

86

**RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT**

**BUCKPASSING IN CANAAN:  
AN EXAMPLE OF AUTHORITIES'  
FAILURE TO ADDRESS THE NEEDS  
OF INFORMAL URBAN DWELLERS**

E M Ardington

Working paper No. 24

**CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

**UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN**



**BUCKPASSING IN CANAAN: AN EXAMPLE OF AUTHORITIES'  
FAILURE TO ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF INFORMAL URBAN DWELLERS**

**E M Ardington**

**Centre for Social and Development Studies  
University of Natal  
Durban**

**February 1992**

**Rural Urban Studies Working Paper No 24**

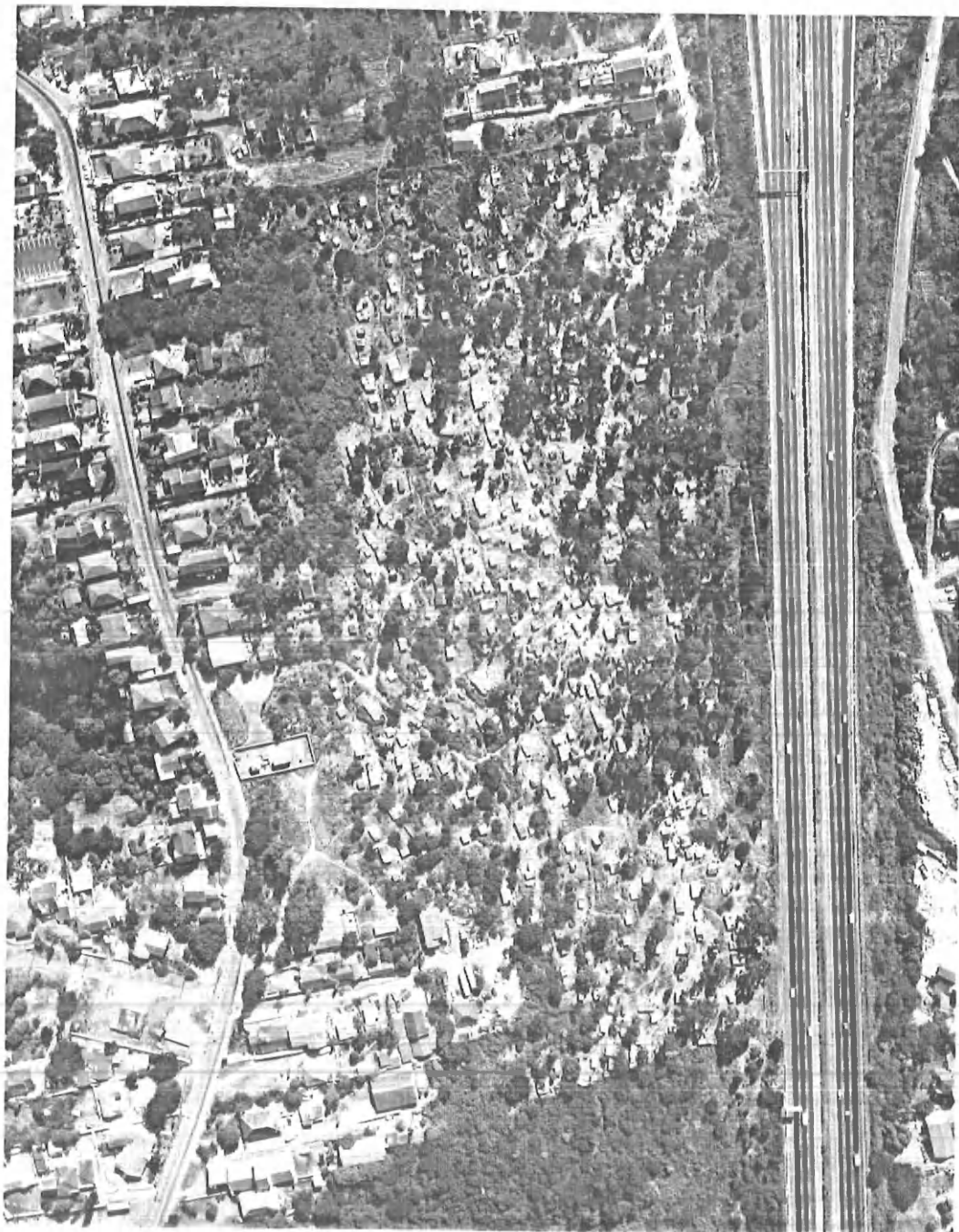
### **RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT**

The Rural Urban Studies Unit was founded in 1983 by the Human Sciences Research Council for the purpose of studying the dynamics of the links between the rural and urban areas of South Africa. It is situated at the University of Natal, Durban and works in close co-operation with the Centre for Social and Development Studies (previously the Development Studies Unit). Financial assistance from RUSU is hereby acknowledged. Views expressed and conclusions drawn are those of the author and should not necessarily be regarded as reflecting those of the HSRC.

ISBN NO 1-874897-06-9

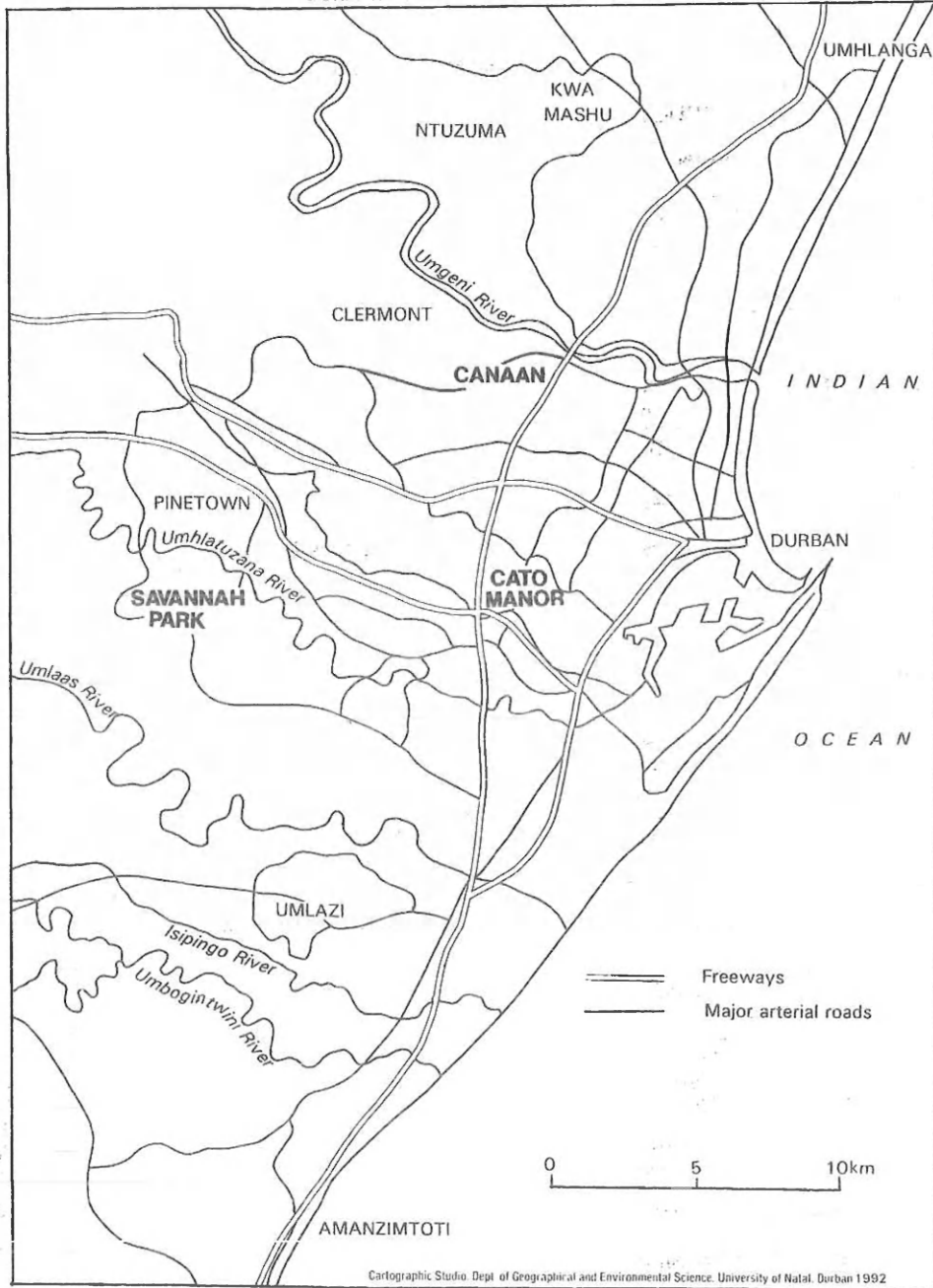
### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This paper was written for the residents of Canaan in response to a request relayed by the Urbanisation Group of the Natal Coastal Region of the Black Sash. The author would like to thank the people of Canaan for their willing co-operation; the Black Sash, and in particular Lynn Hotz, for their assistance and for making their files on Canaan freely available; Wendy Anneke of the Centre for Adult Education for her co-operation and comment; Frank Masemola, Charles Mbona and Dennard Sibiya for their fieldwork and interest; Maria Mbuli of Canaan for her insight and time; and finally colleagues at CSDS who assisted in numerous ways.



(iv)

DURBAN FUNCTIONAL REGION



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1.0</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2.0</b>	<b>CANAAN</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1	History	3
2.2	Origins of the Community	4
2.3	Date of Location at Canaan	6
<b>3.0</b>	<b>DEMOGRAPHY</b>	<b>8</b>
3.1	Age and Sex	8
3.2	Marital Status	9
3.3	Family Structure	9
3.4	Household Heads	10
3.5	Household Size and Structure	10
3.6	Educational Levels	12
<b>4.0</b>	<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>	<b>14</b>
4.1	Occupations of the Economically Active Age group	14
4.2	Types of employment	16
4.3	Work Place	16
4.4	Earnings	17
4.5	Employment	17
<b>5.0</b>	<b>INCOME</b>	<b>19</b>
5.1	Household and Household Per Capita Incomes	19
5.2	Sources of Income	19
5.3	Levels of Income	20
	5.3.1 Household Subsistence Level	20
	5.3.2 Income Levels in Canaan Households	21
5.4	Savings and Loans.	23
<b>6.0</b>	<b>LIVING CONDITIONS AND ACCESS TO BASIC NEEDS</b>	<b>24</b>
6.1	Housing	24
6.2	Refuse and Sewerage Removal	25
6.3	Water	26
6.4	Energy	27
6.5	Transport	27
6.6	Health Services	27
6.7	Education	28
6.8	Shops	29
6.9	Local Government	30
6.10	Civics and Committees	31
<b>7.0</b>	<b>WHERE TO?</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>8.0</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>38</b>

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Informal settlement in the Durban Functional Region (DFR) is by no means a new or unknown phenomenon. In the 1980's frequent references were made to Durban as the fastest growing city in the southern hemisphere. Although it now seems that such statements and the estimates made of the population of the area at the time were somewhat exaggerated, it is nevertheless true that it has one of South Africa's largest metropolitan populations<sup>1</sup> the majority of which is informally housed and without basic services. The Urban Foundation (1991) estimated that Durban's 1970 population of 1 million doubled over a ten year period and that it would reach 4,4 million by the year 2000. They further estimated that two thirds of all blacks in the DFR live in informal shacks.

This report locates a study of an informal settlement in the DFR within the general context of the acute housing shortage in the area; the misconceptions that abound as to the nature and origins of the residents of informal settlements and the failure of all the authorities involved to react to the crisis.

The numbers of informally housed or homeless in the DFR have risen and fallen over the years as the rate of urbanization has altered<sup>2</sup> and have been greatly affected by the unevenness in the provision (or non-provision) of low cost housing by the state. Unlike that in many other metropolitan areas of South Africa, the major wave of urbanization in the DFR occurred in the 1970's and preceded the abolition of influx control in 1986. It was followed by the cessation of low cost house building by the state,<sup>3</sup> so that homelessness, which had long been an issue in the area, became a problem of enormous proportions.

