INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING IN SOUTH AFRICA

The effects of state-led upgrading in Cato Crest, Durban, and the possibilities for a people-centered approach

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Cover photo by Marnix ten Holder:
View on newly built RDP houses in Cato Crest (left), opposite to a shack structure (right). On the background is another mixture of houses and shacks visible.

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In September 2006 I started studying in Nijmegen. Now, more than six years of meaningful experiences and detours later, this phase is about to end as I can almost call myself a Master in Human Geography. With my acquired skills, knowledge and passion for this topic, this Master thesis forms the end-product of months of extensive work. Although my name appears on the front page there are many others that contributed, in different ways, to its realisation. To them I would like to express my gratitude.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

More than twenty years after the official abolishment of the Apartheid regime in 1990 and the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa is now the most unequal society in the world. The country also has a major estimated housing backlog of 2.1 million houses. Despite the fact that 2.3 million houses have been delivered in the period 1994-2009, the system cannot keep up with the demand. One of the consequences is that over two million households are living in backyard structures of formal houses and, the majority, in informal settlements.

The post-Apartheid South African government had, after their election victory in 1994, a clear housing policy; under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) the housing backlog had to be eliminated through massive housing-delivery projects. A policy on informal settlement was only mentioned in 1997 when South Africa committed itself to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). But, instead of gradually developing appropriate housing for the poor as intended by UN-Habitat, South African government officials interpreted it as an approach of slum eradication. This policy was widely criticised since it is conflicting with the country's constitution. Over the last years the government is increasingly moving towards a more incremental approach of informal settlement upgrading with attention to citizen participation. Critics, however, claim that this renewed policy merely exists on paper and that practice still shows an approach similar to the early RDP.

Grass-roots organisations in South Africa have been calling for a more people-centered upgrading approach for years. The South African Alliance of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) is such an organisation and consists of two grass-roots entities (FEDUP and ISN), a support-NGO (CORC) and a financial institution (uTshani Fund). They call for a key role for communities from informal settlements in the upgrading of their living environment to break the chain of dependency, unleash the strength of people's vision for human settlements and to empower the poor to become integral partners in the growth of cities.

The concept 'community' plays an important role. One of the objectives of this research is to grasp its complexity and meaning in the context of an informal settlement; Cato Crest, in this research. This informal settlement is located five kilometres from the city centre of Durban and is since 2003 experiencing upgrading led by the eThekwini Municipality and its affiliate Cato Manor Area Based Management (ABM). Next to investigating the concept 'community' in Cato Crest this research

focuses on the effects that state-led upgrading has had on this community. Finally, an exploration of the possibilities for SDI's people-centered upgrading approach in Cato Crest will be presented.

The rationale of this thesis is that informal settlements are crucial elements of contemporary urbanisation and should be understood as an integral part of the city. Slum dwellers thus have just as much a right to the city as other citizens have. This entails that they have a right to pursue their urban livelihood in the city in a safe and healthy living environment. Thereby, they should have the right to change the city after their heart's desire. Involving people from informal settlements in the upgrading process is therefore a crucial step in order to achieve a right to the city for them.

A better understanding of the complexity of 'the community' is therefore necessary. In this research the urban livelihoods of residents of Cato Crest were investigated to get a good overview of the assets, locations and people that are involved in the daily life of a person. The assumption here, derived from among different scholars of African urbanism, is that people are constantly on the move and therefore have complex livelihoods that involve multiple locations with different people. In other words, a 'community' is not equal to the direct living environment. The sense of community in a certain settlement, measured by emotional safety, boundaries, sense of belonging and trust, is thus not necessarily high.

Another important, multi-interpretable concept in this research is that of community participation. It can be found throughout numerous policy papers, while having a different meaning in each specific case. It is often used as a window-dressing concept to ease the achievement of hard results, such physical and material features, but neglects soft issues as community empowerment. Since the South African government's informal settlement policy is also criticized on its use of community participation in practice, an investigation in Cato Crest on this topic is useful for understanding the effects on the community.

In Cato Crest thirteen respondents were questioned on the livelihoods of their household, their sense of community, their involvement in the upgrading process and the effects that they experienced herewith. These interviews were in-depth and semi-structured and, due to their length, often split into two encounters. The reason that households form the unit of analysis is because household members collectively contribute to a livelihood. An important side note here is that a household is not necessary located on one place, but can be scattered over different locations, as long as they contribute to the livelihood.

Sampling happened with the assistance of a local resident from Cato Crest that used to be a community leader. He knew most of the people in the area and could find respondents according to my specific needs. For the analysis of the interviews the respondents were divided over four different clusters according to two variables; shelter type (RDP vs. shack/tin house) and activeness in the community. Data collection also happened through observations in Cato Crest that took place after the interviews.

During my stay in Durban I worked as an intern at support-NGO CORC. Through this work I assisted local communities in other settlement in Durban and got a good image of the SDI approach of informal settlement upgrading. The observations and conversation during my internship contributed to the knowledge to explore the possibilities of this approach in Cato Crest.

The state-led upgrading approach in South Africa is not homogeneous, but has some general features. A municipality is responsible for the decision to upgrade a certain settlement and has the role of developer. In the case of Cato Crest, ABM is the developer as an affiliate of the eThekwini Municipality. The plan was to holistically upgrade the Cato Manor area (where Cato Crest is part of), including improving the area economically, socially and environmentally. Cato Crest is one the few areas that is still predominantly informal and did not yet benefit from the holistic approach. In stead, the focus has been merely on housing delivery. The SDI approach starts the other way around. Before any physical development occurs the priority is community building. Only when a community is mobilised and accorded their upgrading plans the rest of the process can take off.

South Africa's urban history is one of racial segregation during the Apartheid regime. Although the policy of an Apartheid city is now abandoned, the cities nowadays are still very much segregated according to economical position. This means, despite the upwards mobility of a black upper- and middleclass and the downwards mobility of a white lower-class, there is still also a racial segregation. In Durban, the CBD and former townships are predominantly inhabited by blacks; old Indian neighbourhoods of Phoenix and Verulam by Indians; and the wealthy areas in Durban North and Westville mainly by whites. Cato Crest was, and still is, almost completely populated by blacks. Due to its location close to Durban's city centre it was, and still is, a favourable destination for many urban poor. This massive attraction certainly has its effects on the upgrading of the area.

In terms of livelihoods, the respondents in Cato Crest are mainly depending on economic activities in Cato Crest itself. This is contradicting the idea of many scholars that informal settlement dwellers are not sedentary and maintain livelihoods on different locations, including a wide variety of people. Also

the notion of households that are scattered over different places and contributing to the same livelihood is only the case with one respondent in Cato Crest. Because Cato Crest has a good location many people see it as an ending station. Most respondents have a migration history that started in a rural area and includes intermediate destination in peripheral locations in Durban. Cato Crest's proximity to the economical activities of the CBD was the main reason for migration, but surprisingly enough most respondents are barely depending on the city centre now. Cato Crest has developed into a settlement with an economy of its own; people sell food to each other, fix each others houses and watch each other children. A certain commercialisation of certain activities has appeared which makes it possible for people to maintain their livelihood largely within Cato Crest itself.

The social networks of the respondents show a more dispersion than the economical activities, but it also largely concentrated in Cato Crest. Most respondents still have contacts in their previous places of residence; the former townships of Durban of the rural areas of the respondents. Some of them also visit church outside of Cato Crest. These social contacts are mostly seen as emotional fallback options and hardly involve financial support. This is especially the case with rural ties; one could say that the households in Cato Crest are urbanised and do not see a future for themselves in the rural area, besides going there to spend the last years of their life there. The finding that rural ties hardly involve reciprocal financial support opposes a theory of Rachel Slater that South African urban poor increasingly strengthen their rural ties in order to maintain their livelihood.

The question now is if this relative concentration of livelihoods in Cato Crest also means that there is a high sense of community in the area. The answer is; not necessarily. At first, there is no such thing as *one* community in Cato Crest. Some respondents consider only their direct neighbours as part of their community, while others see it as all the people that lived in Cato Crest before 2003. People who arrived after the upgrading process started in 2003 are seen as newcomers and free-riders by the existing population. There is thus a clear 'them', but there is a lack of a general notion of 'us' in Cato Crest. The community is divided. This division is not along the lines of having a RDP or not, but has to do with being attached to Cato Crest, or not. Several respondents, both living in RDP houses and shacks or tin houses, claim to be willing to move from Cato Crest if a better option is there. They would prefer a (bigger) house on the outskirts of Durban over the location of Cato Crest. However, another group, also consisting of RDP and shack dwellers, will only settle to live in Cato Crest. They feel that they belong to the area and deserve a house on this location. Thereby, some respondents are not attached to Cato Crest as a location, but are only willing to move when it happens together with a group of people of Cato Crest. This shows a high sense of community, but on a smaller scale than Cato Crest as a whole.

The divided community in Cato Crest is for a large part the outcome of the state-led upgrading process. It not only drew people to decide whether they want to live in Cato Crest or will settle for a house somewhere else, but also had other effects on the community. This all starts with the main focus of ABM; houses. Housing development is considered equal to upgrading, neglecting the soft results of community building and community empowerment. The emphasis a RDP house as the outcome of an upgrading process made people individualistic. According to several respondents, the feeling of collectiveness among people in Cato Crest decreased due to the state-led upgrading process. People now strive mostly for their own benefits now.

The upgrading process in Cato Crest is delayed considerably. This means that a lot of people are waiting for years for the promised house. Thereby, there is much scepticism about the fairness of the housing allocation. There is feeling of nepotism from the ward councillor. This all led to feelings of frustration and distrust among residents.

Concerning the involvement of people in the process the policy is indeed different than what happens in practice. While ABM argues that residents are very much involved in the process and have the ability to come up with ideas that the Municipality takes into consideration and presents back to the community, the feelings among residents is that they are merely consulted. There is hardly any collective action against this since people mostly visit community meeting to ask about their own house. This all results in a situation where ABM has a paternalistic role in the upgrading process and the residents are only on the receiving end of housing delivery; they are passive and dependent.

The SDI approach puts people at the centre of the process. Communities in informal settlement need to organise themselves before an actual upgrading project starts. This has several strengths with respect to the state-led upgrading approach. People-centered development is the only way towards sustainable development since it strives towards collective benefits in stead of individual. Thereby it enhances the residents' expertise and knowledge which makes them resilient in stead of dependent and passive. It is likely to increase the possibility for informal settlement dwellers to obtain a right to the city.

In Cato Crest a project of SDI tried to take off in 2007. A saving scheme led by FEDUP commenced and now has around two hundred members. They saved for a housing project in Cato Crest and while the ward councillor seemed to agree with them for a possible location they project lost its

momentum and it still yet to be started. This reveals one of the major challenges of the SDI approach; making partnerships with the local government. In contrast to the City of Cape Town and Stellenbosch Municipality, the eThekwini Municipality seems reluctant to start an official partnership with SDI for the upgrading of informal settlements in the area. There is still the idea that informal settlements need to be eradicated and that investing in these slums is a sign of not believing in the ability of the government to build houses for all South Africans.

This research has shown that the state-led informal settlement upgrading by ABM in Cato Crest has led to frictions in the community, frustration among people and increasing individuality, dependency and passiveness. The handing over of a house is not enough to uplift the lives of people. To really achieve a right to the city there also has to be attention for community empowerment. This is not just something that has to be included in a policy paper, but something that needs priority in the initial stages of upgrading. The SDI approach recognises this, but it is no panacea. In Cato Crest, the last decade of ABM upgrading had its legacy on the residents and it is a major challenge for SDI to start people-centered upgrading projects. However, there is still a group that feels attached to Cato Crest and an even larger that is depending on Cato Crest in terms of their livelihood. These are arguments why it could be worth to invest in the upgrading of the settlement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	Area Based Management
ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
CC	Cato Crest
CMDA	Cato Manor Development Association
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
CORC	Community Organisation Resource Centre
CUFF	Community Upgrading Finance Facility
DA	Democratic Alliance
DFR	Durban Functional Region
FEDUP	Federation of the Urban Poor
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ISN	Informal Settlement Network
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NSDF	National Slum Dwellers Federation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SDI	Slum/Shack Dwellers International
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
UISP	Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal

NOTES

Ethnic terminology

When writing about ethnic groups in the South African context the used classification can always be contested. In this thesis the term *whites* is used to refer to South Africa's white population, *blacks* refers to the native (South) African people[1] and *coloureds* to those who have both black and white ancestors. The terms *Indian* and *Asian* are both used, where the latter thus refers to Asian population groups other than Indians. This classification is based on the classification that was present during South Africa's Apartheid regime, but the use of this division in this thesis does not reflect any form of support or acceptance of it.

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[1] In quotations from other literature in this thesis the often-used term for native (South) African people is *Africans*.

– Chapter 1 –

INTRODUCTION

"After climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb"

– Nelson Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom (1995) –

South Africa has, according to its Gini Coefficient, overtaken Brazil in 2011 as the most unequal society in the world (Gumede, 2011). Despite positive levels of economic growth since the abolition of Apartheid the poor have not been the direct beneficiaries. Inequality even increased after 1994 and the black population is still by far the worst-off (Van der Westhuizen, 2012). In the cities, high and middle-high class residential areas can be found a stone's throw away from shabby informal settlements. The country is one of the most extreme examples where the First world meets the Third and the post-Apartheid era is still one of challenges and complexities.

This is a thesis about informal settlement upgrading in South Africa and the effects that it has on the community. It aims to show that, firstly, informal settlement upgrading is heterogeneous; it depends on the interpretation of policies and the ability and willingness to involve actors such as local communities in the process. Secondly, this thesis will research the meaning of the word 'community'. Is it equal to the place in which people are living or is it not so much fixed on one place? The process of upgrading will be analyzed from the perspective of the residents of Cato Crest. This informal settlement in Durban is experiencing state-led upgrading since 2003 and is still standing in the middle of the process with residents already living in new houses and residents that are still living in shacks or tin houses.

This first chapter will be used to discuss the rise of informal settlements in South Africa, the government's approach towards them in the post-Apartheid era and the way that communities have been involved over the years. The discussions of these topics will lead to the relevance of this study and the research framework with the objective and the associated research questions that arise from these discussions. Finally, an outline of the structure of the rest of the thesis will be provided.

1.1. Informal settlement upgrading in South Africa

1.1.1. Informal settlements in the post-Apartheid era

South Africa's first fully representative democratic elections were held on 27 April 1994. After almost four years of negotiations to dismantle the Apartheid regime, the African National Congress (ANC)

received around 63% of all the votes and Nelson Mandela became president. The beginning of this new era was characterized by hope and the faith in prosperity, especially among South Africa's black population. After decades of suppression, disadvantage and separation the situation seemed to change. The new ´Rainbow Nation´[2] would provide possibilities for every individual, regardless of skin colour, religion, cultural background and gender.

But, as Mandela warned, South Africa would have many more hills to climb. One of these hills for the new government in 1994 was that of housing; during the Apartheid regime millions of blacks (but also coloureds, Indians and Asians) were removed from the urban areas to the so-called *bantustans*[3] and several government measures were developed to control and prevent migration of, especially, blacks to the cities (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). When the Apartheid regime became less rigid during the mid-1980's and was disbanded altogether with the democratic elections of 1994, large flows of blacks streamed to the urban areas for job opportunities, to flee from political violence elsewhere in the country or to reclaim the land on which they, or their parents, used to live (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). This led to an explosive growth of informal settlements in urban South Africa; the number of informal dwellings rose by 688.000 in the period 1996-2003 (Hunter M. , 2007). The (former) townships on the edges of cities were flooded with squatters from rural areas who build shacks between the formal houses, but informal settlements also appeared closer to the city centres. The location became an important factor; people wanted to live close to the main economic activities (Hunter & Posel, 2012). These more centrally located informal settlements were inhabited by people who moved away from the overcrowded townships or people skipped the intermediate step of peripheral locations (Charlton, 2006).

Section 26.1 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa reads: "Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing" (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 1255). The ANC government thus had a task to provide decent houses for all its residents and incorporated housing in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994. It was ought to be an integrated and sustainable programme, which is people-driven and closely bound with peace and security for all (Corder, 1997), but despite the promises of the ANC in 1994 to deliver one million new homes to the poor within five years post-Apartheid South Africa is nowadays still facing a major housing backlog

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[2] This term was first used by Archbishop Desmond Tutu after the 1994 elections to describe the intended multi-cultural post-apartheid South Africa.

[3] A *bantustan* or *tuisland* was an independent territory that was assigned to black populations during the apartheid regime. The South African authorities argued that these areas were meant to give the black populations more self-determination and to preserve their cultures, but in reality they were used to control and exclude black people.

(Bank L. , 2001). Between 1994 and 2009, the South African government realized an impressive number of 2.3 million houses, but it failed to keep up with the scale of need (Bolnick A. , 2010). The current housing deficit in South Africa leads to an estimated 2.1 million households living in informal settlements or in backyards of formal dwelling units (World Bank Institute, 2011), but in reality it is expected to be more. Thereby, South Africa is still urbanizing; the annual national population is growth is 1%, while the cities grow with an average of 3% (Bolnick A. , 2010). The country is also experiencing an increasing number of immigrants from other African countries. People from adjacent countries (e.g. Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique) immigrate mostly because of job opportunities (Wentzel, Viljoen, & Kok, 2006), but South Africa also receives refugees from countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Nigeria (Crush, 2008). Most of these people end up in the cities, which makes the demand for houses in urban areas even bigger.

Slum areas are formally indicated in South Africa as informal settlements. Despite their heterogeneity they have in common that they do not comply with local authority requirements (Chikito, 2009). They are characterized by inadequate infrastructure for basic energy, sanitation, waste services and water. Mike Davis describes slums all over the world in his book 'Planet of Slums' (2006), but gives a somewhat apocalyptical view on their existence. This thesis will stress a different view on informal settlements; as places of hidden potential, creativity and endurance. Informal settlements are, in fact, "not only a manifestation of mismanaged urban planning in the countries of the South. The existence of slums worldwide is also a sign that the slum is a crucial element of contemporary urbanisation" (Bolay, 2006, p. 284). Hunter & Posel (2012) stress that South Africa's housing backlog is not the only reason that the number of people living in informal settlements is still increasing. This can also be attributed to a growing urbanisation, the poor quality of the developed RDP houses, the peripheral location of most RDP houses and the increase of smaller household consisting of people that are less likely to marry. Thereby, it is not so much that people living in informal settlement are forced to live there; "shack dwellers would not choose to live in such poor conditions without good reasons" (Hunter & Posel, 2012, p. 303). A shack on a good location with easier access to urban resources is often better valued than a formal house on the outskirts of a city. "Whereas the informal dwellers may be poor and marginalized by the urban society, they are nevertheless able to make choices, to develop specific strategies and have a significant impact on the shape and life of the city" (Guillaume & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2002, p. 87). It is therefore important to see South Africa's informal settlements not as temporary living areas that can be eradicated in the future, but as parts of the city that are here to stay (Schröder, 2007).

1.1.2. Post-Apartheid South Africa's informal settlement policies

The abovementioned view on informal settlements is not completely shared by the South African government. Post-Apartheid South Africa first chose to focus only on the delivery of one million new houses in its first term; the housing backlog had to be eradicated (Huchzermeyer, 2010). The eradication or upgrading of informal settlements was not even mentioned in politics. This changed after the Housing Act 107 of 1997 was enacted which stated that "national, provincial and local spheres of government must (…) promote (…) the establishment, development and maintenance of socially and economically viable communities and of safe and healthy living conditions to ensure the elimination and prevention of slums and slum conditions" (Republic of South Africa, 1997, pp. 5-6). South Africa also committed itself to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000, besides other tasks, to improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers worldwide by the year 2020[4]. According to Huchzermeyer (2010), the South African government officials misunderstood this target as one that implies cities without slums. UN-Habitat described it as an indirect approach of slum upgrading approaches combined with

> "(…) clear and consistent policies for urban planning and management, as well as for low-income housing development, … [which] should include supply of sufficient and affordable land for the gradual development of economically appropriate low-income housing by the poor themselves, thus preventing the emergence of more slums"
> – (UN-Habitat, 2003, p. xxviii)

This target was translated by South African National Department of Housing as a direct approach to slum eradication, which includes criminalization of land invasions, relocations, evictions and transit camps to prevent new slums from emerging (Huchzermeyer, 2010). The South African developmental agenda could even be called 'elite', because poor people are being evicted from well-located, thus valuable, land to give it to the richer people and authoritarian because often there is no open approach towards the poor communities before development projects are implemented (Pithouse, 2009).

A striking example is that the Provincial Government of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) proposed the 'Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Bill' in 2006 to "provide for measures for the

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[4] According to South Africa's Millennium Development Goals Country Report 2010 the proportion of urban population living in slums increased from 13% in 2002 to 13.4% in 2009. The achievability of the target of 0% is labelled as "unlikely" (Republic of South Africa, 2010, p. 86).

progressive elimination of slums (…), to provide for measures for the prevention of the re-emergence of slums; to provide for the upgrading and control of existing slums; and to provide for matters connected therewith" (KZN Human Settlements, 2006, p. 2). An important reason for the proposition of this Bill was the upcoming 2010 World Cup where Durban was designated as a host-city. The Slums Bill was widely criticized and judged unconstitutional in 2009 because it was in conflict with section 26.3 of South Africa's Constitution[5]. Despite the fact that the Constitution clearly forbids arbitrary evictions and demolitions in informal settlements, the KZN Provincial Government showed their true colours. According to critics, they are criminalizing the poor; "the Bill uses the word 'slum' in a way that makes it sound like the places where poor people live are a problem that must be cleared away because there is something wrong with poor people" (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2007).

A couple of years earlier, in 2004, the South African government incorporated the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP) to support the millions of poor South Africans living in informal settlements without adequate primary facilities. This programme is also known as 'Breaking New Ground'. The national Department of Housing started to realize that the housing subsidy programme of that time was not "specifically designed and geared for informal settlement upgrading" (Charlton, 2006, p. 50). Although the final goal of the UISP seems right, there has been a lot of criticism on the process and approach being used. According to some, the UISP is still following the former ideas on conventional housing regulated from top-down instead of an incremental approach with flexibility and grass roots involvement (Bolnick A. , 2010) (Misselhorn, 2008).

South Africa's National Housing Code of 2009 also has a specific part dedicated to 'Upgrading Informal Settlements' with community empowerment as one of the key objectives. The focus is on "building social capital through participative processes and addressing the broader social needs of communities" (Department of Human Settlements, 2009, p. 13). Both due to the South African housing backlog and the persistence of slums, informal settlement upgrading seems the preferable approach to the improvement of the lives of the urban poor. However, such an indirect approach "exists only partially in policy and legislation. Even where it exists, government has ignored it in favour of a target to forcefully eradicate informal settlements by 2014" (Huchzermeyer, 2010, p. 138).

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[5] South Africa's Constitution section 26.3 states that "no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions" (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 1255)

Over the last years there has been a call for more grass roots involvement in informal settlement upgrading and a more incremental and people-centred approach. This seems to be heard by South Africa's National Government. In December 2010, Minister Tokyo Sexwale of Human Settlements made a commitment to upgrade 400.000 informal settlement households on well-located land by 2014. It is part of a new program of action: "incremental upgrading of informal settlements that benefits whole communities where people already live" (South African SDI Alliance, 2011b, p. 2). It is a reaction on the RDP as a housing delivery system where the residents became "dependent, dispensable, and defenseless" (*ibid*: p. 2).

The National government seems to be increasingly realizing that settlement-wide upgrading can only be achieved with communities as central partners in the process. It is however questionable to what extent this new focus is put into practice and not only exists on paper. National housing policies still seem to be largely motivated by idea that moving people from informal to formal areas is always a development, regardless what residents think their selves (Hunter & Posel, 2012). In the eThekwini Municipality[6] for example, upgrading is still mainly seen as a housing process where "informal settlements need to be eradicated" (Maseko, 2012).

1.1.3. *Involving the community*

Post-Apartheid South Africa has adopted a "policy nomenclature that is replete with notions of public participation, grassroots-driven development and participatory governance" (Williams, 2006, p. 199), but this is often "a ceremonial exercise and not a systematic engagement of communities that is structurally aligned to the development and service delivery programmes" (*ibid*: 209). The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) receives consistent reports from informal settlement dwellers from South Africa that were "excluded, often aggressively, from decision making with regard to Municipal development projects and, consequently, of having very little clear understanding of what was planned for them and why" (COHRE, 2008). But organised poor communities need to be recognized as key role players in and of active agents of development (Bolnick A. , 2010). Informal settlement upgrading should not just lead to better housing and services, but moreover to real citizenship and equality in South African cities (South African SDI Alliance, 2011b). But what is considered as 'the' community? Does it simply mean all the people that live in a certain informal settlement? And is this really what residents consider as the community?

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[6] eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality includes the wider Durban area and is one of the 11 districts in KZN.

According to AbdouMaliq Simone, sociologist and expert on African urbanism, urban poor communities are not solid entities, but are changing over time. This is because a large share of the urban African population is often on the move or maintains a highly mobile outlook which gives the places in which they live a temporary rather than a more permanent status. Simone points out the ambivalence between being addressed (to call upon something) and having an address (a particular location); large populations are constantly on the move and not have the need to call upon a particular location (Simone A. , n.d.). Thereby, migration research in KwaZulu-Natal showed that "the most important migration process in DFR (ed. Durban Functional Region) is intra-urban migration" (Cross, Bekker, & Clark, 1994, p. 85). Although this data is rather dated, it is still an indicator of similar patterns in contemporary informal settlements. The urban poor in South Africa are thus no sedentary dwellers so their livelihoods are not likely to be bounded within the borders of their living area; they remain in contact with people from previous residential places, do not necessarily work where they live and do not necessarily have a sense of belonging to the location on which they are living at one moment in time.

The South African Alliance of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) is a network of co-operating community organisation and support-NGOs with the goals to "(1) break the chains of dependency; (2) unleash the strength of people's vision for human settlements; (3) engage formal stakeholders to strike deals that empower the poor to be integral partners in the growth of cities" (South African SDI Alliance, 2011b, p. 3). They insist on a key role for communities in the upgrading process, with the strategy "nothing for us without us [and] *Vuku'zenzele*; wake up and do it yourself" (*ibid*, p. 2). The ultimate goal is to give slum dwellers the 'right to the city' where "ordinary people have the right to organise and to challenge the power the state and capital exercise over the development of cities" (Pithouse, 2009, p. 2).

1.2.   What makes this study relevant

At the end of the last decade around one billion people worldwide were living in slums and this number is expected to double by the year 2030 (UN-Habitat, 2007). National governments and international organisations such as UN-Habitat have different policies to deal with this situation. While some states try to remove slums by evict slum dwellers en demolish the shacks, other countries aim to upgrade informal settlements by improving the living conditions for its residents. Informal settlement upgrading is also a heterogeneous concept as will be shown in this research. This study has both a societal and a scientific relevance.

1.2.1. Societal relevance

South Africa's policy towards informal settlements aims to shift from a housing-delivery approach towards a more holistic form of upgrading that includes economical and societal improvements for the residents. This form of upgrading was also launched in the informal settlement of Cato Crest, Durban, in 2003. Now, almost ten years later, it seems a good time to evaluate the effects of this upgrading approach, especially the effects that it has had on the community in Cato Crest.

This thesis will argue that citizen participation is vital for successful upgrading of the living environment, but also for the development of slum dwellers. By using Henri Lefebvre's 'right to the city' as a pursuit, the inclusion of informal settlement dwellers in the upgrading process is investigated. The results from the study in Cato Crest can be used to explore the possibility to adopt the people-centered SDI approach in the area. Thereby, it could show whether good intentions of the eThekwini Municipality in Cato Crest do also lead to good results, or if a policy shift is necessary.

1.2.2. Scientific relevance

Insights in the possible translocality of the livelihoods of the residents in Cato Crest could and their perception of the term 'community' contribute to a better understanding of the needs of the urban poor in informal settlements and the effects (both positive and negative) that informal settlement upgrading has had so far. It could provide new scientific evidence that state-led upgrading is not beneficial when there is little knowledge and awareness about the complexity of communities in informal settlements. A trans-local perspective on upgrading is likely to contribute to the theories on informal settlement upgrading and thereafter its results for its dwellers.

This research contains a case study in the Durban metropolitan area and people should thus be aware of making false generalizations on national and international level. Every informal settlement has context-specific factors which influence the daily lives of its dwellers. Also, these factors can be experienced differently by residents of the same settlement. However, the experiences of different residents in Cato Crest can be an indication of problems that occur in informal settlements throughout South Africa. Charlton (2006) calls the lack of documentation, analysis and evaluation of informal settlement upgrading processes and their outcomes as of one the reasons that there is still a gap in the understanding of upgrading and the effects. Thereby Botes & Van Rensburg (2000) argue that lessons should also be learned from failures from the past and these should thus also be well-documented. In both ways, this thesis aims to contribute in filling this gap a bit more.

1.3.   Research framework

Following on to the introduction provided in the previous chapter that revealed a problem in South Africa's housing policy and the shifting approach towards informal settlement upgrading. It can be argued whether the citizens of these settlements are involved in the process and to what extent notions of a 'community' are taken into consideration. This research therefore has the following research objectives and research questions.

1.3.1.   Research aim and objectives

The aim of this research is to investigate what the effect of state-led informal settlement upgrading has had on the people and the community in Cato Crest. Special attention will be given on what is perceived as the community by different households, using a livelihoods approach. There are three specific research objectives:

1. To investigate what is perceived as the community in Cato Crest.
2. To describe the effects that state-led upgrading has had on the people of Cato Crest and their perceived community.
3. To explore the possible pros and cons of the SDI approach implementation in Cato Crest.

1.3.2.   Research questions

The research aim and objectives lead to a number of research questions. The central question of this study reads '*How has the Municipality-led informal settlement upgrading affected the people and 'the community' of Cato Crest?*' Next to this question an exploration for the possibilities for the people-centered SDI approach is provided. The research question can be divided into four different sub questions:

1) *What are the livelihood locations of the households in Cato Crest?*

By using an urban livelihood approach in this study for several households in Cato Crest, insights can be gained in the way households possess or have access to capabilities, capitals (both physical and social) and activities which are required for a means of living (Rakodi C. , 2002, p. 3). It is a holistic, people-centred approach which can be visualised in the livelihoods framework. This framework shows that livelihood capitals are divided into five main sets (human; social; physical; financial; natural) and the context of a household's daily life (infrastructure and services; policies, institutions and processes; vulnerability). Insights in a household's livelihood show the activity space through all sorts of activities. In addition to Rakodi's work, a clear focus is needed on the location of the capitals which determine the livelihood and the people which are involved in the pursued activities. This study questions the assumption that a

neighbourhood or informal settlement is automatically equal to what a household considers as a community. The locations and involved networks of the capitals that determine the livelihood may indicate to what extent Cato Crest is equal to the community.

2) *To what extent is there a sense of community in the Cato Crest itself?*
   While the first sub question focuses on the possible difference between what is considered as 'the community' by most policy-makers, scholars and NGO's (i.e. the neighbourhood or settlement) and what is considered as 'the community' by the households themselves, this question focuses on whether there is a sense of community at all in Cato Crest. McMillan (1996) conceptualised this by seven elements; spirit, emotional safety, boundaries, sense of belonging, trust, trade and art. These elements altogether provide insights in whether a household in Cato Crest has a sense of community and will be further discussed in the theoretical framework.

3) *In what way are the people and the community in Cato Crest benefiting from, or being disadvantaged by, the Municipality-led informal settlement upgrading?*
   Cato Crest was, as a part of the wider Cato Manor area, designated as a Presidential Lead Project in low-cost housing and upgrading. Area Based Management (ABM) is a governmental affiliate and responsible for the development in this area. They are ought to follow the guidelines from the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP) with tenure security, health & security and empowerment as the main objectives (Department of Human Settlements, 2009), but this does not always work out in reality. The development projects started in Cato Crest around the year 2003, so an evaluation with households in the area can give insights in the results of the upgrading so far. The focus will not only be on the effects for the respondents themselves, but moreover on the effects for the community of Cato Crest.

