strategy was not only informed by a concern with minimising expenditure. It became evident that different fuels are associated with different levels of social status and "transitional fuels" are important in facilitating the development of social relationships through being divisible and shareable. In the informal settlements most households were engaged in involuntary multiple fuel use and fuel substitution strategies (Jones et al, 1998).

Sanitation

While most informal settlements have informal pit latrines constructed by residents, which are not serviced or funded by the municipality, there are some settlements where sanitation is provided by the municipality in the form of chemical toilets. This is in instances where there is a particular health hazard, or technical situation which has prompted the provision. The city's Housing Department spends in the region of R730,000 (US$73,000) per annum on chemical toilets in informal settlements, which cost R68 (US$/) each to service, the frequency of which depends on the number of families using them (Paul Babu-Dayal, pers comm. 28/06/02).

3. Rental Rates

The rental housing market in informal settlements is very poorly understood with small, incomparable surveys producing anecdotal evidence. More systematic research into rental rates in Durban is being pioneered by the Built Environment Support Group (2001). The evidence that does exist suggests that rental rates vary from R0 to approximately R100 (US$10) per month per dwelling.

4. Availability of Housing Finance

Smit (1997, 6) estimates that only 20-25 per cent of the African households in the metropolitan area have a sufficient income to be considered for a formal loan to

complement the Capital Subsidy provided by National Government. The availability of housing finance is critical considering South Africa's housing policy is based on the concept of incremental improvements.

Much of the low-income finance available in South Africa through the conventional banking institutions is secured either through pension or provident fund guarantees, or through conventional mortgages. Many institutions require repayments through payroll deductions. This implies that the lender has to be formally employed, or have freehold title over property in a location considered acceptable to the banks. Many potential borrowers are excluded by these, and other criteria, and have little alternative but to turn to the various companies offering micro-loans at punitive interest rates, or unregulated loan-sharks.

However, there are some financial institutions which offer various types of small loan products which are secured through other means – such as a consistent record of savings and a deposit from the borrower. These are aimed specifically at the low-income market, which is considered to have huge borrowing potential. The National Government has committed itself to supporting these initiatives, through for instance, risk-sharing with the institution, and consumer education. In the Cato Manor area for example, 3 companies are currently offering home loans of between R1,500 and R7,000 (US$150-700) in size, with repayments structured over 12 months, 24 months or 36 months. Qualifying criteria include that the lender must earn below R3,500 (US$350) per month, have a proven ability to save every month, be able to pay a 10% deposit, and have participated in home ownership education. (Izwi, April 2002).

This initiative is supported by the Cato Manor Development Association and the national government's Home Loan Guarantee Company, with funding supplied by the European Union.

5. Health Problems

National analyses of health show that diseases related to poverty are significant causes of death. In 1990, 20.8 per cent of deaths of children less than 5 years were attributed to diarrhoea and 9.4 per cent to respiratory infection (RSA 2000, 4). These diseases are commonly associated with the low quality environment and low quality of life associated with informal settlements.

The Environmental Health section of Durban's Health Department notes that some of the main problems and risks affecting people in informal settlements include diarrhoeal diseases, outbreaks of waterborne diseases such as cholera and dysentery, worms and exposure to animals with rabies (Kevin Bennett, pers comm. 25/06/02).

6. Discrimination

Residents of informal settlements report that they feel looked down upon by formal township residents and are generally not treated with respect. Residents felt that when there was a threat such as a fire or flood the authorities were slow to respond. Further evidence of this was lack of respect was the occurrence of police raiding the informal settlement and confiscating goods that they didn't think could legitimately belong to the residents. "The police don't charge people - they just take things" stated one resident (pers comm 30/05/02).

In the absence of formal institutional support, shack-lords, local strongmen and community leaders also administer their own form of justice in the area and impose punishment on people regarded as criminals.

7. Victimisation and Insecurity

There are extremely high levels of both civil and domestic violent crime in South Africa. Both the experience and fear of this violent crime is highly gendered with women in particular facing significant constraints on their daily lives (Meth 2001). Mapping the fear of crime against a range of socio-economic variables, Meth (2001) points out that females in informal settlements are likely to be the most vulnerable to crime and the fear of crime.

All interviewees from informal settlements mentioned the problem of crime in their settlements, and the fact that they don't even trust their neighbours. Bukiwe S mentioned the difficulty of reporting crime as this makes her vulnerable to revenge from people in the settlement. Crime and anti-social behaviour such as swearing related to alcohol abuse was frequently mentioned. Xoliswa S mentioned her fears in leaving her 13 year old daughter at home and rather takes her with her on Saturdays when she goes collecting cardboard. Mbuso M told of the rape of a 4 year old that happened in his area. He also noted that criminals from outside his settlement rob nearby golfers of their mobile phones, watches and bags, and then use the settlement to hide themselves and their things (pers comm 30/05/02).