Although homelessness and squatting have long been issues in the area, they are issues which continually seem to 'surprise' the authorities; issues which are frequently discussed but seldom addressed and issues which despite their publicly recognized importance have not managed to receive the priority of attention their size and gravity would seem to merit. Although the problem in the DFR is said to be 'larger' than elsewhere in the RSA it would also seem to be the case that less action has been taken there to redress the issue than elsewhere. Throughout the country there are a multiplicity of authorities responsible for informal housing settlements but it is possible that in the DFR the juxta-position of Natal and KwaZulu mean that even more authorities than usual are involved and that it is accordingly easier for each authority to evade the issue by passing off particular problems as those of another authority. Discussions with the various authorities involved in the plight of the Canaan community (the subject of this report) lead the Black Sash Natal Region to write in their 1990 Annual Report that the picture which emerged illustrated 'the utter lack of a coherent urbanization policy which even begins to address the reality of homelessness in this region'.

Whereas the name 'Durban Functional Region' region recognizes that **functionally** the area is one, its arbitrary political division into different municipalities, local authorities and South Africa and KwaZulu ensures that a coherent and comprehensive policy to address regional issues cannot be developed. Within this constraint further constraints on developing a rational urbanization policy result from misconceptions as to whom the homeless are. In section 2.2 below the origins of the Canaan community are discussed. Over 90% of household heads had resided in the DFR immediately prior to relocation in Canaan. Yet the attitude of many of the authorities that informal settlers are people from rural areas who have unexpectedly and unpredictably turned up in the urban area persists. Such people tend not to be seen as the natural growth of urban communities or the result of urban individuals dealing with overcrowding or unsatisfactory housing conditions by moving to an informal settlement within the metropolitan area in which they



were already resident.<sup>4</sup> This makes it easier for the authorities to justify their inactivity in the solution of such communities' homelessness or inadequate accommodation. Mr. Watterson, ex-Mayor of Durban and Chairman of Manco, asked in an interview with the Black Sash concerning the shackdwellers of Canaan (1990: Tape n.15 ff.) 'Where are they displaced from? You know, most of these people, ...these squatters are in fact people who've moved from the rural areas. They see a possibility of a better way of life here than they had in the rural areas. They are not displaced, they choose to come from the rural areas and explore their chances in the city.'

Views as to the origins of informal settlers may be used by officials to explain their lack of preparedness to deal with the problem in the past; their view of such persons as **illegal** leads to their refusal to consider the provision of services to such people in the present on the grounds that such action might be considered to condone or even encourage illegal occupation.

Canaan, the informal settlement discussed in this paper, has had an extremely high public profile. It is clearly visible to the thousands of people who daily use the N2 ring road around Durban. It has been acknowledged as an area requiring urgent attention by all the authorities involved, not only on the grounds of its illegality and lack of services, but also because it is situated on unstable and dangerous ground. Nevertheless, two years have elapsed since this settlement began its rapid growth path and yet the people are still there and the authorities have been unable to point out a location to which they might be moved, let alone taken any steps to provide houses or services in such an area.

Generally the only housing activity that has occurred in the DFR during the 1980's has been the provision of middle and upper income houses by the private sector. The last sub-economic houses were built by the state in Umlazi in 1977. Sites which used to be available in the townships at the very reasonable price of R4.40 per square metre are no longer available in the townships - all of which have long waiting lists. A number of site and service schemes are in the pipeline in the DFR but they are already heavily oversubscribed and unlikely to offer any solution to the people of Canaan. These schemes were not developed in response to the very apparent needs of the Canaan community. Despite the acknowledgment by all the authorities involved and by the people of Canaan themselves that they cannot continue to accommodate themselves where they are, no firm proposal has been forthcoming from any quarter as to where they might legally reside.

This paper attempts to give some insight into the people of Canaan, their origins and aspirations and through tracing their history over the past two years to throw some light on the reasons for their being no nearer to finding a permanent solution to their problems than they were when they first hurriedly erected a shelter at Canaan.

## 2.0 CANAAN

### 2.1 History

Canaan, as the shack settlement on Clare Estate has become known, is situated on 8 hectares of ground west of the N2 freeway. It falls within the Indian Group Area of Clare Estate and the boundaries of the Durban Municipality. Although some residents say they have been there since 1987 and others that they arrived as recently as May 1991 three quarters of the current inhabitants settled there during 1990 with 50% arriving during the first six months of the year.

The number of houses in the settlement has varied over time but in May 1991 when the houses were numbered for the second time and yet another ban put on any further building there were 429 houses in the settlement<sup>5</sup>. It is estimated that at times there may have been as many as 550 houses in the settlement and that at its peak the population may have numbered 2000. There has been no official count of the population but the average house occupancy of 3.6 persons found in the survey would indicate that there were approximately 1500 people living there in the latter half of 1991<sup>6</sup>.

From its inception the settlement was frequently referred to as 'the community of Canaan' and not merely as a number of individual informal dwellers in a particular location. Canaan may have developed into a community but it did not start that way. It was probably because the settlement was so clearly demarcated by the Indian suburb of Clare Estate on three sides and the freeway on the fourth and appeared to come into existence overnight that it was termed a community. From early 1990 individuals desperate for a home in the Durban Functional Region saw an unoccupied and unused piece of land which was well situated for those working in the region and moved onto it. Other homeless people seeing that the initial settlers appeared to be undisturbed followed suit and within a few months a couple of thousand people were living at Canaan. It took some months before there was any official reaction but eventually this came on a number of different fronts. The early arrivals tended to keep to themselves and, in view of the fact that the majority had been rendered homeless by political violence, resisted any form of organization or identification. It was only when the first eviction notices were issued that a committee was formed and a sense of community developed. The community appeared peaceful and cohesive as they resisted removal but, once their efforts failed and they were forced to face removal, the sense of community inevitably declined as the varied interests of the different households in the community emerged. Whereas everyone was clear they did not wish to move, they were not necessarily united as to the circumstances under which they would be prepared to move.

The 1990 Annual Report of the Black Sash Advice Office (Durban) describes the settlement as follows: 'They cut back the bush and built themselves shacks and a young reverend who was living amongst them then named the place Canaan. That this hillside could have been seen as a promised land was a measure of these people's desperation. There was no water and no sanitation, no schools and no clinics and no promise of these being forthcoming. But it was conveniently close to the city and jobs and there was a dump nearby which provided resources from building materials to food. Furthermore, because it was located in the Indian area of Clare Estate, it was at some remove from the violence in the surrounding townships from which many had fled.'

The land, which was vacant when the settlers moved in, belongs to the Department of Transport which acquired it to control its development when it was found to be geologically unstable and consequently a danger to the adjoining N2 freeway. Fast growing eucalyptus trees were planted on the land by the Department in order to

stabilize it. In June 1990 the Department entered into an agreement to sell the land to a private developer. The geological surveys had found the land unsuitable for development unless substantial earthworks were undertaken to stabilize it and permission to develop the land was contingent upon such measures being undertaken. The cost of stabilization which would have to be absorbed into the prices of sites and houses means that it would only be economically viable to develop the land for middle or upper middle income housing.

Starting in August 1990 the community received various indications that their security of tenure was threatened. Eviction notices were issued to the community<sup>7</sup>; the area was fenced; a notice was put up by the developer at the entrance declaring the settlement illegal; and twice<sup>8</sup> the shacks were numbered and a ban put on any further development. Initially the community organized to resist removal. When informed that even if they could obtain legal title to the land permission to remain or build there would not be granted on account of the instability of the ground, the community, through the Black Sash the the Built Environment Support Group, in November 1990 commissioned a professional opinion from independent land surveyors. This confirmed the geological instability of the area and the fact that it could only be made safe for human habitation by incurring significant expenditure on retaining walls, drainage etc. This expenditure would put the land well beyond the reach of the people living there. On the basis of this report and in recognition of the fact that they were illegally occupying land belonging to someone else the community accepted that they would be unable to stay in Canaan in the long term and began looking around for alternate sites to which they could move. Ninety five percent of those interviewed in 1991 accepted that they would have to move from Canaan. Two thirds gave as the reason the fact that the land belonged to someone else and 47.5% the instability of the land.<sup>9</sup>

Although almost no one in Canaan any longer disputes the fact that their settlement there is illegal and that they will have to move, they are not prepared to move until an alternate and acceptable site has been offered to them. They are only prepared to move to an area in which they will have legal tenure. The Department of Transport and the Durban Corporation have agreed that they will not be removed until they can be legally accommodated elsewhere. Initially it seemed that there were suitable sites and that their removal was imminent. As time has gone by and it has become apparent that it is unlikely that suitable and available land will be identified in the near future the community has ceased to be concerned solely with its future accommodation and turned its attention again to its immediate needs such as water, sewerage and refuse removal.

The survey<sup>10</sup> on which this report is based was conducted in order to establish just who the Canaan community were; what their housing and other needs were; what level of housing and service they could afford; and what factors needed to be taken into account in order to ensure that the site selected for their relocation was acceptable. In view of the fact that the majority of Canaan residents came there as a consequence of violence, resulting in the destruction of their previous homes and/or the infliction of injury or death on themselves and family members, there is no question of their returning to their previous place of residence. It also means that a guarantee of their safety in the place to which they are to be removed is of prime concern to the community.

## **2.2 Origins of the Community**

In an attempt to establish the origins of the community the survey enquired as to the birthplace of the head of the household and his/her spouse, their immediate previous place of residence and that of their children and well as the dates on which they each relocated to Canaan.

Respondents were also asked how long the head and his/her spouse (if any) had resided in the DFR and Umkumbaan/Cato Manor in particular. They were asked if they had lived in Umkumbaan as there had been talk that they might be relocated to Umkumbaan on the grounds that some of them might have started out on the insecure road of repetitive removals from Cato Manor. It emerged that at least four heads had been born in Umkumbaan (others whose birthplace was simply given as Durban may also have been born there) and that 10% had lived there for periods ranging from one to 35 years.

The place of birth of household heads and their spouses were classified according to magisterial district in Natal and KwaZulu and elsewhere according to province. The origins of heads and their spouses were remarkably similar. The Transkei was the most common birthplace for both heads and spouses by a large margin. Twenty one percent of heads and 20.4% of their spouses were born there. Thereafter the highest percentages of heads and spouses were born in Ndwedwe - the KwaZulu area closest to Canaan - 7.4% of heads and 8.4% of spouses. 2.6% and 2.2% respectively were born in Durban and 1.1% and 2.2% in Umlazi. 3.7% and 3.5% were born in Pietermaritzburg.

Grouping together the KwaZulu and Natal magistracies immediately north of Durban - Ndwedwe, Mapumulo and Inanda - 16% and 15% originate from these areas. Grouping together the South Coast areas of Port Shepstone, Umzinto, Ixopo, Ezingolweni, Umzumbe and Embumbulu 19.8% and 22.2% originate there. The percentages increase to 23.8% and 25.7% respectively if Mount Currie and Alfred are added to the other South Coast areas.

Although heads reported having lived in the DFR for periods which ranged from one to 56 years and averaged 15 years, two thirds said they still had a rural home.

Responses to the question as to where heads, spouses and their children had resided immediately prior to relocation to Canaan indicated that 39% of heads had relocated from Inanda and 34% from Durban. 5% came from Umlazi, 4.5% from Ntuzuma, 4% from Umbumbulu, 3.4% from Pinetown, and 2.5% from Ndwedwe. Thus a mere 7% did not relocate from within the DFR.

The immediate origins of spouses were very similar to those of the household heads.

Analysis of the immediate origins of the children in the Canaan households indicates that it was more common for children to have been living with their parents prior to their location to Canaan if the latter lived in Inanda or some other area in KwaZulu than if their parents had been living within the municipal area of Durban. The implication must be that it was more difficult for a child to live with its parents if they were accommodated on the employers premises or illegally within a white area, than if they were living in a shack on the periphery. The origins of the youngest children were for the most part the same as that of the eldest.

The time of arrival of respondents in Canaan (mostly during 1990), their reasons for relocation (violence and inadequate housing elsewhere) and their previous place of residence (93% within the DFR) indicate that Canaan did not spring up during the period of heaviest urbanization of the DFR, most of which occurred in the 1970's before the removal of influx control in 1986. Nor was it a consequence of President De Klerk's 1990 February 2nd speech which resulted in the relaxation of the enforcement of the Group Areas and Land Acts.

The fact that the state had withdrawn from the low cost housing market at the time when the DFR's population was growing fastest - the last houses were built in Umlazi in 1977 -

meant that the shortage of low cost housing stock in the area (which had been serious for decades) increased dramatically during the late 1970's and 1980's. As a result people in need of accommodation in the DFR were forced to locate themselves on vacant sites like Canaan and house themselves informally regardless of whether they were new arrivals in the DFR or had resided there for many years. In the case of Canaan 93% of Canaan's settlers were relocating themselves **within** the DFR - albeit for different reasons.