4) *What would be the pros and cons of the SDI upgrading approach for Cato Crest?*
   Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) has, in contrast to ABM, a people-centered and bottom-up approach of informal settlement upgrading; communities should mobilize themselves around their knowledge and resources and come up with own ideas and solutions for upgrading. Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) supports them technically and helps by building partnerships with the local government. Such an approach is implemented in several other informal settlements in Durban (and South Africa). By using findings from other settlements the pros and cons of such an approach in Cato Crest will be explored.

The abovementioned sub questions are not isolated discussions, but interrelate. Insights in the sense of community in Cato Crest are useful to understand certain effects of state-led upgrading approaches and, especially, to estimate the possible success of a more community-driven approach. The latter approach sounds good on paper, but to make such an approach work there has to be sufficient knowledge of the group of people that is considered a 'community'. Only the combined answers to these sub questions will be sufficient to answer the central question of this research.

1.4. Outline of the thesis

The structure of this thesis is straightforward and follows a logic path towards the answering of the abovementioned research questions. Chapter 2 contains different theoretical perspectives that are related to the research topic. The 'right to the city' debate is used as a starting point where its connections with informal settlement upgrading are explained. Then the relevance of urban livelihoods is discussed and especially the aspect of location of activities and involved people. This results in the question how the locations of livelihoods are related to the sense of community in a certain area. Since the topic of this research is informal settlement upgrading and possible citizen participation, sense of community is presented as a catalyst of participation in development project. But participation is also a multi-interpretable concept that requires a careful elucidation. The interrelation of these notions forms the theoretical backbone of this thesis.

To unravel the conceptual complexity that informal settlement upgrading entails a certain methodological strategy is used. Chapter 3 outlines the methodological process that moulded this research. It not only explains the different techniques that were used for data collection, processing and analysis, but also the methodological choices that were made during the research. With semi-structured interviews with residents from Cato Crest and observations Cato Crest and other informal settlements it was aimed to reveal the not-so-visible effects of informal settlement upgrading. In this, it was necessary to go in-depth and include concepts such as urban livelihoods and sense of community.

Before starting the analysis Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 provided contextual information on, respectively, the two different upgrading policies that are central in this thesis and the urban features of South Africa, Durban and Cato Crest in specific. Chapter 4 displays the main differences between the South African state-led upgrading approach that is also adopted by ABM and the people-centered upgrading approach of SDI. Then, Chapter 5 outlines the legacy of the urban policy during Apartheid on the post-Apartheid city. Subsequently, the city of Durban is placed into this

context. Finally, an introduction into Cato Crest is provided with attention on its turbulent history and current upgrading process.

With the conceptual, methodological and contextual information provided in the previous chapters it is now time to delve into the empirics. Chapter 6 is the first analysis chapter and focuses on the social complexity of the informal settlement. It touches the topics of livelihoods and sense of community amongst the residents of Cato Crest. It aims firstly to provide a clear overview of the location of the respondent's livelihoods and, secondly, to explore the sense of community amongst them. Most importantly, a possible relation between these two topics will be researched.

The focus in Chapter 7 lies on the upgrading project that the eThekwini Municipality, through ABM, has initiated and implemented in Cato Crest. This state-led, technical approach commenced in the area in 2003 and is still ongoing. There has been a lot of criticism by residents on the process. This chapter pays attention to the effects that the development of Cato Crest has had so far. In relation to the previous chapter, it will largely focus on the implications on community feelings within the settlement.

The state-led upgrading approach has often been criticised for being too technical and narrowly focussed on housing delivery, also by Cato Crest residents. There are alternative ways of settlement upgrading initiated in the settlement, but they have not taken off yet. Chapter 8 explores the possibility of one specific alternative approach; that of SDI. Not only will the advantages be discussed. The SDI approach also has some major challenges to overcome to reach the desired goal; making partnerships between informal settlement communities and the local governments to make inclusive cities.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions and recommendations of this thesis. Firstly, the main findings of this research will be presented along with the implications they have had on the situation in Cato Crest. These findings are the result from the research on urban livelihoods, sense of community and the effects of state-led informal settlement upgrading, respectively from Chapter 6 and 7. Secondly, a critical reflection on these findings will also be provided, together with the conclusion from the exploration of the SDI approach from Chapter 8. Finally, a reflection on this research is presented, followed by suggestions for further research on one of the relevant topics from this study.

– Chapter 2 –

FROM URBAN LIVELIHOODS TO A RIGHT TO THE CITY:
THE COMPLEXITY OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING

Informal settlement upgrading is not a mere implementation of projects that aim to improve the quality of life for slum dwellers, but it needs to be the outcome of a good preparation whereby there has to be an understanding of the complexity of the urban poor's livelihoods, the meaning of the 'community' in a settlement, and many other elements that influences the lives of people in informal settlements. Only if one understands the real needs of them, upgrading initiatives can be successful. This second chapter contains an elaboration of the different theoretical perspectives that function as a framework for this thesis on informal settlement upgrading. It is both the base for the conceptualisation for the research and a clarification of the different topics that will be further discussed. Firstly, Henri Lefebvre's concept of 'the right to the city' will be applied on the context of this research. This gives a theoretical background of the struggle for a full-fletched urban life and the importance of informal settlement upgrading. Secondly, an overview will be given on theories concerning urban livelihoods. Especially, the notion of (trans)locality will be included because of its relevance for this research. The third section of this chapter is about sense of community. Since informal settlement upgrading in situ has a clear focus towards a specific place, it is important to gain insights in the community feelings of this certain location. Fourthly, the concept of community participation will be explained as a complex, difficult, but essential part in planning and development policy. It is a concept that needs to transcend from a meaningless word on paper to an approach towards local action and knowledge. Finally, an overview of the different theoretical perspectives and their interrelations will be presented to elucidate the principles of this research.

2.1. The Right to the City as a starting point

The starting point for the framing of this research is the idea that every inhabitant, also the dwellers of South Africa's informal settlements, should have a right to the city. Henri Lefebvre[7], the creator of this concept, puts the term *oeuvre* central in this discussion. According to him, a city must be understood as a spatial and social product of human relationships. The right to the city is the need for this creative activity that not only consists out of products and consumable material goods, but also out of "the need for information, symbolism, the imaginary and play" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 147).

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[7] See: Lefebvre's '*Le Droit à la Ville de Espace et Politique'* (1972).

David Harvey (2003) argues that people individually and collectively make the city through their daily actions and political, intellectual and economic engagements and that, in return, the city makes us. However, the ability to change the city after one's heart's desire is not the same for every individual. We do not live in socially just cities; people do not have the same opportunities as others. "Derivative rights (like the right to be treated with dignity) should become fundamental and fundamental rights (of private property and the profit rate) should become derivative" (Harvey D. , 2003, p. 941).

The discussion about the right to the city can thus be seen as a part of the spatial justice debate, which refers to "an intentional and focused emphasis on the spatial or geographical aspects of justice and injustice" (Soja, 2008, p. 3). Pirie (1983, p. 472) argues, however, that there is no "independent spatial morality that is equal to the task of purely spatial judgement". According to him, common notions on justice are thus *always* needed and therefore "social justice in space" (Pirie, 1983, p. 471) would be a better term. Soja (2008) does not specifically reject this, but notes the added value that a spatial dimension can bring to the way we are looking at justice. "There is always a relevant spatial dimension to justice while at the same time all geographies have expressions of justice built into them" (Soja, 2008, p. 4).

Spatial injustice was very clear for South Africa's Apartheid regime considering that the political organisation of space was based on race. But even nowadays, with a democratic government in place, urban segregations along racial lines still exist to indicate a certain spatial injustice which lies at the roots of many problems of South Africa's urban poor (Pieterse, 2009). A discussion about a right to the city is therefore relevant in the context of this study, even though the concept is forty years old now. It is about the right of informal settlement dwellers, who often live in insecurity because of a lack of land tenure and the associated chance of being evicted. A slum dweller is "an active element in urban society and environment, in which he/she feels at home [so] they should have a right to the city [...], to its facilities and opportunities" (Guillaume & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2002).

The right to the city contains not just one legal claim, but multiple rights towards the "right to a totality, a complexity, in which each of the parts is part of a single whole to which the right is demanded" (Marcuse, 2009, p. 193). In this context it is about giving the urban poor the ability to mobilize themselves to change the city according to their own considerations, both physically through upgrading of the built environment and mentally through community-building.

Lefebvre argues that the right to the city endows citizens to participate in the use and production of urban space. "Participation allows urban inhabitants to access decisions that produce urban space. Appropriation includes the right to access, occupy and use space, and create new space that meets people's needs" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 174). In this sense it is very relevant to discuss the notion of 'the right to the city' while discussing informal settlement upgrading. Richard Pithouse connects these two concepts in the South African context by claiming that "the social value of land has to be prioritised over its commercial value if this right [ed. to the city] is to be realised for the poor" (Pithouse, 2009, p. 1). In other words, the idea of a world class city that needs to compete with other cities to attract capital should be subordinate to a city that fully belongs to those who live in it. This means that the urban poor should not be relocated to locations on the fringes of the city, but that they have the right to pursue a livelihood in the city itself, including convenient and affordable transport, toilets, healthy drinking water and a safe living environment (Pithouse, 2009). This can all be achieved by informal settlement upgrading and, more importantly, where residents are the key actors in the process.

Both Lefebvre (1996) and Harvey (2003) claim that the city to which people want right is the future city and even more a future society. Thereby, it not so much the city as an object that people want right to, but it is more about having right to urban life. This is consistent with the goal of SDI to make inclusive cities where the urban poor are at the centre of strategies and are therefore more able to change the city (and their urban life) after ones heart's desire. It also connects to Lefebvre's idea that technocratic planning and policy are not sufficient to create an urban reform. "Only social force, capable of investing itself in the urban through a long political experience, can take charge of the realization of a programme concerning urban society" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 156). A state-led upgrading approach, which is still the main approach in South Africa, is more likely to neglect these rights to urban life not only because of its technocratic principles, but also because of its ignorance regarding the needs of communities in informal settlements.

2.2. Urban livelihoods: local or translocal?

To gain better insights in the structures of a community it is important to get acquainted with the daily lives of its members. An (urban) livelihood can reveal what kind of activities community members undertake to secure the necessities of life, the locations of these activities and other people (and objects) that are involved. Thereby it also involves the perspectives that people have on these activities and on their quality of life in a broader sense. Or, in other words, "a livelihood

comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living" (Chambers & Conway, 1992, pp. 7-8).

"Contrary to normal professional prejudice, the livelihoods of most poor people are diverse and often complex" (Chambers, 1997, p. 163). This argument was made mainly for rural poor, but can also be stated for poor people in an urban setting. In order to survive the urban poor are often involved in several activities. Members of the household are involved in different strategies for work, food and support. These improvised, ingenious and opportunistic strategies are the result of the diversity and complexity of the poor people's livelihoods and survival strategies.

The Department for International Development's White Papers from 1997 and 2001, and the 2001 Strategy Paper endorse the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). This approach is nowadays used by numerous international development organisations. SLA is a shift away from the simplistic poverty line-view, where the focus is merely on the ability of people to "consume sufficient goods and services to achieve a reasonable minimum level of welfare" (Rakodi C. , 2002, p. 4), as the livelihood approach also considers deprivation and insecurity as determinants of poverty. It is about the way that households possess (or have access to) "capabilities, assets (physical and social) and activities which are required for a means of living" (Rakodi C. , 2002, p. 3). In addition to this, Amartya Sen's ideas on the importance of capabilities over utilities and resources also need to be taken into consideration. It is more relevant to look at what people are actually able to do and to be than just look at which resources are present; "human life [is] a set of 'doings and beings' […] and it relates the evaluation of the quality of life to the assessment of the capability to function" (Sen, 2003, p. 5).

A key issue of the livelihood approach is that households possess, or have access to, tangible and intangible capitals which define their decisions and strategies to mobilize material and immaterial resources and opportunities to make a decent living (Rakodi C. , 2002). This includes, among others, economic activities (such as labour), migration movements, maintenance of ties with rural areas and participation in social networks. These capitals are more than cash and savings and can be divided into five main sets (Rakodi C. , 2002) (Moser, 2008):

1. Human capital: the quantity (household members and available time to engage in income-earning activities) and quality (level of education and skills and the health status of household members) of labour resources available to a household.
2. Social capital: the social resources (networks, groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society) on which people draw in pursuit of livelihood.

3. Physical capital: basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications) and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.

4. Financial capital: financial resources (savings, credit, remittances, pensions) available to people which provide them with different livelihood options.

5. Natural capital: direct access to land, water and other environmental resources and the ability to transform these 'stocks' into 'flows'.

As can be seen in Figure 2.1, all five capitals influence the strategies and the decisions of a household to pursue the livelihood for its members. Thereby, there is also the influence of the context in which in households live, relating to vulnerability and policies, institutions and processes (Rakodi C. , 2002). The development context to which this model related focussed largely on rural areas, but in the last decade the implementation of the livelihood approach has extended in the urban domain as well.
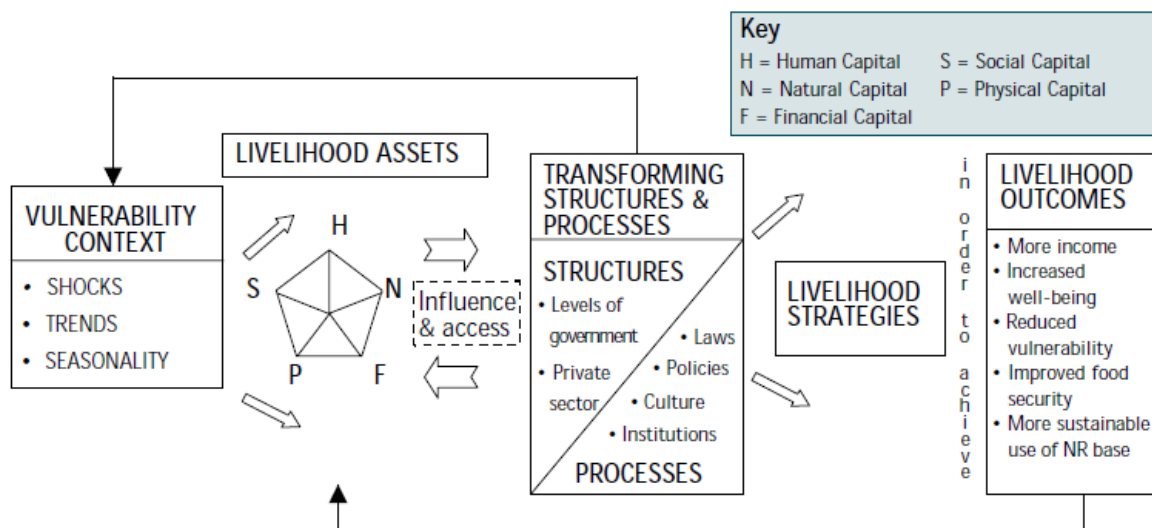
Figure 2.1. Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) in a diagram (*http://www.eldis.org*)

Rigg (2007) is highlighting the limitations of the SLA by its mechanistic and instrumentalist character. He questions the mere materialistic view on livelihoods in this approach and claims that "livelihoods are at least as much about social and cultural bases of life and living, as the material ones" (Rigg, 2007, p. 32). Also, another "shortcoming of seeing livelihoods in material terms is the tendency to overlook the dynamism inherent in patterns of living and their evolution over time" (Rigg, 2007, p. 34). In this respect, livelihoods are becoming more and more outward-looking, mobile, unequal, individualistic, dependent and competitive than livelihoods in the past (Rigg, 2007). This is relevant for this study as it indicates a possible translocality in the livelihoods.

Challenges for this livelihoods approach are also argued by De Haan & Zoomers (2005) which is, according to them, two-fold. Firstly, there is the access to livelihoods opportunities which includes

power as an important explanatory variable. For better understanding, an analysis of power in social relations, institutions and organisations should be part of a livelihood approach. Secondly, the relationship between access and decision-making is underexposed in the current livelihood approach. Both strategic and unintentional behaviour are structural factors in this process. These factors are part of the concept of livelihoods trajectories which sheds "more light on how livelihood activities give rise to the regularities of pathways (…) and individual strategic behaviour embedded both in a historical repertoire and in social differentiation" (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005, p. 43). For this study it means that power relations, a person's history and future outlook also need to be taken into consideration when researching livelihoods.

In the context of this research, the goal of looking at the livelihoods is to gain insights into the extent to which they are depending on their immediate environment, i.e. the informal settlement, or whether their urban livelihood is more translocal. It is important not to romanticize life in an informal settlement. "Cities are not cosy places and care in the community can be hard to find" (Beall, 2002, p. 80). Reciprocity can lead to unequal obligations and inharmonious relationships between people. Child labour, prostitution and street gangs are all well-known phenomena in cities in the developing world and South Africa's cities are no exception. Instead of automatically trusting the people in your direct living environment, it is very likely that people in informal settlements largely stick to the social network they had in previous places of residence.

The complexity of life in the African city also needs to be taken into consideration. AbdouMaliq Simone claims that there is ambivalence in African urbanity between being addressed (to call upon something) and having an address (a particular location). He mentions an example from Johannesburg where there was an effort to provide an informal settlement with formal addresses for the dwellers *to* address. This turned out to be a failure since it dealt with urban populations who are largely on the move and therefore resist one particular location to call upon[8]. "Africa is a space of intensified movement; of movement in a very broad sense that encompasses migration, displacement and accelerated social mobility" (Simone A. , 2004, p. 118).

It is argued that due to decreasing social and economic prospects during the eighties and nineties, many poor South Africans had to combine resources and opportunities at different locations and develop multiple livelihoods (Slater, 2001). This meant that a lot of the urban poor, tended to strengthen their rural ties again (Bank L. , 2001). An interesting study in the South African context is

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[8] Audio file on: http://africancentreforcities.net/media/7/.

that one on the regionalization of the household in former Ciskei. It is argued that a household contains at least four elements; kinship or familial aspect, task-related aspect, (non) co-residence and sources of identity and social markers. They give rise to what is called "the multiple homestead household" (de Wet & Holbrook, 1997, p. 255). This is very much the case in post-Apartheid South Africa, where members of a rural household leave their village to settle in a town while keeping close contact with their natal rural homestead and identify with it (de Wet & Holbrook, 1997). The overall household is thus stretched out between two or more physical, economic and moral localities. These developments could also be an indicator for the reducing importance of the directly surrounding living environment in the livelihoods of the urban poor. The importance of determining the locality (or translocality) of the urban livelihoods of people for this research is the fact that it can be an important indicator for the sense of community within a certain informal settlement. Or, as put by Manuel Castells: "Places are not necessarily communities, although they may contribute to community-building" (Castells, 2010, p. 455).

2.3. Sense of community

Castells' quotation on the prior page, where he refers to the Parisian immigrant *quarties* of Belleville, could also refer to informal settlements in South Africa since these are both uneven urban societies with both formal and informal disjunctions. It also underlines AbdouMaliq Simone's argument that there is not necessarily the need for one particular address for the African urban population as a place to address to and it reveals the potential for community-building for households that are living at the same location.

The Oxford Dictionary defines the term community as a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common. This definition emphasizes the importance of a certain location; something that is not taken for granted in this research. Gusfield (1975) gives two definitions of community to which Heller (1989) has added a third:

1. Community as locality: the territorial or geographical notion of a community. This definition is nowadays largely contested due to the increasing diversity and complexity of urban life.
2. Community as a relational entity: the qualities of human interactions and social ties that draw people together. This is not locality but common interests around which social relationships develop.
3. Community as collective political power: the organisation of citizens for social action which can come from localities and/or organized interest groups.

One should understand these different groundings not as separate concepts. People can belong to different communities depending on where they are working and living, on the different organisations or institutions they belong and on the type of activities they share with others (Heller, 1989). Thus there is no such thing as *the* community from which a person or household is a part of.

In the South African context the term *Ubuntu* is an important rationale considering communities. It can be described as a "a concept that brings to the fore images of supportiveness, cooperation, and solidarity, i.e. communalism. It is the basis of a social contract that stems from, but transcends the narrow confines of the nuclear family to the extended kinship network, the community" (Van den Heuvel, 2008, p. 95). It is part of the cultural lecacy of Southern African tribes and still often used in contempory debates as a form of mindset people should strive to. Especially after the abolishment of the Apartheid regime *Ubuntu* was relaunched by the ANC government, but it is also used as a buzzword by the black population (Van den Heuvel, 2008).

In the context of this research, it is necessary to use the concept of 'sense of community' as a possible catalyst for community participation. As the research focuses on an informal settlement, the sense of community will be analysed for this locality. This choice is not made because of the preference of this definition of community, but because this definition is implied in both the state-led and, to a certain extent, community-driven informal settlement upgrading approach. The question is if the people of an informal settlement see the residents of this certain settlement as a community. Informal settlements are in this sense interesting research objects, because they all start as illegal spaces that are semi-autonomous and slowly become more physically and socially visible.

A definition of sense of community is "a *spirit* of belonging together, a feeling that there is an authority structure that can be *trusted*, an awareness that trade, and mutual benefit can come from being together, and a spirit that comes from shared experiences that are perceived as *art*" (McMillan, 1996, p. 315). Sense of community is conceptualized in the following elements:
1. Emotional safety: community empathy, understanding and caring is required. This sense of intimacy makes people feel safe to talk about personal concerns vis-à-vis one another.
2. Boundaries: defining an 'Us' and a 'Them' and defining the "logistical time/place setting for a group to be a group" (McMillan, 1996, p. 317).
3. Sense of belonging: if a person wants to belong to the community and is accepted by the community as a member.

4. Trust: sustainable factor in the sense of community. A community needs order, authority which is based on principle rather than person and group norms to allow members and authority to influence each other reciprocally to have trust which can evolve into justice.

5. Trade: to what extent community members can benefit from each other and are economic interdependent. This can also enhance trust.

6. Art: symbols, stories, music and other symbolic expressions that represent values of a community. This can enhance the spirit of a community.

7. Spirit: this can best be seen as on outcome of the first six elements and therefore an indicator for sense of community. It contains connections to others, such as friendships, to have "a setting and an audience to express unique aspects of our personality" (McMillan, 1996, p. 315).

Although all the seven elements contribute to a sense of community the main focus in this research will be on the first four elements of sense of community. The element of trade and its economic perspective is not as relevant for social capital as emotional safety, boundaries, sense of belonging and trust are, and art and spirit are too abstract to research in a relatively short period. The first four elements also interlink with the concept of social capital (Putnam, 2000), namely trust and reciprocity.

A sense of community in a neighbourhood or settlement is the starting point of the mobilisation of the community towards collective modes of participation in community processes and developments. Two community psychologists developed a model to illustrate how sense of community "plays a catalytic role in mobilizing three components" (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990, p. 56). These three components are: the perception of the community environment, social relations and perceived control and empowerment. These components define the extent to which so-called community members find ways in which personal interests connect with collective interests on community-level. Perceptions of the community environment are "judgements […] made about the degree to which the environment of a specific aspect of the environment is positive or negative to the individual" (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990, p. 57). The safer and secure residents feel, the more they interact with neighbours and have more incentive to participate in collective processes. The presence of social relations within a neighbourhood helps regulate social behaviour through normative mechanisms and increases a form of social control. The perceived control and empowerment means that individuals evaluate the likelihood that their own individual efforts or group efforts can solve a neighbourhood problem (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990, p. 59). There is a positive relationship with sense of community and participation; when people trust each other,

define themselves as a group, feel that they belong to this group and feel emotionally safe they will be more likely to participate in collective development projects.

Sense of community is not fixed and community-building is most often used to develop or increase this sense for more involvement in community participation. "Communities of like-minded individuals are more easily organize themselves than do locality-based communities" (Heller, 1989, p. 11). This notion relates to possible difficulties in mobilising communities in informal settlements. These are at first locality-based and might have common and interests and needs, although this is not a proven fact. Shared activities, common experiences and a historical bound of a group could form a more solid basis.

2.4.   The value of community participation

It is hard to imagine contemporary planning processes without various forms of public participation. The question is, however, whether participation of the community solely exists on paper, or if people really participate into a collective mode of action, whereby the three components of Chavis & Wandersman (1990) are taken into consideration. Community participation is therefore "one the most overused, but least understood concepts […] without a serious attempt to critically analyze the different forms that participation could take" (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 41). Since community participation is also highly relevant in informal settlement upgrading, this section will be devoted to it.

Criticism on the way that governments use the tool of participation in planning policy is not a new phenomenon. Sherry Arnstein already argued in 1969 that "[t]here is a crucial difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216). In her article 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation' she distinguishes eight different levels of participation for different degrees of citizen power in the end product (Figure 2.2). While Arnstein's participation ladder has been criticised for its limitations (Connor, 1988), notably that citizens and power holders are not homogeneous blocks, that the typology does not cover the roadblocks to achieve the levels of participation and that the real world has a lot more different situations of participation than the eight covered in this scheme, it remains useful since "it juxtaposes powerless citizens with the powerful in order to highlight the fundamental divisions between them" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). In this research it will be used to explore differences in participation for two different upgrading approaches in South Africa. It is, however, not

the goal to determine the exact degree of participation and the specific power level of the (local) government.

Just like Arnstein, other scholars are critical to the use of the word 'participation' in planning and development policy as well, but stress the importance of the involvement of local communities. Midgley (1986) argues that proponents of community participation reveal the inspiration of democratic ideals, which is mainly based on scepticism towards the representative democracy. It can provide a mechanism to mobilize the masses and collective means of redress, but the ideals of

Figure 2.2. Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (*http://lithgow-schmidt.dk*)

participation have often been popularized. Two South African development scholars present nine impediments and obstacles to participatory development particular to South Africa (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000):

1. The paternalistic role of development professionals where they "dominate decision-making and manipulate, instead of facilitate, development processes" (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 43). By telling beneficiaries what to do and to think, the community becomes dependent.

2. Governments often use community participation to maintain existing power relations or to legitimize the political system.

3. Successful participation initiatives are abundantly reported, quantified and documented, while failed processes are often more or less ignored. However, a lot more lessons could be learned from failures from the past.

4. Participation is often selective and the voice of the appointed local leader hardly reflects the views and ideas of the whole community.

5. There is "the assumption that social and cultural features (the so-called 'soft issues') are ephemeral, intangible and unnecessary time-consuming in comparison to the more easily managed 'hard issues' (ed. Technological, financial, physical and material features)" (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 47).

6. When interest groups have different interests, or when some groups feel neglected in decisions, conflict can arise which highly impedes the participation process.
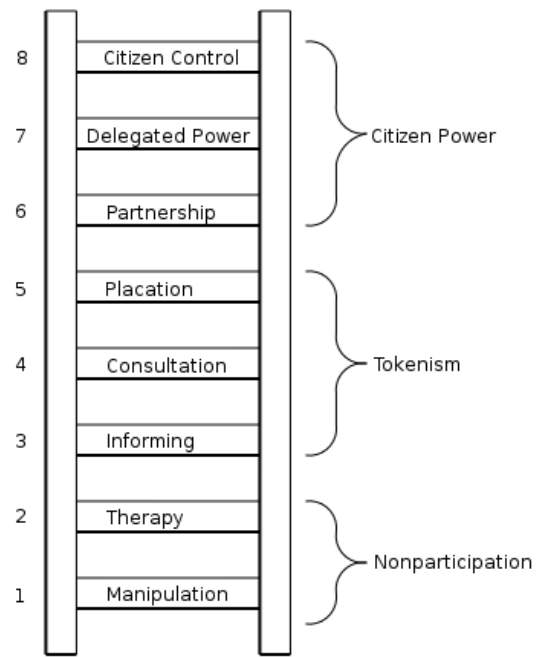
7. "Local elites may be able to effectively thwart attempts to engage directly with beneficiaries, because this threatens their control" (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 49).

8. The product is often valued higher than the process, especially when there is a lot of pressure for quick results. Participation is then seen as too time-consuming and not cost-effective.

9. Sometimes there is just the lack of public interest in becoming involved, which may result from negative experiences in the past where expectations were not fulfilled.

These nine plagues, as the two scholars lable them, clarify the words of Midgley who states that "the belief in the undoubted virtue of involving people is not as straightforward or uncontroversial as it might at first appear" (Midgley, 1986, p. 44). Despite these lurking hazards "development in the full sense of the word is not possible without appropriate community participation" (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 56). Next to the nine plagues of community participation, the two scholars also provide twelve commandments to be understood as norms in facilitating participatory development. These guidelines highlight the heterogeneous dynamics, complex societies and context-specific and locally-bound motivations that community participation can contain.

In the field of community participation in the developing world the work of Robert Chambers and his Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is also relevant. The key idea is that "rural people's knowledge is an enormous and underutilised national resource" (Chambers, 1983, p. 92) and could be used so "that poor and exploited people can and should be enabled to analyse their own reality" (Chambers, 1997, p. 106). Although these principles, as the quotation also suggests, were developed for rural areas, they can also be implemented in the urban domain. This is actually what SDI and its affiliates already do. It is a network where local communities use their own resources and capacities and exchange (local) knowledge with other communities on a regional, national and even international scale. An approach which some welcome (Bolnick J. , The People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter: community-driven networking in South Africa's informal settlements, 1993) and others are less likely to embrace, because it can make "life uncomfortable for professionals" (Sattertwaithe, 2001, p. 137). Not everything can be solved with local knowledge; there is also the need for an organized framework in which the support of professionals is almost indispensable. Nevertheless, participation needs to be understood as "a process by which people are able to organize themselves, and through their own organization are able to identify their own needs" (Saxena, 1998, p. 111). Only by organizing themselves people can find a commonality of interest, which may supersede other distinctions such as the entity of 'community' (Saxena, 1998).

Informal settlement empowerment through participation of community members in informal settlement upgrading is an evolving discourse in South Africa in the past two decades since the abolition of Apartheid. It is increasingly recognized that, for example, workshops and exchange programmes between informal settlements can actively strengthen its dwellers in securing their land and shelter rights (Bolnick J. , 1993). Asset-Based Community Development[9], Future Search[10] and Integrated Development Planning[11] are all strategies that promoted development processes were the urban poor communities are central in the process. Another form of participation processes was introduced by SDI. The rationale in this approach is that communities in informal settlements need to organize their selves and look for strength within their community. This has been applied in many South African upgrading projects over the last decades[12]. The schemes they set up need to evolve in an informal way to maximize people's direct participation and control. Interventions from the outside should be minimized, especially in the starting phase (Bolnick J. , The People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter: community-driven networking in South Africa's informal settlements, 1993). This not only sounds good on paper, but there are numerous empirical examples of good practices all over South Africa. It is, however, often the question to what extent all voices are heard, as (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000) also mentioned in their 'nine plagues'. Participatory approaches are namely about the identification, collection, interpretation, analysis and (re)presentation of particular forms of (local) knowledge, which is inseparable from the exercise of power (Kothari, 2001, p. 143). Power relations within an informal settlement can thus lead to an uneven fulfilment of needs for some members of the community.

2.5.   Theoretical framework

This chapter contained a collection of theoretical perspectives which are relevant for the research that will follow. Although these perspectives are logically connected in the previous sections, a visual overview will be presented below (see Figure 2.3).