Violent crime statistics for 1999 for Durban are as follows: 82.5 incidents of murder, 87 incidents of attempted murder & 397.1 incidents of robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100,000 of the population (LTDF 2001, 38)

8. Psychological Trauma

High levels of psychological trauma have been reported in informal settlements in Durban (pers comm P Meth (01/06/02). Residents of informal settlements, particularly women, report little satisfaction with police in resolving crime. Assault and rape are frequently perpetrated by people known to the victim resulting in total breakdown in familial relations. Child rape is particularly

damaging - both individually and in the wider community (pers comm A Hellberg-Phillips (01/06/02).

9. Financial Expenditure

The table below dramatically reveals how important low-cost shelter is to poor households where between 2-3 per cent is spent on housing compared with 23 per cent for the highest income segment.

It is also noticeable that nearly half of household expenditure is related to food in the informal settlements and only 30 per cent in real terms of the highest segment. The high proportion of expenditure on transport is consistent with bulk of informal settlements being physically located towards the periphery of the city or at some distance from major employment nodes.

Also worth noting is the expenditure related to supporting other households outside the city. This can be attributed to fragmented households diversifying risk or unable to survive as a unit in the city.

Overall household expenditure in the highest segment is 7 times higher than in the lowest serviced informal settlements.

M. Assets

1. Social Capital

The 2000 Quality of Life survey revealed that 58 per cent of the people in Durban surveyed belonged to an organisation and those that did belong expressed more satisfaction with their lives than non-members (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 20).

Data on social capital assets in informal settlements is limited and the study by Thomas (2002) on one informal settlement in Durban, is utilised for indicative purposes. This study reveals that almost half the women were members of a group - the most common of which was a church group. However, most church groups met outside of the settlement. Five per cent of the sample were members of a finance related group and Thomas (2002) notes that, "noticeable by its absence is membership of groups associated with civic activities or those which would support income generation." Thomas interprets group membership as meeting personal basic needs but not making any contribution to accessing resources from outside of the settlement. For example, while 61 per cent of the sample identified their neighbours as important to work together with only 14 per cent expected to play a role with local government in resolving problems (ibid).

Table 7. Household Expenditure

Expenditure	Formal housing				Informal housing			
	High service, high income		High service, medium income		Medium service		Low service	
	Amount	Proportion	Amount	Proportio	Amount	Proportion	Amount	Proportio
Housing	1,105	23%	387	18%	27	3%	11	2%
Food	1,071	23%	589	28%	389	44%	318	49%
Transport	605	13%	218	10%	102	11%	97	49%
Health care	500	11%	127	6%	59	7%	36	6%
Water & electricity	482	10%	308	15%	129	15%	54	8%
Education	351	7%	165	8%	88	10%	73	11%
Rates	263	6%	162	8%	20	2%	1	0%
Telephone	233	5%	95	5%	33	4%	11	2%
Family support in Durban	49	1%	11	1%	5	1%	9	1%
Family support outside Durban	46	1%	31	1%	35	4%	41	6%
Other	11	0%	3	%	0%	2	0%	2	0%
	4,716	100%	2,096	100%	889	100%	653	100%

Source: Quality of Life Survey 2001, Urban Strategy

The study shows a lack of participation and belief in civic and community action to resolve problems amongst women and highlights that attempts at participatory democracy are not likely to involve women without significant levels of initial support (ibid). This highlights the importance of the organisational development work undertaken by movements such as the South African Homeless People's Federation in establishing (principally) women's groups that can collectively tackle problems posed by inadequate housing and poverty. While there are a number of non-governmental organisations and support organisations working on social issues in informal settlements, these are not linked, connected or networked in a manner that would maximise their potential and community accessibility.

2. Financial Capital

For a selected range of informal settlements the average unemployment rate is 30.9 per cent (Urban Strategy, nd).

It is not surprising that on average in each informal settlement 63.9 per cent earn below R800 (US$80) per month per household and 94.3 per cent are likely to earn below R1,600 (US$ 160) per month. The data suggests that on average in informal settlements, 61.2 per cent of household's income is below the Household Survival Level. The average household income for a household of 4.9 people is R935 (US$94) per month (Urban Strategy, nd)

Drawing on data obtained in the 1996 Census, Casale and Thurlow (1999, 22) calculate that on 20.9 per cent of the population in the metropolitan area were able to save after meeting other expenses. Only 15.5 per cent and 14.3 percent of Africans and Coloured population groups respectively are able to save compared with 44.4 percent of the Whites.