Sixty percent of the respondents who gave a reason for their relocation to Canaan<sup>11</sup> pointed to violence at their previous place of residence. Most (72%) of this violence had occurred in the KwaZulu areas closest to Canaan - Ndwedwe (6%), Siyanda (22%), Lindelani (2%), Ntuzuma (10%), Inanda (24%), Kwa Mashu (4%) and Richmond Farm (4%). The other areas mentioned where violence had occurred were Umlazi, Umbumbulu, Port Shepstone, Marianhill/Hammersdale and Pietermaritzburg.

One quarter of the reasons given for relocation related either to job search or getting closer to the place of employment or transport to employment. Ten percent of respondents referred to the fact that there was no rent to pay in Canaan. The balance of the reasons given related to accommodation - either that there was no choice, the person had been evicted from previous accommodation (frequently by the employer), previous accommodation was overcrowded or that the person simply wanted his own house. The fact that most Canaan residents landed up living there not by conscious choice but by default was illustrated in the responses to the question what people liked/disliked about Canaan, when 23% said that there was nothing that they liked or disliked. They had urgently required accommodation and had no choice. When they saw somewhere they could apparently stay without being evicted they simply moved in.

The percentage of female headed households was highest (31%) amongst those who had moved on account of violence. It would appear that female headed households are thus less likely to have relocated voluntarily - either in search of work or accommodation - and more likely to have arrived in an attempt to save the lives of the household.

There was some correlation between the area where the household had previously resided and the reason for relocation in Canaan. Close to 100% of those relocating from Ndwedwe, Inanda and Umbumbulu did so on account of violence, whereas this was true of only 25% - 40% of those relocating from Umlazi and Durban. Forty seven per cent of those relocating in order to obtain work or to find accommodation closer to work or transport came from Durban as did 60% of those who said they relocated because they had lost their previous accommodation or needed accommodation.

Just as female headed households were more likely than male headed households to have relocated on account of violence, larger households or families were more likely than smaller or single member households to have relocated for the same reason. Lone or single persons were more likely to be those who had come into the area in search of work and accommodation. They may have intended their families to join them in the future once they had secured an income and accommodation. Those who came to Canaan on account of violence had no choice as to whether they came alone or not, regardless of whether they had employment or were in a position to erect a house immediately. Their homes had either been destroyed or were unsafe to remain in, and they were forced to relocate along with all those family members who had been living in their previous home.

### **2.3 Date of Location at Canaan**

The major influx into Canaan took place in early 1990 with almost 50% of households

arriving between January and June 1990 and 93% of households being established by January 1991. 15.4% of households were established before January 1990 - the majority in the latter part of 1989 but one household claimed to have been there since 1975. The growth of Canaan reached a peak in September 1990 and although people continued to arrive after this date they were essentially replacing people who had left and the number of houses never again reached the September 1990 peak of between 500 and 600 houses.

Spouses appear to have relocated to Canaan along much the same time schedule as heads, as do their children regardless of age. Only ten percent of spouses, and ten percent of children arrived in Canaan at a date later than the head of the household. The majority of Canaan residents arrived together as a family which is consistent with the explanation that they were forced to relocate on account of violence. The entire household which had been living elsewhere needed to relocate immediately. There was no question of the workseeker or breadwinner going ahead, finding employment, building some sort of shelter and then having his family join him. Unlike those urbanizing for the first time many of those arriving at Canaan because they had lost their houses were not necessarily without jobs and accordingly were not as insecure as those who were struggling to build a shelter and find a source of income as well. There were those who had to forgo their jobs as a result of relocating to Canaan but the majority had in fact relocated closer to the workplace.

There does not appear to be a clear link between the area of immediate origin and the month of arrival in Canaan. Arrival times were concentrated between January 1990 and January 1991 regardless of whether the people came from Durban, Inanda, Ndwedwa, Ntuzuma, or Umbumbulu. It thus does not appear that people arrived en masse from an area as a result of particular episode of violence but that they came one by one as a result of the ongoing violence in these areas. There is no indication that the residents were known or related to one another or that they belonged to any particular grouping. However there does seem to be some link between the reason for relocation and the time of arrival. Most of those who relocated on account of violence had arrived in Canaan by March 1990, whereas those who settled there in the course of searching for work or for somewhere to live continued to arrive in considerable numbers until November 1990.

The levels of unemployment of heads who came from the areas associated with violence were lower than those of heads who came from Durban or Umlazi. This implies that it was the loss of their home or personal danger that caused the former to relocate, not the loss of a job or the need to look for one. Similarly the level of unemployment was higher among those who had relocated in the search for cheap accommodation than those who had relocated on account of violence.

### 3.0 DEMOGRAPHY

#### 3.1 Age and Sex

The age breakdown of the Canaan community is given in Table 1.

**Table 1. Age.**

Years	Percentage	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
0 - 4	13.2		
5 - 9	11.2	24.4	24.4
10 - 14	9.9		
15 - 19	10.2	20.1	44.5
20 - 24	13.0		
25 - 29	12.5	25.5	70.0
30 - 34	8.4		
35 - 39	6.1	14.5	84.5
40 - 44	5.2		
45 - 49	4.2	9.4	93.9
50 - 54	1.8		
55 - 59	1.5	3.3	97.2
60 - 64	1.7		
65+	1.0	2.7	100.0

With less than 45% of the community under the age of 20 the Canaan community is not as young as the black population of the RSA as a whole (48.3%)<sup>12</sup>. This is to be expected in a newly established and insecure community where, despite the fact that most people are living in a family situation, people have not been there long enough to have built a large enough shelter and to have secured a reliable enough income to allow all their dependents to join them. The absence of facilities such as schools and clinics would also discourage people from having dependents, who might need these facilities, join them, particularly if these facilities are available elsewhere.<sup>13</sup>

This newness, insecurity and absence of facilities is also reflected the low numbers of retired or old people. Only 2.7% of the surveyed population was aged 60 or older whereas nationally the figure is 4.5%<sup>14</sup>. The violence, which was so prevalent at the time Canaan came into existence and was in fact the immediate cause of the relocation to Canaan of the majority of its inhabitants, no doubt influenced some families to send their young and old to rural areas (or leave there those who were already there) where the threat of violence was perceived to be less.

An interesting comparison may be made with an informal settlement within the boundaries of Umlazi,<sup>15</sup> where the percentage of the population under the age of 20 (53.8%) was higher than the national average. Over 90% of the respondents in this settlement had previously lived in the formal areas of Umlazi (mostly in rented rooms or backyard shacks) and the majority of them had built shacks in Section D either to cope with the overcrowding at their previous place of residence or to enable their families to join them which they could not have done at their rented accommodation in the formal township. The high percentage of children in the community confirms the reason for their move.

The decline in the percentage of the population in Canaan between the ages of 10 and 19 and then its increase between the ages of 20 and 29 may have a number of

explanations. The fact that over two thirds of family members who were not living in the Canaan homestead with the rest of their families were of school going age would seem to imply that the absence of school facilities in Canaan was a more important cause of their living elsewhere than the insecure tenure or inadequate space in the home or indeed the threat of violence. The increase in the percentage of the population between the ages of 20 and 29 may indicate that persons in this age group would not have been driven away by the absence of schools, as was probably the case with the younger age group, but drawn to the area by the perceived improved access to jobs. It no doubt indicates not only the arrival of youngsters joining their parents but individuals urbanizing and seeking employment for the first time. The fact that the 20 - 29 ten year cohort is the largest - larger even than the 0 - 9 cohort, reflects the structure of a newly established, rather than a well established, community, one to which people have been drawn in the search for employment or for shelter. The disadvantage of Canaan's transitory status as a home was outweighed by the desperateness of their situation and is reflected in the somewhat unusual age breakdown in the community with its relatively low percentages in the oldest and youngest agegroups.

There were no significant differences in the sex ratios across the various age groups. Overall the ratio was 48 men to 52 women. Even in the economically active (20 - 59) age group (where in the DFR as a whole the percentage of males is higher) the ratio remained consistent where it might have been expected to reflect a predominantly male migration of workseekers from the rural areas. Most households had moved to Canaan as family groups and the fact that they had only settled recently, were insecure and had very small and inadequate homes made it unlikely that they would take in workseekers as lodgers.

Only half of those women aged 60 or older were retired or pensioned whereas 5 out of the six males aged 65 or older were pensioned. Over half of the pensionable women were the heads of their households, and five of the six men were. The recent transitory nature of the women's lives may explain why so many were not receiving pensions.<sup>16</sup> Some of those of pensionable age reported that their applications for pensions had been delayed as they had lost their identity documents in the fires and violence that had forced them to flee to Canaan.

### **3.2 Marital Status**

Of the surveyed population over the age of 19 just over half (51%) were single. However two thirds of the singles were under the age of 30, so that it is clear that, although they may be doing so later than more established or secure communities, the majority (over two thirds of those aged 30 or older) of the adults were marrying or co-habiting. Slightly more (5.7%) of men than women were single. Those who were married constituted 16.5% of those over the age of 19, those co-habiting 26.4% and those who were widowed, divorced or separated 6%.

### **3.3 Family Structure**

Analysis of the data showed that Canaan is home to people almost all of whom are living as small nuclear families. There were very few persons (a mere 9% of all individuals surveyed) who were not heads, spouses, sons or daughters - in other words members of nuclear families. However most of the nuclear families were incomplete and the absence of the usual numbers of extended family members found in an established household - grandparents, grandchildren, brothers, sisters etc. - is typical of a recently established and insecure community. In 62.4% of households there was a head and spouse, and in 64.1% there were children. In 65.2% of the houses where there were children there was a head and a spouse and in the balance just a head, or one parent.



One third of the households in which there was a head and a spouse there had no children, in many cases not because the couple was childless but because the children had been left elsewhere because of the insecurity, lack of facilities or inadequate shelter at Canaan. Although almost all (84%) males who headed households had a spouse resident in Canaan only 10% of female household heads did. On the other hand only 54% of male headed households had children resident in their households in Canaan whereas this was true of 71% of female headed households. Parents of the household head were found in only 2.5% of households; grandparents in .6%; grandchildren in 4.5% and other relatives in 14.2%.

### 3.4 Household Heads

Twenty nine percent of the surveyed households were headed by women<sup>17</sup>. Table 2 below lists in tabular form various statistics relating to all household heads and also differentiates between male and female headed households.

**Table 2: Selected Statistics for Household Heads**

	All	Male	Female
Sex (%)		71.1	28.9
Age (years)	37	36	40
Single (%)	43.3	40.2	51.0
Married (%)	18.0	24.8	1.0
Widowed,divorced,separated (%)	10.7	4	36.3
Co-habiting (%)	28.0	34.6	11.8
Employed (%)	82.1	84.6	79.2
Unemployed act.seeking (%)	14.1	13.0	5.9
Av. contrib.p.m. (contributor)	R414	R473	R260
Av. contrib p.m. (all heads)	R348	R404	R209
Av. monthly salary of emp. heads	R423	R489	R260
Monthly household income	R496	R535	R394
Monthly household income p. c.	R168	R201	R118
Average household size	3.6	3.4	4.0
Education (years)	5.5	5.4	5.8
No education (%)	14.6	15.0	13.6

Most (87%) of the female heads did not have spouses living with them in Canaan - just over half were single and over a third were widowed, divorced or separated. Nevertheless female headed households tended to be larger than male headed households which in turn increased the levels of dependency on female heads whose incomes were significantly lower than those of male heads. This inevitably resulted in lower per capita incomes in female headed households.

There were children resident in 71% of female headed households and 54% of male headed households.

On average heads contributed 71% of household income. 53% however were the sole source of household income and 16% made no contribution at all. Those who contributed on average 84% of household income. Overall heads contributed 76% of all household income. Male heads contributions averaged 87% of total household income and female heads 77%.

### 3.5 Household Size and Structure

The average Canaan household had 3.6 members and households ranged in size from 1

to 13 members. Female headed households tended to be larger (4.5) than male headed households (3.7). Nine percent of households consisted of one person only and 93% of households had less than 8 members.

According to the figures used by the Institute of Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth in calculating Household Subsistence Levels the average black household in the Durban area has 6 members. It is to be expected that households in a newly established and insecure settlement such as Canaan would be smaller than the area average. Many of the surveyed households had dependents who were living elsewhere.