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[9] For more information see: http://www.abcdinstitute.org/

[10] For more information see: http://www.futuresearch.net/

[11] For more information see: http://www.idasa.org/media/uploads/outputs/files/Intergrate.%20Book1.pdf

[12] The SDI website (www.sdinet.org) contains numerous press and academic publications on people-centered upgrading projects all over the world.
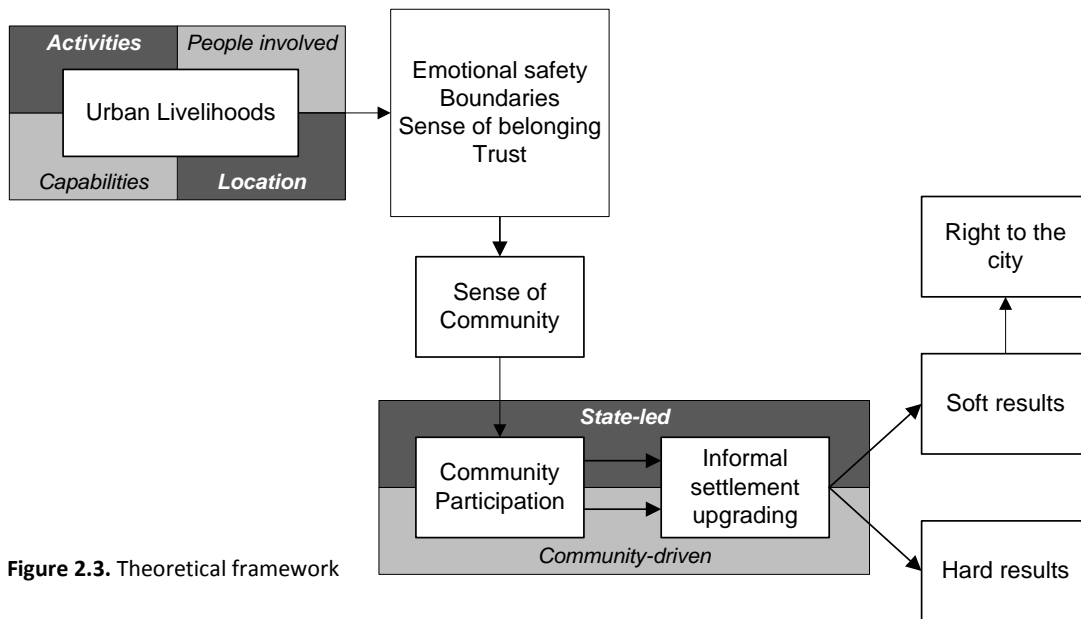
Figure 2.3. Theoretical framework

Urban livelihoods of informal settlement dwellers are determined by several different factors, from which in this research the type of activities, the person's capabilities, the location of the activities and the other people who are involved are the most relevant. A person's livelihood has influence on the seven elements (McMillan, 1996), from which four elements are used in this research, which reveal the sense of community within a settlement. A certain location does not necessarily mean that people see it as a community, but when most people have a largely local livelihood, the need for relations with other people in the area will probably be higher.

The sense of community within a certain settlement influences the willingness to participate in an upgrading process. However, it is not only important whether a community wants to participate, but also to what extent they have the possibility to participate. This depends on the way that the process is designed; is it a state-led, technocratic, top-down process, or the other extreme; a community-driven, socio-cultural, bottom-up approach. There are of course many other approaches which fall in between, but these two approaches play a central role in this research. The effects of a certain process of informal settlement has roughly two outcomes; a 'hard' one that shows technical, material, physical and financial results, and 'soft' results such as community involvement, decision making procedures and empowerment (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000). Both outcomes are necessary for a successful project; creating and strengthening social organisation leads to social capital that sustain, use and maintain the 'hard' results of houses, water facilities, infrastructures and ablution block, in the context of informal settlement upgrading. The soft results feed the possibilities for a person, or a community, to claim their right to the city. Thus, this shows the connection of the starting point of this theoretical framework with the rest of the discussed perspectives.

26

– Chapter 3 –

METHODOLOGY

The link between theoretical perspectives and empirical findings within a research is a crucial one; it is formed by methodological strategies and choices. To fully grasp the answers on the research questions insights in the methodological tools that were used during the process is needed. Conducting a research is never a linear process; preliminary findings, challenges and difficulties require a flexible research attitude (Verschuren & Dooreward, 2007). The field work period in Durban from March to June 2012 can be used as an example of this flexibility. Thereby, it also reveals the challenges and difficulties that doing research in South Africa implicates. This chapter discusses the considered decisions as well as the necessary adjustments that were made during this period. Although the research process of this thesis is provided stepwise it must be understood that research is always an iterative process, whereby different phases in the process are not merely consecutive and feedback to prior stages appear regularly (Verschuren & Dooreward, 2007).

3.1. Research strategies

3.1.1. Case study method

The introduction in the topic of informal settlement upgrading emerged from a conversation with Nico Keijzer from the Dutch office of Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI). He was one of the experts during a round-table discussion from Amnesty International on forced evictions that I attended out of interest. During this discussion the example of a slum in Accra was used to highlight the deficits of purely top-down urban policies; the Ghanaian government wanted to evict slum dwellers to make space for an important rail line. The entire population was to be relocated from their location close to economic possibilities to the fringes of Accra. Nico Keijzer caught my attention during the debate for he was advocating the important of a pro-poor approach where the urban poor are at the centre of the upgrading process. After the discussion we spoke briefly about his view on upgrading processes in informal settlements and he told me about the work that SDI is doing in 33 different developing countries. After doing some literature research for my own, informal settlement upgrading was revealed to me as multi-interpretable and multi-used concept, but certainly not asset sweated. Reading more about it fuelled my enthusiasm to take this theme into investigation.

The complexity of this research topic is high; it is a mixture of several theoretical perspectives, historical legacies and context-specific manifestations. Informal settlement upgrading can thus be studied along different relevant pathways with their own historical discourse defining them. In this

research it is chosen to focus on the South Africa government as a facilitator of informal settlement upgrading and the reaction of civil society and community-based movements on its approach. Because informal settlement upgrading is argued to be a people-centered approach terms as urban livelihoods and sense of community are taken into account.

This was the most important argument to choose for a case study as research method. After all, "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the need to understand complex phenomena" (Yin, 2009, p. 4). The explorative nature of this study and the 'how' research question require a holistic approach, which can also be found within a case study method since it contains meaningful characteristics of real-life events. In this research the informal settlement of Cato Crest is thoroughly examined, making this research a single case study. To rule out the presence of coincidence in the results triangulation took places during the data analysis. The research conducted among households in Cato Crest fits the features of a case study (Verschuren & Dooreward, 2007): the study contains a small amount of research units; the data collection was labour-intensive; the interviews were in-depth on several topics; the respondents were selected on the basis of some characteristics; an open observation in Cato Crest was conducted during the field work; and the data that is collected is qualitative since they are experiences and opinions from the respondents.

3.1.2. *Choice for the research location*

The choice for conducting this research in South Africa is substantive since the country has a relatively rich history of informal settlement upgrading approaches. The post-Apartheid government has always had the development of slum areas in its policy, while the exact meaning of it seems to change frequently. Thereby, South Africa has an active movement of grass-roots organisations in the field of development for slum dwellers. A vast amount of literature on informal settlement upgrading is available and numerous local scholars have relevant knowledge about the topic. This makes South Africa not only substantively an interesting county, but also eases the life of the researcher. Furthermore, the choice for South Africa was practical because it was possible for me to, with the help of Nico Keijzer, do an internship at Community Organisation Resource Centre; an affiliate of SDI South Africa. This organisation is growing by the year so interns are always more than welcome.

SDI South Africa provided me with a choice to do my internship in Johannesburg or Durban. This choice would affect my research location. After some background research on informal settlement upgrading projects in both cities I concluded that there were more clear examples of contemporary upgrading in Durban; state-led, but moreover community-driven. The SDI network in Durban is more mature and active than in Johannesburg at the moment and therefore there are more informal

settlement communities being approached to initiate with the SDI-approach. Another factor that influenced the decision for a city was one of safety. Partly based on advices from experts, but mostly on my own perception, Durban seemed a city where I could work and move more freely as a white European.

Following the choice for Durban as the city in which to base this research a specific location still had to be chosen for the case study. Since I also wanted to gain insights in the trans(locality) of the community in an informal settlement, I chose to study one specific settlement. Both in the literature on informal settlement upgrading and in SDI's online documentation I came across the informal settlement of Cato Crest. Because of its rich history during the Apartheid era and the state-led development projects that started afterwards, this settlement has the interest of several researchers. SDI also seemed to be involved with the community in Cato Crest in terms of a people-centrered approach. All in all a settlement where the two different upgrading approaches take place. However, after my arrival in Durban is turned out that SDI's online information was not really up-to-date; the plans for a bottom-up upgrading process stopped two years ago and despite of the remaining contact between SDI and community leaders in Cato Crest no actual development had taken place. This left me for a decision; find another research area where both upgrading approaches co-exist or change the angle of incidence of my research. The first option turned out to be impossible since there were no settlements in Durban where SDI upgrading reached the level of implementation and where state-led upgrading had also taken place. Hence I had to make adjustments in my research questions. Instead of comparing the two approaches in one settlement I decided to investigate the effect of the state-led upgrading on the households in Cato Crest and with my observations and inside knowledge that I obtained during my internship at CORC I could give useful recommendations for further collaboration between SDI and the community in Cato Crest for future bottom-up upgrading of the settlement.

The last point that has to be raised about Cato Crest is about its charted history in other studies. Due to its turbulent history, its national prominence as Presidential Lead Project and its location near the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard Campus it has been a 'playground' for anthropologists, sociologists, development scholars and spatial planners. For this reason some experts consider Cato Crest as 'over-researched', which can result in people getting tired of giving interviews and filling in questionnaires. If it was not for the attempts of SDI to link Cato Crest to their approach it would have been better to change the research location. However, the results of this research could help SDI in their strategy by providing more insights in the local issues that are the effect of state-led upgrading.

3.1.3. *Unit of analysis: the household*

The unit of analysis in this research is the household in Cato Crest. A household can be considered as "a person or co-resident group of people who contributes to and/or benefits from a joint economy in either cash of domestic labour that is a group who lives and eats together" (Rakodi C. , 2002, p. 7). In the livelihood approach the focus is also on households since, in most cases, they collectively have access to tangible and intangible capitals which define their decisions and strategies on pursuing their livelihood. Households and their composition change over time, but are an important determinant and outcome of capabilities, choices and strategies (Rakodi C. , 2002).

Despite the fact that Rakodi's definition of the household recognizes the changeability of a household, it fails to point out the translocality of many households in developing countries by adding that they should live and eat together. A relevant study that seeks to correct this position, is that of De Wet and Holbrook (1997) focusing on the regionalization of the household in former Ciskei. It is argued that a household contains at least four elements; kinship or familial aspect, task-related aspect, (non) co-residence and sources of identity and social markers. They give rise to what is called "the multiple homestead household" (de Wet & Holbrook, 1997, p. 255). The overall household is thus stretched out between two or more physical, economic and moral localities. A translocal perspective is also very relevant in this case study. Cato Crest is, mainly due to its location near Durban's city centre, seen as an ending point for residential migration by many of its inhabitants. This means that most of them have lived in one or more other location in and around Durban. Not only do people stay in touch with members of their rural homestead, as De Wet & Holbrook (1997) argue, but also with people from their previous places of settlement.

3.2. Sampling

The sampling in this research was a selective process. During the first weeks of my stay in Durban I came, with the help of a professor from the Department of Development Studies of UKZN, in contact with Sibongile. She was presented as an experienced translator who could help me translate Zulu into English. We met to discuss my research topics and she seemed familiar with the sorts of interviews I was planning to do. Thanks to Sibongile I became acquainted with Milton Gcwensa; a former community leader in Cato Crest and currently the director of Sukuma Arts and Culture Project. With him I had an introductory interview to gain more information about Cato Crest. I asked him to assist me in finding respondents for my interviews since he knows most of the people in the settlement and is seen as trustworthy because of his dedication towards the community.

I explained to Milton that I needed a good representation of the settlement in the twelve to fifteen interviews I was planning to conduct. Within this sample group there thus had to be a differentiation in terms of shelter type (formal housings, shacks and tin houses), different areas in Cato Crest and gender. Since the majority of the residents in Cato Crest are still living in shacks, Milton suggested that one-third of the respondents had to be RDP dwellers. The other two-thirds would be shack dwellers, also containing some tin house dwellers.

Although I have claimed earlier on in this thesis and chapter that the household is the best unit of analysis in a livelihood approach, it can be difficult in a methodological sense. Who should you speak to when asking questions about the household? I did not choose to specifically ask only the adult male or female from a household. A conjugal household is relatively rare in Cato Crest and other informal settlement. Therefore, I chose to interview one of the adult members of the household and thoroughly trace down how the household composition looked like. This information was taken into account in the rest of the interview.

In total thirteen residents of Cato Crest were interviewed on their livelihood, sense of community and participation in the development process; one community leader in Cato Crest on a local saving scheme; Milton Gcwensa was interviewed on Cato Crest in general and three experts were interviewed on different relevant topics. Although the respondents form a good reflection of the population of Cato Crest in terms of shelter type, the gender ratio was unevenly distributed. Women were more willing to participate in the interviews and simply more present during the times the interviews were conducted. This bias is thus a result from the choices I made to visit Cato Crest only during the day and on weekdays, which was recommended by several professors of UKZN because of safety considerations.

3.3.   Research methods

The explorative character of this research allowed me to be flexible in both my research design and data collection. In hindsight this flexibility was necessary to adapt my research questions and change my interview guide to make them more relevant.

3.3.1. Literature review

Reading relevant literature on topics such as informal settlement upgrading, sense of community and community participation formed the lion's share of the research preparation. The topic of this study touches different theoretical perspectives which made it necessary to combine different relevant elements into one theoretical framework. The literature study also contained background research

on the urban history of South Africa and Durban in particular. Policy documents from SDI were read to gain more understanding in the people-centered upgrading approach and to be well-prepared for the internship at CORC. Literature research was not only conducted prior to the field work in Durban. Also during the revision of the theoretical part of the thesis and writing the contextual chapters new literature was used.

3.3.2. Research questions

The drafted research questions (the main question and its sub questions) formed the backbone for the research proposal prior to the fieldwork. They are the result from findings during the literature study and discussions with my supervisor. In logical order the different relevant theoretical are addressed in the different sub questions and step-wise this leads to an answer to the main research question of this thesis. All of them have been subject to slight, or more structural, changes during the process. This was mainly because the change of angle of incidence and other new findings during the fieldwork in Durban. The iterative character of this research can be well retrieved in the adaptations in the research questions.

3.3.3. Designing the interview guide

The first way of collecting data in this research was conducting semi-structured interviews with residents of Cato Crest. A prepared interview guide formed the guideline. Prior to the fieldwork in Durban, this interview guide was a list of topics that needed to be discussed. After the first observation and more literature research every topic was made concrete by adding certain questions. The design of the guide was still flexible, which allowed me to ask more questions about a certain topic which turned out to be more relevant for a respondent and skipping questions which were not so relevant in a certain case. A template of the interview guide can be found in Appendix I.

3.3.4. Exploration and observations in Durban

Throughout my entire period of field work in Durban observations were undertaken, though with different intentions. During the first weeks the observations served mainly to give me some first impressions of life itself in informal settlements. My internship at CORC provided me great opportunities to visit several settlements in and around Durban with the guidance of professionals and local leaderships. The observations I made here were very helpful for completing my interview guide.

My observations in Cato Crest took place every week after I conducted the interviews in the local library. I asked my respondents for permission to visit their house, shack or tin house to have a look

and take some pictures. It also gave me an opportunity to walk with them to Cato Crest and ask them some questions in a more informal setting. Only one respondent refused such a visit. The way that respondents were walking through Cato Crest also told me a lot about their sense of community. Some of them walked straight to their house/shack, but others stopped at other places to chat with neighbours and to tell them why I was walking along with them. My translator Sibongile was always present during the observations.

During my internship period at CORC my observation focus changed from understanding livelihoods in informal settlements towards a specific look at the SDI upgrading approach. I was closely involved in the community mobilisation and enumeration process in two settlements; Mathambo and Havelock. I attended community meetings, supported active residents in the process and went along on site visits and meetings with the local government. Working along as an employee of CORC gave me a tremendous amount of inside information and a close look on what is actually happening on the field. I gained the confidence and respect of both my colleagues at CORC and community leaderships which opened many doors that would have remained closed otherwise. They even gave me a Zulu name; Njabulo (which can be translated as 'joy').

3.3.5. *Conducting the interviews*

For around one and a half month I visited Cato Crest two days a week to conduct interview with residents. The interviews were held in the Cato Crest public library. This meant that I could do the interviews without any distractions and allowed me to audiotape the conversations. Milton made sure that the right respondents were showing up to meet me at the library. The durations of the interviews were variable; some lasted less than an hour, while other conversations lasted almost two hours in total. Most interviews were split into two parts on different days as can be seen in Appendix II. In most cases the questions on livelihood and sense of community were asked during the first interview and questions on the development process in Cato Crest were the topic of the second interview.

Some respondents talked more freely which made the interview more like a conversation, while others answered the questions more briefly. At the end of every research day in Cato Crest I met up with Milton to discuss the selection of respondents for the upcoming week and to evaluate the respondents from that day. I recognize the fact that the selection of respondents could be a little biased due to the fact that they were selected by one person. However, this is outweighed by his trustworthiness and the clear instructions I gave him concerning the respondent's characteristics.

To help to structure the questions on a household's livelihood I asked the respondents to draw the people they interact with in their livelihood and write down where they live. In most cases this led to a good overview of their social ties in the activity network. An example can be seen in Figure 3.1. Not every respondent was able to provide me with a proper visual display. In one case this was due to the physical condition of the respondents, but in other cases because the respondents kept on talking and forgot to draw their social contact. When this happened repetitively I chose not to interrupt them and be flexible with the use of the drawings.
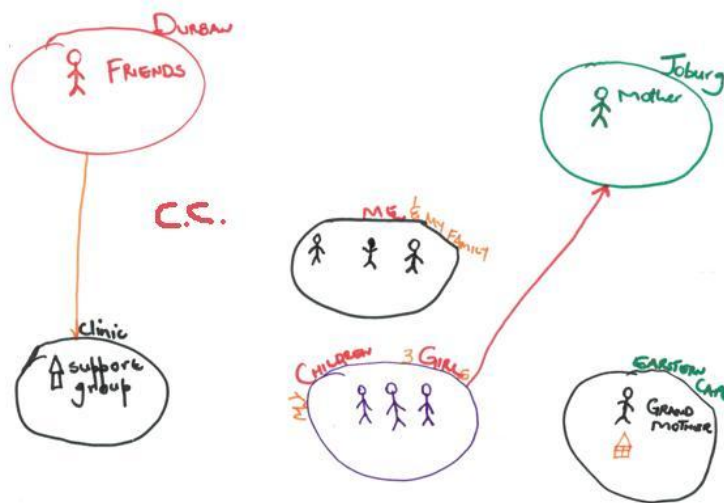
Figure 3.1. Respondent's drawing of social ties in her livelihood

In addition of the interviews with residents of Cato Crest, I also conducted interviews with three experts. Two of these interview were held with scholars from UKZN; Professor Brij Maharaj from the Department of Environmental Sciences and Professor Richard Ballard from the Department of Development Studies. Both interviews served to obtain more background information on Durban and informal settlement upgrading in Durban in specific to place some of my preliminary finding in the right context, given their expertise in this terrain[13]. The third expert interview was held with Njabulo Maseko from Cato Manor Area Based Management (ABM) on the state-led development process in Cato Crest. These expert interviews were conducted towards the end of my research period in Durban. I made this choice so I would not be distracted from the data collected among Cato Crest's residents. At hindsight, it also could have been useful to hold the expert interviews at the beginning of my field work so more background information could have been integrated in the interview guide.

3.3.6. *Analyzing the results*

It was my goal to structure the collected data as soon as possible during the fieldwork period in order to also be able to remember and write down certain observations during the interview and/or visit to the respondent's home. The interviews were all transcribed as soon as possible after they were conducted. I also filed and sorted the pictures that were taken during the observations right away.

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[13] See references to Maharaj (2002) and Ballard (2005) in Chapter 5.

This meant that all my research results were ready to be analysed when I returned from Durban. However, I chose to complete the first chapters of my thesis before starting the data analysis. This had my preference because it would allow me to analyse the results more structurally. The disadvantage of this approach was that a lot of information was not fresh in my head anymore, so I had to thoroughly read all my manuscripts again before starting the analysis.

Different techniques were used to structure the empirical data to able to analyse it properly. Prior to the analysis of the empirical data from the semi-structured interview with residents from Cato Crest the respondents were divided into four clusters (Table 3.1)

Clustering	**Active**	**Not active**
RDP house	"Served and Involved"	"Beyond Involvement"
Shack / Tin house	"Collectivism"	"Indifference"

Table 3.1. Cross tabulation of the clustering of the respondents.

In the first variable of the cross tabulation a distinction is made between 'living in a RDP house' and 'living in a shack/tin house'. This has been one of the features on which the respondents are selected and could be of importance in terms of the way they view Cato Crest and the further upgrading of the settlement. The second variable is one that made a distinction between respondents that are 'active' and 'not active' in activities in Cato Crest. This is a very arbitrary concept, so a dividing line has been created with the total picture of the respondents in mind. The majority of respondents is involved in a *stokvel*[14] and attends church in Cato Crest. Although these activities could easily be defined as active community behaviour, they did not necessarily show community behaviour. *Stokvels* often take place in an anonymous setting whereby participants save money for their individual goals. Attending church does also not significantly define community behaviour as people

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[14] A '*stokvel*' is a savings group with around ten or more people where the members can only join after being invited. Each member contributes money on a fixed time (usually monthly) and the saved money is released on a certain date (usually once a year in December). This saved money can serve different purposes; in this study the majority of the *stokvel*s were for food. For more information read '*The Origen and Legal Nature of the Stokvel*' by W.G. Schulze (1997).

often merely attend the Sunday service and go home afterwards. If attending church involves more than this, it is indicated in the analysis. Some of the respondents proved to be active in more activities besides a *stokvel* and attending the local church. This group is labelled as 'active in the community'. It is thus important to understand the meaning of this variable in the context of this research, namely its relativity.

The second variable is one that has been established after the interviews with the respondents. This is, in contrast to the first variable, not independent since it can also be an outcome. There must be understood that it is not a fixed status; it can change over time and is influenced by all sorts of experiences and developments. For the purpose of this research, however, it indicates a certain mindset among the respondents in terms of their position in the settlement. Therefore it is valuable to use it as a variable to distinguish certain groups.

As mentioned earlier, when analysing the livelihoods of the respondents the different drawings were not always sufficient. I chose to develop a matrix with all the livelihood activities and corresponding people and visualise this in a map using the cartographic software programme ArcGIS 10. For the topics 'sense of community' and 'state-led upgrading' I made a matrix of categories and respondents and I placed evidence within such categories. This method, described by Miles & Huberman (1994), allowed me to make a clear overview of the collected data which was relevant for analysis.

3.4.   Methodological reflections

Conducting a research abroad brings about several challenges and difficulties for a research, especially for an inexperienced one. The main challenge during this research was to stay flexible during the entire process. Especially the first weeks in Durban provided me with a lot of new information that sometimes opposed assumptions that I made during the preparation period. This called for the need to adapt my former ideas and change my angle of incidence.

Another big challenge was the language. Only a few respondents in Cato Crest and local community leaders from other settlements were able to speak English, and then mostly at a minimal level. This meant that to gather information I had to depend on the help of someone who could translate Zulu into English. Luckily, at CORC people were always happy to provide me with the necessary translations during community meetings and site visits. Despite all the help I received with translations research bias remains as translations are vulnerable to the interpretation of the translator (Temple & Young, 2004).

As an inexperienced research in South Africa I was depending on others to conduct this research. Since I did not have a car to travel to the more distant informal settlements during my internship I always needed to go along with a CORC colleague with a car. But more important than dependency for transportation, the biggest issue was that of safety, the perception of safety to be more precise. Both colleagues from CORC and professors from UKZN advised me not to visit informal settlement by unaccompanied by someone else and always meet up with a local community leader. For this reason I always entered Cato Crest together with my translator Sibongile. It is hard to assess to actual level of safety in the areas I have visited during my stay. I never experienced any conveniences in the informal settlement, but then I always followed the protocol that people advised me to follow. In hindsight these measures were maybe a little overdone, but in an unknown area where the situation can change in a second it is better to take as little risks as possible. This affected by research in the way that I was not only depending on my own time schedule to conduct my research, but also on that of others.

Although the internship at CORC opened a lot of doors for me and made me able to discuss relevant topics for my research with colleagues, it was a limitation in terms of time. I was expected to work four days a week for CORC, which gave me three days a week to do my own research. Many experiences during my time at CORC also contributed to new insights relating this study, but it also meant to I was working in a tight schedule to conduct my research.

Finally, an issue that many researchers will experience is whether they will compensate their respondents and assistants. In the case of Sibongile it was very clear; she is doing this as a part time job next to her work at UKZN so she expected to be paid. I still decided to take her offer because of her experience, integrity and know-how in the subject. It was more difficult to decide whether to pay the respondents in Cato Crest. I chose to give each respondent 50 Rand (the equivalent of around 5 euros) but did not mention this payment prior to the interview. I noticed that some of the respondents were surprised to receive this form of compensation and that others were clearly expecting it all along. There is criticism on paying respondents. In my opinion, this is naïve since respondents for laboratorial experiments also get compensated with money. My motivation to do so was above all a moral one; the idea that people took the time to talk one to two hours to me made me wanting to compensate them. Since my respondents were not aware of the financial compensation before and during the interview I am convinced that this matter did not influence the collected data.

– Chapter 4 –

UPGRADING POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

"Although there are many different types of development professionals operating in and with deprived communities, one perhaps can distinguish between two prototypes of professionals. Let us first ascribed names to these two typical professionals, just for the purpose of the example, and call them 'Tau' and 'Kado'. Tau views community participation as a tool to deliver development products as soon and as effectively as possible, to the beneficiary community. At the end of a multimillion informal settlement upgrading project Tau's approach paid off resulting in 4000 sites that were serviced, with electricity installed in each site (an amenity which had not initially been budgeted for) and savings for the community based organization (of which the community leaders were part) of nearly R1 million in the bank. Basically, Tau employs a utilitarian idea of participation in development which emphasizes the delivery of the development product, come hell or high water! He predominantly applies community participation as a tool for carrying out a task or as a means to an end (…) Kado, on the other hand, regards community participation as an end in itself. For him continuous communication and dialogue are the key to create a conducive environment to work as partners with the community and its leaders. He argues that set objectives and tangible products are not less important but the process of achieving them is of equal importance. After ending their relationship with Tau the community leaders opted to work with Kado. Kado facilitated the restructuring of the Community Based Organisation (CBO) in such a way that the community leaders could receive remuneration for what is termed community consultancy work. Kado is also a firm believer and practitioner or interactive decision-making processes. One wonders what the reasoning of the community leaders is when they have opted to work with Kado, instead of Tau. Perhaps Kado understands the spirit of the community and its leaders better."

(Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 44)

In the first chapter of this thesis, a short history of dealing with informal settlements by the South African post-Apartheid government was given. Although there are numerous different upgrading approaches in the country, this chapter provides an overview of two different upgrading approaches similar to the two prototypes of Tau and Kado (see above). Firstly, the state-led approach will be explained through national guidelines and their interpretation on local level by the eThekwini Municipality. Secondly, an alternative, community-driven way of upgrading informal settlements will be presented. The approach of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) South Africa will be used as an example. The angle of incidence in this overview is the way in which communities are tended to be approached and the extent to which they are able to participate in the upgrading process.

Knowledge of the rationales and methods of both approaches is necessary to be able to understand the effects that they have on informal settlements dwellers and the existing communities, which will be analyzed in later in this thesis.

4.1.   State-led upgrading

The upgrading developments that were initiated in Cato Crest in 2003 are state-led. It is therefore relevant to elaborate on this form of upgrading. As mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, the South African government changed its policy towards informal settlements over the last years. Its policy has shifted from the technocratic housing-delivery approach of the RDP Programme towards a more participatory process with clear attention for community participation. In the second chapter the multiple meaning of the term 'community participation' showed that the actual outcomes of using this concept in a certain way can vary enormously. This means that interpretations of national policy on this by local governments can also be different.

South African municipalities receive the national guidelines on informal settlement policies from the Department of Human Settlements. One of the key objectives is the *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements according to The National Housing Code (2009) is community empowerment for which "[t]he municipality must demonstrate effective interactive community participation (…) through Ward Committees[15] with ongoing effort in promoting and ensuring the inclusion of key stakeholders and vulnerable groups in the process" (Department of Human Settlements, 2009, p. 15). In The National Housing Code (2009) 'community participation' has its own section where it is argued that extensive community participation is necessary for a successful upgrading process, but when the explicit tasks for facilitating community participation are described it is stated that this facilitation should at least contain "projection information sharing and process reporting" (Department of Human Settlements, 2009, p. 31). This leaves quite some room for the way that this objective needs to be achieved on local level.

The provincial Department of Human Settlements has the task to interpret the directives from the national policy for their own needs and, from here, determine the release of funds from national to

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[15] Ward committees are created to assist the democratically elected representative of a ward (the councillor), who is also the chairperson of the committee. The committee members (max. 10) are elected by communities in the ward area and should represent a diversity of interests in the ward and be equitably representative of women. Diversity has typically been understood to mean a variety of representation (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2005).

municipal level. The municipality needs to act as the developer and the "projects are undertaken on the basis of a partnership of cooperative governance between the relevant municipality, the PD [ed. Provincial Department] and the National Department" (Department of Human Settlements, 2009, p. 27) Table 3.1 shows the responsible government entities within the process of upgrading in KZN and more specifically, the eThekwini Municipality.

Level	Primary responsibility in site selection and housing allocation	Criteria for allocation of housing subsidy	Function	Monitoring Mechanism
Department of Human Settlements (Province)	Not directly involved in site selection or housing allocation	Individual eligibility for RDP assistance	Monitor target to eliminate slums by 2014 Release funds from national to municipal at milestones	Municipality report on targets met
Housing Unit (feasibility) (Municipality)	Sites selected on technical ease of upgrade and political considerations; swing wards prime candidates. Housing allocation determined by settlement actors who are responsible for developing a list of eligible people.	Individual eligibility for RDP assistance	*Land acquisition studies *Impact assessment *Land surveys *Full costings *Plans and architectural drawings	Feasibility studies usually outsourced to contractors – monitoring against contract. Little monitoring of how housing list is developed.
Project Manager, Housing Unit (implementation) (Municipality)	PM appoints a community liaison officer (CLO), both work closely with community committees and local councillor to oversee allocation and coordinate upgrade work.	Individual eligibility for RDP assistance	*Implement upgrade *Manage and coordinate contractors and municipal actors *Principal municipal contact for community *Ensure eligibility from benefit area	Internal audit systems, feedback and reporting from contractors, CLO, community communities and councillor
Settlement	Area Committees, Ward Committees, CDC and councillor compiles housing list.	Individuals in settlement prior to a cut off date	*Decide names on the housing list *Facilitates on-site works	No official monitoring or scrutiny of who is on the housing list

Table 3.1. The process of upgrading informal settlements in eThekwini Municipality (*source: Patel, 2011*).

The actual decision to upgrade a certain informal settlement is taken by the municipality. The agenda to eradicate slums by 2014 in very strong in Durban and the eThekwini Municipality has the strongest *in situ* upgrade track across the country (Patel, 2011). Informal settlement upgrading policy is a part of the Integrated Development Plan 2011/2012, a five-year plan by the Council for the period 2011-2016. According to this document the primary intervention in urban areas "is the eradication of informal settlements through the provision of housing and a package of household services" (eThekwini Municipality, 2011b, p. 110). However, in the same document the *in situ* upgrading is also discussed. Upgrading in this sense thus means housing development. There are around 520 informal settlements[16] in the eThekwini Municipality and it is an impossible task to upgrade them all within a period of five years. "Those informal settlements that are unlikely to be upgraded in the short term are provided with a package of interim services including ablution blocks that provide water and sanitation services, drainage and access infrastructure, refuse removal services and interventions for fire prevention" (eThekwini Municipality, 2011b, p. 108).

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[16] Number according to the eThekwini profiling exercise conducted by SDI South Africa in May 2012.

In addition to these interim services, the Municipality wants to engage itself to a sustainable livelihoods programme with attention to a "stronger community responsibility and self-help as well as to facilitate a better relationship between the urban poor and the Municipality" (eThekwini Municipality, 2011b, p. 109). The way this is expected to be achieved is by appointing one project manager from the Municipality for each project and to make him responsible for appointing a community liaison officer. Together they are in contact with the local councillor and a settlement governance structure that, in their turn, are responsible for "raising the voice of shack dwellers to ensure resident participation in the upgrade process" (Patel, 2011, p. 98). Settlement-level actors are involved in the process, but "there appears to be very little official and mandatory monitoring of how these actors operate, suggesting an underacknowledgement of their power and their influence over which individuals benefit from an upgrade and which do not" (Patel, 2011, p. 99).