3. Human Capital

Human capital resources in the city are low and reflect the racially discriminatory effects of an apartheid education system. Of the adult population, 16 per cent are classified as functionally illiterate, 38 per cent have matriculation and only 8 per cent have tertiary qualifications. When this information is disaggregated by race the following emerges. Only 2.5 per cent of the White population lack any secondary schooling which increases to 14 per cent for Coloureds, 19 per cent for Asians and 37 per cent for Africans. Almost 10 per cent of Whites have a university degree compared with 1 per cent for Africans (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 20).

For informal settlements specifically, it is estimated that an average of 10 per cent of residents in each settlement, over 16 years old, have no education at all. On average 49.1 per cent of people over 16 have less than 5 years of schooling.

4. Physical Capital

Reviewing home based economic activities in the informal sector, Cross et al (2000) note that businesses in the informal settlements tend to be the poorest and smallest operations. These businesses are narrowly focused on selling basic needs commodities and highly dependent on a very local neighbourhood customer base. Typically expansion occurs through diversifying and adding additional lines of enterprise to increase spending from the same local customer base (ibid) The limited investment in physical capital is gendered with women investing in equipment to sew, cook and make crafts. Men appear to concentrate on more intensively capitalised activities such as construction, repairs and transport.

This differential access and use of physical capital also impacts on how men and women tend to deal with competition. Women tend to deal with over-traded markets by travelling widely to find supplementary markets. By contrast, men's capital investment in built structures requires them to deal with competition directly and cases of violent rivalry with burning of homes and businesses have occurred (ibid).

The most important source of financing for physical capital are retrenchment benefits payments at the point of formal sector job loss. To the extent that residents of informal settlements occupy lower paying jobs and are more unemployed, their ability to purchase equipment and machines to slot into the home based system is also more limited.

5. Supportive Public Policy

Whilst national commitment and budget allocations reflect the importance of supportive public policy - particularly, health, education and welfare - public policy in Durban is currently fragmented and unco-ordinated across a range of social issues (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 20). This is partly because responsibilities for implementation lie across different tiers of government and partly because of the complexities associated with achieving co-ordinated public policy. Sectoral public policies that are pro-poor when viewed in isolation are proving to have far less impact when they are not implemented in a co-ordinated manner (BESG 1999).

The city has no co-ordinated strategy for dealing with the HIV/Aids pandemic in a context where the province of KwaZulu-Natal has one of the highest incidences of HIV positive population in the world. It is estimated that 32.5 per cent of women attending ante natal clinics in the province are HIV positive. The vast majority of this statistic will be made up by African women. Extrapolations of these figures suggests that approximately 15 per cent of Durban's population is HIV positive (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 21). While the proportion of people affected in the eThekwini Metropolitan Area is higher than the national average

(eThekwini Municipality 2002a), the approach of the city is to focus on a plan of action rather than the statistics. Attempts are currently underway to establish a co-ordinated response to HIV/Aids through the City's Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process, by establishing an eThekwini Aids Council and a set of task teams to co-ordinate activities of a range of actors across the city, as well as to focus on the issue of AIDS within the workforce of the municipality (ibid).

The City's Integrated Development Plan proposed a number of programmes aimed at improving the lives of its citizens, such as a public safety programme, initiatives to support the city's vulnerable groups, such as youth, children, the disabled and the aged, a rural development programme and the development of a poverty alleviation programme (eThekwini 2002a).

This last programme falls under the City's Poverty Alleviation Working Group, and includes:

- the development of an indigent policy for the municipality, which will include concessions on certain services and rates to indigents,
- job creation through service delivery initiatives,
- an urban agriculture programme
- a tourism and environmental programme
- a skills training and development programme
- a food support programme

These initiatives are still at an embryonic stage.

In addition, certain projects within the municipal area have specific programmes aimed at local economic development for residents, including skills development initiatives and entrepreneurial and business support. Notable is the work done in the Cato Manor Development Association project, which has supported a range of informal and emerging businesses, through developing suitable premises, facilitating small business loans and providing start-up advice and assistance.

IV. SLUMS AND POVERTY: THE POLICIES

N. POLICIES AND ACTIONS TO IMPROVE SLUMS AND ALLEVIATE POVERTY

1. Locational Targeting

The most important initiative is the Informal Settlement Programme developed by the City's Metro Housing Unit to upgrade all informal settlements by 2015. The objectives of the Programme are to:

- quantify the actual problem
- gather as much data as possible on each settlement

- asses the development potential of the land being occupied
- identify appropriate interventions for each settlement
- identify criteria to prioritise projects
- prioritise projects
- identify project implementation time frames; and
- determine the funding requirements for the Programme (Makhatini et al, 2002, 6)

The Metro Housing Unit will also play more of a co-ordinating role in the development, management and control of informal settlements within the Council and with other service providers and stakeholders. The programme is conceptualised to deliver 16,000 housing opportunities per annum over a 15 year period to meet the housing backlog.