The inhabitants of one person households were largely (70%) male and single (61%). Eighteen percent of them were unemployed. In a survey of an informal settlement in Umlazi conducted in 1990<sup>18</sup> there were found to be on average 7 persons per household and there were no households which consisted of one person only. In that settlement over 90% of the household heads had previously lived in formal houses in Umlazi - generally as tenants of a room in the house or a backyard shack. They had moved into the informal settlement specifically to overcome the problems of overcrowding or to enable their family members to join them which had not been possible while the head was a tenant in a formal township house. Although Canaan came into existence chiefly as a response to families who had lost their homes in the violence in the region there were also significant numbers who moved to Canaan in their search for employment in the area. Most of the single member households were such people who had come alone to the area to search for employment and accommodation. Those who had families had left them at their previous place of residence waiting to be in a position (in terms of income and accommodation) to have them join them in their new location. The level of unemployment amongst those who lived alone was higher (18%) than that of other household heads (9.3%) or the economically active agegroup (15.5%). This is to be expected as many of them specifically came into the area in order to seek work.

There were pre-school children in a third of surveyed households and scholars in 38.2% of households. Twenty percent of households contained children who were of schoolgoing age but not at school<sup>19</sup>. Five percent of households contained retired or pensioned persons. The employed were distributed across 90% of households and unemployed 25%. Persons who were unemployed but not actively seeking employment were to be found in 38.7% of households. However most of them were probably desirous of obtaining work. If these two categories are viewed together 58.8% of households contain unemployed persons. In 60% of households there was one worker, in 24% two and in 3% three. There was an average of 1.4 employed persons per household.

Viewed individually rather than by household the surveyed population is described in Table 3 below.

**Table 3: Occupations of surveyed population**

Preschool	13.4	
Schooling	19.3	
Not at school (5 - 19 years)	7.5	
Unemployed	13.2	22.1
Unemployed (act. seeking)	8.9	
Employed	36.1	
Retired/disabled	1.6	

### 3.6 Educational Levels

The educational levels of the total surveyed community showed improvement over time. Not only were the young less likely to have had no education than the old but the younger they were the more likely they were to have received an education beyond Standard 4. Of those in their twenties over half had gone beyond Standard 4, whereas this was true only of approximately 40% of those in their thirties and 30% of those in their fifties.

The fact that a larger percentage of the 10 -14 agegroup had no education than that in the 15 - 19 agegroup probably reflects the recent instability of the community and the need for their schooling needs to be addressed where they are currently situated. Almost half of the 5 - 9 age group had no education and 45% were not in school at the time of the survey. Only 22% of 10 - 14 year olds were not in school. They may well have started school before they relocated to Canaan and have been able to continue schooling even after they had moved there.

Table 4 indicates the percentage of various age groups which have received no education and the average number of years of education of those who may be considered to have completed their schooling - that is those aged 20 or older.

**Table 4: Educational Levels by Age**

Age Group	% with no education	Av. number of years education.		
		Total	Males	Females
0 - 4	97.1			
5 - 9	42.1			
10 - 14	3.1			
15 - 19	.8			
20 - 25	6.5	6.9	6.3	7.3
20 - 29	5.2	6.8	6.4	7.2
30 - 39	10.6	5.9	6.2	5.7
40 - 49	18.5	5.0	4.4	5.5
50 - 59	29.5	4.0	3.1	4.9
60+	31.4	3.5	2.7	4.2
20 -59	10.7	6.0	5.8	6.3

The fact that there was a drop in the percentage of the surveyed population which the 10 to 19 age cohort constituted has already been commented upon in Section 3.1. Significant numbers of children of this age do not reside with their parents in Canaan - many of them no doubt because there are no educational facilities there. Of family members who were recorded as not being resident with the rest of their family in Canaan two thirds were of school going age.

The survey revealed almost half of those resident in Canaan who were of schoolgoing age (considered to be those between the ages of 5 and 19 years) not to be at school. As only 6% were in employment it would not seem to be the case that they were leaving school in order to earn an income. Although 8.7% stated that they were unemployed the balance were simply recorded as "not at school". Of those who were not at school 37% had no education while 80% had either had no education or not gone beyond

Standard 4. Fewer (53%) boys in the age group were at school than girls (59%). Those who were not at school were concentrated at the extremes of the age group - between the ages of 8 and 15 almost three-quarters of the children were at school.

The absence of educational facilities in Canaan and the disrupted life that all members of the community had led would also explain why when the percentage of the surveyed population which had no education was consistently dropping over time it should suddenly be higher for the 5 - 9 and 10 - 14 age cohorts than for the 15 - 19 cohort (See Table 4).

Table 5 below which gives a breakdown of Canaan residents currently at school by standard reflects the usual picture of black education in the RSA.<sup>20</sup> Over 80% of pupils were in primary schools. There was a concentration of pupils in Standard 6 reflecting an attempt to get into secondary education which frequently does not progress much further - with those repeating Standard 6 swelling the numbers further.

**Table 5: Educational Levels of Those Currently at School.**

Standard	Percentage	Cum. Percentage
SubSts A & B	36.4	36.4
Standard 1	9.5	45.9
Standard 2	13.9	59.7
Standard 3	8.7	68.4
Standard 4	6.9	75.3
Standard 5	5.2	80.5
Standard 6	7.8	88.3
Standard 7	4.8	93.1
Standard 8	3.9	97.0
Standard 9	2.6	99.6
Standard 10	.4	100.0

N = 235.

#### 4.0 EMPLOYMENT

##### 4.1 Occupations of the Economically Active Age group

For purposes of analysis the economically active agegroup was considered to be those aged 20 to 59. In fact 7% of those who had full-time or part-time employment fell outside this agegroup - 5% below and 2% above. Table 6 below gives a breakdown of the economically active age group by occupation.

**Table 6: Occupation of Economically Active Agegroup (20 - 59 years)**

Occupation	Total	Males	Females
Schooling	1.6	1.8	1.5
Unemployed	20.3	5.1	35.2
Unemployed (actively seeking)	15.5	15.7	15.4
Employed	61.7	76.2	47.7
Retired/disabled	.7	1.2	.3

The economically active age group was heavily weighted towards the younger agegroups - half its members were aged 30 or less and 80% 41 or less. The sexes were equally represented in the age group and the sex ratio reflected that of the total population. On average the age group had completed Standard 4 but 10.7 percent had no education (see Table 7).

Of those in the age group who were employed half were aged 31 or less and 80% 44 or less. Sixty one percent were males and 39% females. The levels of education of the employed were slightly lower than those of the entire age group (see Table 7). The employed were widely distributed across the community with 90% of households having one person in employment, 24% two and 5.4% more than two.

The survey divided the unemployed into two groups - those who were actively seeking employment and those who were not. Many of the latter were nevertheless desirous of obtaining work and had simply given up in the face of an apparent inability to find employment. Similarly some of the women whose time was taken up by domestic chores and childrearing and who did not wish to find full-time formal employment would however have liked to find some informal sector activity they could have participated in at home in order to supplement their incomes. It is accordingly important that, when unemployment is considered, these 'unemployed' people are not forgotten. Nor should the 37% of 15 - 19 year olds who were classified unemployed or 'not at school' be omitted when the need for job opportunities is considered.<sup>21</sup>

The percentage of the surveyed population which was unemployed and actively seeking employment was surprisingly low. Only 15.7% of men and 15.4% of women between the ages of 20 and 59 were categorized thus. One of the possible reasons for the apparently low level of unemployment is the fact that the majority of people in Canaan relocated on account of violence - what they needed when they arrived in Canaan was a house and not, as is the case with so many urbanizing for the first time, a job as well. Those who had jobs at the time they were subjected to violence seem in most cases to have retained their jobs although they may have lost their homes, and indeed some members of their families. Another reason for the relatively low percentage of unemployed in Canaan may be that only 7% of Canaan residents did not reside in the DFR immediately prior to moving to Canaan. Thus in addition to those who moved on account of violence there were others who moved within the DFR whose move did not lead to a job loss and who were not moving in order to facilitate a job search. As was

pointed out in Section 2.3 Canaan people were on the whole not newly urbanized people in search of employment.

Although similar numbers of males and females were 'actively seeking employment' there were five times as many unemployed females as males. Whereas only 5.1% of males were unemployed but not actively seeking employment, 35.2% of women were. Put differently, 76.2% of men, as compared with 37.7% of women, in the economically active age group were employed. Despite the fact that some of the unemployed women were genuinely uninterested in finding employment, it is clear that women were very much harder hit by unemployment than men and were more likely to have given up the struggle to find a job.

Unemployment was also more common among younger people with fifty percent of those actively seeking employment being under the age of 26, as compared with 31 for the employed. (Not included in the above figures are the 37% of 15 - 19 year olds who were either categorized as 'not at school' or 'unemployed'. Their inclusion would show the young to be even harder hit by unemployment.) The average age of unemployed women was 27 and unemployed men 29, whereas the average age of the employed in the economically active age group was 34.

Although only 15.5% of the economically active age group were **unemployed and actively seeking employment** and were to be found in only 25% of households, the percentages more than double when **all unemployed** persons are taken into account. Then 59% of households contain one unemployed person and 17.3% two or more.

Table 7 below gives details of education levels for the economically active age group. It is interesting in that there seems little correlation between education and employment - in fact it would appear that the opposite was the case. The explanation is probably that levels of education are in general so low as to be irrelevant with regard to the securing of most types of employment. In addition those with higher levels of education probably have higher expectations of the job market and are less likely to find acceptable employment opportunities in a time of job shortage. Those who experienced the worst unemployment - women - appeared the best educated.

**Table 7: Levels of Education in the Economically Active Age Group and the Surveyed Population.**

Occupation	% With No Education	Av.No.Years Education
<b>Economically Active Agegroup</b>		
Economically Active Agegroup	10.7	6.0
Employed	12.4	5.8
Unemployed	9.6	5.8
Unemployed - Actively Seeking	5.8	6.9
Unemployed - Combined	7.9	6.2
<b>Total Population</b>		
Employed	12.6	5.8
Unemployed	5.8	6.9
Unemployed males	7.3	6.0
Unemployed females	3.6	7.0

## 4.2 Types of employment

Table 8 below shows the distribution of workers according to the sector in which they were employed.

**Table 8: Workers by Sector**

Sector	Percentage of employed
Domestic	33.0
Agriculture	.5
Commerce	11.5
Manufacturing	19.0
Construction	23.0
State	1.0
Professional	3.0
Informal	9.0

N = 445

Eighty six percent of those who were employed were unskilled or labourers. In other words a mere 14% were professionals, artisans or persons with some clerical or other skill. The highest percentage of skilled workers was to be found in the informal sector. Seventy percent of those in the informal sector were self-employed. They included spaza shop owners, painters, plumbers, seamstresses, and traditional healers. Unskilled persons in this sector were mainly sales persons working for the informal business operators/owners. Thirty percent of those involved in manufacturing, 19% of those in commerce and 11% of those in construction had some skill. Those classified as professional were nurses, teachers or policemen.

Eighty seven percent of the third of those employed who were in domestic service or gardening were female. The average monthly earnings in this sector were R185 - the lowest for any sector other than agriculture where only two persons were employed. As 70% of employed women were employed in this sector this accounts for the fact that the average female monthly wage was significantly lower than the male monthly wage - R239 as opposed to R478. Thirty percent of domestic workers worked in Durban and 59% in the suburbs surrounding Canaan.

The construction sector was the second largest employer of persons from Canaan and here 99% of employees were males. Only 11% of workers in this sector had any skills and the average monthly wage was R439. Just over half (51.1%) of employed males were either in the construction sector or labourers in other sectors. The average number of years education of those in the construction sector was slightly lower (4.8 years) than that (5.4 years) for workers in the domestic sector.

## 4.3 Work Place

Proximity to the work place was the reason given by most (61%) respondents for their liking living in Canaan. With the exception of those who had previously lived at their workplace in Durban, workers were living closer to the workplace than they had ever before. Ninety percent of the employed in Canaan worked within the DFR, 40% within central Durban. Seven percent worked within Canaan and 38.7% in the adjoining areas of Springfield, Clare Estate, Parloek, Reservoir Hills, Newlands and Sydenham. A further 4.7% worked within the relatively close areas of Durban North, KwaMashu and Inanda.

Eight percent worked in Pinetown, Westville and Chatsworth. Only 1.8% worked further afield in Eshowe, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, Port Shepstone, Umzinto and Johannesburg.

Forty five percent of those working within Canaan were women; 83% were the heads of their households. Two thirds of them were involved in sales, either as spaza owners or hawkers or traders in various goods. Their average earnings were R397 per month and they ranged from R50 to R1500 per month. The top decile earned over R1000 per month.