The local political climate also has its effect on informal settlement upgrading. eThekwini is predominantly ANC-orientated. During the last municipal elections in 2011, Jacob Zuma's party received 61.1% of the votes against 21% for the Democratic Alliance (DA) and 4.1% for the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The ANC local government has "moved effectively to try do distribute amenities more fairly throughout but this is not, of course, the same as distributing economic activities or creating a more accessible field for accumulation available to much larger number of people" (Freund, 2001, p. 532). One of these groups is informal settlement dwellers. The ANC is still more leaning towards the rationales of the RDP programme and the idea that slums can be eradicated, while the local opposition (DA) is more advocating for the opposite; community-driven development and the recognition of slums as parts of the city that are here to stay[17].

One of the current programmes of the eThekwini Municipality is that of Area Based Management and Development (ABMD). It contains a pilot of five selected areas in order to focus and improve Council delivery, from which the development of Cato Manor (the wider area of Cato Crest) is one of them (eThekwini Municipality, 2011a). The Cato Manor Area Based Management (ABM) was formed in 2003 and in a five-year plan three sets of outcomes were formulated;

1. "to enable residents to function effectively in the local and regional economy
2. (...) to enhance residents' human capacity and create a stabilised environment
3. (...) to ensure that resources and services in Cato Manor are effectively utilised" (eThekwini Municipality, 2011a, p. 10).

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[17] http://www.iolproperty.co.za/roller/news/entry/ethekwini_settlements_are_here_to.

In section 5.2.3 of this thesis the implementation of the ABM approach in the informal settlement of Cato Crest will be discussed.

4.2. Community-driven upgrading: the SDI South Africa approach

Community-driven development can be described as a response to the more technocratic approach of upgrading that you can find in state-led upgrading. Such a bottom-up approach is all but homogeneous and they differ mostly to what extent the community has the power to make certain decisions (Abbott, 2002). In this research, the SDI South Africa approach is used as an example of community-driven development since this is now an increasing form in South African informal settlements.

SDI's history shows the backlash against a top-down upgrading approach. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, during the 1980's the social conflict between South Africa's Apartheid government and the oppressed black minority was at its greatest height. The beleaguered Apartheid state resorted increasingly to brute force and terror to maintain its hegemony (South African SDI Alliance, 2011a). This resulted in deeply rooted resistance, mostly among black youth in slum areas. During these years a network of people from informal settlements across the country emerged to think about alternatives in terms of housing. Part of this network was the NGO 'People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter' which formed housing saving schemes due to an increasing number of people living in shacks (South African SDI Alliance, 2011a). In 1994 these saving schemes officially launched themselves as the ´South African Homeless People´s Federation´ (the Federation) and became a formalised network of autonomous local organisations, with close relations to the NGO ´People´s Dialogue´. The Federation had the following characteristics (Bolnick J. , 1996, p. 1):

- "all member organizations are rooted in shack settlements, backyard shacks or hostels;
- all organizations are involved in savings and credit, managed at grassroots level by the members themselves;
- while men are not excluded, the vast majority of Federation members are women;
- all organizations are involved in struggles for security of land tenure and affordable housing;
- self-reliance and autonomy are hallmarks of Federation groups. Power and decision-making are highly decentralized, with individual organizations responsible for their own development activity and direction."

Important impacts in the manifestation of the Federation were the visits to the Indian 'National Slum Dwellers Federation' (NSDF) in 1991 and 1992. South African members saw that millions of India's

urban poor, despite decades of independence, were still living in shacks. This tempered their illusion of a possible ANC government that could solve all the housing problems. The Federation realized that the solution would have to come from the people themselves. Therefore they set the primary goal to develop the Federation's members' capacity to conceive, control and implement their own poverty alleviation strategies via development activities targeting their own communities (South African SDI Alliance, 2011a).

In 1996 the South African and Indian federations launched Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI or 'the Alliance'), which nowadays has affiliates in 33 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In South Africa, the Alliance consists of four partner organisations:

1. Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP): a collaboration of local saving schemes by urban poor that empowers communities to save, develop knowledge and capacities, build houses and acquire land. A strong focus lies on the participation of women within these saving schemes.

2. Informal Settlement Network (ISN): an agglomeration where informal settlements are organised and have leadership structures on settlement-level and national level. The goal is to create solidarity and unity among urban poor so they can be organised and develop themselves. A national network of slum dwellers can give them a stronger voice.

3. Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC): a support-NGO where professionals and grass-roots activists gather to help communities mobilize themselves around their own resources and capacities.

4. uTshani Fund: a credit mechanism controlled by the homeless themselves. It initiated the Community Upgrading Financing Facility (CUFF), which funds small community-initiated upgrading projects.

These four different organisations work closely together for the same mission: build strong and resilient communities capable of making cities more inclusive and pro-poor (South African SDI Alliance, 2011c).

To achieve this mission SDI South Africa's affiliates have several core practices. *Savings* start long before any physical development and are not only an important tool to collect sufficient resources, but moreover to create trust among the participating households. The savings bring people together on a regular basis, build a local resource base which makes communities more resilient against poverty and the process creates an on-going learning environment (South African SDI Alliance, 2011c). *Mobilisation* occurs when regional leaders go to communities and explain the core activities of the Alliance. Instead of mobilisation against external threats, the aim is to organise communities around their own resources and knowledge. The next step is *enumeration*; the creation of a socio-

economic and demographic profile of the settlement. The process has to be initiated and run by the community itself with the idea that knowledge about their own settlement means more power and visibility for dealing with governments (South African SDI Alliance, 2011c). Local knowledge is being put into practice during the *community based planning* phase. Supported by professionals from CORC, communities create their own development plans and draw them into a map. This can be used as a negotiating tool and to show their capabilities to the local government. By doing *exchanges* with other settlements (local, national or international) communities gain new information, knowledge and skills. This horizontal learning creates the critical mass and body of knowledge produced by the poor required to take community-based planning to scale (South African SDI Alliance, 2011c). The final stage is that of *implementation* where all the preparation of the community comes together in a solution. This implementation needs to happen with minimal disruption to the living environment and with enough space that communities can learn by doing (South African SDI Alliance, 2011c). When a community has been able to successfully implement and sustain an upgrading project their experiences can be a source of useful information for the urban poor somewhere else. However, it must be understood that this process is also iterative. For example; when there is no sufficient support within a community during the enumeration phase there has to be taken a step back to mobilise community members.

SDI recognizes the need for collaboration with the (local) government in upgrading informal settlements as in a renewed strategy the attention for building partnerships with local government was made clear. "Such partnerships address the make-or-break need to transform community participation in informal settlement upgrading from an afterthought to central plank of such work" (South African SDI Alliance, 2011b, p. 3). In this, it is very important to have a common information base, collected by communities and certified by the municipality. Thereby, it ensures that policymakers and implementers work with and learn from the communities (Bradlow, 2010). With the City of Cape Town and the Stellenbosch Municipality, official agreements with SDI were made in 2009 and 2012 to work together in the upgrading process of 33 informal settlements across the city. Up to this moment, there is no official partnership with the eThekwini Municipality, but SDI is putting a lot of effort in involving local government in their process.

The most important difference between the state-led approach and the SDI approach is that, at the start of the upgrading process, the state's focus is mainly on housing while SDI puts more emphasis on building strong communities and identifying issues such as electricity, access to water and to sanitation. Also, South Africa's government has the tendency to favour large-scale upgrading projects to fight the country's ever-growing housing backlog. Despite the fact that this preference has been

45

reduced over the last years it still not meet the needs for an incremental, people-centrered upgrading approach, as advocated by SDI (Bolnick A. , 2010). The challenge for the next years is how to unite the government and grass-roots organisation into upgrading partnerships. Examples of good practices can be found mainly in municipalities in the Western Cape Province, but other South African municipalities might follow in the upcoming years. In stead of governments that decide for the urban poor, the organized urban poor and government have to decide together. That is the central message of the SDI approach; walking the path together.

– Chapter 5 –

THE URBAN CONTEXT: DURBAN

"Attempts have been made to eliminate slums but they have almost universally failed because they do not question the urban model that generates the slums in the first place" (Bolay, 2006, p. 285). This thesis rejects the notion of informal settlements as areas that need to be eradicated. Rather there will be argued in this research that they are crucial elements of contemporary urbanisation. Informal settlements can thus not be seen as separate entities, but rather must be understood as an integral part of the urban domain. This chapter outlines the urban context of this study on three different levels. Firstly, a brief history of South African cities will be provided since it is important to consider the legacy of past structures and mentality for understanding contemporary urban life. Subsequently, the urban features of Durban will be discussed, because this is the urban setting of this research. Finally, there will be zoomed in on the Cato Manor area and more specifically Cato Crest; the research location in this study. Several features in the following sections are context-specific, but there will be claimed that most issues can be drawn in a broader context. The results from this study can therefore also be used in other cities in the global South, but not as blueprints.

5.1. South African cities

5.1.1. The Apartheid City and its legacy

The South African cities as we know them nowadays were almost all established by the white settlers and regarded as their cultural domain (Lemon, 1991). From the end of the nineteenth century there was a growing demand for cheap, mainly industrial, labour in the cities which led to the early urbanisation. The ruling white class allowed black labour, although its providers were not seen as fellow citizens. To control the influx and permanent settlement of the black and coloured groups the Native Act of 1923 was established. This act stated that "natives should only be allowed to enter the urban areas […] when they are willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart there from when he ceases so to minister" (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006, p. 84). "It empowered, but did not compel, local authorities to set aside land for black occupation in segregated location, to house blacks living in the town or require their employers to do so, and to implement a rudimentary system of influx control" (Lemon, 1991, p. 4). The Native Act of 1923 highlighted the beginning of the South African 'Segregation City'. It was a response to "conflicting spatial demands that arose from expanding urbanisation and an increasingly complex set of social

relations between class groups" (Davies, 1981, p. 63). Residential segregation was both imposed and voluntary.

Due to an increasing post-War economy during the 1940's, South Africa experienced an unstoppable wave of urbanisation. Shack settlements were mushrooming around the cities, leading to more bitterness among the black population and the notion of *swart gevaar* (black danger) among the whites (Lemon, 1991). The subsequent election victory of the *Herenigde Nasionale Party* (Reunited National Party) in 1948 was a turning point in South Africa politics; the term 'Apartheid' was officially introduced. In the urban context, the Group Areas Act (1950) and its amendments served as the "legal mechanism that has enforced the imposition of planned segregation upon all population groups and on all urban areas" (Davies, 1981, p. 69). Every population group was appointed their own Group Area, strictly separated by strong physical or man-made barriers. Contact between different races was reduced to an absolute minimum. This resulted in the so-called 'Apartheid city' which is displayed in Figure 4.1.

This new spatial form led to more social and spatial disadvantages for the black population. The location of Black Group Areas was in the peripheral sectors on a large distance from the CBD, which increased their transport costs and efforts. Thereby, the Group Areas legislation confined private land ownership in non-white areas to Indians, Asian and coloureds, but prohibited it to blacks (Davies, 1981). It was estimated that, in the case of Durban, 67% of the black population was required to move to achieve absolute segregation in Group Areas, while
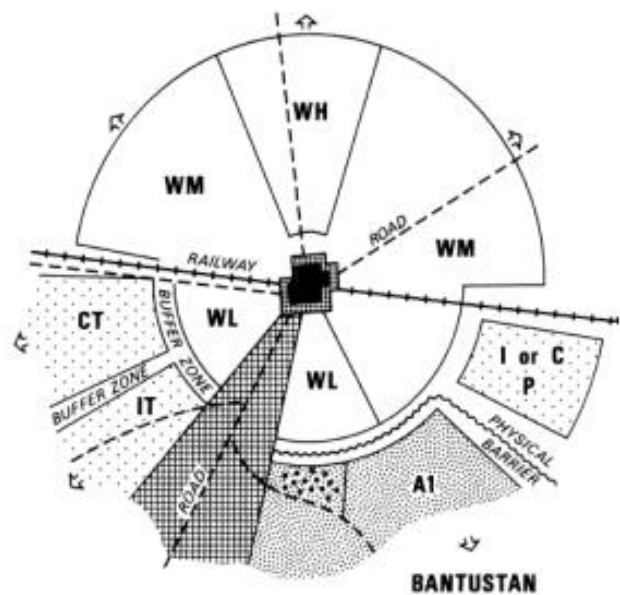
Figure 4.1. The Apartheid city (Simon, 1989)

this was only 20% among whites and 50% of the coloured and Indian population (Davies, 1972). Another result of the rigid Apartheid system in the urban context was the effective elimination of informal housing within the confines of the city boundaries. This resulted in housing shortages mainly for the black population that led to overcrowding in existing housing, and a growth of informal housing on peripheral locations in cities and on the fringes of black homelands (Davies, 1981).

The first big change for the severely suppressed blacks was the lifting of the influx control in 1985 by the South African government. From now on "[black] urbanisation was accepted as not only inevitable but as an opportunity to utilise one of a country's greatest assets, namely its people, in such a way that the end result for all will be an improvement in the quality of life" (Lemon, 1991, p. 21). The Black Communities Development Amendment Act (1986) "made possible full home ownership and introduced procedures through which the supply of land for African housing could be increased, thus making possible the development of an African housing market" (Lemon, 1991, p. 22). However, the introduction of the Slums Bill and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act (both 1988) showed that the South African government was still determined to control urban growth.

After the lifting of the influx controls the strict divides of the Apartheid city began to fade. Another important catalyst here was the growing housing shortage created by the racial segregation. So-called 'grey areas' started to appear; "white parts of the Apartheid city where people other than whites have taken up illegal residents" (Beavon, 1992, p. 236). Land invasions occurred more and more and these squatters mainly came from the overcrowded black townships. The fact that new shacks were systematically bulldozed by the state only aggravated the strained relations between blacks and whites over residential land (Beavon, 1992). These spatial injustices in the urban context were among the most important reasons that civil unrest in South Africa reached its climax. A few years later, in 1990, the official abolishment of the Apartheid occurred and in 1994 South Africa had its first democratic elections.

Although South Africa has been the only country with such a thorough reorganisation of its urban space the Apartheid city has its roots in processes that happened all over the world. In a sense, the social formation of all colonial cities in the global South was influenced by "forces of control, imposed to maintain relations of dominance, depended crucially on control of access to political power, but also included control of access to means of production and levels of employment, and to the means of upward socio-economic mobility; control over land resources, their ownership, use and distribution, and over access to services and amenities; and control over spatial relations through segregation and urban containment" (Lemon, 1991, p. 2). However, a comparative study of Freund (2001) on urban segregation in Durban and Abidjan also reveals certain differences among African cities despite a similar colonial (urban) history. South Africa's planning policy focused mainly on race and zoning, while this was not so much the case in other African countries. In Abidjan, for example, the mixture of income classes has always been much higher. South Africa had, and still has, much more of a "Not In My Backyard syndrome" (Freund, 2001, p. 544).

"Despite the collapse of the Apartheid regime, the legacy of almost half a century of Apartheid urban policy remains a strong influence on urban form in South Africa" (Pacione, 2006, p. 473). Even now, after almost two decades of democracy, South African cities still have an exceptionally high level of segregation. Although the process of desegregation has been taken place slowly, especially the urban white population is still very segregated. The black population has become more integrated, but "the majority is constrained in their choice of residential options by the general levels of poverty" (Christopher, 2001, p. 449). New black ghettos have emerged in the centres of cities that used to be whites group areas during the Apartheid regimes. The white upper- and middle-class increasingly perched in highly segregated suburbs, or even in the growing number of gated communities. The post-Apartheid city is a place of continuing segregation with clear class divisions that can be referred to as "deracialised Apartheid" (Pacione, 2006, p. 475). This had led to dissatisfaction amongst the disadvantaged and a coherent existence of numerous social movements in the South Africa (Ballard & al., 2005) and is also the case when it comes to housing and the policy on informal settlements.

5.1.2. *Metropolitan area of Durban*

Before discussing Durban's demographic and urban features it is important to demarcate what it actually entails. Durban lies on South Africa's east coast in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and is a part of the eThekwini Municipality. This municipality has around 3.5 million[18] inhabitants and stretches from the Tongaat River in the north to the Umkomaas River in the south and Cato Ridge in the west (Figure 4.2). According to the South African Community Survey in 2007 the Municipality has 71% black, 19% Indian or Asian, 8% white and 2% coloured inhabitants. Zulu is, at 63%, the most-spoken first language, followed by English (30%) and Xhosa (3%).

eThekwini Municipality has a "complex and dynamic interface between rural and urban areas in terms of services, commuting patterns, development potential and community interdependence" (Maharaj, 2002, p. 7). In official terms, Durban is only the Central Business District (CBD) and its direct adjacent area, the harbour area plus the area between Westville and Berea. In the context of this research it is more useful to refer to Durban as the wider urban area in the Municipality.

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[18] These are the official numbers, but the total population is expected to be higher due to a large number of unregistered (informal) dwellers.
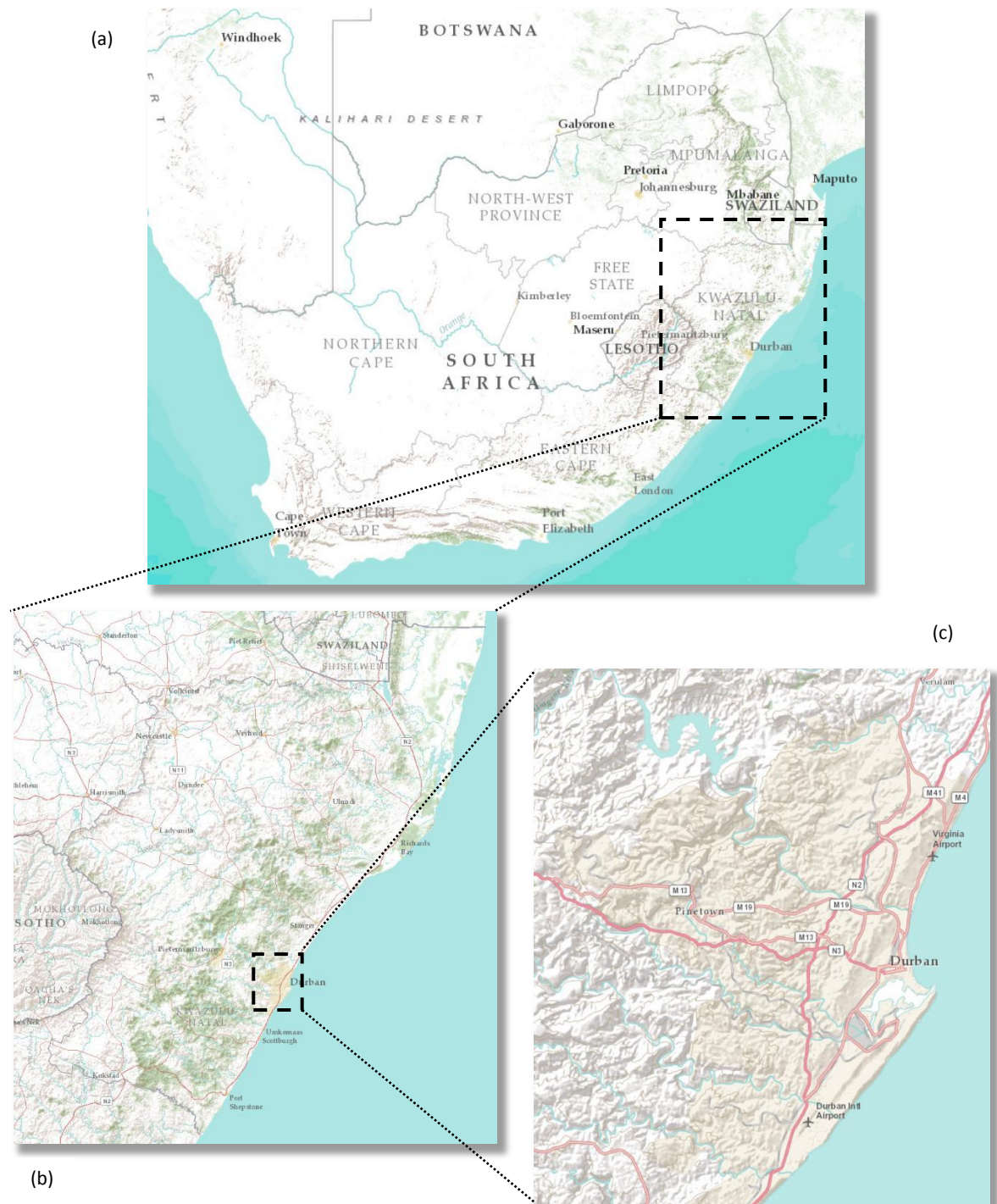
Figure 4.2. The location of KZN in South Africa (a), eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality in KZN (b) and an overview of the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality (c) (*source: ArcGIS – topology basemap*)

Durban has, just like other South African cities, a turbulent history with regard to colonisation, influx controls and Group Areas, but distinguishes itself with certain aspects. The most obvious one is the significantly large proportion of Indians in the city and its wider region. Halfway the nineteenth century, the black population started to outnumber the whites in the city by two to one. Despite the viability of the indigenous economy, their access to the colonial labour force was constrained. The

white population was scared of this rising tension and wanted to diminish the indigenous' viability. For this purpose Indian agricultural labour was imported from 1860 on. As a "rural, immigrant, poor working class population without effective political influence, Indians initially offered no material threat to the dominant colonial group" (Lemon, 1991, p. 73). For the white minority it was a good alternative to retain cheap labour yet reduce the black people's uprising mobility. When the Indians became more urbanised and their number started to grow rapidly the whites constrained, but not suppressed, them. During Apartheid the Indian population was also subordinate and lived in their appointed Indian Group Areas, but they were not as oppressed as the blacks during these days. Despite the limits of the Apartheid regime many Indians managed to build up a thriving commerce which led to an upwards social mobility for them in the post-Apartheid era (Hart & Padayashee, 2000).

Having the busiest non-bulk shipping port on the African continent and the second busiest port in the southern hemisphere (eThekwini Municipality, 2010) certainly had its effect on the economic function of Durban in the area. Since South Africa is fully integrated in global commodity trade, Durban has become the most important gateway with transport corridors throughout the whole country, notably to South Africa's economic centre of Gauteng region.

Durban's skyline resembles that of a Western city, but a closer look reveals the mixture of the First and Third world. The streets in the CBD are bustling with street hawkers and hundreds of continuously stopping taxi buses. Several high-rise towers house western companies, South African banks and other business, while the more decayed flats now serve as housing blocks for the (mainly) black inner city population. White commercial and residential flight is a notable feature in this part of town (Freund, 2001). The CBD is very much alive during the day, but deserted after sunset. Most non-residents consider the CBD as a no-go area during the night. The neighbourhoods outside Durban's CBD are, in general, a mixture of middle-class black and lower-middle class white residents. The prediction that the city's "spatial structure [...] including its highly structured residential relationships, which reflect sharp economic divisions, is likely to remain intact" (Lemon, 1991, p. 89) has come true for the most part of Durban. The wealthy areas of Durban North, Westville and Hillcrest are still predominantly inhabited by the white population; Chatsworth, Phoenix and Verulam are clusters of the Indian community and the former black townships of Umlazi, Inanda, KwaMashu and Ntuzuma have still almost only black residents (Frith, 2001)[19]. In some respects, "the city is being

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[19] Since South Africa's 2011 Census is not published yet, the results of the 2001 Census are used in this research.

re-segregated along new fault-lines rather than desegregated" (Freund, 2001, p. 532). This statement needs to be nuanced by the occurrence of an upper- and middleclass black population since the abolition of Apartheid and the degradation of poor whites in South Africa. These numbers are relatively small compared to the number of the poor black population, but are worth to be mentioned in this sense.

The 520 informal settlements in Durban can be found throughout the entire metropolitan area, but are not evenly distributed. Figure 4.3 shows the dispersion of informal structures known by the eThekwini Municipality in October 2012. The map clearly reveals that the vast majority of the informal settlements are located relatively far away from the city centre. In the southern part of Metro Durban, most settlements are located in and around the former townships of Umlazi, Chatsworth and, more towards the west, Mpumalanga. Several settlements with a big population also lie in the far north of the city, in the so-called PINK-region[20]. Informal settlements are not only manifestations located on the fringes of Durban. Vast settlements in the midst of residential areas are the result of the squatting of public (and sometimes private) land. There are even cases where private land owners allow shacks to be built in exchange for some compensation. The number of informal settlements is changing continuously
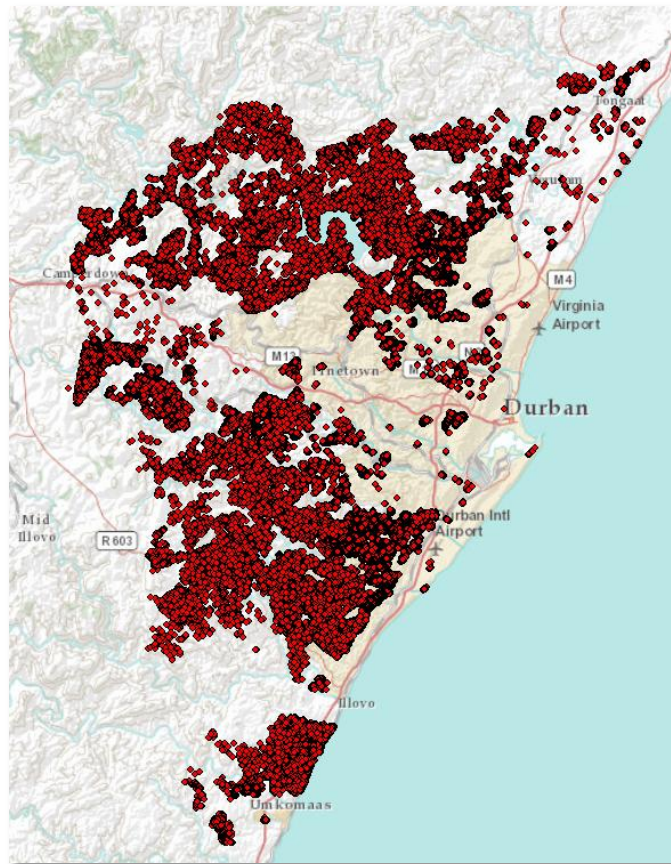
Figure 4.3. Location of informal structures in the eThekwini Municipality *(source: eThekwini Corporate GIS)*.

since new ones pop up overnight and others are being formalised by the local government. According to official numbers, the proportion of people in the eThekwini Municipality that live in informal dwellings decreased from 19.1% in 2001 to 17.1% in 2007 (Statistics South Africa, 2009), but these numbers cannot be completely accurate because of, logically, the informality of its dwellers.

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[20] The PINK-region is known as the area including four former townships in Durban; Phoenix, Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu.

Informal settlements are mainly a result of decades of housing shortages and the economic migration of people from, mainly, rural KZN and Eastern Cape to the city of Durban. Thereby, a significantly high birth rate among informal settlement dwellers also, eventually, contributes to a growing demand for housing (Cross, Bekker, & Clark, 1994).

The municipal website of eThekwini proudly states 'By 2030 eThekwini will be Africa's most caring and liveable city', but the city has some big problems to solve first. The most urgent problem in the informal settlements is the poignant living conditions for its inhabitants. The Municipality sees these problems, but not the capacity to provide all these settlement with sufficient facilities and services. This thesis advocates that collaboration between local government and grass roots organisation is needed to tackle the problems for shack dwellers effectively. It means that the government should stop degrading slums as urban waste pits that need to be cleansed, polished and re-delivered as massive housing projects. The informal settlement has to be taken for what it really is; "an urban habitat that has deteriorated and must be rehabilitated and organised jointly with the full participation of its inhabitants" (Bolay, 2006, p. 295). The resources and capacities of informal settlement dwellers must be acknowledged to let them become equal partners in the process.

Other South African cities face the same problems regarding informal settlements. At the time of writing Johannesburg is experiencing several solidarity marches to improve the lives of the shack dwellers[21] and earlier this year similar protests took place in Cape Town[22]. Although these are not mass manifestations, they show an issue that is present at national scale. Also in other parts of the world people living in shacks are protesting against their deprived position in the urban system. From the streets of Chennai[23] (India) to the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro[24], informal settlement dwellers are claiming their right to the city. They all have in common that they feel neglected as being a part of the city they live in.

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[21] http://ewn.co.za/2012/09/11/JHB-informal-residents-protest

[22] http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/07/16/residents-burn-toilets-in-protest

[23] http://newindianexpress.com/cities/chennai/article599335.ece

[24] http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/americas/brazilian-slumdwellers-homes-condemned-with-a-lick-of-paint

5.2. Cato Crest

5.2.1. Location

Cato Crest is, at a distance of 5 kilometres, the closest informal settlement to the city centre of Durban (Figure 4.4a). Due to this location the area has always been an attractive place for people to settle. Nowadays it is locked-in between the residential areas of Westridge, Wiggins and Bonela. Cato Crest is part of the wider Cato Manor area; a notorious, vast informal settlement that is now mostly formalized with RDP housing and infrastructure. Cato Crest is one of the few remaining parts with shacks, but also contains new RDP houses and temporary tin houses. In Figure 4.4b can clearly be seen that the formal houses are mainly constructed in the centre of the settlement and shack structures are still dominating the fringes of Cato Crest.

(a)

(b)

Figure 4.4. The location of Cato Crest in Durban (a) and a bird's-eye view of Cato Crest (b) (*source: ArcGIS – topology basemap (a) and Bing Maps (b)*)

5.2.2. History

The area's history is relevant to understand recent features. Cato Manor received its name in 1865 after Durban's first mayor George Christopher Cato. He was the formal owner of this land in that period, but sold it during the following decades mainly to Indian market gardeners. They started to lease parts of their plots to black families in the 1920's. These families were not given title to the land, but were allowed to build shack structures. Cato Manor was incorporated by the Municipality of Durban in 1932, which made the informal settlements 'illegal', but the authorities allowed it to exist.

The mixture of Indians and blacks created a vibrant culture and community in Cato Crest. The Indians realized that shack-letting was more profitable than gardening. By starting shops and transport services, Cato Manor became more attractive for blacks to settle. However, there were also tensions between Indians and African, mainly because of high rents and overcrowding in the area. Tensions escalated during the 1949 Race Riots which led to 137 people killed and thousands injured (Ulwazi, 2008). Most of the Indian residents left Cato Manor after these developments. The black population kept on increasing and Cato Crest became a hotbed of resistance against the ruling regime with a lot of support for the ANC. The city council felt threatened by this uprising resistance and in 1959 officially declared Cato Manor as a white zone under the Groups Area Act of 1950. The attempts of moving people led to much resistance. The most significant protest was aimed at the hated Municipality Beer Halls, which were developed to tackle illegal brewing by black shack dwellers. The 1959 Beer Hall Riots led to the killing of 9 police men by angry mobs (Ulwazi, 2008). The Municipality reacted with massive relocations and the tearing down of most structures. Most residents were forced into hostels or moved to the new townships of KwaMashu in the far north and Umlazi on the southern fringes of the city (Freund, 2001).

Although Cato Manor was a white area now, it remained an almost empty wasteland for decades. There were only a few residents remaining who formed the Cato Manor Resident's Association to resist against further removals. During the 1980's, large parts of Cato Manor were identified for development for formal housing for Indian people. In the beginning of the 1990's, under the relaxation of the Apartheid regime's housing policy, massive mushrooming of informal structures occurred again in Cato Manor because of job opportunities in Durban (SAHO, 2007). Instead of an influx of Indians the new settlers were, again, predominantly blacks.

In 1993 the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) was established. The aim was to re-develop Cato Manor by building infrastructure, schools and housing. This was however slowed down

by the return of black and Indian families towards the end of the Apartheid area. They were reclaiming their expropriated land, but since there was no clear development policy Cato Manor quickly grew into a shanty town again. After the 1994 elections, the area was appointed as a Presidential Lead Project and with funds of the European Union and the eThekwini Municipality it was transformed by large scale developments in the late 1990's. Nowadays, the area has infrastructure, a hospital, schools and even a Cato Manor Heritage Centre. It is an area in which policy-makers saw an opportunity of redressing the wrongs of the past. In 2003 the Cato Manor ABM was instituted to be involved with all aspects of development, such as community safety and security, economic development and job creation, and liaison between service providers and the community (Jackson, 2006). They also support more private investments in the area. The area now has formal and informal housing. Inequalities are high and the living conditions in informal settlement such as Dunbar Road and Cato Crest are still below standards.