The Programme has already been used to identify high risk informal settlements for relocation and those informal settlements that are relatively simple to upgrade and these have been included in the Council's capital budget. Progress on the plan will also enable the city to access financial resources from the Provincial "Slum Clearance" programme which has been allocated R200 million (US$20 million) per annum for the next 2 years.

In the short term the Programme consists of three phases and will deliver 10,850 sites, of which 3,980 will be upgraded in-situ while 6,870 will be developed in greenfield projects (Makhatini 2002, 21). At the time of writing this report, Metro Housing will have acquired all the land for relocation of high risk informal settlement residents in the north of the city and half of the land required for relocation in the south of the city.

At the end of 2001 the Council's Executive Committee allocated a budget of R5 million (US$ 0.5 million) for special intervention projects aimed specifically at alleviating poor health conditions in informal settlements, ahead of full housing development. In the 2002 financial year, approximately 15 informal settlements will be provided with Ventilated-Improved-Pit Latrines and ablution blocks (Makhatini et al, 2002, 21).

The most notable example of locational or geographic targeting in the city has been the Cato Manor Development project which has attempted to ensure the integrated development of a large inner city area by paying particular attention to the co-ordinated provision of housing, health, education, recreation and local economic development opportunities for poor households.

2. Socio-Economic Targeting

Over the period 1995 to 2000 the city embarked on a massive programme of redistributing expenditure on services to those areas where it was most needed. While significant challenges still remain, Carter and
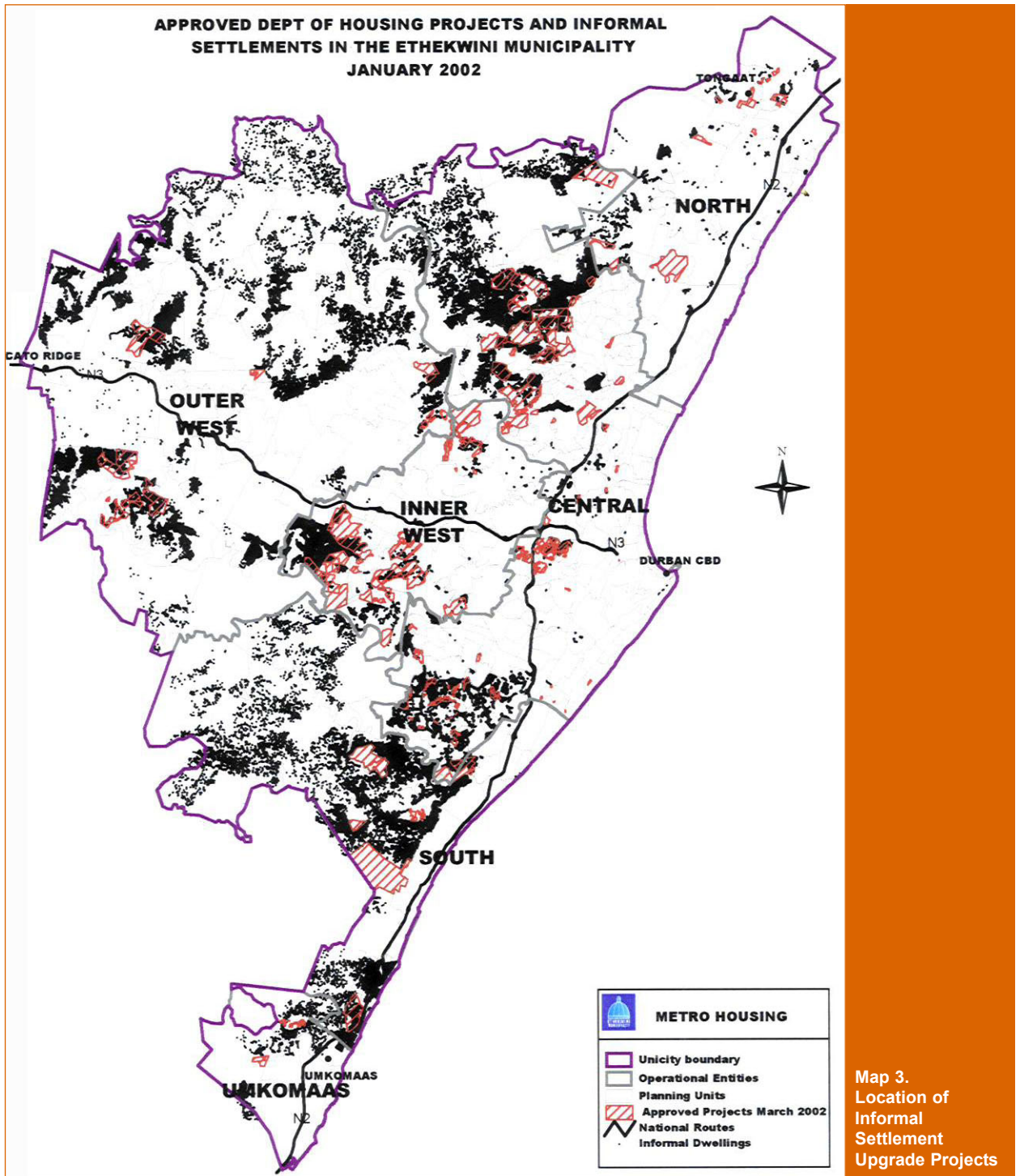
May (2001) note that measures which evaluate the impact of infrastructure (in the province as a whole) show a positive impact on reducing poverty through recent infrastructure delivery in shelter, sanitation and energy. In addition, the analysis shows that while head counts of poverty have increased, the severity of poverty has diminished (ibid).