Of those who worked in the suburbs adjoining Canaan 46.8% were involved in domestic work whereas this was the case for only 22% of those who worked in Durban. The average salary earned was R452 in Durban and R277 in the suburbs surrounding Canaan. Over 70% of those working in Durban were males whereas those working in the surrounding suburbs were equally divided amongst males and females.

The average education of those working in Canaan, the surrounding suburbs and central Durban was 5.7 years, 5 years and 6.3 years respectively.

#### 4.4 Earnings

Table 9 below gives selected average monthly salaries for the employed. The average recorded salary was R382 per month with a range from R30 to R1500.

**Table 9: Selected monthly average salaries.**

Type of salary	Average Salary per Month		
	Total	Males	Females
All employed	R382	R478	R239
Domestics	R185		
Construction	R439		
Commerce	R529		
Manufacturing	R516		
Labourers	R403		
Workers in Canaan	R397		
Workers in Durban	R492		
Surrounding areas	R285		
Household heads	R423	R489	R260

#### 4.5 Employment

The employed in Canaan were found to be largely unskilled and concentrated in the domestic and construction sectors. Almost twice as many men as women were employed. The percentage of the economically active age group which was unemployed (and actively seeking employment) was relatively low. Unemployment hit women and the young hardest. The salaries paid to employed persons were low. Women in particular are especially lowly paid. Education levels appear to have little or no influence on salaries earned or the likelihood of obtaining employment. It is difficult to say whether the place of employment influenced salary levels as where, for example in the areas surrounding Canaan, salaries were low it was also the case that the percentage of women employed and the percentage in the domestic sector were high. Salaries for women and domestic workers were amongst the lowest recorded.



It is clearly of relevance to Canaan residents that the areas where salaries are lowest are closest to Canaan and that accordingly transport costs to these areas are relatively low. The fact that so many people are either employed in Canaan or in the surrounding areas must have important implications, both with regard to transport and employment opportunities, for any proposed relocation of Canaan residents.

## **5.0 INCOME**

### **5.1 Household and Household Per Capita Incomes**

Estimates of monthly income were obtained from 95% of the households surveyed. In some cases all contributions to household income may not have been included (e.g. only one salary known where more than one household member was employed). The 5% of households where no income was recorded included those who claimed to have no income at all and those where income was unknown. The non-inclusion of the households with no income recorded in the calculation of average incomes may result in these figures being slightly higher than the true average but on the other hand the fact that in a small number of cases the income recorded was not the total income, but merely the total known income, would make calculated averages marginally lower than true averages.

Incomes were calculated both on a household and a household per capita basis. The per capita income was calculated by dividing total household income by the number of persons resident in the household. No allowance was made for age or sex. Nor was any allowance made for the fact that most households were incomplete and had dependents elsewhere. As this generally meant that money was remitted to these dependents on a regular basis the incomes calculated for those Canaan households will appear to be higher than they in fact were as they attribute all income to those resident in Canaan and make no deductions for remittances.

Household size in Canaan ranged from one to thirteen persons. The implications of size on the ability of household income to meet household needs could be significant and it was therefore considered necessary to calculate both household and household per capita incomes. However although the range in household size was quite large, over 73% of households had between 1 and 4 members so that the difference between household and household per capita incomes was not as significant as it would have been if household size had been more evenly distributed between one and thirteen members.

### **5.2 Sources of Income**

Wages were by far the major source of income in Canaan with employed people who were in receipt of salaries being found in 90% of households.

In contrast only four percent of households contained a member who received a pension. The relatively low percentage of the population which was of pensionable age was reflected in the low percentage of household income which was derived from pensions. Whereas nationally 4% of the population is of pensionable age only 2.9% of those in Canaan were. In rural areas where as much as 7% of the population may be pensionable, where over half the households may contain a pensioner and where there is little likelihood of formal employment opportunities, pensions may contribute over 30% of household income, but in Canaan pensions - both welfare and old age - contributed a mere 2%. Within the households of pensioners the pensions did however make a substantial contribution, accounting for 48.5% of those households' incomes.

In addition to there being a low percentage of pensionable persons in the community, a number of those of pensionable age were not receiving pensions. Half of the pensionable women were in this position. The transitory nature of their recent lives may

explain this in that they may not have been anywhere long enough to go through the pensions application procedure or establish their residence in a particular area. Although it should be a relatively simple administrative matter to transfer a pension from one area to another experience proves that this is not the case<sup>22</sup>.

Incomes from informal sector activity were difficult to establish and clearly under-recorded. Hawkers, herbalists, spaza shop owners and workers and water carriers were amongst those who contributed to household incomes. Many of those who operated in the informal sector were also in formal employment or obtained casual employment from time to time. The survey did not make it possible to distinguish definitively what the source of their contributions to household incomes was. No income was recorded from subsistence agriculture and only one instance of income from rental was reported.

### 5.3 Levels of Income

#### 5.3.1. Household Subsistence Level

Table 10: Household Subsistence Level for Blacks in Durban in March 1991.<sup>23</sup>

Individual Household Member	Food	Clothing	Fuel, Light, Washing, Cleansing	Total
<b>Children</b>				
1 - 3 years	39.37	5.74	1.90	47.01
4 - 6 years	47.01	11.48	1.90	60.39
7 - 10 years	55.99	11.48	1.90	69.37
<b>Boys and Men</b>				
11 - 14 years	67.06	17.21	1.90	86.17
15 - 18 years	69.99	25.52	1.90	97.41
19+ years	71.27	25.52	1.90	98.69
<b>Girls &amp; Women</b>				
11 - 14 years	63.70	17.21	1.90	82.81
15 - 18 years	61.30	22.95	1.90	86.15
19+ years	60.32	22.95	1.90	85.17
Household	Fuel, Light, Washing, Cleansing	Rent	Transport	Total
General Household	80.37	18.94	74.04	173.35

In order to obtain a yardstick by which to assess income levels a household subsistence level (HSL) was calculated for the households surveyed in Canaan. This HSL was derived from the Institute for Planning Research (IPR) at the University of Port Elizabeth's Household Subsistence Data. It was not possible to use the HSL calculated for Durban by IPR as it was calculated for a household of 6 which they found to be the average for Durban, whereas the average household in Canaan had 3.6 members. Instead of calculating an average HSL for a household of 3.6 members it was decided to calculate

an individual HSL for each household surveyed by making use of the costing estimates for food, clothing, fuel, light, washing and cleansing materials made by the IPR according to sex and age and adding these to general household estimates for fuel, light, washing and cleansing materials, rent and transport. Accordingly each individual household's subsistence level was calculated according to the age and sex of its members making use of the figures in Table 10 above.

Using these figures the average household subsistence level for the surveyed households was calculated to be R471.04 and the mean R426.58. The figure given by the IPR for a household of 6 was R676.16.

In the survey respondents were asked to estimate their average weekly expenditure on certain items<sup>24</sup>. When these estimates are compared with the figures used in calculating the HSL they are found to be remarkably similar. For example Table 10 above gives the HSL figure for the monthly clothing requirements for an adult male in Durban as R25.52 and for a female R22.95. If to these two sums another two (or more accurately 1.6 to allow for the average household size of 3.6 members) clothing allowances are added for the other members of the average Canaan household one reaches a figure fairly close to the R91 which the survey recorded the average monthly household expenditure on clothing to be. The HSL gives a monthly household expenditure on transport of R74.04. The average transport costs of workers surveyed was R42.63 per month. A return trip to the shopping centre was R1.55 and a return trip to school (for those incurring this cost) R2.60. With an average of 1.3 workers per household, and a presumed need to make a couple of trips per month to the shops or health centres R74.04 per month for transport appears to be close to what households in Canaan actually expended on transport.

Expenditure on food, cleansing materials, fuel etc. was not broken down in the survey in the same way as it was for the HSL so that direct comparisons are not possible but rough calculations based on the average household size come up with figures for the average expenditure in Canaan and the HSL which are not dissimilar. Those surveyed reported an average household expenditure on food and hygiene of R204 per month, on water<sup>25</sup> of R36 per month and on paraffin, gas and candles of R39 per month. When adjusted to account for individual household size the recorded expenditure is marginally lower than that of the HSL which is consistent with the finding (see Section 5.5 below) that 56.6% of Canaan households had incomes below the HSL as adjusted for their particular composition.

### 5.3.2 Income Levels in Canaan Households

Recorded monthly household incomes ranged from R10 to R1735 and averaged R495. Household per capita incomes were calculated by dividing household income by the number of persons resident in the house. No allowance was made for age or sex. These incomes ranged from R2 to R1500 and averaged R177. The medians in both cases were well below the mean and indicate a concentration of households at the lower income levels. Thus 50% of households had household incomes below R400 per month and household per capita incomes below R125 per month. Although the highest household per capita income was R1500 90% were below R400 and 60% below R150 per month.

A comparison of the HSL calculated for each individual household with its actual household income as recorded in the survey indicates that 56.5% of households had incomes below the HSL calculated for that particular household.

Viewed by quintile incomes were as in Tables 11 and 12 below:

**Table 11: Monthly Household Incomes by Quintile**

Income Level	Av. Household Income	Av. Per Capita Income	Av. HSL
0 - R150	R93	R45	R408
R151 - R300	R234	R95	R461
R301 - R500	R414	R155	R477
R501 - R800	R670	R244	R496
R800+	R1124	R364	R529

**Table 12: Monthly Household Per capita Incomes by Quintile**

Income Level	Av. Per Capita Income	Av. Household Income	Av. HSL
0 - R50	R31	R142	R546
R51 - R100	R81	R324	R497
R101 - R150	R130	R501	R502
R151 - R260	R206	R682	R453
R260+	R449	R871	R365

Viewed according to household size incomes were as in Table 13 below.

**Table 13: Household Size and Average Monthly Income**

Size	Household Income	PerCapita Income	HSL	N
1	R349	R349	R268	44
2	R470	R235	R356	89
3	R474	R158	R416	64
4	R517	R129	R489	67
5	R603	R120	R569	36
6	R461	R77	R661	26
7	R585	R84	R727	13
8	R658	R82	R834	9
9	R200	R22	R908	1
10	R703	R71	R1006	6
11	R1735	R158	R1093	1
13	R598	R46	R1183	3

Tables 11 and 12 would appear to indicate that it does not make a significant difference to income levels whether incomes are calculated on a household or a per capita basis. The tables show that the average per capita income rises by quintile with household incomes and vice versa.

The average HSL by definition rises by quintile with the household incomes whereas with the household per capita incomes it is erratic and is lowest where per capita incomes are

highest. The explanation for this is found in Table 13 which relates size to income. Whereas the highest household incomes are found in the largest households, the highest household per capita incomes are found in the smallest households where the HSL is by definition lowest. As less than 17% of households have more than five members the impact of household size on income levels is not significant in this survey and as Tables 11 and 12 indicate levels of income tend to correspond whether calculated on a household or a household per capita basis.

#### **5.4 Savings and Loans.**

In spite of the fact that over half the households surveyed had incomes below the HSL and that many of the other incomes were only marginally above the HSL thirty percent of households claimed to have saved some money over the previous twelve months. Half of those who had managed to save had saved less than R400. Twelve percent of the savers had saved R1000 or more and one had saved R7000.

Almost all who saved did so at a bank or building society - only 3% reported saving with a stokvel.

In contrast only three of the 50% of households who reported borrowing money over the previous twelve months borrowed from a bank. Almost all borrowers borrowed from friends or relations. The amounts borrowed were small - they averaged R20 and the largest sum reported was R60.

## 6.0 LIVING CONDITIONS AND ACCESS TO BASIC NEEDS

### 6.1 Housing

There were 429 shacks in Canaan in May 1991 when for the second time the houses were numbered and a ban put on any further development. Most of the houses were built during the first six months of 1990. The majority of respondents (71%) had simply taken possession of the land and built their houses. However 12% of respondents stated that they had had to obtain permission from Mr. Ndaba (the chairman of the local committee between October 1990 and May 1991) before they could settle in Canaan. Less than 3% reported that any charge had been involved. Those who had to pay reported paying a levy or tax that ranged from R1 to R60 and averaged R25.

Although a mere 4.5% of respondents reported that they had bought their **site** (two thirds of them from Mr. Ndaba), almost a quarter (24%) of respondents reported that they had bought their **houses** (a third from Mr. Ndaba). One percent stated that they had been given their houses by relatives or friends. As Canaan, prior to 1990, was vacant land without housing, the 24% who bought 'houses' rather than 'sites' must belong to the second wave of settlers in Canaan who moved into houses vacated towards the end of 1990 by people who had decided that there was no security in Canaan and moved elsewhere. Their dates of arrival in Canaan confirm this. A survey<sup>20</sup> conducted a year previously showed only 5% of respondents to have bought their houses.