5.2.3. *Current development*

When visiting Cato Manor the RDP houses on the hills of certain areas form a stark contract with the density of slums that still exists in Cato Crest. The settlement is very densely built with shacks often on top of each other. Three fires razed the settlement in 2010 with in one instance burnt down more than a hundred structures. Flooding is another severe problem with a nearby river regularly threatening lives on the unstable land situated on a slope. The Cato Manor Area-Based Development (ABM) is eThekwini's institution that is responsible for the development of Cato Manor and therefore also for Cato Crest. From 2003 and on they are responsible for upgrading the settlement.

So far around four hundred formal houses have been created by ABM in Cato Crest and six double-story housing blocks were financed by private developers. The northern and south-western parts of the settlement are still mainly cluttered with around 3300 informal structures[25]. It is the aim to incrementally replace these shacks by formal houses. This process commenced in 2003 when the eThekwini Municipality numbered the existing shacks in Cato Crest with a CC number and herewith institutionalised the shacks in the area. Owners of a shack with a CC number are qualified for a RDP house. This can be a RDP house in Cato Crest itself or in another part of Durban. Shack renters are not qualified for a RDP house and people who own more than one shack only qualify for one RDP house. Once a house is allocated to its beneficiary it becomes the property of this person. Shacks built after the numbering in 2003 do not receive a CC number and will be demolishment since they

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[25] According to eThekwini Corporate GIS statistics.

obstruct the development process. That these institutional guidelines are not as unambiguous in practice as they are on paper will be made clear later in this thesis.

Temporary houses for the people who are waiting for their formal house are located in the north-east of Cato Crest. At the time of writing, ABM continues to build new formal houses for the people who are still living in shacks. Although big successes have been booked in terms of infrastructure, social development and economic development (eThekwini Municipality, 2011a) in the wider Cato Manor area, Cato Crest falls a bit behind in this development. While areas as Wiggins, Bonela and Chesterville transformed in a predominantly formal housing area, Cato Crest still has vast informal parts. This has to do with both the physical features of Cato Crest as being extremely hilly in some parts, but also with local resistance against the development plans (Maseko, 2012).

However, ABM is not the only actor that wants to develop in Cato Crest. There has also been the effort from the community itself to obtain an active role in the process. Since 2006 Cato Crest has a collective saving scheme (FEDUP) with around 250 participants with the goal to finance new houses by themselves. SDI also approached the community with the suggestion to support their plans for upgrading. At mass meetings in April 2010 the residents of Cato Crest decided to take up the offer to enumerate the settlement and to establish the exact needs. The local ward councillor responded positively, but due to the pre-election campaigns the plan lost his momentum and the process ceased. After this disappointment it is the task to revive the community's enthusiasm in the bottom-down approach. In May 2012 the FEDUP members received a green light from the Province to make plans for houses on a designated spot in Cato Crest. SDI hopes that such a concrete example will encourage more residents to join the saving scheme to upgrade Cato Crest with the community as a driving force.

In this chapter the urban features of Durban and Cato Crest, were displayed. Behind the viewable features lies a social complexity where urban livelihoods and feelings of community are parts of. The next chapter will further zoom in on Cato Crest by investigating the livelihoods of its residents and feelings of community.

– Chapter 6 –

THE 'COMMUNITY' IN CATO CREST

"One of the sayings in our country is Ubuntu – the essence of being human. Ubuntu speaks
particularly about the fact that you can't exist as a human being in isolation. It speaks about our
interconnectedness. You can't be human all by yourself, and when you have this quality – Ubuntu –
you are known for your generosity. We think of ourselves far too frequently as just individuals,
separated from one another, whereas you are connected and what you do affects the whole World.
When you do well, it spreads out; it is for the whole of humanity."
– Archbishop Desmond Tutu (2008) –

Ubuntu is a philosophy that has its cultural roots in community thinking in tribes from Southern
Africa and is today often used when talking about notions of communalism in South Africa (Van den
Heuvel, 2008). The rationale for researching what is perceived as the 'community' by informal
settlements dwellers in this study is the assumption that livelihoods are spread over different
locations, different activities and that different social contacts are involved. Therefore a sense of
community *within* the settlement is not likely to be high, or a community can be understood as a
different thing to different people living in a the same area. In other words, what is considered as the
'community' can be both translocal and multi-interpretable. This, on its turn, affects the degree to
which people are willing to participate in upgrading projects in their settlement. In this chapter the
livelihoods of the respondents from Cato Crest will be analyzed, because the location of the key
elements in these livelihoods can highlight the functional network of a person and the dependency of
a respondent on a certain location. Subsequently there will be examined to what extent there is a
sense of community within Cato Crest according to the respondents' views on, among others, trust,
reciprocity, safety and sense of belonging.

6.1. An introduction to the clusters

In Chapter 3 an introduction to the clustering of the respondents was given. Each cluster has a name
that represents the general attitude towards 'the community' in Cato Crest and the upgrading
process in the settlement. This attitude cannot simple be blue-printed on every respondent in a
certain cluster, but it indicates the state-of-mind of a person as a result of the combination of the
two variables; shelter type and activeness in the community. For each cluster one respondent is
chosen as a 'face'. Their stories about livelihoods, sense of community and participation in upgrading
give more meaning to the label that each cluster was given. This does not mean that other

respondents are then ignored in this analysis. Their perceptions and experiences are also analyzed in this chapter. Furthermore the results from a certain respondents will always be compared to other respondents in the same cluster since there will always be some internal heterogeneity.

SERVED AND INVOLVED

Mdlalose (49) came to Durban in 1994 from Greytown (KwaZulu-Natal). She first lived in her brother's house in Inanda, but soon moved to Overport where she found a job as a domestic worker. One year later, in 1995, she heard that there was an empty space in Cato Crest and came here to build a shack, together with other domestic workers from Overport. She then lived in this shack with her husband and child. In 2004

Picture 6.1. Mdlalose (left) in front of her RDP house. The brick structure on the right is the shack the rents out.

Mdlalose received the RDP house in which she lives right now with her three children, three children from her husband's brother and one grandchild; her husband passed away in 2008. Mdlalose does not have a job, but she is renting out the shack next to her house. The Municipality allows her to do so if she makes sure that the structure is solid. One son has a temporary job, but drinks away all the money and comes back empty-handed. Since the other children are going to school, Mdlalose is the only person contributing financially to the household; she does not receive any money from outside the household. She is independent, she says. To have some extra income Mdlalose also sells chips and cigarettes from her house.

Mdlalose is involved in several activities in Cato Crest. With some people from Cato Crest she forms a saving group to save stamps at Shoprite. She is a member of the church in Cato Crest and is also a counsellor for many women because she is, as an old and Christian woman, seen as a reliable and wise person. Mdlalose is also thinking of joining the Women's League soon, because they are one of the first people to get information about developments in Cato Crest. Despite being involved in all these activities Mdlalose is not tied to Cato Crest. If she could find a bigger house on a bigger yard somewhere else she would move, as long as it is in Durban.

In 1969, at the age of 1, '**Pretty**'[26] **(44)** moved from Maphumulo (KwaZulu-Natal) to Inanda with her parents. She lived there in a mud house together with her parents and sister. When she turned 24 in November 1992 she wanted a place of her own because she already had two children. She heard of an open space in Cato Crest, went there, removed some bushes and built her own shack. Her old neighbours from Inanda had done the same so she

Picture 6.2. Pretty and her RDP house, together with her oldest grandchild.

knew what to do and where to go. Pretty lived in a shack made out of cardboard for 17 years and later turned it into one made of mud. In 2009 the eThekwini Municipality gave her a RDP house. She still lives here together with her two children and two grandchildren. Her son is addicted to 'whoonga'[27] and her daughter does not have an income as well, but helps around the house. Pretty is supporting her two children and grandchildren by selling chips near the local school and with child support for one grandchild. She just became part of a *stokvel* with the other women that sell food near the school. The church in Ntuzuma is also a place where Pretty has some social contacts. She can talk to some of them about her problems, but she only meets them before and after the Sunday service, never at home. She is not involved in other activities in Cato Crest. The thing that is attaching her to the settlement is her work; that was for her the main reason why she wanted her RDP house to be in Cato Crest.

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[26] 'Pretty' was the only respondent during this research that not want her real name to be used and preferred the use of her nickname.

[27] 'Whoonga' is a highly addictive African variant of marijuana containing rat poison, HIV medications, heroin, methamphetamine and ammonia. It is increasingly being used among young people in South Africa's former township and informal settlements.

Born in the Eastern Cape Province, **Joyce (35)** moved to Bellair Road informal settlement in 1994. Her sister was already renting a shack here and Joyce decided to build one of her own. After a while she wanted to live closer to DUT, where she was studying at that time, and rented a shack just outside of Cato Crest. For the next years she moved around the area, renting different shacks. In 2002 Joyce had the

Picture 6.3. Joyce is standing in front of her wooden shack.

opportunity to buy a shack in Cato Crest, with a CC number, for 3000 Rand (around 270 Euro). She was told that a CC number is a guarantee for a RDP house, but ten years later she is still waiting. Joyce lives together with her boyfriend and their baby; her oldest daughter lives with her grandmother in Johannesburg. Joyce does not have a job, but volunteers in several activities in Cato Crest; encouraging the youth to play sports, going door-to-door to take care of the sick and she is involved in the weekly soup kitchen. Her boyfriend is working for a taxi company in the city and receives a stable income. This is enough for the household to live, since they now have their own shack and do not pay for electricity. Joyce even saves money for food at a local *stokvel* and is also involved in a *machonisa*[28] with three other people from Cato Crest.

Joyce is HIV positive, but has no physical complaints yet. She is part of the support group from the clinic in Cato Crest. This group is planning to start a vegetable garden for its members; the food is for own consumption, but they want to sell what is left over. Her dream is to start a transport company together with her boyfriend, but they have problems getting a loan from a bank. Joyce's uncle in Johannesburg is a businessman and is considering helping her out with her company.

Joyce claims that she does not trust a lot of people. She sees the other volunteers not as friends, but as colleagues. She is a busy woman, but when she has the time she visits the church in Cato Crest. She knows most other people that attend the services, but does not consider them as friends. Joyce

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[28] A *machonisa* is an informal business where people can easily receive a credit with interest. They are run by local residents and often only perform on settlement-scale.

is attached to Cato Crest and is confident that the settlement will become a better place to live because of the developments. She wants to stay here for the rest of her life.

Born in Mozambique, **John (43)** moved to South Africa in 1995 and ended up in a hostel in Durban South with people who worked for the same construction company. In November of the same year John got a stroke and was no longer able to work. Together with a colleague/friend who also got fired he moved to Cato Crest and built a shack for the two of them. After a couple of year he met his current girlfriend and he now lives together

Picture 6.3. John and his brick shack. He is holding his right arm because he became partially paralyzed after he suffered from a stroke.

with her and their two children. His friend still lives in Cato Crest as well. No one at John's household is employed; they survive on John's disability grant, child support for two children and financial assistance from his girlfriend's family. Next to school fees, transport and other expenses, John also saves money for the *lobola*[29] of his girlfriend.

John is a member of the local ANC party and goes to a Baptist church in the city centre. He is not active is any other community activities and neither is his girlfriend. John has some good friends in Cato Crest, but does not feel the need to be more active in the community.

John's shack has a CC number, but they are still not sure where they will receive a RDP house. He wants a house in Cato Crest, but he also sees that it's getting too crowded. The most important thing to him is that, if they remove him, the people from the nearby shacks must be moved along as a group.

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[29] Bridal price in Southern Africa which is traditionally in cattle, but many modern urban couples switched to cash. This lobola has to be paid by the man to the parents of the future wife. For more information see: http://www.essortment.com/marriage-tradition-africa-lobola-36599.html

6.2. The location of the residents' livelihoods

In the theoretical chapter of this thesis it is argued that livelihoods of the (urban) poor are perceived and better understood as being more complex and diverse than they were several decades ago. This argument is supported by Rigg (2007) who claims that livelihoods are becoming more and more outward-looking, mobile, unequal, individualistic, dependent and competitive than livelihoods in the past. These arguments need to be nuanced by the fact that also the context of these livelihoods, modern life, has also become more complex. With this increasing complexity, plus AbdouMaliq Simone's characterisation of urban African population as often on the move and maintaining a highly mobile outlook (Simone A. , 2004), livelihoods of informal settlement dwellers are expected to be scattered among different locations (both urban and rural) instead of being concentrated in the direct living environment.

This section provides an overview of the livelihoods of the respondents in Cato Crest, with an emphasis on the locations of the capitals, activities and the people involved. Livelihoods have been studied in this research to be able to better understand the underlying processes related to the choice of Cato Crest as a location and to define prime activities in the respondents' daily lives and the social ties involved in this. Constructing a full overview of the livelihoods has thus not been the main research goal in this thesis, but moreover there is aimed to produce a coherent non a priori constructed insight of a community. This means that the intensity and quality of a respondent's social network is not fully measured. The main attention is given to the location of the functional network; what are the locations of the activities that people visit in their daily lives to pursue their livelihood, and where do the people live that are involved in these activities?

Cato Crest experienced its biggest population growth during the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's. This is also the period in which most of the respondents moved to the area; nine respondents arrived between 1990 and 1995, three after this period and only one respondent had already come to live in Cato Crest during the beginning of the 1980's. According to Milton Gcwensa, a former member of the ward committee in the area, the majority of the residents in Cato Crest have been living there for a long time now. "Most of them stay here once they arrived. They only move if they receive a house somewhere else (…) Cato Crest is for most people an end station" (Gcwensa, 2012). New people do arrive, but since the upgrading process started in 2003 there are restrictions for building new shacks in the area which will be discussed later in this thesis.

6.2.1. Migration networks

As the study of Evers (2012) has revealed for the case of Eastern Cape migrants in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, social networks play a significant role in the migration process of a person. These are not merely "mechanical reciprocal exchange networks, but also (...) means for sharing feelings of belonging, affection and sociality" (Evers, 2012, p. 89). For this reason it is necessary to outline the migrations networks of the respondents in this research as well.

The migration patterns of the respondents strongly vary. All but one respondent, **Malanga (66)**, relied on a migration network consisting of family members, friend or acquaintances. The reason that Malanga is the exception is probably because of the reason she migrated; she fled from the political violence in her hometown in rural KwaZulu-Natal at the end of the 1970's. The other respondents migrated mainly towards Durban because of economic reasons. The need to live closer to employment opportunities in the city centre was the main reason to continue their migration towards Cato Crest. This meant that they could lower their transport expenses and traveller's time. Two respondents, **Cindy (22)** and **Nonhlanhla (41)**, were not born in rural areas but in the former township of KwaMashu. Only one respondent, **Jabu (44)**, moved straight from her rural village in KwaZulu-Natal to Cato Crest and none of the respondents was born in Cato Crest itself. This means that the majority of the respondents have at least two prior places of residence which implies accrued social relations and activities at different locations.

Together with Malanga, seven other respondents did not know anyone who lived in Cato Crest before they lived there. Two of them, **Lindiswa (43)** and John, moved to Cato Crest together with a friend after shortly living in, respectively, in a church and hostel. Mdlalose moved together with other domestic workers from Newtown, her previous place of residence. The other four respondents that had no social network in Cato Crest had family members already living in their previous place of settlement in Durban. This made it easy for them to make the step from the rural area to the city and then orientate to another location. Five respondents knew people in Cato Crest before they moved themselves. This group includes Cindy and Nonhlanhla, without a rural background, and Jabu who moved straight to Cato Crest. The case of Cindy is a special one. Her parents were divorced and she lived together with her mother in KwaMashu. After her father died they moved into his shack in Cato Crest. Because she often visited her father she already knew the neighbours. Pretty and **Ephraim (46)** knew neighbours from their previous places of residence (Inanda and Zimnokodweni) that already moved to Cato Crest.

The function of these migration networks is that people can be informed by social ties about available space on a certain location. After the actual migration has proceeded having already a social network in the place of settlement can ease the (feelings) of acceptance. This feature will be discussed later in this thesis. Now we have seen that the migration patterns and networks vary and are spread over different locations, the locations of the respondents' livelihoods will be analyzed.

6.2.2. Livelihoods per cluster

SERVED AND INVOLVED

Mdalose´s primary source of income is the rent that she receives for renting out the shack next to her RDP house. Next to this she also sells food and cigarettes at her house to neighbours. Next to the child support she receives for two children she is not depending on other people for money. With some other women from Cato Crest Mdlalose is saving stamps to buy food at Shoprite, a local supermarket. Since she received her RDP house she is also able to grow her own vegetables:

> *"I grow for my own children to eat, but if someone asks me to save anything I will do this."* – Mdlalose, RDP dweller, 02/05/2012

This means that Mdlalose is attached to the location where she now lives for a vast part of the food production for her household members, and also for a small part of her income by selling left-over food. Also the social domain of her livelihood is mainly focussed in Cato Crest; she is counselling between neighbours with problems, has several good friends in Cato Crest where she can borrow money from or can watch her children for a while and considers being a member of the local Women's Organisation. The ties with her rural area of Greytown (KZN) are minimal; she only visits the place twice a year for parties and rituals and only brings some food. There is no exchange of money between Mdlalose and her family back there.

BEYOND INVOLVEMENT

Pretty is supporting her two children and grandchildren on her own by selling chips near the local school and with child support for one grandchild. Pretty finished Grade[30] 7, her son stopped after Grade 3 and her daughter failed Grade 11. The household income is very irregular and Pretty needs to buy her stock in the city centre. After subtraction of transport costs she has around 500 Rand left each month for food, clothes and other expenses. Surprisingly enough she just became part of a

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[30] South Africa's Grade system divides primary school in Grade 1 to Grade 7, high school in Grade 8 to Grade 12, and a subsequent Matriculation Endorsement ('Matric') which is required for most universities.

stokvel with the other women that sell food near the school. She saves 200 Rand each month for food. Sometimes Pretty receives food from her sick sister in Umlazi when she visits her to help once a week. This sister is the only family member that she has left. Pretty has one good friend in Cato Crest who she trusts. The other person she would turn to is her old neighbour who still lives in Inanda; she visits her only once every two months. The church in Ntuzuma is also a place where Pretty has several social contacts. There are three to four women to whom she can talk to about her problems, but she only meets them before and after the Sunday service, never at home. This could indicate that she does not want the people she shares her problem with to visit Cato Crest. The most important aspect of Prettys' livelihood is located in Cato Crest; her work. She is glad she received a RDP house in Cato Crest, mainly for this reason:

> *"Even if they would not have upgraded the houses I would have stayed in Cato Crest, because I have my business here. This makes me attached to Cato Crest." – Pretty*, RDP dweller, 12/04/2012

Pretty would have fewer problems with moving to another place in Durban if it wasn't for the business she has here. Her colleagues from Cato Crest are also her fellow members in the *stokvel*, but her network also contains contact in other parts of Durban. These contacts do not so much contribute to the material side of Prettys' livelihood but more to her social base. But when Prettys' parents were old and sick and moved from Inanda to Cato Crest to live their last period with her, she received support from her neighbours:

> *"They sometimes helped me with taking care of them, never with food of money. In that period I did also receive the pension from my father and mother. This was enough to buy food, also for them."* – Pretty, RDP dweller, 12/04/2012

Prettys' livelihood is thus not completely located in Cato Crest, but only the social base can be traced back only to other locations in Durban. There are no rural ties remaining which means she is depending on the urban domain. Neither Pretty nor her children have finished their high school so much depends on the food that she sells in Cato Crest. Thereby, the RDP house that she received in 2004 is now an important locally-bounded asset that Pretty has.

The situation of **Fund (37)** is similar to that of Pretty. He owns a public phone house in Cato Crest, which is the most important reason for him to stay in this area. He lives in a RDP house together with his sister who chose to live in Cato Crest since both her temporary work and school in located in the

city centre and therefore easily accessible. Most of Fund's friends live in Cato Crest, but he receives most support from this brother that lives in Botha's Hill, an area in the western outskirts of Durban. Despite his store, his dream is to move to the same area where his brother lives to try and find work there:

> *"If I would have money I would move out of Cato Crest in the near future. But if I don't have the money I will stay here."* – Fund (RDP dweller), 25/04/2012

Apparently, there is nothing besides his store and the money he needs to move that makes him wanting to stay in Cato Crest. Lindiswa sells chips outside the local school, just as Pretty, an thereby sells cigarettes and refreshments from a small structure in front of her RDP house; her costumers are mainly direct neighbours. The main income of her household, however, comes from her husband who works as a driver for the local football team AmaZulu. He owns a car so the distance to his work is not a big concern. Lindiswa is not involved in other community-based activities besides a *stokvel* with the women that also sell near the school. She wants to stay in Cato Crest for the rest of her life and hopes that her children can one day take over her business.

<table>
<tr><td align="center">COLLECTIVISM</td></tr>
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Although Joyce has a national diploma in Office Management from the Durban University of Technology (DUT), she is unemployed at the moment. Sometimes she temporal jobs in data capturing, but at the moment it is very hard for to find work. At the moment she makes some money from the *machonisa* she is running together with some other residents from Cato Crest. Her boyfriend works in the city centre as a taxi driver and makes enough money for them and their child. Joyce is very much in involved in local community activities and knows many people in Cato Crest. But emotionally, family is more important to Joyce than friends and all her family members live outside of Durban; her mother and daughter in Johannesburg and her grandmother in rural Eastern Cape.

It is uncertain how long the medication makes sure that she has no physical complaints from her disease. In the near future, Joyce wants to start up her own logistics company with her boyfriend; he will be responsible for the transport and she can do the administration. Her uncle from Johannesburg is a business man and is considering of giving them a starter's loan. She wants to do this in Cato Crest and therefore sees a future for herself here:

"… maybe I can rent an office somewhere. There are some offices here which are very cheap." – Joyce, shack dweller, 17/04/2012

Thiyama (49) has in the same degree as Joyce most of her social connections within Cato Crest; several voluntary activities and a couple of good friends. By selling the craftwork she makes together with other local women Thiyama receives some extra money that supports the four children and six grandchildren that live with her. However, the link that she has with her rural ties is much stronger than Joyce's. Thiyama still has her mother, brother, sister and grandmother living in Eshowe (KZN), and she tries to go the church there once a month to attend a service with her family members. She however realises that Eshowe has nothing to offer in terms of employment and good education for her children and that Durban, and Cato Crest in particular, has more possibilities. Schools are of a higher quality and close to where they live.

The small shop next to the temporary tin houses in the northeast corner Cato Crest is owned by Jabu. She is a member of the area committee[31] and is also involved in a local *stokvel* and the ANC branch in Cato Crest. Jabu has been living in Cato Crest since 1995 from which the last four years in a tin house. She has a 19-year old son who has asthma and therefore cannot work, and a 7-year old daughter who she sends to a coloured school in Sydenham, a nearby suburb. Every Sunday Jabu goes to a church in Clermont.

"There is a branch for my church here in Cato Crest, but I like to go to Clermont. (…) There is difference between the Clermont church and the branch here; I have a good relationship with the people there". – Jabu, tin house dweller, 10/05/2012

There are seven women at the Clermont church branch that Jabu sees as friends. She trusts two of them with her problems. The fact that she does not visit the Cato Crest branch shows a prioritizing of the people at her church in Clermont over the distance she has to travel to attend church, including the time and costs that she spends. Cato Crest would be the easiest option, but because of the people Jabu decides to make the weekly effort by going to Clermont.

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[31] Cato Crest is divided in 10 different areas that all that have their own area committee. This area committee consists of residents and is the main link between the community and the ward councillor. They often go door-to-door to find out what the problems are the people are facing, and they try to solve disputes and problems. If the problem is too big the area committee they bring the issue to the ward councillor.

Her shop is the most important asset that Jabu has at the moment. Although there is a lot of competition among small shops in Cato Crest she is able to make a living now. She mainly sells her goods to other tin house dwellers. The main reason she wants a house in Cato Crest is because of her shop. Jabu only wants to go back to her rural area, Umzimkhulu (KZN), to die. Until then, she sees her future in Cato Crest.

INDIFFERENCE

The income of John's household consists of a disability grant for John, child support for his two children and monthly financial support from his girlfriend's family living in Maphumulo (KZN). They also receive money from John's brothers when they are visiting from Johannesburg twice a year; John hardly visits them because the trip is too expensive. He saves 200 Rand a month to save for the *lobola* and the trip to his parents in Mozambique that he makes once a year. John barely goes to Maphumulo because is he just a boyfriend.

John's girlfriend finished Matric but only has a temporal job now and then, mostly as a domestic worker in the nearby suburbs. Because of his handicap John cannot work and is often depending on other people in Cato Crest. His best friend, with whom he moved from the hostel in Durban South to Cato Crest in 1995, lives close to John and has work at the moment. He often lends John some money if he is running short and John always pays him back. His friend never asks John for money because he knows John is not working. John also has three other friends in Cato Crest he can go to for borrowing some money, but this hardly happens since his best friend is often able to help him out.

For the future, John would really like for his household to receive a RDP house in Cato Crest, but more importantly he wants to stay together with the people who live in his area at the moment. A big part of his social network is concentrated in this part of Cato Crest.

Nonhlanhla rents a shack together with her 60-year-old boyfriend. He works as a gardener in Overport whilst she does not have a job. To make some money Nonhlanhla watches children of other people in Cato Crest.

> *"I never watch the kids for free. If they ask me to quickly look after them because they have to go to the city I charge them 10 Rand a day. (…) Even from my sister, it's because I am not working. It is a source of income to me to watch the kids."* – Nonhlanhla, shack dweller, 10/05/2012

This strategy shows a commercialisation of a service that does not necessarily have to involve payment in money. Nonhlanhla is not involved in any community activities nor attends the local church. In contrast to John she would not mind to move out of Cato Crest if she receives a house somewhere, even in KwaMashu or Inanda on the outskirts of the city. There is not much that attaches her to this place. Her boyfriend is almost retired and will receive a pension. Thereby, he has the option to live with his employer during the weekdays.

The livelihood of Cindy and her household is more translocal in comparison to that of John and Nonhlanhla. Her mother works as a domestic worker in Mount Edgecomde, a wealthy area in Durban North. Cindy finished Matric and is trying to find a job. At the moment she mainly takes care of her two little sisters. Although she has two good friends in the area Cindy does not like living in Cato Crest. She often visits relatives in KwaMashu, her place of birth, and is dreaming of a life in Nkandla (KZN), the rural area of her deceased father. Cindy's mother wants to wait for the promised RDP, but they are still not sure if they will get one in Cato Crest.

"I don't work here as well, so it doesn't really matter to me." – Cindy, shack dweller, 02/05/2012

6.2.3. Livelihoods: a total picture

An important conclusion from the different analysis of the respondents´ livelihoods is that only some of the households in this research maintain multiple livelihoods, while Slater (2001) argued that this is a common feature among the urban poor in South Africa. While, for example, Lindiswa and Mdlalose sell cigarettes and refreshments from their houses plus having another main source of income and Nonhlanhla is depending mostly on her boyfriend's income as a gardener but is also trying to make some money by watching children, other respondents heavily rely on one or few incomes. Thiyama is providing her income for the ten (grand)children that live with her and John's family survives on grants and financial support from others. Chambers (1997) stated that members of poor households are involved in different strategies for work, food and support, but this seems only partially the case in Cato Crest. An overview of the location of respondents' livelihoods can be seen in Figure 6.1. The livelihoods of all respondents are drawn into maps and are divided into five categories; work, school, church, other activities (such as volunteering, political activity etc.) and social contacts.

(a)

Scale 1:6.000.000

Work
School
Church
Other activities
Social contact

(b)

Scale 1:200.000

72
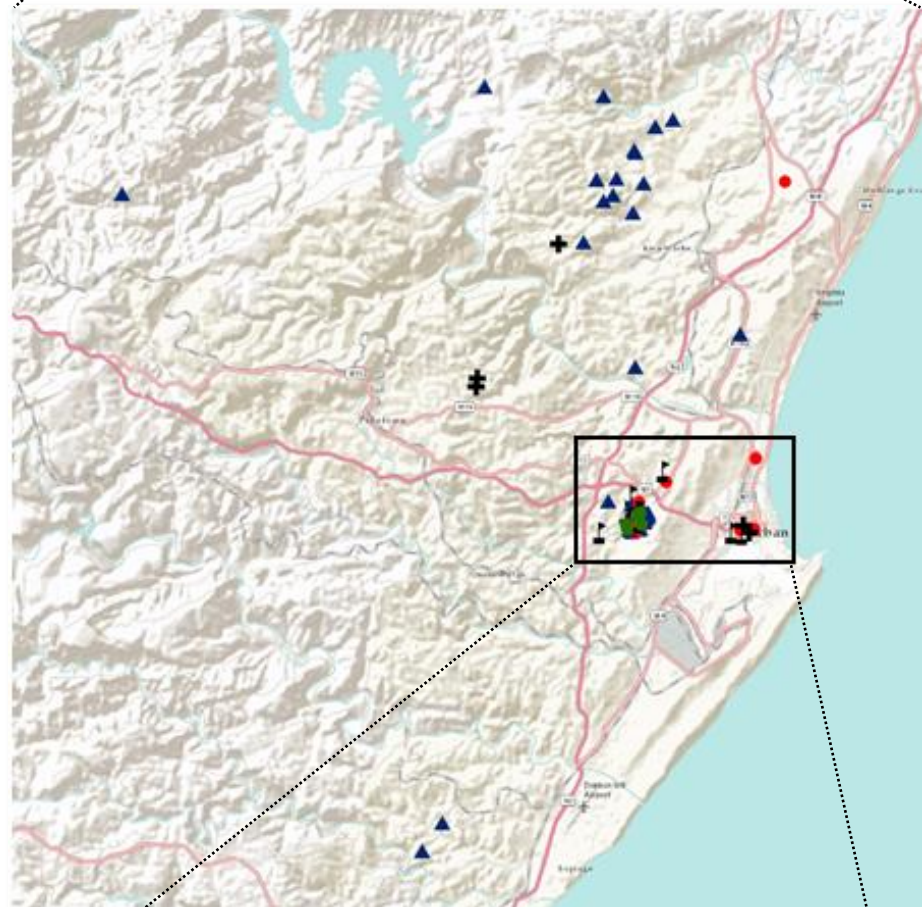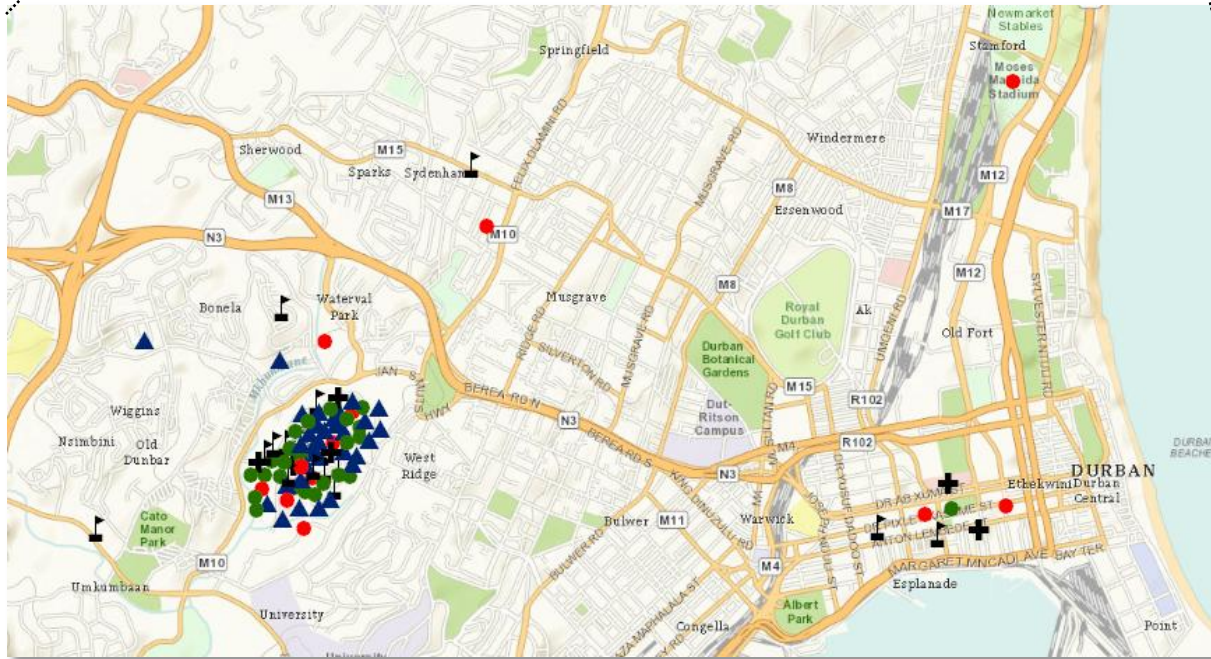
(c)   Scale 1:40.000

Figure 6.1. Overview of the locations of the respondents' livelihoods by the activities they are involved in regularly on regional level (a), eThekwini Municipality level (b) and local level (c).