In Durban this might be even more so, given that:

■ in 1991, Durban Metro Electricity began implement-

ing a plan to electrify 168,000 dwellings. By 2000 it had achieved 90 per cent of this target

■ expenditure on sewer maintenance in previously disadvantaged areas has been increased by over 100 per cent since 1996

■ 60 - 75 per cent of the capital budget for roads and storm water control has been re-focused into histori-cally disadvantaged areas

APPROVED DEPT OF HOUSING PROJECTS AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY JANUARY 2002

METRO HOUSING

Unicity boundary
Operational Entities
Planning Units
Approved Projects March 2002
National Routes
Informal Dwellings

**Map 3.
Location of
Informal
Settlement
Upgrade Projects**

■ quity in the operating budget has been 95 per cent achieved in the removal of solid waste

■ the increase in water connections since 1995 exceeds 100 per cent (eThekwini Municipality 2002b, 3).

3. Non-Governmental Targeting

There is a comparatively well established non-governmental sector within the metropolitan area campaigning around a range of specific issues and focusing on particular sectors. The non-governmental targeting tends to be distinguished by its focus on empowering strategies of training, organisational development and institutional transformation in favour of people that are currently disadvantaged in some way.

It is also notable that there is as little inter-sectoral co-ordination amongst non-governmental organisations as there is amongst government departments.

O. IMPACTS OF POLICIES AND ACTIONS

1. Success Stories and Best Practices

In the field of housing Durban is generally well-regarded as having produced innovative and interesting housing developments. In a book highlighting examples of sustainable settlements recently published by the national Department of Housing, more than 20 per cent of the examples chosen from across the country come from Durban (Department of Housing 2002). Case studies that have particular relevance to the issue of informal settlements include the following:

■ The integrated development project of Cato Manor, which has focused on the redevelopment of a large, well-located portion of land that was the site of forced removals in the 1950s and 1960s. The overall project has many facets, including local economic development, but also includes the upgrading of several informal settlements, new incremental housing projects as well as social housing, which will ultimately deliver approximately 25,000 housing opportunities within 5km of Durban's central business district. Successes include the high density, single storey residential developments achieved on relatively steep slopes, the provision of multi-purpose centres which combine social and public amenities such as schools, libraries and sports fields, and the technical support given to beneficiaries trying to extend and consolidate their starter houses.

■ New 'greenfields' housing projects such as Riverdene and Quarry Heights, two well-located projects which cater for those having to move out of informal settle-

ments. These relocations occur because of the partial de-densification that occurs during upgrading when services and roads are installed, or because entire settlements have to move due to threats such as flooding. Riverdene pioneered such technical innovations as 'access ways', a new class of road just above the level of a private driveway, and houses modified for disabled beneficiaries. Quarry Heights was developed through an intensive partnership between local government and the private sector, to rapidly deliver starter housing to over 2,000 households affected by a landslide.

■ Informal settlement upgrades such as Bester's Camp, a high density development which minimised disruption and relocations through sensitive planning. Briardene is an example of a 'roll-over' upgrade which entrenched the rights of its beneficiaries to very-well-located land adjacent to a formerly white residential area and a light industrial area.

■ Housing that responds to income-generating activities, such as the Mansel Road development, which provides both hawking and living facilities for women formerly living on the streets with their goods. A similar, adjacent facility, Stroller's, aims to provide safe shelter, storage and ablution facilities on an overnight basis to some of Durban's many informal traders.