Ninety nine percent of respondents considered that they 'owned' their houses - only one percent 'rented' either rooms (half of them paying no rent) or houses - and accordingly pay no rent. There are of course no rates to be paid in Canaan and thus housing for the majority is considered to be free - apart from the cost of building materials. This was of great importance to many respondents. Seventeen percent of respondents gave as the reason why they liked living in Canaan the fact that they did not have to pay any rent.

Examination of the amounts expended on housing where costs were incurred reveal that the range in the amount expended was large. Respondents had clearly been able to spend as much or as little as they could afford or needed to spend. They had also been able to build their houses incrementally - extending them as they could afford the time or money.

Rent for both a house and a room averaged R30 per month. The price paid for a site averaged R112.50 and ranged from R20 to R500. The price of a house averaged R235 and ranged from R5 to R600. The average amount spent on building materials was R253 and ranged from nothing - a number of people specifically stating that they obtained their materials from the dump for nothing - to R2500. Approximately one third of respondents reported spending money on labour to build their houses - the amounts ranging from R21 to R400 and averaging R117. All the averages given relate only to those who incurred expenditure. Eighty percent of those surveyed reported some expenditure on their houses - the average total amount spent, whether spent on materials or buying the house or site or paying labour, was R296.

Some of those who claimed to have spent nothing on materials for their houses had managed to do so because they had brought materials from their previous house - their houses should accordingly not be considered to be costless. Others who incurred no expenditure on housing materials (and indeed many others who incurred expenditure but reduced overall costs) managed to do so because they obtained their materials free from the dump. Proximity to the dump was clearly very important with regard to accessibility of building materials. Certain persons were reluctant to move from Canaan specifically because they would be denied access to the dump.

There appeared to be some correlation between household income and the amounts people had spent on their houses. If household incomes are divided into quintiles and the costs for each quintile averaged, the average amount expended on housing rises from R245 for the lowest quintile, to R253, R273, R347 and finally R391 for the highest quintile.

Most (81.3%) of the houses consisted of one structure only. The balance consisted of two. The number of rooms in a house ranged from 1 to 7 with 40.2% having one room, 37.4% two and 12.8% three.

The materials used in the building of the walls and roofs of the surveyed houses were recorded. Packing cases and timber were the materials most commonly used (79.1%) in the construction of walls. Thirty percent of respondents made use of corrugated iron and timber, while other materials were used by negligible percentages<sup>27</sup>. Corrugated iron was the most popular roofing material (67.1%), followed by packing cases and timber (28.4%), plastic sheeting (23.4%) and asbestos (15%).

One third of respondents reported spending money on labour for the purpose of housebuilding. Although sixty percent of households reported having a member who had some sort of building skill and such persons accounted for 255 of the 1299 individuals surveyed, it could not necessarily be assumed that such persons would have the time to put these skills into practice. Eighty five percent of those with building skills were males, 73% were heads of their households and 77% were employed. There was a demand for paid labour for housebuilding even in a community as poor as Canaan, and one in which there were significant numbers of people who had housebuilding skills.

The large majority (86%) of those with building skills had only basic skills which had been informally acquired or self-taught. Seven percent had basic skills formally taught, 5% advanced skills self taught and 2% advanced skills formally taught.

Despite the fact that everyone in Canaan was aware that they would have to move in the near future the houses were surprisingly well constructed and appeared to have withstood all types of weather. Substantial pieces of furniture had been put in the houses, walls wallpapered and in some cases gardens established. Although the houses themselves were well maintained and the immediate surrounds of each house swept and tidy it was not necessary to move far from the house before encountering heaps of rotting refuse.

## **6.2 Refuse and Sewerage Removal**

There is no refuse removal in Canaan. Two thirds of respondents claimed to burn their rubbish in pits but the evidence of rubbish lying around would seem to indicate that if they do burn rubbish they do not do so on a regular basis. The Durban Corporation has placed one small tip at the bottom entrance to Canaan. One third of respondents said that they placed their refuse in the tip which the Corporation emptied from time to time. Current arrangements are clearly inadequate. Additional tips could be placed at strategic points and emptied more frequently. If some arrangement is not made to improve the removal of refuse in the near future the health of the community must suffer. The increased heat and rainfall of summer can only exacerbate the position.

The cleanliness and health status of the community is further threatened by the absence of a sewerage system in the settlement. Three quarters of respondents claimed to make use of pit toilets while the balance said they made use of the void in the absence of any facilities.



### 6.3 Water

At the time of the survey there was no piped water available in Canaan and quite clearly this constituted the main concern of the community. Time and again respondents referred to the problems they experienced and the expenses and dangers they incurred obtaining water. Half the respondents obtained their drinking and cooking water from a corporation tap in Kennedy Road which is on the opposite side of the N2 Freeway at a distance of 3 kilometres. Unless an overhead bridge a couple of kilometres away was used they put themselves in danger by crossing the freeway. Three<sup>20</sup> members of the community had been killed crossing the freeway and a number injured. The same risks were incurred by those who crossed the freeway in order to obtain materials from the dump. The danger was clearly in the forefront of the community's mind and reference was made to it on many occasions - as a reason for disliking living in Canaan; as a reason for accepting removal from Canaan and as a contributory factor to finding the water supply situation unacceptable.

Most of those who obtained their water from Kennedy Road (41.7%) fetched the water themselves but 7.8% paid others to fetch water for them. Those who paid others to fetch the water bought it for R1.50 per 25 litres which was three times as expensive as the water 47.1% of respondents bought from a nearby Indian storekeeper. Sixty percent of respondents reported incurring expenditure on water - either on purchasing the water or paying others to fetch it - and the amounts expended varied between R1 and R45 per week and averaged R8.

When it came to water for washing and gardening 73.5% obtained water from an open drain which runs through Canaan. This supply was relatively close and free but could not be risked for human consumption.

The community had made numerous requests for water to be supplied. They had pointed out hydrants on the edge of the settlement to which taps might be connected; they had requested that tankers be parked in the area; they had asked for standpipes to be introduced into the area. It appeared to be generally accepted that the Durban Corporation was the body responsible for the supply of water in the area but that it would not supply water in case such action was taken to confer some degree of legality or recognition on the community or to encourage others to settle in the area. Various church groups undertook to organize the supply of water to the area by tankers or standpipes and an investigation by the City Engineers Department stated that there would be no problem supplying water but nothing was done. It was reported that permission had to be obtained from the Department of Transport as owner of the land and that this had not been forthcoming. It was never clear who had the final authority to refuse the provision of water and at times the community felt that the refusals were a strategy to effect their removal. Direct approaches were made to the City Engineers Department, the Town Clerk and to the City Health Department. When these were unsuccessful (the City Health Department wrote a letter on 19.12.90 stating that they would not be supplying water to Canaan) approaches were made to the Department of Transport and the NPA Community Services Division (19.3.91) in an attempt to get them to influence the Durban Corporation to supply water. These approaches were also without success.

At a meeting held on 17 September 1991<sup>29</sup>, at a time when it was unequivocally accepted by the community that they would have to move but when it was also agreed by all the authorities involved - Durban Corporation, NPA, Department of Transport - that no removals would take place until an acceptable alternative site had been found - a city councillor disclosed that it had been on account of a report from the City Engineer that

the Corporation had refused to supply water in the past. This report was based on the fact that the land was unstable and would be further undermined if open water points were introduced. The councillor undertook to see to the provision of water on the basis that it was only a temporary, if emergency, measure. Taps were connected to the fire hydrants close to Canaan within a few days of the meeting. The community had to pay R250 for the installation of the taps and meters and were to be billed for the water consumed on a monthly basis. Households in Canaan were asked to pay R3 per month in order to be able to use the taps. Although there was initially much jubilation in the community at the thought of a comparatively close and cheap water supply tension soon developed when a faction in the community questioned why they should have to pay for water when other communities received the service for nothing. They also suggested that the committee were profiteering out of the sales.

#### **6.4 Energy**

There is no electricity in Canaan. The residents in the main use paraffin for cooking and heating water and candles for light. A few households used wood for cooking and lighting and over half the households made use of wood for heating. One percent of respondents used gas as a source of energy. Use was also made of batteries.

In general wood was obtained in the open although 20% of respondents reported obtaining fire wood from the dump. Half of the paraffin consumed was obtained from spaza shops within Canaan and most of the balance from the local Indian store. Only 4% of respondents did not report some expenditure on paraffin. The amounts spent per week ranged from R2 to R25 and averaged R6. The weekly average spent on candles (an expense incurred by 91% of respondents) was R3 with a range of R1 to R16.

#### **6.5 Transport**

Although none of the public transport systems had official stops in the settlement residents were well positioned to make use of both buses and mini-bus taxis. Most commuters accessed buses and taxis at the Springfield Flats Underpass of the Freeway a half kilometre from Canaan, but there were a number of other connection points in Clare Estate. Ease of access to transport and its relatively low cost was clearly important to respondents. These facts were raised by respondents when explaining why they had moved to Canaan initially, why they were unwilling to move from Canaan or what they desired from any new place to which they might go. Thus not only was Canaan itself closer to the workplace than many of the places where people had lived before but it was well served by public transport which was cheaper because of the relatively short distances to be travelled. Abnormally high transport costs were incurred by scholars in Canaan because of the absence of any schools.

Eighty percent of workers travelled by bus, as did 66% of shoppers and 77% of scholars. Workers spent an average of R2.03 per day on transport, shoppers R1.55 and those going to a health centre R2.60. Household expenditure on school trips varied enormously depending on the number of children at school, where they attended school and whether they travelled home daily. For example a single busfare to Umlazi was R2.50 and this might be incurred twice or 10 times per week by one child. Those who incurred expenditure on school trips spent an average of R2.60 on a return trip.

#### **6.6 Health Services**

There were no fixed health facilities in Canaan. Residents who attended clinics (31%) did so at FOSA or KwaMashu at distances of between 6 and 20 kilometres. A few attended private clinics. A mobile clinic is operated from a caravan parked at the settlement by

Hare Krishna and volunteer doctors over weekends. Of the 60% who said they made use of hospitals from time to time 96% went to King Edward 25 kilometres away. The average cost of a return trip to a health centre was R2.60.

A quarter of respondents consulted private doctors on occasions and 11% said they consulted traditional healers. There were two traditional healers amongst those surveyed in Canaan.

In response to a request from the community the City Health Department sent visiting sisters on a one-off visit, with referrals to Clare Estate Clinic, in December 1990. They visited again in early 1992 to examine the hygiene of the community.

### **6.7 Education**

As was the case with other services there were no schools<sup>30</sup> in Canaan. Children were therefore forced to attend schools outside of the area - at distances varying between 2 and 40 kilometres - or be left with the choice of not attending school or living elsewhere where there were schools. The drop in the percentage of the population which the 10 - 19 age cohort constituted (See Section 3.1), and the fact that two-thirds of the dependents of Canaan residents who were reported to be living elsewhere were of schoolgoing age, implies that there were children of schoolgoing age who were not living with their parents in Canaan but had been left either at their 'rural home' or sent to stay in a place where there were educational facilities.

Almost half of the 5 - 19 age group resident in Canaan were not at school. Only 38% of the households surveyed contained children who were attending school. Some of those whose children were not at school referred to the absence of schools in the area, others said they could not afford the costs of schooling and transport and others that they kept their children away from schools on account of the violence. Some respondents also reported that they were unable to register their children into school because all their identity documents had been burnt in the violence that forced them to settle in Canaan.

Those who attended school from Canaan incurred considerable expenditure on transport as only 16.5% of respondents reported that the scholars resident in their households were able to walk to school. The average cost of a return trip to school was reported to be R2.60 but the amounts varied widely as children attended school anywhere from Umbubumbulu to Inanda, and whereas some travelled daily others travelled weekly. Apart from transport costs educational expenses were incurred for school fees, uniforms and text books.

Although Canaan falls within the RSA where the education of blacks is the responsibility of the Department of Education and Training, 69% of those at school were at schools which fell under the control of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

Despite the fact that feelings of insecurity with regard to tenure and the urgent need for access to clean water dominated respondents comments on their lives and needs, the absence of educational facilities was raised repeatedly. Ten percent of respondents gave as their reason for disliking life in Canaan the absence of educational facilities. This absence has led to the break up of many families and the separation of children from parental care and guidance. Whereas many informal dwellers have been prepared to put up with the absence of formal housing, tenure and water they have felt constrained to take action with regard to education by sending their children away or incurring costs they cannot afford on transport.