Although the respondents do have some social contacts in rural KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape Province and Johannesburg, Figure 6.1a shows that the functional networks of their livelihoods are not very scattered. This indicates that their livelihoods depend largely on urban activities and that financial transfers with rural areas are limited. Figure 6.1b shows a cluster of social contacts in the northern area of Durban where the main former townships are located. These are, for most respondents, the first places of settlement in Durban. However, the large majority of income-based activities, social contacts, school and church are located within the boundaries of the Cato Crest settlement (Figure 6.1c).

Mapping the functional networks of the respondents' livelihoods per cluster show similar patterns for three clusters compared with the general pattern as seen in Figure 6.1. However, the spatial distribution of the livelihoods from the respondents in the cluster 'Beyond Involvement' hardly shows any rural ties. Only one social contact (Lindiswa's mother in the Eastern Cape Province) is located in a rural area and for the rest the functional networks are located within the city boundaries of Durban. These strongly urbanized livelihoods are found in a less extent among the other clusters.

73

Contrary to prior assumptions, as partly derived from AbdouMaliq Simone's work on African urbanism, the livelihoods in Cato Crest are thus not as translocal as expected. There are only some household members that have their main source of income in other areas: Lindiswa's husband and Joyce's boyfriend in the city centre; Cindy's mother in Mount Edgecombe and Nonhlanhla's boyfriend in Overport. There is only one clear example of what De Wet & Holbrook (1997) define as a 'multiple homestead household'; the daughter of Malanga is living and working in Johannesburg and the main source of income for the household. However, it is notable that many of the respondents have their main source of income located in Cato Crest itself. Within the settlement a full (informal) economy has arisen where residents watch each other's children, fix each other's houses and sell cigarettes and food from small shops or straight from their houses or shacks. It is clear that Cato Crest is by most residents seen as an 'ending station' in terms of migration[32], in contrast of the highly mobile outlook that Simone (2004) implies with African urbanism. Cato Crest's location close to the city centre of Durban was the main argument for people to settle here, but for their livelihood it is surprising to see that nowadays only a minority of the respondents are actually depending on the city centre. Its location has undoubtedly been the reason that Cato Crest became what it is today, but now the settlement has its own shops and school, the dependency on other centres of economic activity is quite low.

The material and economic side of the livelihoods in the case of Cato Crest are thus not as scattered over different locations as expected. According to Rigg (2007), however, attention for the social and cultural aspects of a livelihood is at least as important. In terms of social contacts a larger dispersion is visible on regional and municipal level (the blue triangles in Figure 6.1a and 6.1b). These contacts sometimes contribute directly to a household's livelihood in terms of material, for example with Fund and his brother from Botha's Hill or John and his girlfriend's parents from Maphumulo. However, these more distant (in terms of physical distance) social contacts are also part of a support network or safety net that people can fall back on in times of adversity or crisis. Thiyama explains that she knows her family in Eshowe will also be a fallback option for her and the same applies for Malanga with her daughter in Johannesburg and **Wilson (52)** and his family in Harding. However, all the respondents are aware of the fact that the rural areas are not sufficient fallback options in an economical sense and their prospects are focussed on the urban life.

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[32] At least in terms of migration as a shack dweller. For some residents building a shack in Cato Crest is used as an opportunity to be nominated for a RDP house. Not every resident has the need for this house to be in Cato Crest itself, but will settle for a house in another area.

In Figure 6.1c Cato Crest can easily be recognized as the cluster of work, other activities and social contacts. The city centre of Durban and surrounding suburbs are also locations of work, school and friends. The large majority of livelihood locations thus lie within the boundaries of Cato Crest informal settlement. Next to this, the network of people that are a part of a person's is mainly located in the urban area of Durban. This indicates an intra-urban network that has been crucial for the residents of Cato Crest not only during migration (Evers, 2012), but also in their livelihoods. A strengthening of rural ties, as Bank (2001) argued as being a strategy for many urban South Africans does not seem the case here.

6.3.   Sense of community in Cato Crest

Given that the lion's share of the respondent's livelihoods are physically attached to Cato Crest, in contrast to the prior assumption that these would be more translocal, it is necessary to look to what extent there is a sense of community in the settlement. Earlier in this thesis I used the following quote to highlight the difference between a certain location and a community: "Places are not necessarily communities, although they may contribute to community-building" (Castells, 2010, p. 455). Does the fact that many residents are making their living in Cato Crest itself mean that there is the general feeling that the people form one community? The respondents were interviewed on their sense of community on four different elements, as mentioned in the theoretical chapter; emotional safety, boundaries, sense of belonging and trust. Their stories and motivations will be told using the four different clusters.

6.3.1.   Mixed feelings

SERVED AND INVOLVED

Mdlalose is involved in several community activities, but has problems trusting other people in Cato Crest. She considers two persons in the settlement as friends; they can borrow money from Mdlalose and vice versa. Personal problems are a different thing:

> *"I always keep secrets for the people here. I don't like to go my neighbours, because sometimes they keep reminding me of the problem that I told to them earlier. Sometimes they also go to other people with my secret. That's why I prefer to go to my friend in Dunbar Road."* – Mdlalose, RDP dweller, 02/05/2012

This statement reveals two things. Mdlalose thinks that people will judge her on her problems and therefore does not like to share her problems, and Mdlalose cares what the other people in Cato Crest think about her. This indicates a sense of belonging from Mdlalose to the people in Cato Crest.

If she would have not cared what people think of her she would have chosen another strategy than she does now.

Although she moved from a crowded shack area to a location with RDP houses in 2004, she still considers Cato Crest as an unsafe place. Her daughter was raped by her son's friend and the shack adjacent to her house was broken into twice. Mdlalose does not let her children go outside when it's dark. Only her son who is drinking leaves the house at night.

In cases of emergency, such as a flooding or fire, Mdlalose is willing to help others in Cato Crest, also people she does not know. As she is often counselling between people in her area she is seen as a key figure when people need assistance.

> *"If someone passed away we go there as a community to see what they need and contributing with anything."* – Mdlalose, RDP dweller, 02/05/2012

Mdlalose thus calls the people that help 'a community'. Despite this she does not feel the urge to stay in Cato Crest the rest of her life; if she could find a bigger house with a bigger yard somewhere else in Durban she would move. However, at the moment, she sees herself as a part of Cato Crest. This is reflected by the distinction she makes between 'the residents of Cato Crest' and 'the newcomers'. The latter group are the people that keep on building new shacks in Cato Crest, hoping that they will receive a RDP house. According to Njabulo Maseko from Area Based Management, once a shack has reached roof-level it is considered a house and one cannot simply evict these people (Maseko, 2012). Mdlalose sees these people as free-riders and

> *"… would report them, because there is still open space, but that is for the people who are still living in shacks and waiting for the houses."* – Mdlalose, RDP dweller, 02/05/2012

BEYOND INVOLVEMENT

Pretty also sees the problem with newcomers, but feels sad for them that they are rejected in Cato Crest. It reminds her of her own first experiences in the settlement:

> *"In the beginning I did not feel accepted, because I did not know the people and they did not know me. (…) The people who were living close me were drinking a lot. I was not*

drinking. It was hard to associate with them. It took me about two years to get to know more people." – Pretty, RDP dweller, 12/04/2012

Although Pretty now feels more comfortable living in Cato Crest, she still does not feel emotionally attached to; if the Municipality would appoint a house in Phoenix, for example, to her she would not have minded it. It was the work near the school that made her wanting to stay in Cato Crest. Pretty pride about Cato Crest increased when she received her own house. She was not so proud during the time she lived in a shack.

Pretty's social network in Cato Crest is quite limited; she has one friend where she can go to with her problems, but she prefers to go to the people from her church in Ntuzuma. She is a shy woman that does not like to borrow money from neighbours because she is afraid she cannot give it back. She does lend money to others, but feels shy to ask if she could get it back. Pretty says she does trust her neighbours and that there have been no problems with money so far. When she was still living in a shack Pretty experienced a flooding and the neighbours came to help. Since she lives in a RDP house she has not experienced anything similar, but she does notice that:

"Neighbours were friendlier when I lived in the shack, more helpful, also with small things" – Pretty, RDP dweller, 12/04/2012

Apparently, communalism for Pretty decreased in Cato Crest after she moved to a RDP house. In terms of safety, the situation improved a little according to Pretty. People often broke into her shack and although she knew the persons who did it, she was afraid to go to the police. Her new house has burglar-proof structures in front of the windows. It is still not easy to go outside during the night, but Pretty is used to the area now. She still does not consider Cato Crest as a safe place to raise children, because the crime will not simply go away when the area is developed.

"… it is our children who are causing this crime and they still live here, even after the upgrading." – Pretty, RDP dweller, 12/04/2012

Lindiswa argues the opposite. According to her crime has decreased since many shacks were removed for RDP houses. She is proud to live in Cato Crest, because compared to before and to other areas in Durban, it is quite safe nowadays. Lindiswa is also more disapproving towards newcomers than Pretty:

"The shacks will never disappear when they keep accepting new people in the area. We do not know them and we don't know why they are coming here." – Lindiswa, RDP dweller, 12/04/2012

Both Lindiswa and Fund felt more welcomed when they arrived in Cato Crest, compared to Pretty. Lindiswa now has a couple of really good friends in the area, from which one even lent her the money to start her business in her front yard. Fund only claims to have one good friend in Cato Crest. He is a member of the local football team, but does not consider his team players as friends. Just as Pretty, Lindiswa and Fund lend money to people to other people beside friends:

"Some come to the shop to borrow money and I will give it to him. (…) I trust them because they bring back my money." – Fund, RDP dweller, 25/04/2012

These people are not necessarily friends of Fund, but out of experience his sense of trust with people from Cato Crest is high. Lindiswa and Fund both helped other households when there was a fire or flooding, but only the people that live close to them; people in other area will help each other. The fact that people help each other is for Fund a reason to call Cato Crest 'one community'. However, he does not feel very proud about the area and is not emotionally attached to it:

"I see Cato Crest as a place to live to do my business (…) I don't see it as home."
– Fund, RDP dweller, 25/04/2012

He would like to move to a quieter place once he has the money for it, preferably to his brother in Botha's Hill. This is in contrast to Lindiswa who does not want to move out from Cato Crest.

COLLECTIVISM

Joyce does not trust the people in Cato Crest. She is involved is several community organisations, but sees the other involved persons as colleagues, not as friends. Joyce is more a business women, she claims. People can come to borrow money, but only if they pay interest. She clearly sees two sides of the people in Cato Crest. On the one hand, people in the area help each other in times of trouble. During the times of rising xenophobia in South Africa[33] Cato Crest remained safe for foreigners. The

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[33] In May 2008 a series of riots aimed at migrants from Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe took place in different South African townships and informal settlements. In total 62 people died; 41 of them were migrants.

South African residents made sure that they were brought safely to a police station before they got hurt. On the other hand, there is little respect when someone is making progress.

> *"... a lot people do not like to see other people develop. If they see other people develop they want to destroy this. They just don't support others. You will only be supported by the people close to you. People, who do not know you, will not support you."* – Joyce, shack dweller, 17/04/2012

In contrast to this view, Joyce is very active in supporting people she does not know during her volunteering work; she is encouraging the youth to play sports and she visits old people to take care of them. This is mainly because she does not have a job at the moment. Once she has work she will stop with most of these activities. Joyce is not sure whether there will be other people to take over these tasks.

Cato Crest is not safe at all, according to Joyce. She is used to the situation, but often fears being robbed when she walks home during the dark. Where Pretty said that the youth in Cato Crest is the source of crime, Joyce argues that most criminals come from other parts of Durban. They fled from the police and hide in Cato Crest and cause trouble there. Joyce is aware of the bad reputation Cato Crest has in terms of safety. She is also ashamed to live in a shack:

> *"I used to be a facilitator. Imagine a facilitator living in a shack. I had to work with people from Inanda, Ntuzuma and Umlazi with nice houses (...) I told them that I was from a RDP house. I lied, because I still live in a shack."* – Joyce, shack dweller, 17/04/2012

Being an owner of a RDP house would make Joyce prouder than she is now as a shack dweller. Proud or not, Joyce does feel accepted by the other people in Cato Crest. When she arrived in 2002 she did not speak Zulu, only Sotho. She felt a clear difference between herself and the rest of the people which made her uncomfortable. Since people know her now she speaks Sotho and Zulu whenever she wants.

Thiyama also does not trust many people in Cato Crest with her problems and with her grandchildren. The latter has mainly to do with the high rape rate and alcoholism in the settlement. Despite the crime and problems people look out for each other:

"Other people come to me as I work as a volunteer to tell me; you should go to that person I think he is sick; he is hiding in his shack and did not come out for days. They look out for each other." – Thiyama, shack dweller, 17/04/2012

Care in the community is thus high according to Thiyama and she states that most criminals are the newcomers that come from other places such as KwaMashu and Inanda. Wilson thinks that this was maybe true in the past, but that crime is now mainly caused by younger people from Cato Crest itself. Alcohol and drugs are the biggest sources of crime and, although the streets are still not safe at night, domestic violence is the most common feature in the area according to him. Wilson acknowledges that there are still new people moving to the settlement to take advantage of the developments. When he sees a newcomer he will approach them personally to ask them why they came and ask them to leave and not interrupt the developments in Cato Crest.

"As a part of the community I have to ask this." – Wilson, shack dweller, 25/04/2012

Wilson sees the people in Cato Crest as 'comrades' [34]; they come from different places, but they live together now and trust each other. *Ubuntu* is the essence; people help each other out, work together and are kind. Wilson lives according to these standards. As a member of the area committee he comes across many difficulties in Cato Crest and feels responsible. But Wilson is not only positive. He also sees that some people become more egocentric since the developments in the area started. Some people join the local ANC branch only to get information for their selves and make secret agreements with officials. This is what Jabu also frustrates, because she sees people moving quickly into new houses while she has been waiting in a tin house for four years.

INDIFFERENCE

John and Ephraim claim to feel generally safe in Cato Crest, also about the safety of their girlfriends and children. Malanga, Nonhlanhla and Cindy, in contrary, are feeling unsafe during the night and prefer to stay inside their shacks. The community feelings in Cato Crest are very diverse among this group in which John and Cindy are probably the most opposite. When John arrived in Cato Crest in 1995 it was difficult for him to adapt because he did not speak Zulu. Since he forced to speak it in his daily life he learned quickly and he felt more accepted by the people. This acceptance was symbolised for him during the xenophobic riots in 2008.

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[34] The word 'comrades' is in South Africa often associated with the liberation struggle by activists from (mainly) the ANC in times of Apartheid.

"My neighbours told me: 'You have been here for many years and we never find any fault for you. If someone will come to your house all the neighbours will help you'. The neighbours were good to me."– John, shack dweller, 02/05/2012

John sees a distinction in the community in Cato Crest; there are people that do not want to leave Cato Crest and people that would go if they will receive a house somewhere else. John belongs to the first group, but also sees the problem of available space in the area. If they would remove him to another place in Durban, he will only accept if the whole area is moved as a group. Cindy does not have this connection with the other residents in Cato Crest. Apart from two friends she is very negative about them.

"People in Cato Crest are very rude; people in KwaMashu are nicer (…) If boys and girls get drunk they are just shouting and do not care about the old people." – Cindy, shack dweller, 02/05/2012

Cindy's perception of the people in Cato Crest is very negative. This is probably the main reason that she is not involved in any community organisations or activities. According to Cindy, they only let people in that know each other; there is a lot of nepotism. The same was told by Nonhlanhla. Since the ward councillor is from the ANC it is harder to be involved in activities as a DA member, they claim.

Nonhlanhla would, in the end, have no problems with leaving Cato Crest for a house somewhere else. Now she sometimes lies about the place where she lives. When Nonhlanhla experienced domestic violence with her previous boyfriend she claimed that none of the neighbours stepped in to help her. She feels sad, because now everybody in her area acts as if nothing happened. Ephraim is experiencing a different attitude among the people in the tin houses:

"When the child of my girlfriend passed away she was not really sick, we found out that she died when we tried to wake her up one morning. The neighbours helped us and came with money, people gave us different things for support and also a person with a car came. – Ephraim, tin house dweller, 25/04/2012

Ephraim feels, just as John, a strong connection to the people who live in his immediate living environment and would prefer to live together with this group after the upgrading. There is one

point on which all respondents in this cluster share their opinion; newcomers should not be allowed to live in Cato Crest. A clear line has been created between an 'us' (residents of Cato Crest that arrived before the development started) and a 'them', labelled as free-riders.

6.3.2. Divided Community

In the previous section we came across divergent opinions and views from the respondents on Cato Crest and fellow residents. According to the four earlier mentioned elements of sense of community the main empirical results will be discussed.

Emotional safety

In terms of empathy and caring there is a clear difference between the 'active' respondents and the ones that are not involved in community-based organisations. The respondents from the clusters 'Beyond Involvement' and 'Indifference' did not seem to have the urge to take care of disadvantaged people in Cato Crest without compensation besides friends. Nonhlanhla, for example, always asks money is she watches someone's child. The people who are involved in community activities other than a *stokvel* and church show more empathy. Thiyama and Joyce are both volunteering to help older and sick people in the settlement and Wilson also feels responsible for the well-being of other residents.

> *"We live here in Cato Crest in different conditions. Sometimes I walk around and see a family really struggling. Often I just feel in my heart that I should give them something even if they are not asking. Because you see that they are struggling more than me. I give them 20 Rand, for example."* – Wilson, shack dweller, 25/04/2012

The majority of the respondents claim that Cato Crest is an unsafe place to live due to alcohol and drug-related crime, such as (domestic) violence, robberies, burglaries and rape. Only four respondents are comfortable with going outside during night-time; Lindiswa, Pretty, John and Ephraim. The first two live in an area with RDP close to the Cato Crest library; a well-lit place. John has never experienced any crime and feels safe, even in the shack area where he lives. While Ephraim got used to Cato Crest and some of its negative sides and thus goes out during the dark, he sometimes fears for his girlfriend's well-being as rape is still a big problem in the area.

Another criterion for emotional safety is the way in which respondents feel comfortable to share their problems with other residents in Cato Crest. A frequently recurring issue is that of the fear of gossip in the settlement.

"I don't like gossip, I'm afraid that people start to talk. That is why I prefer to go to my family, because friends are always changing. – Joyce, shack dweller, 17/04/2012

"The neighbours are gossiping. That's why I don't like to tell them anything personal." – Nonhlanhla, shack dweller, 10/05/2012

Especially the female respondents underline this and therefore choose to share their personal problems with only one or two good friends in the area, but prefer to go to family or friends outside of Cato Crest. As mentioned before, most residents of Cato Crest apparently care what their neighbours think of them. Jabu also claims that more people cannot be trusted since the development started; they just want information from you which they can use in their own benefit. Sharing specific information is part of a strategy for some nowadays.

Boundaries

This element of sense of community focuses on the way in which residents feel that they are part of a group that distinguishes itself from others. In this research, it is about the extent that Cato Crest is unique in comparison to other places in Durban, especially compared to other informal settlements. On the one hand, this is a process of the creation of an 'us' and, on the other hand, the defining of a 'them' (McMillan, 1996). None of the respondents could explain if, or why, people Cato Crest distinguish themselves from other settlements. The most common comparison was made with former townships where people live in formal houses, but far away from the city centre. Some people claimed that Cato Crest is a safer place than Inanda or Umlazi, while others argue the opposite. Wilson stated the following:

"The people that live together here in Cato Crest are comrades. We all come from different place, but live together here" – Wilson, shack dweller, 25/04/2012

He is the only one that used the word comrades when referring to the people in Cato Crest. It implies a united group of people that pursue the same goals. This does not seem to match what most other respondents think about the way the residents in Cato Crest act:

The community is split; people want things individually. (...) I think before we were all living in the shacks and we all had more or less the same problems, so we acted more together." – Jabu, tin house dweller, 10/05/2012

Communalism has become less since the developments started in Cato Crest. However, the majority does seems to recognize an 'us' feeling amongst the residents in Cato Crest, both by RDP dwellers and people from a shack/tin house. Contrary to this, there is a vivid 'them' existing; the newcomers. All but one respondent, Pretty, are annoyed about the fact that new people arrive in Cato Crest on a regular basis. They are labelled as free-riders and are often blamed to slow down the upgrading for others. When the Municipality breaks down new shacks it generally takes a couple of days when the same people start building new structures. Most respondents explain that they will report newcomers to the ward councillor. They feel responsible to do this and are, as former community leader Milton formulates it, "the eyes of the Municipality" (Gcwensa, 2012).

Sense of belonging

The respondents talked about the feelings of acceptance they had during the period they had just arrived in Cato Crest. There is a clear difference between people who already knew people in the area:

> *"... it was easy for me because there was already a part my family living here. They introduced me to other people."* – Ephraim, tin house dweller, 25/04/2012

and people that arrived without any prior contacts in Cato Crest:

> *"In the beginning I did not feel accepted, because I did not know the people and they did not know me."* – Pretty, shack dweller, 12/04/2012

Having a migration network in Cato Crest seems to be a major contribution to a smoother arrival in the area, also in a social perspective. Two respondents, Joyce and John, did not speak Zulu during their first period which also made them fee unaccepted at first. Cato Crest was clearly not the most warming place in the beginning for several respondents. As time passed, however, almost all of the respondents felt accepted by their fellow residents. This does not mean that these respondents feel that they belong to Cato Crest. The evidence of this is formulated by John as followed:

> *"We are divided because some people say they don't like leaving Cato Crest and same people say that as long that they get a house they don't matter where they live."* – John, shack dweller, 02/05/2012

Surprisingly, out of the four respondents with a RDP house only one of them, Lindiswa, says that she wants to live in Cato Crest forever. Pretty and Fund are attached to Cato Crest because of their businesses and Mldalose would move if she could find a bigger house. In the cluster 'Collectivism' all four respondents feel that they belong to Cato Crest and would like to have their RDP houses there. They will not simply accept relocation. The 'Indifference' cluster is more heterogeneous in this sense: Malanga is already 66 years and would like to die in Cato Crest; Cindy and Nonhlanhla do not care where will receive a house, and John and Ephraim feel attached to their surrounding neighbours and would only want to be removed as a group.

Trust

This element is described by McMillan (1996) as order and authority which is based on principle rather than person and group norms to allow members and authority to influence each other reciprocally to have trust which can evolve into justice. One of the issues the respondents were questioned on was help during hazards and shocks, such as fire, flooding, the loss of jobs and the decease of a family member.

In Cato Crest there is, according to the respondents, in almost all cases a support network during hazards such as fire and flooding. This does not mean that people from the whole settlement come to help, but direct neighbours will. Wilson explains the necessity:

> *"We are the fire arms in Cato Crest. A lot of times the fire fighters cannot reach the shacks, so we have to stop the fire. –* Wilson, shack dweller, 25/04/2012

It seems, however, that helping each other out is not so much caused by a principle, but more by personal and/or group norms. From different clusters respondents declare to be willing to help their neighbours and know that in other areas neighbours will help each other as well. In terms of helping other residents by lending them money, the majority says not to be willing to do this favour for other people than family and friends. According to Jabu, the people worked more together when everyone was still living in shacks. But she also claims that collective action was more needed in those days. People in the tin houses and RDP houses do hardly experience water damage caused by rainfall anymore and do not live as close to the river.

Contrary to most other respondents John claims that there are certain principles amongst the people in the area where he lives. They approach someone who throws rubbish out in the area and take

action when they find out someone from their area has been stealing somewhere. According to him, there are some unwritten rules someone has to live up to in order to be accepted in Cato Crest.

"If you want to stay here you must do the good things." – John, shack dweller, 02/05/2012

6.4. Concluding remarks

The functional networks of the respondents' livelihoods are, overall, quite locally bound. Despite the migration patterns that include multiple locations and migration networks that include different people, most respondents now heavily rely on Cato Crest itself. It is also surprising that the residents of Cato Crest do not seem have a lot of activities in the city centre while the short distance to it was the main reason to move to Cato Crest in the first place. Evidently, Cato Crest has become a settlement with an economy of its own where people can make a living without spending heavily depending on other locations.

There is no such thing as *one* community in Cato Crest; that much is clear after hearing several stories from residents. While some literally stated it, this conclusion is moreover based on the elements emotional safety, boundaries, sense of belonging and trust, which implicitly show that Cato Crest is a divided community. The division cannot be explained by tenure type; shack dwellers do not necessarily have a higher sense of community than RDP dwellers. Respondents who are defined as being 'active' in community-based activities and organisations seem to have a higher sense of community than the ones that are not so active. However, most active respondents also point out the split community.

It seems that the most obvious distinction among residents in Cato Crest is whether they are 'attached' or 'not attached', a distinction also mentioned by John. This division has come to the surface by the upgrading process in the area. After an analysis on the residents' livelihoods in the first part of this chapter it became clear that Cato Crest has an economy on its own and a highly mobile outlook is almost completely absent. Especially the respondents from the cluster 'Collectivism' seem to favour a long-term stay in Cato Crest. But this image of Cato Crest as an 'ending station' is not reflected by every respondent. Several shack dwellers and RDP dwellers claim not to be attached to Cato Crest itself and are also willing to move to a house in a more peripheral area. For them a house is more important than the location, which is odd because this is the exact opposite of what Hunter & Posel (2012) claim. This is especially the case for respondents from the cluster 'Indifference', but also RDP house dwellers from the other two clusters seem not to be as

attached to Cato Crest as a location, although they are very much involved in its local economy. For this conclusion has, of course, some nuances have to made. Some respondents are not attached to Cato Crest as a location, but are only willing to move when it happens together with a group of people of Cato Crest. This shows a high sense of community, but on a smaller scale than Cato Crest as a whole.

In terms of the clusters, it is hard to draw unambiguous conclusions relating the sense of community in Cato Crest. The respondents in 'Collectivism' show a significantly higher degree of emotional safety, sense of belonging and trust in the settlement, but for the other clusters is varies largely per respondent. In terms of *Ubuntu*, it cannot be said that communality is naturally present in Cato Crest. The next chapter will focus on the effects that the state-led upgrading approach of ABM has had on the community in Cato Crest.

– Chapter 7 –

THE EFFECTS OF STATE-LED UPGRADING IN CATO CREST

After the abolition of Apartheid the new ANC government outlined its policy in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Key components in this programme were Presidential Lead Projects all over the country. These projects were indicated to pilot the new approach to, amongst other targets, fast-track housing development for informal dwellers in the area. The funding was not only done by the South African government, but also includes other donors such as the European Union (Nell & Charlton, 2002). Cato Manor was designated as such a project in 1995 with the goal to produce 25.000 housing units in the area, accommodating 150.000 people (Robinson, 2003). Although the alarming housing backlog in South Africa was the main reason for this large scale housing project in Cato Manor it was also symbolic to put forward the area because of the turbulent history with massive relocations during the Apartheid regime.

The precursor of Cato Manor Area Based Management (ABM), the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA), started in 1993 with developments to connect Cato Manor with other parts of Durban and tried to facilitate human settlements in this limited space; a highly physical process. Since its inception in 2003, ABM has gone a significant way in facilitating improved social and local economic development within the area. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Cato Crest is one of the few remaining areas in Cato Manor with a large number of shacks and therefore somewhat left behind in the process compared to the surrounding areas of Bonela, Wiggins and Chesterville. While the ABM vision to develop Cato Manor not only physically, but also economically and socially may be in a further stage in these areas, this is not yet the case in Cato Crest. Here the state-led upgrading approach is still mainly emphasising the production of houses, doing so on a large scale to reduce the existing housing back-log. Thoughtful community-building and attention for issues such as access water, electricity and sanitation facilities have been perceived to be less significant. Despite the ABM vision to also put effort in community-building, the results of this research in Cato Crest indicate social friction among residents and disadvantaged people in different situations. Without negating the improvements that ABM has accomplished over the last years in Cato Crest, this chapter touches on the effects that the state-led upgrading process has had that are not immediately visible, namely on a social level. In other words, the effects of upgrading on 'the community' in Cato Crest were investigated. It aims to unravel how the residents have been involved in the upgrading process and what this has meant for their position in Cato Crest.

7.1. Communication with, and involvement of, the residents

7.1.1. The CC number

Between 1993 and 2002 the wider Cato Manor area experienced a major influx of people; in 1991 around 300 families lived in informal houses in Cato Manor, but this number grew to 7.500 in 2002 (Nell & Charlton, 2002). These were not only people that were looking for employment or people who had an emotional link with Cato Manor because of ancestors that lived in the area, but also to set up a shack in order to subsequently become eligible to receive a formal house through the state

Picture 7.1. The CC number on Joyce's shack. She is still waiting for a house.

(Maseko, 2012). This population increase made it impossible to build RDP houses for all these people on this location. Especially in Cato Crest it would be problematic and expensive because of its steep and hilly landscape. The ABM was formed in 2003 and decided only to build new houses for the people who owned a shack at that moment. All shacks in Cato Crest received a CC number (Picture 7.1). In this process people had to confirm their neighbours to make sure that the registration happened in a fair way. That it not always results in a fair allocation of houses is outlined by Malanga's story:

> "Someone stole the CC of number of my shack and received a RDP house afterwards. I went to the councillor to tell that the person is getting the RDP house through my number. Municipality just goes and checks the numbers on the doors. I asked the councillor what will happen to me now. He said that he will go to resolve this. These are things I worry about here in Cato Crest." – Malanga, shack dweller, 21/04/2012

After three years it is still not clear for Malanga whether she will receive a house. Among the respondents of this research four have already received a RDP house; two were moved from their shack into a tin house; three had to move from their shack and now live in another shack; three still live in their initial shack; and one rents a shack. The implications of these different shelter types will be discussed later in this chapter.

7.1.2. Community meetings

All respondents, except for one, claim to have attended most of the community meetings relating to the upgrading process in the area. These meeting happen according to a certain procedure. The ward councillor normally calls for community meetings. Sometimes these meeting are for everyone in Cato Crest, but most often they are held per area. Although the respondents were aware of the occurrence of these meetings, they are divided in terms of the usefulness and involvement of the residents. Most respondents felt that they had the opportunity to raise questions and issues, but are not sure to what extent these were taken into consideration. As a general rule, area committees inform the people of that particular area about the upgrading plans. Residents are then given the opportunity to ask questions and give input, which leads to a proposal for the ward councillor. The ward councillor has to make sure that the proposal goes to the Municipality. They sit down and decide about the proposal and come back to the residents with their decision. The residents can then agree or disagree with what is. If they disagree the Municipality has to change their proposal. However, a recurring story from several respondents was that agreements made during the meetings were not put into practice. This means that the Municipality does not always feedback to the residents in terms of their decision.

"Some of the things we agreed on in the meeting turned out to be done differently afterwards. That was disappointing us, because it was not the plan from the community." – Fund, RDP dweller, 25/04/2012

Fund is definitely not the only respondent who argues that certain upgrading projects have taken place without at least informing the residents. This is an issue that is experienced by residents from all the different shelter types. Only two respondents, Lindiswa (RDP dweller) and John (shack dweller), say that are satisfied about the way that they were involved during community meetings and that are pleased with the consideration of the questions and issues that were raised. The rest is more sceptical about these meetings and often questions the usefulness.

"Sometimes you come out and you say; this was a waste of my time, this was not a meeting. They just came to dictate their plans." – Joyce, shack dweller, 21/04/2012

Despite the dissatisfaction with the community meetings, none of the respondents indicated that they take notes during these meetings to check whether the Municipality is honouring the agreements that were made. Another issue is that the the discussion during the community meetings in Cato Crest is almost always about housing. This frustrates the RDP-dwellers, since they want to

highlight the lack of water and electricity in their houses. ABM acknowledges this fact, despite the fact they aim for a more holistic form of upgrading in stead of solely building houses.