■ Well-located rental housing, such as that provided through the refurbishment of run-down inner-city buildings by the non-profit company, First Metro, which has been supported by the municipality and its twin city, the City of Rotterdam. Along similar lines, the newly-built, medium rise building in Cato Manor, called Shayamoya, is unique in being able to providing social housing to the very poor (70 per cent of its residents earn less than R1,800 (US$ 180) per month, and 62 per cent of its households are headed by women), through additional grant finance from the Malaysian Government (Department of Housing 2002).

Other examples of innovation from Durban include:

■ The development of a set of 'assistance programmes' by the municipality to facilitate the provision of housing in Durban. These included making bridging finance available to developers, the provision of grant funding to housing projects under certain circumstances, and supporting the development of a rental housing sector in the city (Metro Housing 1999)

■ The 'top-up' funding allocated by the city to housing projects to supplement the national subsidy allowance. This has allowed the provision of a level of service appropriate to the city's topographical and locational conditions, and thereby contributed to the development of housing in well-located areas.

■ The piloting of a 'life-line' policy by the municipality with regard to basic services and rates – for example, the introduction of the first 6kl of water free to each household, which has now been adopted as a national policy, and the zero-rating of municipal property taxes for houses with a value of less than R30,000 (US$ 3000).

■ The policy adopted by the city of upgrading well-located informal settlements wherever possible, rather than relocating them.

■ The development of a logical programme for tackling the upgrading of informal settlements, through a comprehensive audit of all informal settlements and all potentially developable 'greenfields' land, as well as a system of prioritising and sequencing this development in a context of limited resources (Metro Housing 2000).

■ The programme to pilot a new approach to development and city management through the 5 identified test sites for Area Based Management, which includes an area with high concentrations of informal settlements as well as a peri-urban and semi-rural area (European Union 2002)

■ The promotion of capacity building and empowerment of informal settlement community groups through housing projects supported by NGO's such as BESG and People's Dialogue

(Mark Byerley, Heather Maxwell, Faizal Seedat pers comm., Charlton 2001)

2. Reasons for Success and Failure

With regard addressing informal settlements in Durban through the housing programme, reasons for successes include the following:

■ A positive attitude on the part of the City to upgrading informal settlements in situ wherever possible

■ The development of a systematic programme for the development of informal settlements

■ The provision of additional 'top-up' funding for the housing programme from the Metro Housing Development Account to supplement the national housing subsidy

■ The ability to substantially control land invasions on vacant land and existing informal settlements (although now that capacity of the City's Land Invasion Unit is reduced there is potential for this to flare up again. Throughout Cato Manor there are attempts to invade land (generally commercially-driven) HM pers comm.)

■ The establishment in 1997 of a local authority department which focused on new housing development. This was in advance of many other local authorities who viewed new housing development as a national and provincial responsibility

Reasons for failures include the following:

■ A restrictive national housing policy which does not address many of the issues pertinent to informal settlements and lacks the ability to adapt to changing conditions The application of very strict conditions and criteria which have forced a number of players to leave the low-income housing market, and drained the capacity of the sector as a whole to deliver

■ Competing interests within development projects which delay and threaten development (interest groups, shacklords, political interference)

■ Objections from established residential areas in the vicinity of low-income housing projects, which slow down development

■ The high cost of development due to the Durban topography.

■ The shortage of suitable land in reasonable proximity to the opportunities of the city.

■ The lack of integrated development in most areas, apart from Cato Manor – the failure to attract social facilities and economic opportunities, and a racial and socio-economic mix of beneficiaries into projects. Institutional restructuring and transformation of the Council, which has affected staff morale and the ability to attract new staff

(Mark Byerley, Heather Maxwell, Faizal Seedat pers comm., Charlton 2001)

3. Lessons Learned

The housing programme is one of the most advanced social programmes and most lessons have been learned from the experiences of implementing the housing policy. With regard to the informal settlements programme, some of the lessons learned include:

■ The national housing programme has a number of weaknesses which limit the ability to respond to issues. A key contradiction is that while the aim of the programme is to challenge racially based sprawling development there are no mechanisms to progressively intervene in the land market and budgets are restrictive to access well-located land (Charlton 2000, Huchzermayer 2001a).

■ More attention needs to be paid to improving the quality of the housing environments produced in the state housing programme, through better urban and house design (BESG 1999).

■ The vision of the city with regard to attitudes to its poorer citizens needs to be supported by enabling tools.

■ Approaches to community empowerment and capacity-building need to be resolved. The huge commitment of time and human resources required to foster models of self-help, capacity building and empowerment through housing projects is not supported by the tools and mechanisms made available through the state programme, which has a largely technical objective (notwithstanding the new emphasis on the so-called 'Peoples' Housing Process') (Huchzermayer 2001b, South African Homeless People's Federation 2002).