This indicates that access to education should be one of the prime factors to be considered when planning relocation. Access to education furthermore needs to be

available from the time of relocation. The needs of a relocated community will not be satisfied by the knowledge that a school has been planned for the area or even that its erection has been agreed to by the Department of Education and Training. Many years may elapse before such a school opens its doors and in the interim those relocating will either be forced to leave children of schoolgoing age behind or send them to school out of the area.

Persons relocated to an area where there are no schools will most probably first attempt to find a place for their children in the closest schools. These are likely to be full or overcrowded and any additional pressure put on the school will be resented by the old or established residents of the area. Where there is already tension between old and new settlers such an additional source of stress would be most unfortunate.

When estimating the educational needs of a community to be relocated, any calculation based on household size and structure should not neglect to take into account the fact that children of schoolgoing age may be absent from the community on account of the absence of educational facilities there. Their omission would result in an underestimation of the average household size and the number for whom schooling will be required.

Although an informal settlement with educational facilities would be the exception rather than the rule the 'racial isolation' of Canaan, which results in its being a considerable distance from any black schools in formal or upgraded townships or homeland areas, probably accounts for the high percentage of children of schoolgoing age currently not in school and the relatively low percentage of the surveyed population in the schoolgoing age group. It is not surprising that over 90% of respondents stated that they would insist on educational facilities being available from the start in any place to which they would agree to be moved so that those currently not in school might return to school, or indeed attend for the first time, and that those who had been forced to live apart from their families in order to attend school, might return.

Although an equally high percentage of respondents said they would insist on clinic facilities being available at any site to which they might be relocated educational facilities need to be viewed in a different light. Educational facilities unlike health services are not something that may be required on an emergency or occasional basis. They are either needed or not needed and where needed they are required on a permanent daily basis. Mobile units or personnel who visit an area from time to time have no place in an education system; facilities in a neighbouring area cannot be utilized as a hospital might in an emergency. Certain facilities will be required from day one on a permanent basis. If these cannot be supplied on a formal permanent basis they need to be supplied through emergency prefabricated buildings staffed by persons appointed outside of the normal staff allocation processes.

### **6.8 Shops**

There were at least three spaza shops in Canaan at the time of the survey. A number of hawkers also operated in the settlement. There were three stores very close in neighbouring Clare Estate. The nearest shopping complex was in Sydenham, 4 kilometres away.

Shopping practices appeared to be influenced by practicalities as much as price. Although the local spazas and Indian stores may have been more expensive than city stores for certain commodities persons had no choice but to use them at times. Thus almost all paraffin was bought locally whereas a quarter of respondents bought their candles at city stores. It was impractical to consider carting large quantities of heavy paraffin long distances whereas candles could be easily transported.

Almost all respondents reported shopping at spazas, local stores and city stores. The trend appeared to be to shop at spazas daily, local stores weekly and city stores slightly less often. Two thirds of respondents also bought from hawkers within Canaan. Over half the respondents reported 'shopping' at the dump. The dump was chiefly a source of building materials and fuel but a number of respondents also obtained food from the dump. The accessibility of the dump was mentioned on a number of occasions as an important advantage of living in Canaan and one whose loss they would feel strongly if they were forced to move away from it.

The spazas were chiefly a source of bread and milk. Respondents travelled to the city stores when possible to buy meat, groceries, household goods and clothes. Over half of the respondents stated that they obtained their building materials from the dump. The balance obtained them from hawkers (10.5%) or city stores (34.2%).

There were no public telephones in Canaan. Residents made use of telephones in the homes or stores of neighbours or travelled to a public phone. There was a public telephone in a store one kilometer from Canaan but a third of those who used public telephones seemed unaware of it and used a public phone 6 kilometres from Canaan. Ten percent of respondents said they used telephones at work when they needed to phone.

That residents found the absence of telephones in the community an inconvenience was apparent from their answers to various questions in the survey. For example a number of respondents referred to the availability of a telephone service when asked what they expected from a place they might be removed to or why they were prepared to move to a particular place.

## **6.9 Local Government**

Officially there is no local government in Canaan - there could not be under the legislation prevailing before the repeal of the Group Areas Acts, the Land Acts and various Local Authority Acts. A legal and formal local government authority for blacks could only be established on land set aside for Black settlement within the RSA or within the homelands.

The land forms part of an Indian Group Area within the boundaries of the Municipality of Durban and belongs to the Department of Transport. Although the Municipality has authority over blacks legally resident<sup>31</sup> within its boundaries and is made responsible for squatters within its boundaries by the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No. 52 of 1951, the same Act does not allow the Council to permit squatting except under very specific conditions. Furthermore the zoning of Clare Estate as Indian under the Group Areas Act makes the area the responsibility of the House of Delegates. Finally the Department of Transport as owner of the land is accountable for what happens on the land and does not have the authority to allow settlement on road reserve land.

However it is not the State or the Department of Transport, the Durban Corporation, the House of Delegates or the Indian Local Affairs Committee but the Natal Provincial Administration Department of Community Services, as the agent of the Department of Development Aid - the Department responsible for the administration of blacks in white areas - that appears to have assumed responsibility for the settlement. It has not assumed responsibility in a day to day capacity but by attempting to find a suitable relocation site and facilitate relocation<sup>32</sup>.

This leaves the community completely without services and without any authority to turn to supply them. A widespread feeling in the community is that the Durban Corporation is

responsible and accordingly a number of requests have been forwarded to the City Council and various of its Departments and they, in particular the City Health Department, have assumed authority in certain limited areas. Despite the fact that it considered the State ownership of the land to limit the powers of the local authority, the City Health Department, in recognition of the serious public health problems existing at the settlement, towards the end of 1990 investigated the possibility of supplying water to Canaan<sup>33</sup>. The reason for their refusal to do so was not clear. At the meeting on 12 September 1991 at the ECT, Councillor Corbett stated that the refusal to supply water, even on a temporary basis, was based on a report from the City Engineer to the Corporation to the effect that any open water supply would further undermine the unstable ground. Subsequent to the September 1991 meeting the Council agreed that water could be supplied from nearby fire hydrants. Their change in attitude is probably explained by the fact that by September 1991 it was openly accepted by all, that the community would move as soon as a suitable site was available, and that accordingly such a supply was undoubtedly a temporary response to an emergency situation. Earlier the corporation had arranged for a tip to be left at the site for refuse disposal. Despite its apparent attitude that the State was the responsible authority the City Health Department has on a couple of occasions monitored the health situation in the community.

That the situation is confused, and that the confusion allows matters that would normally be attended to by a local authority to remain unaddressed, is well illustrated by excerpts of an interview by the Black Sash of Mr Watterson, an ex-mayor of Durban who was at the time Chairman of the Management Committee, and by certain correspondence from the City Medical Officer of Health and the Community Services Branch of the Natal Provincial Administration. These all appear as Appendix A to this report. The City Council appears to be saying that it fears prosecution by one department of the state for allowing another department of the state to permit illegal settlement on its land and accordingly is not prepared to do anything which might be considered to condone the breach of the law by the Department of Transport. The fact that the land is owned by the state and not a private individual further seems to confuse the Council as to responsibility for the supply of services and control of the settlers. Throughout the activities, responses and correspondence of the various authorities concerned there is evidence of what Mr Watterson termed 'buck passing'.

#### **6.10 Civics and Committees**

In August 1990 when a notice was erected outside the settlement, eviction notices issued and removal seemed imminent, the first committee was formed in Canaan. Until that point there had been no organization in the community and households had lived as individual units dealing with their personal needs and problems on a day to day basis. There were no services in Canaan and, accepting that there was no one to approach to provide them, the settlers coped as well as they could on their own. The people in Canaan were generally unknown to one another. The majority had relocated to Canaan on account of violence and were understandably unwilling to become involved in any form of organization which would result in the airing of political affiliations which could lead to tensions in their new home. The threat of imminent removal forced the community, despite its desire for anonymity and non-involvement, to organize themselves to speak with one voice to the authorities. Five members of the Canaan community visited the Legal Resources Centre in August 1990 to obtain assistance in resisting eviction. They also visited the Black Sash Advice Office. Later that month a meeting was held and a committee under the chairmanship of Johnny Lantern Ndlovu was elected. He resigned as chairman in October and was replaced by Shadrack Ndaba.

The committee initially had three options - to fight to stay, to lead a land invasion or to find suitable alternate land on which they could settle legally. The origins of most of the community and their desire to maintain a low political profile meant that they did not seriously consider the second option. Acceptance of the professional opinion that the area was unsuited for low cost housing in that the costs of securing the land would make it suitable for middle or upper income housing only, led the community to abandon the first option. In the end, the only option was to seek security of tenure and an assurance that, wherever they went, they would not be under the threat of removal again.

Although a committee has existed in Canaan since August 1990, it has never really achieved the status of a civic. This could be for a number of reasons. Firstly, the majority of persons arrived in Canaan as a consequence of political violence at their previous place of residence and therefore wished at all costs to avoid political identification. One

of the reasons for relocating to an area classified as Indian under the Group Areas Act may have been the feeling that such an area was less likely to fall under the control of any black political grouping and therefore would be less likely to experience political violence.

No form of organization emerged until there was a threat of imminent removal. At that point a committee emerged to represent the interests of the settlers against the landowner, the Roads Department and the Durban Corporation. The committee however appeared to be at pains not to become associated with any political grouping. Once it became clear that removal was inevitable, even if it could be postponed, the role to be played by the committee became constrained.

The civic in an informal settlement normally has most of its energy consumed in trying to obtain security of title to land and houses and securing services for its members. Once the people of Canaan accepted that they would have to move the committee lost its prime task of obtaining secure title to their homes and the apparently imminent nature of their removal even made the need to press for services questionable. The committee's distinct lack of success in obtaining services further restricted the development of its credibility and ability to act as a unifying force in the community. Despite the urgent and universally expressed need for water they did not succeed in obtaining this for over a year - and then it was only supplied because all parties had agreed that the supply need only be temporary as the community would move as soon as a suitable location was available.

The very first meeting with the developer in August 1990 saw the committee agree to stop residents chopping down the gum trees for building poles and fuel, to prevent any further persons from building shacks in the area and to attempt to look for alternate land. Although they subsequently made several appeals to be allowed to remain from that early stage the rationale for the community coming together and electing representatives was already being undermined. Not only were the committee seen to be failing to stop the eviction but they were also seen to be being used to control the community without the community receiving any quid pro quo. The committee was asked to perform certain policing functions at the same time as it was denied any resources to meet the unquestioned needs of the community it represented with the result that its status in the community was undermined. It persuaded the people to desist from chopping down trees but was not given assistance to help meet the community's need for building materials and fuel. The ban on building required the committee to prevent people from erecting toilets at the same time as their requests for water and refuse removal were refused by the authorities. In a situation where alternative accommodation is simply not available those who had just established themselves on a piece of apparently vacant land were asked to prevent others from doing likewise. The Black Sash Report (Black Sash:1990) quotes a resident as saying: 'We agreed, but eventually it was not our place and we had no rights of telling people not to build. Because when we came here we didn't ask anyone .... can we build, can we do this, do that? Also it was people in need. It was people carrying babies with parcels on their heads so it was going to be very wrong of us doing that.'

The ban on further shack building in Canaan led inevitably to the situation where the leadership was tempted into selling the sites and houses of people who for one reason or another left the community. This in turn led to charges of corruption and claims that people were intimidated into departing from Canaan and their homes subsequently sold for the profit of the Chairman.

The settlers of Canaan who had previously lead private and individualistic lifestyles originally united and elected representatives because of one particular issue about which

they all agreed. Their very existence was under threat and all were at one in their desire to resist eviction. This led to the residents of Canaan being viewed as **a community** whose interests coincided and which could be represented by a committee adopting a unified approach. When subsequently it was accepted that eviction was inevitable and the concern of the community shifted to considering the area to which they might be removed and the circumstances under which they were prepared to accept removal, the initial united attitude of the community led to an automatic expectation that there would be one answer to these questions for the entire community. This presumption did not allow for the very varied interests and views of individual households and led inevitably to the development of tensions in the community. A community which had come together for a multiplicity of reasons could not reasonably be expected to adopt a unanimous view on an area to relocate to and the type of housing which would be acceptable. While proximity to the workplace might be important to one, availability of health or educational services might be crucial to another. While some might be concerned only with security of tenure others might be in a position to find the level of service delivery or quality of housing relevant. The role of the committee became far more difficult and involved. Its structures were not sufficiently well developed to handle the varied interests of different households. Whereas it had been relatively easy to develop civic cohesion when fighting to retain certain rights and upgrade others it became a source of tension and division when what had to be agreed upon was which rights the community was prepared to accept as a substitute for existing rights.