"The only shared vision that lives among people is to get a house and that is the reason why people attend meetings. Also if the meetings are about other issues most people will only go because they are afraid it might affect them in getting their house. It is a bit sad; because the expectation is that a community should discuss every aspect of the area." – Njabulo Maseko, ABM, 24/05/2012

The question is then, if the prioritising of discussing housing over other upgrading issues is an independent variable among the residents of Cato Crest, or if it is an outcome of an upgrading process that emphasises on housing delivery. On paper, ABM upgrading consists of more than housing, but in the current process housing is the main topic of discussion, because a part of the population has received a RDP house and the other part has not. Consequently, the community meetings entail predominantly discussion on housing, neglecting other issues. These meetings thus only seem to strengthen the focus on the delivery of RDP houses.

7.1.3. Citizen participation

The ward councillor is the legitimate custodian of the state-led upgrading process in Cato Crest and the link between the community and the municipal office. A commonly heard problem is that his power results in nepotism. ABM has tried to circumvent the ward councillor's power by working with sector-based groups, for example for construction, that have to be trained first (Maseko, 2012). According to the respondents, however, there is a lot of politics in the selection of these sector-based groups as well. Nonhlanhla, Cindy and Joyce argue that it is hard to get involved in these groups if you are not on the side of the ward councillor; all three of them are DA members. Ballard (2012) thereby experienced that there is a lot of differentiation within the ANC as well. These groups thus seem not to make the process more democratic and slow it down even more.

Putting the empirical findings relating to communication and participation next to the ladder of Arnstein (1969) one could argue that ABM is claiming to work on the level of placation (fifth rung), but is seen by their constituency to remain at the level of consulting (fourth rung) or even only that of informing (third rung). In addition, Richard Ballard argues that citizen participation in Cato Crest is consulting is, at its best, consultation (Ballard, Interview with professor Richard Ballard from UKZN, 2012). With the sector-based and area-based committees ABM tries to allow citizens to advise them on certain development issues. This form of citizen participation did not come of the ground in Cato

Crest since the main issue is still on individual level; housing (Maseko, 2012). Again, the question is whether this individuality is not already the result of the process. Since these committees largely failed, residents are still mainly consulted during community meetings. They have the chance to raise questions and issues, which are taken to the ABM and/or Municipal office. There is not much organisation amongst the residents in this sense. Many residents question the integrity of the consideration of their issues and often feel that nothing is done with it. This is consistent with Arnstein's criticism that consultation is often "just a window-dressing ritual [where] power holders have gone through the required motions of involving 'those' people" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 219). In the perception of several respondents the Municipality just came to dictate their upgrading plans and the residents did not have the feeling to be involved at all. This is mainly the case among the respondents that still live in shacks.

In relation to the nine plagues of community participation outlined by Botes & Van Rensburg (2000) the upgrading process in Cato Crest corresponds to some of their points. ABM seems to have a paternalistic role in the upgrading process which makes the residents dependent. By buildings houses for a part of the population, promising houses to others and replacing people in tin houses or temporary shack, they clearly dominate the decision-making process. This is all a legacy from the moment when Cato Manor was appointed as a Presidential Lead Project. Goals were set by the number of houses being delivered and although the ABM shifted to a more holistic upgrading approach in other areas, the technical targets are still predominating in Cato Crest. The 'hard' results of built houses outweigh 'soft' results such as community-building and the product is valued higher than the process.

Residents of Cato Crest also seem to care more about the product than the process. They just want their house that is promised to them or, if they already have one, legal electricity and running water. These issues are clearly more vital to them than community-building, which is not an astounding finding since getting a house now seems as a rightful demand. Shack dwellers in Cato Crest see other residents move into RDP houses and then, logically, also want to make their claim. 'Development' equals receiving a house and has moved away from the holistic upgrading of the area, as CMDA and ABM strived to. This mind-set amongst residents in Cato Crest is the result of the top-down upgrading approach that was launched by the CMDA and is still performing to this date. In the next sections an elaboration on the effects that this approach has had on the 'community' thinking in the settlement will follow. There will also be some linkages shown with findings from Chapter 6.

7.2. The not-so-visible effects of the upgrading process in Cato Crest

7.2.1. A delayed upgrading process

In 2003 the first new houses in Cato Crest were constructed and completed. Almost ten years later still a vast group of residents is still living in shacks or waiting in tin houses. Initially, the housing delivery was supposed to be finished by now, but some factors severely slowed down the state-led upgrading process. In this section the three most important factors and their effects on the community in Cato Crest are discussed.

The first factor that slowed down the process is the influx of new people into Cato Crest after the numbering of the shacks in 2003. New squatters keep on coming to the area to strategically build new structures in order to qualify for a new house. Because the Municipality cannot simply evict these people according to South African law they are literally standing in the way of the construction of new houses. Even eThekwini mayor James Nxumalo said to the residents of Cato Crest during a meeting in January 2012 that "[t]he problem of informal settlements will never be solved if new people move into the area once they hear about this low-cost housing project. So please do not invite your relatives and friends from other areas to come here" (Bongani, 2012). Shacks pop up on sites that were just cleared for the construction for houses. It is often a cat-and-mouse game between the Municipality and people that build new shacks (Maseko, 2012). A factor that relates closely to the first is the little land that is available for housing sites, because of Cato Crest's topography.

A second factor relates to political differences and associated alliances within Cato Crest. Although the ANC has always been the biggest party in the area, the IFP also has a lot of support and the DA is popular in some pockets as well (Maseko, 2012). This is the result of the different places people came from and the different motives they had when moving to Cato Crest; tracing back their roots, fleeing for political violence in KZN during the 1980's and finding employment opportunities. There is thus a lot of diversity in political viewpoints and perspectives which, according to several respondents, has often led to long discussions during community meetings, without solutions. In these discussions, the ANC ward councillor and the ward committee are often blamed for being biased and favouring other ANC members over supporters of other politic parties in the upgrading process.

Thirdly, there is a general distrust in the reliability of the community leadership and, specifically, the fairness of the housing allocations through a housing list in Cato Crest nowadays. At first, the main resistance came mainly from so-called shack lords; people who own several (sometimes up to a

couple of dozen) shacks in the settlement which they rent out to other people. According to the plans set by ABM, one new house is built for each shack owner. This means that shack renters do not qualify for a RDP house and shack lords only qualify for one; a major loss in their livelihood since they would not be able to rent out shacks or RDP houses to others. There was a lot of resistance by shack lords that prevented this development:

"They frustrated the process by threatening developers, stole machinery which almost led to a state of anarchy where the development stopped for some time. Only recently, the last three years, these problems with shack lords are more or less over and the development process started again since 2009." – Njabulo Maseko, ABM, 24/05/2012

The issues with the shack lords might be settled at the moment, but there is still resistance against ABM's upgrading policy. The biggest issue relates to the way that houses are allocated. Officially, to qualify for a house a person needs to get on to the housing list, which requires having a CC number. The area committee must vouch that they know this person and that he or she lived in the area. The list is then confirmed by officials of the municipal housing department to double-check the data of people and if they have been allocated a house before. The registration for the housing list is a public affair and often happens after community meetings. The influence of the ward councillor here is said to be minimal (Maseko, 2012). However, among the residents of Cato Crest there are accusations of nepotism against the community leadership. Some respondent questions the political neutrality of the housing allocation list since, as DA or IFP members, they feel disadvantaged in the process. Although the objective criteria that seem to be applied, several respondents stated to have witnessed corruption by the ward councillor and his committee, for example by selling newly constructed RDP houses to people from outside of Cato Crest. In the tin houses these feelings of distrust even seem to be higher.

"We are not happy, because we had land before we moved to the tin houses and now they will say that there is no space for us. (...) They said that they would move us back to our original place. Some other people live there now." – Jabu, tin house dweller, 12/05/2012

"When the house finished they put other people in the house. We kept asking what happened to our house. We are still living here in the tin, while other people are occupying the houses now." – Ephraim, tin house dweller, 01/05/2012

Most tin house residents have been living there for four years, while they were told it would be a temporary place of residence for several months before being moved into the houses built on the location where their shacks were. In the meantime, they see other people living in 'their' houses.

All these factors contributed to the on-going process of the upgrading of Cato Crest, or better put; the on-going process of housing delivery in Cato Crest. The idea of getting a house on a short term has been living in the minds of most residents for almost ten years now. This clearly left its marks in the mind-set of people. A general sense of frustration in the community is evident. Frustration of living in a small tin house for four years; frustration of seeing 'new faces' living in the newly constructed houses; frustration because of the uncertainty of being relocated to another place. These feelings are found among all types of residents. Next to the tin house dweller, the shack dwellers see developments all around them, but did not profit so far. Also RDP dwellers are far from satisfied since most of them still do not have running water, legal electricity or sanitation in their houses.

In some cases the state-led upgrading process has direct consequences for a household composition and the livelihood. Cindy used to live with her mother, two sisters and two brothers in a shack. When ABM started to build houses in their area they had to move to a temporary shack in another area. Due to the size of the shack it was not possible for Cindy's brothers to live with them. The upgrading is thus literally splitting the household. Also the quality of life of Cindy's household has decreased. Their temporary shack is right next to a public toilet; a hotbed of diseases (Picture 7.2). Thereby, the shack is partly made out of plastic which also does not contribute to good health conditions.

Picture 7.2. Cindy opens the temporary shack she lives in with her mother and two sisters. Next to it is a public toilet.

Thiyama also temporarily lives in another shack while waiting for a house. The main problem for her is of financial nature. She owned her own shack from the moment she moved to Cato Crest up to the point where she had to move to make space for new houses. The temporary shack Thiyama lives in is owned by someone else and she has to pay rent; a new sort of expense for her.

"I am waiting for my house now so I have to pay rent in this shack. I pay 100 Rand per month. This thing is not good for me because I owned my own shack first and now I end up paying rent. The development process is really slow and I cannot afford to pay rent for a long time". – Thiyama, shack dweller, 12/05/2012

The rent that Thiyama pays for her temporary shack is thus an extra expense compared with the period when she had her own shack. Apparently these 100 Rand per month are costs that she is willing to pay now in order to get access to a RDP house. These opportunity costs do however put extra pressure on her already meagre household income.

The delayed process together with the questionable degree of participation has led to a certain passiveness among the residents of Cato Crest. There is no organised collective where people show their dissatisfaction about the process, at most a few residents that step to the ward councillor's office to ask questions. The majority of the respondents, also the RDP dwellers, claim to keep attending community meetings in the nearby future. Attending them is, however, more about raising questions and receiving information than it is about actually participating in the process. The credo seems to be *waiting* for a house or *waiting* for water and electricity rather than taking action. State-led upgrading made the residents receivers of houses in stead of active stakeholders in the upgrading process.

7.2.2. Community division

Getting a house or getting water and electricity plays a key role in the mind-set of the residents in Cato Crest. Although this is a shared ambition, people especially strive for their individual benefits, neglecting the philosophy of *Ubuntu*; being connected to the people around you and your generosity towards them. However, this philosophy is unlikely to work in contemporary Cato Crest since the state-led upgrading has led to a friction zone with have's and have-not's of RDP houses. As we have already seen in the previous chapter the community in Cato Crest is divided. This is mostly in terms of attachment to Cato Crest and its people, but also by feeling responsible for others in the area, by being a 'newcomer' or not, or by being a shack renter or a shack owner. All these distinctions have relations to the upgrading process.

Not everyone blindly wants a house. As mentioned before, the future of shack tenants in Cato Crest is uncertain since they do not qualify for a new house and cannot count on the assistance of the Municipality after being relocated. They are well aware of this and therefore do not favour the destruction of all shacks in the settlement. This leads to division in the community, also in politics;

the DA is supporting the fate of the shack renters in this situation. Thereby, when tenants are removed from the shacks they rent, they are also often among the people who build new shack in the area (Gcwensa, 2012). This is frustrating the upgrading progress which makes shack owners aware of the negative aspects of shack tenants:

> *"People who are renting the shacks are stopping the development. (…) These things are affecting me as well, because I am also still waiting."* – John, shack dweller, 08/05/2012

Botes & Van Rensburg (2000) also mentioned that when some groups feel neglected in decisions, conflict can arise which highly impedes the participation process. Although the issue around housing allocation for shack renters is a hot debate in Cato Crest, it is not (yet) a conflict. Nonhlanhla, who currently rents a shack, is mostly frustrated by the insecurity and indistinctness of her situation.

> *"I don't know what will happen when the development comes to where I live; do I need to go somewhere else or can I stay in Cato Crest? (…) People from community told us that if you don't have a number and you are renting you won't get a house. (…) The Municipality told us that if you are living here for four years are going to have a house; that is why I have hope I can stay."* – Nonhlanhla, shack dweller, 22/05/2012

The existence of shack renters in the settlement can also be a form of income for some RDP house dwellers. Mdlalose built a shack next to her house that she rents to people, and therein she is not the only one in Cato Crest. The emergence of new shacks that can be rented will lead to more newcomers to Cato Crest that perceive this rent as an opportunity cost to get access to a house. Although this does not correspond to the eThekwini Municipality's goal to red rid of all informal houses, these structures are now tolerated in Cato Crest, as long as they are well-built. This could lead to the emergence of new shack lords in the area.

Not only is the future of the shack renters uncertain, many shack dwellers also do not know where they will be living in the nearby future. In an informal area as densely populated as Cato Crest it is not possible to house all the current residents. The new houses require more space than the shacks do. When ten shacks are removed around three or four families can return to the area (Maseko, 2012). Thereby, multi-storey housing is not favoured by most people in South Africa. It is an African tradition to live on the ground; if a family member deceases in a house his spirit needs to able to go in the ground underneath it (Maharaj, 2012). People are also reluctant to live in multi-storey housing

because it does not give them the opportunity to expand their structure at a later stage (Ballard, Interview with professor Richard Ballard from UKZN, 2012). This all leads to the need to construct houses for a vast portion of the population of Cato Crest at other locations in Durban, for example near KwaMashu, Phoenix and Tongaat. At the moment hundreds former Cato Crest residents have already moved to other areas where they were allocated RDP houses. In the perspective of ABM the decision to do so was an unpopular one, but turned out to be not so difficult. The main reason was that some people came to Cato Crest only for housing opportunities and did not have an emotional link with the area (Maseko, 2012). Former community leader Milton Gcwensa's observations of the relocation process coincide with this. According to him the majority of the people favour a house on a peripheral location over the uncertainty of being able to get a house in Cato Crest:

> *"People are running to get in one of these houses. It has never happened that when the Municipality finished houses they could not find enough people to move into them."*
> – Milton, former community leader, 12/04/2012

Even though moving to other parts in Durban for a RDP house does not seem a problem for a number of residents of Cato Crest it has radical effects on the composition of the community. The question is, however, if these effects are necessarily negative. One could argue that, if people who are not attached to Cato Crest agree to move to a house in another part of Durban, more houses will be available for the people that do want to stay in Cato Crest. It distinguishes the 'attached' from the 'not attached', which was also clearly visible in the empirical results of the last chapter. Some people simply don't mind, for various reasons, to leave Cato Crest behind them and start a new life somewhere else – with a new house.

> *"They relocated people to other locations. (...) They didn't protest. Some people were excited to have a change of living environment. They were tired of the crime and fuss in Cato Crest."* – Thiyama, shack dweller, 12/05/2012

Despite the relative smooth relocation process there are still competing housing claims in Cato Crest. People who have been waiting for houses for years see others moving in quickly. According to some, the collective struggle during the period that everyone still lived in shacks changed into an 'every man for himself' mentality;

"… people want things individually. (…) I think before we were all living in the shacks and we all had more or less the same problems, so we acted more together." – Jabu, tin house dweller, 12/05/2012

Jabu argues a decrease in community thinking in Cato Crest. As seen in the Chapter 6 there are still community-based activities and residents that care of each other, but social relations seem to be more callous since the state-led upgrading process started in Cato Crest.

7.2.3. The ambiguity of ownership and tenure security

As mentioned in Chapter 4, a RDP house becomes, once built and allocated to a person who is at the top of the housing list, the property of the beneficiary. The house becomes an asset; something of value which can be used as a financial safety net. However, this asset does need maintenance which requires a certain investment (in both time and money) that is usually higher when one lived in a shack. This also seems the case in Cato Crest, especially because there is a lot of criticism on the quality of the houses in the settlement. Mainly the ones that were built in the first years of ABM's upgrading process turned out to have defects. Pretty and Lindiswa live in such houses and claim that they have significant costs due to leakages at times of heavy rainfall. The questionable quality of houses is also recognized by ABM:

"… when it comes to the quality of the houses itself, it is a failing in a sense. Different contractors tender to build the houses and there has been a lot of outcry about them. They are blamed of coming and building substandard houses to improve their margins of profit, and that is a reality" – Njabulo Maseko, ABM, 24/05/2012

The eThekwini Municipality is responsible for adjustments in the structure, but once a house is handed over to the beneficiary it is his or her responsibility. This feeling of responsibility is often hard to find, according to ABM. This seems especially the case in Cato Crest and not so much in other parts of Cato Manor. The reason for this is still unknown. Residents do not paint their houses, because they expect that the Municipality will come and do this. This is not only in contrast to what is experienced in other parts of Cato Manor but also to other parts of South Africa. According Afesis-Corplan, a NGO that promotes community-driven development in the Eastern Cape Province, full ownership of a house leads to an increasing incentive to invest time and money in it (Eglin, 2012).

The idea of ABM behind giving people title deeds is to integrate them into the formal economy by improving "people's capacity in terms of economic power, making sure that people have rights and

tenure over land" (Maseko, 2012). But the mere handover of a title deed is not what makes a person economically resilient. There is no attention for the in-between step of sense of ownership. The ABM strategy does not make the person aware of the value of a house and therefore this person would not feel as responsible as when the house was self-built and financed. They are also no signs of new RDP dwellers being informed or assisted in maintaining their house. ABM is responsible for the structure until the moment it is allocated to its new owner. There should be more responsibility from the side of ABM in this matter since ownerships is a new feature for most of the dwellers of the RDP houses.

What sometimes happens is that new house owners, in times of economic setback, decide to sell their house and build a new shack to live and use the money made for daily expenses (Maseko, 2012). Once allocated to a house it is the owner's right to sell this, but this person then loses his right for another house in the eThekwini Municipality. The structure now houses other people, but the housing back-log will not decrease since the previous owners are likely to move back into an informal dwelling.

Regarding tenure security another study Cato Crest done by Kamna Patel (2011) stresses that the feeling of security is not necessarily high among RDP dwellers with a title deed. She concludes that the upgrading process and the resulting ownership *"is not enough to build confidence in the state and its intentions, leaving some RDP owners still concerned that they may yet be evicted or their tenure threatened by the state"* (Patel, 2011, p. 195). This fear of eviction was not present in the mind of the RDP house respondents in this research and the attitude towards the Municipality was also positive. Although their RDP houses, after years of waiting, do not have running water and legal electricity connections, they remain confident in a solution to come.

> *"… we still need water and electricity and they promise us that it will come. (…) I believe them because the Municipality came to each house and look at the numbers and wrote down which houses still need water and electricity."* – Pretty, RDP house dweller, 16/04/2012

Despite the unintended negative effects of owning a house it has one commonly present positive one in Cato Crest; the pride of owning a house. All respondents that own a RDP house claim to be more proud since they received their house. Also shack dwellers such as Joyce and Thiyama claim that they will be proud once they get one. Whilst they are now sometimes ashamed to say that they live in a shack in Cato Crest, they state that this will change once it is their turn in the upgrading process.

However, because of the delays in the process a house is still just a dream for most residents in Cato Crest; a dream that they expected to come true years ago. "While the process of upgrade undoubtedly causes major changes in the lives of residents who have received or are about to receive an RDP house, for shack dwellers uncertain when they too will participate in what has turned into a 10 year process with no apparent end date, the promise of an RDP house, title deed and improved living conditions is just one of many they have heard over a lifetime" (Patel, 2011, p. 195).

7.3. Concluding remarks

This chapter argues that the divided community and deteriorated sense of community is a result of the state-led upgrading process. This can be largely traced back to they way that the notions of 'upgrading' and 'development' are used. Despite the goals of ABM to holistically improve the physical, economical and social conditions in the wider Cato Manor area the upgrading projects in Cato Crest have, for different reasons, so far merely focussed on the delivery of houses. Subsequently, this limited view on 'development' is also adopted by most residents in Cato Crest which can be seen in the different statements they made throughout this chapter. When development is equal to receiving a house, individualism will increase. This makes it, at least until all residents have received a house, difficult to give upgrading a deeper meaning as being a community process. It is thus likely to increase the divide within the community in Cato Crest.

In terms of having a right to the city for informal settlement dwellers, the state-led upgrading process is not contributing. Citizen participation remained at the level of consultation and residents of Cato Crest are thus not seen as "active element[s] in urban society and environment" (Guillaume & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2002). The ABM upgrading approach has made the residents more individual, dependent on professionals, sceptic about the process and passive. None of these developments contribute to the claiming a right to the city for them. The ABM (and thus eThekwini Municipality) mantra is to deliver houses in order to formalise the informal residents. There is no recognition that people can also develop themselves while living in a shack and that other measures, such as the improvement of current structures, besides housing can also contribute to improved living conditions. In the next chapter an alternative upgrading approach will be discussed that does address to other measures.

– Chapter 8 –

AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH: PUTTING PEOPLE AT THE CENTER

"Nothing for us without us"

– SDI Alliance South Africa, Upgrading Lives Building the Nation (2011) –

The main focus of this research has been, as the central research question suggests, investigating the effects of Municipality-led upgrading on the community in Cato Crest by first trying to understand what is perceived as a community. During a three month internship at Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) in Durban I became acquainted with the people-centered SDI approach. As an addition to the research conducted on state-led upgrading in Cato Crest this chapter explores the possibilities for the SDI approach in this settlement. The arguments are based on three months of working experience, mainly in two informal settlements in Durban, and personal communication with CORC colleagues and community leaders. Since the discussion of a people-centered approach is relevant in the case of Cato Crest, and thus an addition to the previous chapters, it should not be merely tucked away in this thesis' recommendations or appendices.

Upgrading of an informal settlement includes more than the delivery of houses and the formalisation of an area. The process should most importantly lead to strong communities and upgrading should always involve around the informal settlement dwellers itself. This is the rationale in the upgrading approach of SDI. As showed in Chapter 4 of this thesis this approach is opposite to the state-led upgrading approach of the ABM in Cato Crest. This chapter describes the first steps that have been taken towards a more people-centered upgrading approach in Cato Crest and explores the possibilities of this approach to gain ground in the upcoming years. Next to the possible effects such a policy shift can have, this chapter also pays attention to the challenges it entails. Based on experiences with the SDI approach in other informal settlements in Durban such challenges will be discussed in order to provide a guideline for further implementation of the SDI approach in Cato Crest.

8.1. A reaction in Cato Crest: Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP)
The huge delay in the upgrading process and the related frustration among a big group of residents in Cato Crest that still live in a shack or tin house resulted in the support for an alternative upgrading approach; that of FEDUP. This is a nationwide federation practicing daily savings, enumerations,

community-led housing development and land acquisition and is an affiliate of SDI South Africa. This grass roots organisation started a saving scheme in Cato Crest in 2007 with Lucia Shibe as their leader. After she had come in contact with FEDUP and ISN leaders from other parts of Durban she decided to mobilise other people in her settlement. There was clearly unhappiness in Cato Crest about the way the eThekwini Municipality led the upgrading process and frustration that arose because of the corruption by the ward councillor and committee[35]. Thereby, the quality of the houses was seen as insufficient for families to live in and most lacked water and sanitation facilities.

For these reasons FEDUP had around three hundred active savers in 2009. These people also wanted to benefit from houses, but were tired of waiting for the Municipality to build it for them. The mobilisation of Cato Crest residents initially went well, but was frustrated by the ward committee, according to Lucia Shibe:

> *"[They] tried to stop people from joining FEDUP by telling them it was not beneficial to join; that is was unreal that they would get houses through that way. So it was really the ward committee that belong to the councillor and the Municipality that wanted to demoralize the people."* – Lucia Shibe, FEDUP Cato Crest, 22/05/2012

These discouragements made some people leave the savings group, but there are still around two hundred members at this moment. With the assistance of ISN and CORC, two other SDI affiliates, the FEDUP members developed the idea to build twenty four double storey houses. These will be pre-financed by uTshani Fund (also from SDI) and ISN would assist the people in Cato Crest with the process of enumeration. In 2010 FEDUP had identified some vacant pieces of land which they were willing to move to. The ward councillor reacted positively, but the process lost his momentum when the political counterparts were drawn into pre-election campaigning and all further decisions were postponed to after May 2011 (Shibe, 2012). It took until May 2012 for all the paperwork for the land acquisition to be in order, but enumerations in the area have not been done so far.

Lucia Shibe hopes that the first FEDUP houses are being built soon on their plot of land in Cato Crest (Picture 8.1). Not only because she thinks that visible results of FEDUP's work will encourage more people to participate in the saving scheme as well, but moreover to let the community work together

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[35] It is no coincidence that the abbreviation of FEDUP reads 'fed up'. It is a reaction of dissatisfaction to the technocratic, top-down housing and upgrading policy used by the South African government.

again and not only strive for their own benefits. According to her this has been more and more the case since the ABM upgrading process started in Cato Crest:

"Ten years ago, when the area was still dense and full of shacks, the community was more united. We could plan an action united and something would happen. Now the community is more divided and some people look down upon others, some have become corrupt; they only want something to benefit for themselves. (...) Savings brings people together again" - Lucia Shibe, FEDUP Cato Crest, 22/05/2012

Even a spokesman from ABM acknowledges that when people contribute in a savings group for the construction of their house they will have a bigger sense of ownership and a better idea of the value of their property (Maseko, 2011). This is, according to SDI, part of the necessary capacity that slum dwellers should have to conceive, control and implement poverty alleviation strategies via development activities targeting their own communities. Through this way, a community of slums dwellers can act as a partner in the upgrading process of their own living environment.

Picture 8.1. The plot of land in Cato Crest allocated to FEDUP for their housing project.

8.2.   The pros of the SDI approach

The people-centered upgrading approach of SDI has some significant positive sides compared to the state-led process that is discussed in this thesis. Although it is no panacea in terms of successful informal settlement upgrading, there are some specific pros that could have countered some negative outcomes of the state-led upgrading process in Cato Crest.

Firstly, the SDI approach has more attention for building strong and resilient communities when commencing upgrading activities in a certain settlement. While the state-led upgrading approach in Cato Crest has had negative consequences for the community, people-centered development is the only way to develop sustainable communities (Korten, 1990). The encouragement of collective saving schemes mobilisation the community and enumerating the settlement are all vital steps in the sense that they bring residents of together to collectively think about upgrading processes. In Cato Crest the state-led upgrading approach has led to community division since the emphasis was put on

delivering houses, thus benefits for the individual. The SDI approach challenges slum dwellers to think beyond houses when talking about upgrading and to also consider community facilities and developments that protect residents against hazards, such as fires and floods.

Subsequently, a people-centered approach provides the possibility for residents to take initiative and highlight their needs. Again, since this is a collective process the discussion will move beyond the wish for a house. During the upgrading process in Cato Crest the residents were considered as beneficiaries of houses in stead of partners in the development and therefore mainly informed about the plans of the Municipality. When the residents were consulted during community meeting, they did not have full access to relevant, reliable information in order to make the best decision for themselves and the community. In the SDI approach the community and local government work together in order to provide the necessary information to the community in order to specify their needs and make realistic plans. This process takes places in the community-based planning phase of upgrading where the community is assisted by the professionals working for CORC. However, the upgrading plans come from the community itself.

Through the SDI approach shack residents develop new skills, such as designing and mapping, and obtain more knowledge about their own settlement and the process of upgrading. This is a learning process that is not top-driven, but one that is fed from the bottom as well. Through exchanges (local, national and international) with shack dwellers from other settlements information and experiences from recently started upgrading projects are shared. In this way SDI remains a strong, vital network of slum dwellers with experiences and knowledge to be a full partner in the upgrading process. Experiences in Cato Crest showed that a state-led development is not making the residents more skilful or resilient, but rather more passive and dependent on professionals.

These advantages of the SDI approach towards upgrading contribute more to a right to the city for slum dwellers than the state-led upgrading approach does since it recognizes the slum dweller as "an active element in the urban society and environment" (Guillaume & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2002, p. 99). They are given the opportunity to develop themselves, organise themselves and work out their own plans for their living environment. The ability to change the city after ones heart's desire is not necessarily meant this literally by Harvey (2003), but does seems more or less the proclaimed outcome of SDI's people-centered upgrading approach. Thereby, the participation and empowerment that the SDI approach entails is more likely to increase a sense of cohesion in the community than the state-led upgrading approach has done so far.

8.3. Challenges along the way

Despite the positive sides of the SDI approach, the road towards successful people-centered upgrading of informal settlements is an unpaved one with several challenges on its way. The same applies to this approach as to state-led upgrading; the outcomes in the field are usually different then the plans made on paper. The following challenges for the SDI approach are noticed during a three month internship at CORC in several informal settlements in Durban, in different phases of the SDI upgrading process.

It is important to stress that the implementation of the SDI approach (and thus the assistance of ISN and CORC in a certain informal settlement) only occurs when this need is addressed by the residents from the informal settlement. ISN leaders visit different settlement to explain the SDI methods and communities can decide whether they want to commit themselves to this approach. Especially collective saving schemes require mutual trust and feelings of responsibility; existing sense of community in the settlement is needed to make this decision to cooperate in the SDI approach and subsequently an intensive mobilisation process for the further upgrading process. This can be a difficult process because many shack dwellers have heard promises about improvements in their living environment several times and thus have become sceptical towards it. This was the case in Mathambo, an informal settlement around eight kilometres north of the city centre of Durban. ISN leaders visited the place in 2010 and were shocked by the living conditions. Despite the call from certain residents to take charge in the upgrading process as a community it was hard to convince the others:

> *"A lot of people in informal settlements are like John from the Bible; they have to see it before they believe it. This is a challenge for both community saving and for upgrading projects"* – Ndodeni, ISN leader Mathambo, 09/04/2012

This is also acknowledged by Lucia Shibe who expects more people to join the FEDUP saving scheme in Cato Crest once the first housing project has completed and people can see the result of successful collective savings. This challenge underlines the importance of exchanges in the upgrading process as it shows residents from informal settlement in the initial stage results from the SDI approach in settlements that are in a later stage. This works encouraging, but one has to be aware that a people-centered approach is perhaps an even longer process in terms of time than state-led upgrading. Especially a collective responsibility to start, and maintain, saving schemes for the upgrading of public space in a settlement needs tenacious community mobilisation that has to be fed from the bottom up.

In Chapter 7 the way that community involvement has been organised in Cato Crest was criticised. The SDI approach aims for participation in the level of partnership, in terms of the ranking of Arnstein (1969). The residents have to organise themselves and, with help from ISN and CORC, start a partnership with the local government to upgrade their settlement. It is however an illusion that every single person from a settlement is involved the process equally and that therefore all voices are heard. Naturally, some residents will take the lead in the process and there is therefore always a differentiation in the degree of involvement. However some groups seem to stay out of the process more than others. An example of this is the youngsters from the settlement. In Mathambo and Havelock[36] residents from the age category fifteen to twenty-five were largely absent during the initial community meetings in the settlements. Participating in a community-led upgrading process is probably not the first thing on the minds of these youngsters, but they are a vital element of the community since they will be the group that can potentially benefit the most of changes in the living environment, considering their age. In the mobilisation stage extra effort is being put in involving this specific age group in the upgrading process. In Mathambo and Havelock a lot of them were given responsibilities as questioners in the enumeration stage. This initially involved them more in the upgrading, but it turned out that this was only temporal for the majority.

One of the main challenges of the SDI approach is getting the local government to work along and to accept slum dwellers as full partners in the upgrading process. While for the upgrading of certain informal settlements such partnerships are being formed between SDI and the Stellenbosch Municipality[37], the City of Cape Town[38] and Midvaal Municipality[39], the eThekwini Municipality has traditionally been more reticent and sceptic. They do not share SDI's vision that informal settlements need to be upgraded to improve the lives of residents that have been waiting for houses for years, but believe that one should not invest effort and money in slums. Where other municipalities understand the implications of South Africa's major housing backlog on the daily lives of slum dwellers, housing delivery still seems the only response of the eThekwini Municipality.