■ The perceived conflict between urban development and sustainable development in the context of informal settlements requires a reconsideration of the concept of sustainable development and consequent institutional transformation to build on local level initiatives (Oelofse and Patel 2000; Patel 2000).

■ There is a pressing need for co-ordination and integration across spheres of government, and within local government, to enable integrated delivery to occur (Mark Byerley, Heather Maxwell, Faizal Seedat pers comm., Charlton 2001)

Attempts to address poverty through an economic growth strategy have not been co-ordinated across and within the departments of the Municipality to date (European Union 2002). Attempts to co-ordinate programmes around a long term economic growth strategy have given way to some extent to a quality of life focus contained in the Long Term Development Framework. In terms of this Framework, economic growth and development is only one of a set of goals. However, the Integrated Development Planning process currently underway in the city offers the potential for a more wide-ranging approach to poverty issues.

4. Partnerships

Over the last 20 years, an approach to partnerships between people living in informal settlements and the public sector has been institutionalised. Relationships between non-government organisations and associations representing residents of informal settlements have demonstrated the importance and potential for transformation of partnerships in urban development.

Successful examples of partnerships exist where community associations have entered into joint contractual ventures with the municipality to engage in urban

development projects and it would now be very difficult to implement a project in an informal settlement without some degree of participation from the residents. Quite how emancipatory these participatory processes are, within the context of formal relationships, is hotly debated. The South African Homeless People's Federation has been quick to point out that in many cases these partnerships merely pay lip service to effective notions of empowerment and are often established to satisfy the public authority's requirements more than those of residents of informal settlements (South African Homeless People's Federation 2002).

P. COMMITMENT TO MONITORING, FEEDBACK AND ADJUSTMENT

Metro Housing Unit has recognised the importance of monitoring the impact of interventions on informal settlements and commissions in-house and external researchers to undertake studies. More formally, the Metro Housing Unit has established the "eHome Programme - eThekwini Housing Monitoring and Evaluation Programme" to look at the impact of the housing programme and the outcome for shelter provision. About 130 indicators have been selected drawing on international best practice of shelter evaluation and local knowledge. EHome is being developed over the next three years with assistance from the Centre for Statistics at the City of Rotterdam - a city twinned with Durban (pers comm L Bedford 07/05/02).

Other forms of monitoring include regular aerial photographic flyovers of selected informal settlement areas (pers comm F Seedat 07/05/02) and recently the relocation process of an informal settlement was filmed to allow for analysis and reflection of the process (pers comm L Bedford 07/05/02).

1. Budget Commitments

The short-term budget commitments for housing include R200 million (US$20 million) from the Provincial Department of Housing and R299 million (US$30 million) counter funding from eThekwini Municipality for service top-ups and bulk infrastructure in addition to R1,318 million (US$132 million) in capital subsidies. R5 million (US$0.5 million) from eThekwini Municipality will be allocated for special intervention projects (See table below). Future budget commitments to meet the target of 16,000 housing opportunities per annum are also identified in the table below.

The Integrated Development Plan will be translated into budget allocations for the different sectoral programmes of the Municipality and for the first time, attempts will be made to co-ordinate these allocations to increase the possibilities for supportive public policies.

Table 8. Summary of Annual, Short, Medium and Long Term Budget Requirements for the Informal Settlement Programme

Period	National government budget allocation required	Municipal government budget allocation required	Total
Annual	R263,600,000 (US$26m)	R59,800,000 (US$6m)	R323,400,000 (US$32m)
Short term (2000 – 2005)	R1,318,000,000 (US$130m)	R299,000,000 (US$30m)	R1,617,000,000 (US$160m)
Medium term (2006 – 2010)	R1,318,000,000 (US$130m)	R299,000,000 (US$30m)	R1,617,000,000 (US$160m)
Long term (2011 – 2015)	R1,318,000,000 (US$130m)	R274,000,000 (US$27.5m)	R1,592,000,000 (US$159m)
Total	R3,954,000,000 (US$395m)	R872,000,000 (US$87m)	R4,826,000,000 (US$480m)

Source: Makhatini et al 2002, 19

mal settlements including advocacy, research and housing project management. In some areas, community based housing advice support desks have been established and the Umlazi Housing Desk is noted as being particularly successful.

All of the local NGOs monitor the impact of their own work but none have formal processes of monitoring the collective impact of a wider range of sectoral interventions on informal settlements. Of the local NGOs the Built Environment Support Group has the strongest research and monitoring capacity and is regularly commissioned to evaluate housing projects and programmes on a once-off basis.

2. Policy Commitments

A number of important policy commitments have recently been made by the eThekwini Council which include:

- a delivery target of 16,000 housing opportunities per annum
- that informal settlements will be upgraded in-situ where technically possible
- implementing a multi-year programme to improve the conditions in informal settlements
- utilising the Metro Housing Development Account to provide additional funding where necessary
- co-ordinating the service delivery of other municipal departments to ensure more integrated and holistic living environments are created.

3. Commitment of NGOs to Monitoring

There are a relatively large number of NGOs operating in Durban and dealing with different aspects of improving the quality of life of residents in informal settlements. Examples include People's Dialogue and Habitat for Humanity, which work with interest based groupings of people in informal settlements. People's Dialogue supports the South African Homeless People's Federation which is the largest membership based organisation in informal settlements in South Africa.

Other examples include the Project Preparation Trust which provides up-front funding to facilitate the preparation of the development process for full funding from the National Housing Programme. Khuphuka and the Valley Trust provide construction related training for low-cost housing development. The Built Environment Support Group engages in a range of activities related to infor-

4. Commitment of International Technical Co-operation Agencies

There is strong commitment from international technical co-operation agencies for various initiatives in Durban. The largest is the European Union programme focused on Cato Manor and more recently also supporting new 'area based management' initiatives. The European Union programme has supported the development of Cato Manor with R135 -R150 million (US$14-15 million) since 1997.

Most major international development agencies have a project or programme focused on Durban including, but not limited to:

- Department for International Development, UK
- World Bank
- United States Agency for International Development
- SIDA, Sweden
- City of Rotterdam

NOTES

1 A national census was undertaken in 2001 but the results have not yet been made available.

2 1US Dollar = 10.31 Rands on 30 June 2002. Conversions will be rounded to US$1=R10

3 This should be compared with annual per capita incomes of R34,000 (US$3,400) in the Johannesburg metropolitan area (Monitor et al, 2000).

4 The enactment of the Illegal Occupation of and Unlawful Eviction from Land Act (1996) provided people that had resided on land for more than 6 months much greater protection from arbitrary eviction. In terms of this Act, the municipality has to have considered and preferably provided alternative accommodation if an eviction is to take place.

5 Historically, the only access to freehold tenure has been through purchase of land previously belonging to missionary stations. Only a small proportion of Africans ever gained freehold tenure through this way.

6 Socio-economic data has been collected on a sample of informal settlements listed as: Molweni, Ezimbokodweni, Umlazi CC, Fredville, Ntshongeni, Bambayi, Cato Manor, Canaan, Clermont, Malukazi, KwaDabeka, Amatikwe, Besters, Bambayi-2, Welbedacht.

7 In this regard it should be noted that, in contrast perhaps to other Metropolitan areas, Durban has 108 informal settlements within the relatively well-located central city area (Charlton 2001).

8 While all households qualify, it must be noted that not all households currently enjoy access. This is largely due to institutional barriers to universal provision and these issues are being addressed.

9 The following table identifies the largest townships that were established and the population group they were designated for. Other smaller townships do exist.

Township	Location	Population group
KwaMashu	North	African
Newlands	North	Coloured
Phoenix	North	Indian
Umlazi	South	African
Chatsworth	South	Indian

10 In order to be able to accurately quantify municipal service backlogs, differing levels of service provision to different households have been scored and then ranked. The four elements that have been scored and ranked are access to toilets, refuse removal, potable water and electricity. Each element is scored on a range of full service provision to no service provision. Using this ranking "low services" in informal settlements would generally indicate that the settlement had either no access at all to the service or is below the minimum standards of service provision set by the municipality for most of the four elements.

11 Table showing water tariff structure July 2001/2

Table showing water tariff structure July 2001/2

Type of supply	Ground tank low pressure	Roof tank Semi-pressure	Domestic Full pressure	Industrial, commercial and other users
Consumption	Cost per kl	Cost per kl	Cost per kl	Cost per kl
0kl - 6 kl	no charge	no charge	no charge	R4.25 (US$0.42)
from 6 - 30 kl	not available	R2.83 (US$0.28)	R4.25 (US$0.42)	R4.25 (US$0.42)
greater than 30 kl	not available	R8.50 (US$0.85)	R8.50 (US$0.85)	R4.25 (US$0.42)
Fixed charges				Varies with connection size
Domestic 0 kl to 6 kl	no charge	no charge	no charge	
Domestic greater than 6 kl less than 12 kl	no charge	no charge	R23.20 (US$2.3)	
Domestic: equal to or greater than 12 kl	no charge	no charge	R33.20 (US$2.3)	

Source: eThekwini Water Services 2001

12 These calculations are based on payment rates of between R0.25 and R0.50 (US$ 0.025-0.05) per 25 litres for an equivalent 6 kl.

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