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[36] An informal settlement in Durban located about six kilometres from the city centre where the SDI upgrading process runs simultaneously with Mathambo.

[37] See for more information: http://sasdialliance.org.za/projects/langrug/

[38] See for more information: http://sasdialliance.org.za/projects/sheffield-road/

[39] See for more information: http://sasdialliance.org.za/sicelo-enumeration-midvaal/

"If you accept a programme where you improve shacks and informal settlements without building new houses you are legitimizing the slums. Our policy is to eradicate the slums altogether, not to make them better living structures." – Njabulo Maseko, ABM, 24/05/2012

It thus seems hard to convince the eThekwini Municipality to become involved in informal settlement upgrading according to SDI's vision. This, however, is often crucial for the success of projects since the Municipality is the legal owner of most land on which informal settlements in Durban are built and therefore can easily thwart the process. The Municipality is also a crucial partner when it comes to the delivery of services, such as sanitary facilities, electricity and waste management. Just as much as shack dwellers need to be at the centre of the upgrading process, the Municipality has to support this process.

Another big challenge of the SDI approach is keeping the momentum. This works on two sides. Firstly, after mobilising a community in an informal settlement there has to be regular communication and meeting between them and SDI to not lose the fuelled enthusiasm. In Quarry Road informal settlement, six kilometres from Durban city centre, the community made initial plans about new toilet facilities with assistance from ISN and CORC. The project was not carried on right away and when six months later a community meeting was organised only a handful of residents showed up. In the period in-between the leadership within the community changed whereby the communication with ISN and CORC diluted. This meant that the process needed to take back a few steps towards, again, mobilisation of the residents for this project. Secondly, also the momentum related to agreements with government bodies has to be kept. In the case of Cato Crest we have already seen that his can be hard since (local) politics is very changeable and priorities on one day can be unimportant on the following day. As long as there is no formal partnership between SDI and the eThekwini Municipality the momentum will remain slippery.

8.4. The future of Cato Crest: encouraging partnerships

The implementation of the SDI approach, through the work of FEDUP, is at an initial stage in Cato Crest. Although several attempts have been made to convince the local government to create more space for slum dwellers to take the lead in upgrading the settlement the development process is still solely state-driven. The challenge in Cato Crest for the next years is how to unite the eThekwini Municipality (plus ABM) with grass-roots organisations such as FEDUP into upgrading partnerships. Only this can lead to successful implementation of people-centered upgrading. This is especially the

case when the developments process in Cato Crest moves beyond housing and also entails improvements, facilities and services in the public space.

"I feel that it would be quite difficult to upgrade public space, because the community is divided; those who belong to FEDUP and ISN, and those who are belonging to the councillor structure. They do not believe in the [SDI] approach. Unless the partnership with the Municipality has some tangible projects or processes to upgrade it could maybe work." – Lucia Shibe, FEDUP Cato Crest, 22/05/2012

Before any housing project commences emphasis must first be put on building strong and resilient communities, something that has been neglected in the development process in Cato Crest so far. Through effective community mobilisation residents of Cato Crest can be made aware of the benefits they can have by joining FEDUP and its collective saving scheme to partly finance their own housing. This is the case for residents who do not yet have a RDP house. Solely focusing on houses within the FEDUP saving scheme will therefore create a division between RDP house dwellers and current shack or tin house dwellers. SDI needs to focus on *all* the residents in Cato Crest by also making upgrading plans for the public space in Cato Crest. Through the Community Upgrading Finance Facility (CUFF) communities can receive small funds for community-initiated upgrading projects for the public space, in addition to their own collective savings.

When making partnerships between communities and the local government, the mindset of the people and the government's view on informal settlements need to change. On the one hand the eThekwini Municipality has to accept residents of informal settlements as key players in the upgrading process; they have certain knowledge and skills that will help to address their needs better. The community members, on the other hand, need to become more proactive and not automatically rely on the idea that the government will do everything for them. Of course, in principle, it is the government's task to provide shelter and decent living condition for every South Africa citizen, but in the light of the country's housing backlog other approaches are necessary. A metaphor used in a speech of Bunita Kohler, Managing Director of CORC South Africa, during a community meeting in Havelock outlines the mindset that is needed;

If you are walking down the street and ask a stranger for a cigarette, he or she will probably not give it to you. If you already have the cigarette and ask for a light there is a great chance this person will give you the light. That is also how the approach with the Municipality should be. We should not go to their offices empty-handed and ask for

electricity, toilets and other facilities. We go there with proper information of our settlement from the enumeration and with properly drawn upgrading plans from the community-mapping. We show the Municipality that we have the knowledge and the skills to be partners in the process.[40] – Bunita Kohler, CORC, 29/05/2012

In May 2012 initial successes were reached in involving the eThekwini Municipality in the upgrading process of Mathambo and Havelock. Community members showed the models they made of their settlement and presented the urgent issues that need attention (Picture 8.2). The local ward councilor and representatives from different Municipal departments that were present were clearly impressed and said to be willing to discuss these issues further with community representatives. Although this is just a first small step towards a partnership, the attitude of the local government generates some hope for communities that want to take action to upgrade their living environment.

Picture 8.2. The scale model that the residents of Mathambo made from their settlement

In all probability the eThekwini Municipality is also as John from the Bible; once they see that successful community-driven initiatives they will be more willing to believe in their capacities and potency. However, the mere establishing of partnerships is not enough to create an upgrading approach that leads to an improved right to the city for slum dwellers. A change of mindset is required on both sides. Only when this happens, communities and local government can start walking the path towards inclusive, pro-poor cities together.

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[40] This is not an exact quotation of the speech. The message of the metaphor is the same, however written down in my own words.

– Chapter 9 –

CONCLUSION

The central question of this research reads: '*How has the Municipality-led informal settlement upgrading affected the people and 'the community' of Cato Crest?* In this concluding chapter the answer on this question will be answered. Thereby, the possibilities for a people-centered SDI approach are explored. Subsequently, the implications of the research findings will be outlined. Lastly, a critical reflection on these findings and implications is provided.

9.1. Findings

The focus on housing delivery in the state-led upgrading process in Cato Crest reveals some important effects on the community. Firstly, it created an increase of *individualism* among the residents. Several respondents argued that there used to be a sense of collective struggle once everyone still lived in shacks. Since the start of the upgrading by ABM a lot of people are focused on getting a house for their own. Secondly, since most shack dwellers are waiting to be allocated a house and are not significantly involved in the process these residents have become more *passive* over the last decade. Also residents that already live in RDP houses yet do not have electricity and running water yet fail to take own intention to get it. This attitude is in sharp contrast with Cato Crest's active civil movements during the Apartheid era and the cohesive community during the end of the 1990's. Thirdly, the big promises by the eThekwini Municipality and the high hopes of the Cato Crest residents combined with the big delays in the upgrading process led to *scepticism* among the people. This scepticism can mainly be found amongst the shack dwellers and tin house dwellers. This group has been waiting for years for a house and often saw other people move into the houses they were initially promised. RDP house owners are happy with their house and have trust in receiving other facilities, such as water and electricity, soon. Fourthly and finally, a *division* amongst the residents has arisen. This is not a distinction between people with a RDP house and people without one, but more especially between the people who are attached to Cato and want to remain living there and people who are not so much attached and do not mind to be relocated somewhere else. In itself this seems a problem that can be solved easily if it was not for the influx of new people that has occurred during the upgrading process. This, together with other factors, notably political differences and a general distrust in the fairness of the housing allocation, delayed the housing delivery process to an extent that some residents have been waiting for almost ten years in poor living conditions.

The situation in Cato Crest has led to dissatisfaction amongst disadvantaged residents. The state-led upgrading has hardly improved their living conditions for this group over the past decade and it only gave them false hope to receive a house in the near future. Alternative ways of settlement upgrading were considered. The start of the FEDUP community saving scheme for a housing project in Cato Crest was the first project that works along the SDI approach. This process is still in its initial stage and there is the need for a mobilised community in order to effectively launch it. This means that more residents need to be informed about the benefits of joining the FEDUP saving schemes for the construction of houses and the upgrading of public space in Cato Crest. The insights that this research gives into the community of Cato Crest are therefore necessary and useful.

In contrast to what was argued prior to the analysis of empirical results, the activity network of the residents of Cato Crest turned out to be largely focused on the Cato Crest itself. The livelihood space thus overlaps largely with the settlement. Despite the location of the settlement close to Durban's city centre Cato Crest seems to have economic activities itself which are sufficient for many people to make a living. In terms of migration Cato Crest is perceived as an ending station for many, which contrasts the arguments of AbdouMaliq Simone (2004) of the highly mobile outlook of African urban residents. While not every resident in Cato Crest feels the urge to stay in the area, and accepts a RDP house in another location in Durban, there is also a group that invests in a future in Cato Crest. To illustrate this, Joyce paid 3000 Rand for a house with a CC number. This is a significant amount of money for someone without a stable income. Also Thiyama is willing to invest in her future in the area; she now pays rent for her temporary shack while waiting for a RDP house. In her previous shack she did not pay anything since it was hers. Apparently, for some, being able to stay and live in Cato Crest is worth a certain (financial) investment.

Some of the local activities in Cato Crest are not immediately visible, but do indicate existing structures of dependence and trust. *Stokvels*, *machonisas* and volunteering groups are examples of such micro-mechanisms with an important social element in a settlement. They are often overseen by the (local) government. Involvement in these mechanisms in Cato Crest is especially evident amongst the respondents who claim to be emotionally attached to the settlement.

Respondents do have social contacts outside of Cato Crest, but these are mainly living in other parts of Durban. Rural ties are mostly direct family members and visits occur occasionally. These ties are mostly seen as emotional fallback options and not as economical ones; for their livelihoods, the respondents are merely relying on the city now. Especially the respondents from the cluster 'Beyond Involvement' seem to rely heavily on the urban domain. This contrast with the argument of Bank

(2001) that urban South Africans strengthen their rural ties during times of economical setback. But Bank (2001) also claimed that this happened in times of social adversity, something that also seems to occur among respondents from Cato Crest. The findings of Slater (2001) that slum dwellers develop multiple livelihoods on different locations do not seem to be applicable on this case. There is apparently no big need to have them when living in Cato Crest.

The attachment to Cato Crest that many residents have in terms of their livelihood is not necessarily translated in an emotional attachment. As mentioned before, the community in Cato Crest seems divided between residents that want to have their house in Cato Crest and people that do not mind to move to another location in Durban. This first group mainly includes respondents that proved to be actively involvement in community-based activities. Within the second group the residents are less involved in such activities but have also been living in Cato Crest for a long time. This means that not only 'newcomers' are indifferent about the location of their RDP house. However, some respondents stated only to be willing to move to another place in Durban if they were relocated as a group with their neighbours. Although this does not indicate an emotional attachment to Cato Crest it does show a sense of belonging towards the group of people they live with in Cato Crest.

The notion of 'community' thus proved to be multi-interpretable with unclear boundaries. Some respondents see the community as Cato Crest which includes all the residents that lived there when the upgrading commenced in 2003, several others refer to it as their immediate neighbours and some even argued that there is no sense of community at all within the settlement. And although most respondents rely heavily on the economic activities in Cato Crest for their livelihood this is not automatically translated in a sense of belonging. Since the South African government aims to empowers communities in informal settlement upgrading projects, according to the National Housing Code of 2009 (Department of Human Settlements, 2009), more attention should thus be paid to the composition and perception of the residents of the 'community' in an informal settlement. This research has shown that in terms of empowering communities, the state-led upgrading approach in Cato Crest mainly had negative effects. Through the focus on housing allocation in Cato Crest in stead of holistic settlement upgrading feelings of individualism, passiveness, scepticism and division amongst the residents is widely present in the settlement nowadays. The ABM upgrading approach is therefore weakening feelings of community rather than empowering it and lessons could me learned from other approaches, such as that of SDI.

9.2.   Implications and recommendations

In this thesis the SDI approach is presented as a possible alternative for the state-led upgrading approach practised by the eThekwini Municipality and ABM. This people-centered approach contributes to a right to the city of the urban poor since it involves them highly as partners in the upgrading process.

The attachments that most respondents have to Cato Crest in terms of their livelihoods underline the potential that the settlement has for people-centered upgrading. The SDI approach aims to make strong and resilient communities which are able to work along in a partnership with the local government in upgrading their living environment. This research has shown that Cato Crest does not have a strong and resilient community at this moment. For the successful take-off of a people-centered approach a lot of effort has thus to be put into the mobilisation of residents and the creation of a community with shared ideas and opinion on the upgrading of their settlement. In order to do so the focus of upgrading has to lie beyond the construction of houses and also involve the improvement of shack conditions. Just as the ABM, the SDI approach will not make it possible to house all the residents of Cato Crest within a few years. It requires patience, but in the meanwhile the shack and tin house dwellers need to live in healthy and safe conditions. The SDI approach thus requires residents to organise themselves and develop a collective plan for their living environment instead of waiting for their house to be delivered.

A serious challenge in the future of Cato Crest will be the inclusion of house owners in further upgrading processes. The SDI approach is focused on shack dwellers and therefore not involved all the residents in Cato Crest. This does not seem a major problem when it comes to 'hard' results such as housing and services, but particularly for 'soft' results of upgrading. As Botes & Van Rensburg (2000) already argued, if a certain group has not been involved in the mobilisation for upgrading they are likely to drift apart from the involved group.

This research has revealed a dominant mindset among residents of Cato Crest; the government should provide houses and the people will wait for them to be delivered. The ABM policy regarding informal settlements is that they need to be eradicated and that "[y]ou have failed as an administration if you accept it (ed. the existence of slums) as a reality" (Maseko, 2012). The existence of this current mindset among residents can be traced back to South Africa's turbulent history. After years of suppression during the Apartheid regime the expectations among the country's black population were high when the new ANC government presented their new policies and the RDP in

particular. The technical nature with a focus on delivery turned the poor into merely passive beneficiaries. Although the situation certainly improved in a political way, the living conditions for millions of disadvantaged people in South Africa are still poor. For this young democracy a people-centered approach is a relatively new phenomenon. The RDP dominated the ANC's political agenda for years and resulted in top-down approaches. Owning a house was seen as the best way to escape from poverty and link to the country's formal economy; informality was equal to being marginalized. Focussing on delivering houses for the million inhabitants living in shack structures seemed the only effective approach for the South African government.

Both the mindset of residents and the South African government's policy towards informal settlements need to change in order to create a successful upgrading partnership. Residents need to realize that they need to organise themselves to initiate changes in their living environment. The local government needs to accept informal settlements as a reality and the need to invest in the improvement in slum conditions besides delivering houses, since the housing backlog in South Africa is far from being resolved.

> *"Our objective is to house all the people and get rid of the slums. It is an objective that we will keep, even if it will take us another 100 years. We want to get rid of the backlog and give people a better quality of existence. Slums do not provide people with a good quality of life and dignity"* – Njabulo Maseko, ABM, 24/05/2012

The quote above is a paradox that summarizes the current housing problem in South African and more specifically for the case of Cato Crest. The question that logically arises is; what happens to the people in slums in the next 100 years, before the housing backlog is gone? Do they have to wait in unhealthy and hazardous conditions, or will there be more attention for the direct improvement of slum areas? If the main objective of the South African government, and the eThekwini Municipality in this case, is to provide its people with a good quality of life and dignity the solution not lies in houses, but in improving the current living environment (also slums) through an approach where the community plays a pivotal role. As Korten (1990) already argued, development can only be sustainable when people are standing in the centre of the process. It thus needs to be supported and carried out by the community and this entails more than just housing.

The SDI approach aims, by working with a people-centered process, to empower communities in informal settlement as a reaction to the technical, housing delivery RDP policies. It is however no panacea for the South African housing problem, nor a guarantee for sustainable feelings of

community. Success is, on the one hand, depending on the acceptance by the government that partnerships with informal settlement dwellers form a good approach to upgrade the living environment. On the other hand, a warning should be made regarding the concepts of the SDI approach itself. It started as an initiative from informal settlement dwellers as a reaction on state policies towards slums, but there should be awareness that it stays a process where the residents of a specific settlement stand in the centre. Through exchanges between settlements knowledge and expertise is carried out, but this should not lead the dictation of this knowledge and expertise from one settlement to another. In other words, although the SDI framework provides opportunities for informal settlement dwellers to learn from each other, the initiative should always lie with the concerning community. SDI should thus be aware of not trying to 'implement' its approach, but only introducing it. In this way a community can truly take responsibility for upgrading their living environment and empower itself in a truly people-centered approach.

9.3. Reflection and further research

A research always has its shortcomings that are often the results of choices that have been made during the process. The most important choice was to conduct the research in Cato Crest since state-led upgrading occurred there and there was an initiation of the SDI approach. But choosing for Cato Crest as a research location also means that the external validity of this research is decreased because Cato Crest is now an area in-between a township and an informal settlement. Of course, every research location has its context-specific features, but one should be extra careful when applying the findings from this research on other areas. Most informal settlements in South Africa are, in contrast to Cato Crest, located more peripherally located and consist of only informal structures. Cato Crest cannot be considered as a typical informal settlement and is thus not really representative. More peripheral located settlements would have probably confirmed the concept of Slater (2001) on multiple livelihoods on different locations and Simone's (2004) arguments for a highly mobile form of African urbanism. These settlements are mostly places of arrival of rural-urban migrants and transit locations for further intra-urban migration (Cross, Bekker, & Clark, 1994). The study in Cato Crest showed lives of informal dwellers that live in a settlement widely perceived as 'ending station', which is also an important group. Finally, this study also gives relevant insights in the deficiencies of the state-led upgrading approach in South Africa and the challenges that need to be faced before a people-centered approach can effectively be initiated.

A critical reader will ask why informal settlement upgrading should be driven by community members themselves since this is a job for the government. According to South Africa's

constitutional law section 26.1 everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing (Republic of South Africa, 1996). With the RDP the post-Apartheid government has aimed to fulfil this task. This policy has changed over the years from a truly technocratic towards a more incremental approach. However, the rationale of this research has been that two decades of RDP housing policies proved not to serve a sufficient amount of residents. Thereby, this research has shown that RDP also has negative effects on the people's and community's activeness and development. Being actively involved as a community to improve your living environment contributes more to a right to the city than receiving a house does. Slum dwellers should be recognised as capable and having the potential to influence the city as much as the city influences them.

An extremely interesting group that is missing in this research are the people who lived in Cato Crest but are already relocated to other areas in Durban. The effects of the upgrading process by SDI have probably been more extreme in terms of their livelihoods and sense of community than on the people that remain in Cato Crest. In order to provide decent houses for the residents and taken into consideration that multiple-storey housing is generally undesirable amongst the people, further relocations seem inevitable for many residents in the future. There are simply still too many people living on an area too small and steep to build enough houses on. A research on the effects on the already relocated can improve the future relocation process.

In addition to this research further research on social cohesion in community-building is desirable. This thesis showed a fraction of the problem around empowering communities in informal upgrading processes and especially research on stratification of communities could be of high relevance in discussions on people-centered upgrading approaches. More research is also needed on the outcomes of the SDI approach in South African informal settlements. Throughout the country the number of settlements that are linked to ISN, have collective savings schemes led by FEDUP and are supported by CORC is growing, but most projects are still in an initial stage. Both the challenge and the measure of success is the extent to which these people-centered upgrading projects prove to be sustainable. This all has to do with keeping the momentum of a well-organised community. More research needs to be done on maintaining longer running upgrading projects. This can be a learning tool for people-centered initiatives in South Africa and worldwide, and it could also show the potential of the SDI approach to (local) governments.

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

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Shibe, L. (2012, May 22). Interview with Lucia Shibe. (M. ten Holder, Interviewer)

APPENDIX I – INTERVIEWGUIDE

Name respondent:	_____
Location in Cato Crest:	_____
Housing type:	_____

1. <u>Introduction</u>
    1.1.   Introduction of myself
    1.2.   Language of preference (*introduction of translator*)
    1.3.   Introduction of the research and summary of the interview
    1.4.   Recordings and discretion

2. <u>Residential information</u>
    2.1.   When migrated to Durban?
    2.2.   City / village of origin (all the locations before Durban)
    2.3.   Reasons of migration? (work, political violence, personal conflict, other)
    2.4.   What was the first place of settlement in Durban?
        2.4.1. Why there? (relatives, acquaintances, work, open space, coincidence)
        2.4.2. Type of shelter? (own shack, rental/hostel accommodation, living with relatives/friends/people from the same area)
    2.5.   Other settlements in Durban?
        2.5.1. Reasons of migration?

    2.6.   When migrated to Cato Crest?
        2.6.1. Reasons for settling here?
    2.7.   Type of shelter? (own shack, rental/hostel accommodation, living with relatives/friends/people from the same area)
    2.8.   Who is living here in this house?
        2.8.1. Who lives here daily?
        2.8.2. Who lives here only partially? (Weekly, monthly, yearly?
    2.9.   Are there any members of the household that not live in this house?
If yes:

    How is this person related to you? (*Take this person also into account during the questions in section 3)*

3. <u>Livelihood</u>
A. Human capital

    3.1.   How many people in the household are involved in income-engaging activities?
        3.1.1. What type?
        3.1.2. How often a week?
        3.1.3. Stable income?

3.1.4.   Location of work?

3.2.   What is the level of education of the household members? (*find out whether members are still using attained skills in their daily life*)
3.3.   Is there someone in your household that needs extra medical care? (*find out whether members are physically able to contribute to the household's livelihood or need extra care from other household members*)

B. Social capital (*trust, reciprocity*)

3.4.   Are there any other people involved in the income-engaging activities under question 3.1.?
   3.4.1.   How are they involved?
   3.4.2.   Where do they live? (*social map*)
3.5.   How did the household members with jobs came to work there? (*find out if there are social relations which helped here by giving information*)

3.6.   Could you name the people (family members, friends, acquaintances) who you would go to if you need to borrow some money?
   Answer the following questions for every person

   3.6.1.   Where do they live (in Cato Crest or somewhere else) (*social map*)
   3.6.2.   Would you borrow them some money if they would ask you?

3.7.   Could you name the people who you could ask to look after your children) / home if you would have to leave for a couple of days?
   3.7.1.   Where do they live (in Cato Crest or somewhere else) (*social map*)
   3.7.2.   Would you help them out if they would ask you?

3.8.   Have you even borrowed money from others before?
   3.8.1.   Where do they live? (*social map*)
   3.8.2.   What is you relation to them?

3.9.   Have you even lent money to others?
   3.9.1.   Where do they live? (*social map*)
   3.9.2.   What is you relation to them?

3.10.   Could you name the people who you would go to talk to if you had a personal problem?
   3.10.1. Where do they live (in Cato Crest or somewhere else) (*social map*)
   3.10.2. Would you help them if they would come to you to talk?

3.11.   Is the household in connection with the neighbourhood organisation in Cato Crest?
   3.11.1. Is there collective action in which the household is involved?
   3.11.2. Did this organisation achieve anything that influenced the household in a positive or negative way?
3.12.   Are there any other social or political activities in which members of the household are involved? (church, youth organisations or other organisations)
   3.12.1. What type of activities?
   3.12.2. Where (in Cato Crest or somewhere else) (*social map*)

3.13.   Are there any links with family members or friends in the rural area of origin?
      3.13.1. Does (a member of) the household still owns a house there?
      3.13.2. How often are members of the household visiting these contacts?
      3.13.3. What are the reasons of these visits? (*find out if there is money or other resources involved*)
      3.13.4. Is this area still considered as 'home' by members of the household?

C. Physical capital

3.14.   Do you own this house, do you rent it from someone or are you staying with family or friends?
3.15.   Who is the formal owner of the land on which this house is built?
3.16.   Do you have any houses which you rent to other people? Where?
3.17.   Do you use this house for other purposes besides residential purposes? (e.g. Spaza)

3.18.   What type of transport do household members use to go to work?
      3.18.1. What in the distance in time and money?
      3.18.2. How much did your household spend on transport costs last month (March 2012)?
      3.18.3. How much income did your household have last month (March 2012)?
      3.18.4. Do household members experience difficulties with transport to work? (*find out if this affects their job security*)

3.19.   Is there access to drinking water? How far of a walk is this? (in time)
3.20.   Is there access to (legal) electricity?
3.21.   Which members of the household have access to a phone?

3.22.   Depending on type of job(s): does the household has access to the necessary production equipment?

D. Financial capital

3.23.   Does the household have any own savings?
      3.23.1. What are you saving for?
3.24.   Is the household participating in any collective community savings (stokvels)?
    If yes:

      3.24.1. How much money do you save each month?
      3.24.2. What is the goal of these savings?
      3.24.3. Do you have access to your own savings if you need the money?
      3.24.4. What effects did this have so far for the household?
    If no:

      3.24.5. What is the reason for not participating?

3.25.   Does the household have access to a credit?
    If yes:

      3.25.1. By whom? (e.g. bank, another person)
      3.25.2. What has been the purpose of this credit?

3.26.   Are there any household members who receive a pension?
      3.26.1. Does the rest of the household benefits from this?

3.27.   Are there any remittances from people outside of the household?
     3.27.1. From whom?
     3.27.2.   On a regular basis and always the same amount?
3.28.   Does the household receive any other financial resources? (e.g. child support, disability grant, care dependency grand, foster care grant, social relief)

E. Natural capital

3.29.   Are you growing anything on land?
     3.29.1. Is this for own consumption or to sell on the market?
     3.29.2. Is there sufficient access to land?

4. **Hazards and shocks**

Has the household ever suffered from a fire in Cato Crest?

     If yes:

     4.1.1.   What was the damage or loss for the household?
     4.1.2.   Was there help from other people in Cato Crest?
     If no:

     4.1.3.   Did you ever help other households after they were involved in a fire?

4.2.   Has the household ever been involved in flooding in Cato Crest?
     If yes:

     4.2.1.   How often?
     4.2.2.   What was the damage for the household?
     4.2.3.   Was there help from other people in Cato Crest?
     If no:

     4.2.4.   Did you ever help other household after they were involved in a flooding?

4.3.   Has the household ever experienced the threat of eviction and/or relocation?
     If yes:

     4.3.1.   Who wanted to evict you?
     4.3.2.   What was the procedure of this threat?
     4.3.3.   Was there collective action against this threat?
       If yes:

       4.3.3.1.   What was the result of this collective action?
       If no:

       4.3.3.2.   Did the household take action by itself?
     4.3.4.   Was there help from an organisation outside Cato Crest?

4.4.   Has on or more household members ever experienced violence and/or burglary in Cato Crest?
     If yes:

     4.4.1.   Was the perpetrator ever caught? Was he/she also from Cato Crest?
     4.4.2.   Did this change the feeling of safety for the household member(s)?

4.5.   Has on or more household members ever lost his/her job while living in Cato Crest?
     4.5.1.   Did this lead to a big income loss for the household?

4.5.2.   Was there any support from people from Cato Crest in this period?

4.6.   Did one of your household members pass away while living in Cato Crest?
     4.6.1.   What was the age and what was the cause of death?
     4.6.2.   Did this have an effect to the livelihood of the household?
     4.6.3.   Was there any support from people from Cato Crest in this period?

4.7.   Do you still consider Cato Crest as a stable living environment for your household after these hazards and shocks?
If yes:

     4.7.1.   Do the relations with the other resident of Cato Crest make the place feel safer?
If no:

     4.7.2.   Can you explain the most significant hazards and how they affected your household?
     4.7.3.   Does collective action within Cato Crest reduce the effects of these hazards?

5. The settlement
    5.1.   Are you familiar with other informal settlements in Durban?
        5.1.1.   Do you think there is a difference between residents from Cato Crest and residents of other informal settlements in Durban?
        5.1.2.   What is so different about people from Cato Crest?
    5.2.   Would you call Cato Crest part of your identity?
    5.3.   Are you proud to tell people you are from Cato Crest?
    5.4.   Do you feel you are accepted in Cato Crest by the other residents?
    5.5.   What is your opinion on newcomers in Cato Crest?
    5.6.   Would you report them if you would see one building a new shack?
    5.7.   Are you happy with the way people are living together in Cato Crest and deal with each other?
        5.7.1.   Could you give examples of positive encounters?
        5.7.2.   Could you give examples of negative encounters?
        5.7.3.   Do you experience more positive of negative encounters?

6. Participation
Introduction of the upgrading projects in Cato Crest

    6.1.   Are you familiar with the projects for this upgrading process?
    6.2.   Do you feel well-informed about the developments that occurred in Cato Crest?

    6.3.   Do you think the leadership of Cato Crest forms a good reflection of the whole community?
    6.4.   Have you, or one of your household members, ever attended a community meeting on a development plan?
If yes:

        6.4.1.   Were you satisfied with the way you were being involved?
        6.4.2.   Are you satisfied with the results of this meeting?
        6.4.3.   Would you go to other meetings again in the nearby future?
If no:

        6.4.4.   Was there a particular reason why you did not attend this meeting?

6.5. Did you, or another member of your household, ever made any personal request(s) towards the community leadership?

If yes:

6.5.1. What was this request?
6.5.2. Was this request dealt with properly?
6.5.3. What was the result?

6.6. Do you think that the people of Cato Crest are able to solve problems in Cato Crest when they work together?

7. The development process

7.1. To what extent have upgrading projects in Cato Crest affected your household so far?
7.2. Are you happy with the changes that occurred in Cato Crest so far?
7.3. What would you still like to change or improve in Cato Crest?
7.3.1. Have you mentioned this during any meeting relating to the upgrading process or other development plans?

If yes:

7.3.1.1. Do you feel that this point was taken into consideration?

If no:

7.3.1.2. Why have you not mentioned this?
7.3.1.3. Are you going to try to bring this up in the near future?

8. Future plans

8.1. Would you like to move out of Cato Crest in the near future?

If yes:

8.1.1. Where to? Back to the rural area of origin?
8.1.2. For what reason(s)?

If no:

8.1.3. Does this have anything to do with the proceeded and/or planned upgrading developments?
8.2. Would you like your children to stay and start their family in Cato Crest?

9. Ending
9.1. Thank you / Ngiyabonga
9.2. Again explain the following procedure
9.3. Exchange phone numbers
9.4. Could you show me the most important places for you in Cato Crest?

APPENDIX II – OVERVIEW INTERVIEWS

#	Name	Sex	Type	Date
1	Milton	M	Former community leader Cato Crest	12-04-2012
2	Lindiswa (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – RDP	12-04-2012
3	"Pretty" (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – RDP	12-04-2012
2	Lindiswa (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – RDP	16-04-2012
3	"Pretty" (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – RDP	16-04-2012
4	Joyce (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	17-04-2012
5	Thiyama (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	17-04-2012
6	Malanga (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	17-04-2012
4	Joyce (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	21-04-2012
6	Malanga (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	21-04-2012
7	Fund	M	Resident Cato Crest – RDP	25-04-2012
8	Ephraim (1/2)	M	Resident Cato Crest – Tin house	25-04-2012
9	Wilson (1/2)	M	Resident Cato Crest – Shack (temp)	25-04-2012
8	Ephraim (2/2)	M	Resident Cato Crest – Tin house	01-05-2012
9	Wilson (2/2)	M	Resident Cato Crest – Shack (temp)	01-05-2012
10	John (1/2)	M	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	02-05-2012
11	Mdlalose (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – RDP	02-05-2012
12	Cindy	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack (temp)	02-05-2012
10	John (2/2)	M	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	08-05-2012
11	Mdlalose (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – RDP	08-05-2012
13	Nonhlanhla (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack (rent)	10-05-2012
14	Jabu (1/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Tin house	10-05-2012
14	Jabu (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Tin house	12-05-2012
5	Thiyama (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack	12-05-2012
15	Brij Maharaj	M	Professor UKZN (Environmental Studies)	16-05-2012
16	Richard Ballard	M	Professor UKZN (Development Studies)	16-05-2012
13	Nonhlanhla (2/2)	F	Resident Cato Crest – Shack (rent)	22-05-2012
17	Lucia Shibe	F	FEDUP leader Cato Crest	22-05-2012
18	Njabulo Maseko	M	Cato Manor Area Based Management (ABM)	24-05-2012