Whereas the original threat to the people of Canaan led to the uniting of a peaceful community and the election of a committee which quickly grew in stature and credibility and was in a position to negotiate on behalf of the entire community, the change in the nature of the task of the leadership, and the use of the committee's credibility as a control mechanism by the authorities at the same time as they (the authorities) denied the committee the resources they needed to retain their credibility, has undermined the committee and introduced tensions into the community. Chairmen and committee members have been replaced; suspicion and fear have replaced respect and authority. The authorities may have succeeded in resisting the demands of the community but in so doing they have removed the credibility of the leadership and they no longer have access to accepted representatives with whom they can negotiate. Canaan which appeared well on the way to developing a strong civic authority is weak, divided and unable either to press its own demands or react to those of the authorities.

## 7.0 WHERE TO?

The Durban City Council, the Department of Transport, the NPA, the developer and 95% of Canaan residents accept that they will have to move away from Canaan. The questions that remain unanswered are where, when and under what circumstances.

The original eviction orders gave the residents of Canaan two months in which to remove themselves or face the demolition of their shacks. No mention was made of where the people should move to. Since that date (August 1990) the Department of Transport has agreed that they will not be involved in any forced removals and that no one will be required to move until an area in which they can legally settle has been identified. The people of Canaan themselves have asked that the place to which they are removed should be one in which their security of tenure is unassailable and that it should preferably be close to their present situation or at least within the DFR. The Durban Corporation is insistent that there are no suitable areas within the Durban municipal boundaries and has rejected all the suggested sites put to it by the Canaan community or persons acting on their behalf.

At a meeting in October 1990 between the Canaan committee and the authorities to discuss the eviction order, the NPA raised the possibility of relocation to the Mariannhill



area where they were involved in the development of a large number of residential sites in Savannah Park. The Canaan representatives at the meeting immediately rejected the suggestion on the grounds of distance from the city centre and the work place and the prevalence of violence in the area, but nevertheless agreed to put the suggestion to the community. The community, at a meeting held later in October rejected the suggestion on the above grounds.

In November 1990 the community, in view of the rejection of all proposed alternative sites within the municipal boundaries of Durban by the City Council and their own rejection of Savannah Park, commissioned a geotechnical report on the feasibility of developing Canaan for low cost housing. The report received in December 1990 stated that such a development would not be economically viable owing to the high costs of stabilizing the land.

In December 1990, in recognition of the community's reluctance to move to Savannah Park, the Directorate of Planning wrote to the Minister of Transport suggesting that they be removed to a transit camp in Released Area 33 in Inanda. This suggestion was never put to the people of Canaan and was not taken any further.

In July 1990 the Pinetown Municipality assumed responsibility on an agency basis for the development and administration of Savannah Park when they took over the entire Greater Mariannhill area from the NPA. In November 1990 the NPA asked Pinetown Municipality whether they could assist in relocating the people of Canaan into the Pinetown area. Pinetown Municipality responded by saying they would be prepared to consider relocating the people of Canaan into the Savannah Park development provided both the people of Canaan and the St. Wendolins community (for whom the sites in Savannah Park were originally intended) agreed. The NPA paid over R870 000 to the Pinetown Municipality to help meet the costs of developing the sites at Savannah Park. The money had been supplied by the Department of Transport which having looked at all the options decided that Savannah Park was the only possible relocation site for the people on its land at Canaan.

The Canaan Committee attended a meeting in January 1991 with the Pinetown Municipality and the Greater Mariannhill Co-ordinating Committee at which the possible relocation of the Canaan community to Savannah Park was discussed. Subsequent to the meeting rumours of opposition to the proposal from the St. Wendolins community circulated and when no further information or proposals were forthcoming from the authorities the Canaan Community wrote to the NPA in March 1991 requesting that they look for alternative sites in view of the lack of progress with regard to Savannah Park.

No further developments took place until a meeting was set up by the Pinetown Municipality for 1 June 1991 to again consider the proposed relocation to Savannah Park. The Canaan community held a meeting on 31.5.91 to prepare for the meeting in Pinetown and certain conditions and questions were raised. The chief concern of the Canaan residents was the attitude of the people of St. Wendolins to their relocation there and whether there were adequate sites to meet the needs of both communities. They further made it clear that they would not be prepared to move until all necessary services were installed in Savannah Park and, in view of the fact that Crystal Consultants (the local representative of the developer and the Department of Transport) had indicated that the move would take place in June, questioned whether this was the case.

At the meeting on 1.6.91 it was reported that the St. Wendolins community was prepared in principle to consider the relocation of Canaan to Savannah Park provided their own people were given preference. The development planned for 2400 sites of which it appeared that St. Wendolins required 2000. The chairman of the Canaan committee

requested that the people of Canaan should be allowed to view the area and meet with the people of St. Wendolins.

The NPA arranged for the Canaan Committee to view the development in July. They reported back favourably to the community but appear to have been under the illusion that houses, and not merely serviced sites, were to be supplied. When the committee subsequently met with the St. Wendolins Committee it became apparent that the latter were opposed to the move. This made the Canaan community reluctant even to consider the proposal as they had no wish to go where they were not wanted, particularly in view of the violence so many of them had experienced at their previous place of residence.

When again nothing further was heard from the authorities involved the Canaan community called a meeting of all interested parties on 12.9.91. They stated that they agreed that they had to move but wished to be told where they had the option of moving to. No one from St. Wendolins attended the meeting and the Pinetown Municipality said it was unable to participate any further due to the opposition to the proposed move to Savannah Park as expressed by Protas Madladla on behalf of the St. Wendolins community. Councillor Corbett undertook to contact the Mayor of Pinetown to request him to reconsider the proposal and to investigate whether the Durban City Council Regional Development Fund could not provide the money necessary to allow for the immediate development of all sites at Savannah Park so that both the people of Canaan and St. Wendolins could be accommodated in the near future.

A meeting was called on 30.10.91 by the Pinetown Municipality to discuss the proposal. The St. Wendolins delegation walked out of the meeting saying they had been brought there under false pretences. No further developments took place during 1991.

In January 1992 a meeting was called with the purpose of setting up a committee under the chairmanship of Archbishop Hurley to resolve the differences between Protas Madladla and the St. Wendolin's Committee and the people of Canaan.

When the NPA took over responsibility for the black development area of Mariannahill from the Development Board it planned 2400 sites for Savannah Park 2 & 3 and started putting in the infrastructure with funds from the National Housing Fund. In July 1990 Pinetown Municipality took responsibility for the administration and development of the area. The NPA continues to fund the development of the area.

Over time the plans for Savannah Park have changed - the sites have been reduced to 300 sq.m. and the level of services lowered. Only the main road will be tarred; the balance of the roads will be gravel and where the land is very steep there will be pedestrian access only; there will be minimum storm water drainage; water standpipes will be placed at 200m intervals (each one serving approximately 120 sites); the basic structure (slab, pit and pedestal) of a pit latrine will be provided; there will be street lighting and the potential for domestic electrical supplies through the card system; refuse will be removed once a week. It is estimated that the cost of the sites will be R6500 and that rates will be in the region of R25 per month.

Three hundred sites should be available by the end of 1991 and a further 700 by mid-1992. Funding the development has proved difficult and prevented putting the entire plan into effect at once. The Department of Transport paid R850 000<sup>33</sup> to the NPA to give to Pinetown Municipality to enable them to proceed immediately with the development of sites to accommodate the people of Canaan. The Pinetown Municipality has applied to the IDT for funding for the development of 1000 sites under the R7500 housing scheme. The IDT has agreed in principle but their requirement that

the development be administered through a community trust could prove a stumbling block as no 'community' exists as yet.

The survey asked respondents a number of questions with regard to relocation. They were asked what type of area they would like to move to, under what conditions they were prepared to move, whether they were prepared to move to specific areas, why they chose particular places, and whether the entire community should be moved as one and be offered the same level of housing and service. At the time the survey was conducted the community was aware that sites were being developed at Savannah Park and that a number of proposals had been made for the development of low cost housing or site and service schemes at Cato Manor. Two weeks before the survey the Canaan committee had visited Savannah Park and reported back favourably to the community. The respondents' knowledge of possible developments in Savannah Park and Cato Manor undoubtedly influenced their answers - so that their mentioning those places or others like them as an option for relocation should not necessarily be considered spontaneous or first choice but more a preparedness to accept a possibility. In determining whether they were prepared to move somewhere it was evidently important to respondents whether they 'knew' the area or not. Respondents on a number of occasions gave as the reason for being prepared to move to an area the fact that they 'knew it' (indeed some had been born in the area (Cato Manor), or removed from it in the first place), or that they 'did not know the area' as the reason they were not prepared to move there. Behind this attitude can be detected the fear of encountering violence in the new area particularly when one does not know the people there or what their attitude to newcomers might be.

When asked where they would prefer to relocate to 46.2% opted for an upgraded rural area; 29.1% a large city and 15.4% a newly created township. 3.7% nominated an existing township. When asked to specifically name the place they would consider moving to 41.8% nominated Savannah Park, 37.6% Cato Manor and 8.5% either Cato Manor or Savannah Park. 3% nominated Umlazi. When asked specifically whether they were prepared to move to Savannah Park or Cato Manor the positive answers received increased the percentage for Savannah Park to 61.9% and Cato Manor to 70.3%.

The reasons given for selecting a particular place for relocation were chiefly related to proximity to work or transport to work. The second most important reason was that one would be able to obtain security of title to land or a house in the nominated area. Thereafter factors considered important were that houses were available, serviced houses were available, good quality houses were available or the place was well developed. In specific terms people referred to electricity, access to hospitals, telephones etc.

It is interesting that more people should have been prepared to move to Cato Manor than to Savannah Park as at the time it was generally thought that developed sites and houses would be available at Savannah Park, whereas no such rumours were circulating about Cato Manor and respondents presumably expected to have to build their own houses there. However the preference for Cato Manor would be consistent with the choice of an area according to its proximity to work or transport to work. Over 80% of respondents said they would not have to give up their jobs if they moved to Savannah Park but presumably they were aware that far greater travelling time and cost would be involved than if they were resident in Cato Manor. Some respondents specifically stated that they were not prepared to move to Savannah Park because it was too far from Durban or too far from the workplace.

Although respondents had differing views with regard to the standard of housing and servicing they required at the place of relocation they were almost unanimous in their

insistence on health and educational facilities. 96% of respondents saw a school and 95% health facilities. Just over half the respondents only be prepared to move if houses were provided. The balance were if various combinations of sites, individual water supplies, roads and provided. The strongest emphasis was placed upon the supply of water.

The very different needs and aspirations of the 429 households of Canaan in the answers to the questionnaire raise the question as to whether it is or indeed possible that **one** 'solution' be found to the housing need of Canaan. Do not the varying interests and incomes of households require options be made available to the community? Although most (88.4%) felt that the community should be moved as one they felt they should be regarded to whether they owned or rented the house to which they moved or price; the size and cost of a site and the level and cost of services. It is possible to offer this limited range of choices, let alone allow for differences in other areas, if the community is moved as one. The Canaan community came into existence as a response to a demand for a particular type of accommodation. Is it reasonable to expect the committee to extract unanimity from the community on the issue of removal? Will an attempt to do so not introduce dangerous divisions into the community? Would it make a difference to the people of St. Wendens if they were asked to admit individuals rather than the community into their already existing communities.

## 8.0 CONCLUSION

The overriding impression that emerges from a review of the situation in Canaan is of a disenfranchised community powerless to take action to secure certain basic rights for itself, and a multiplicity of authorities who, although confident that the community concerned has no rights, are not at all sure who, if anyone, has any responsibilities towards them. It is a community living in extremely poor circumstances with an almost total lack of access to basic services and with half of the households having incomes below subsistence level.

Despite the facts that over 90% of household heads relocated from within the DFR and that heads had lived in the DFR for periods ranging from one to 56 years two thirds still had rural homes. Their insecurity and unsatisfactory lifestyles in the urban areas had forced them to maintain their rural homes as a backstop to their insecure urban accommodation, as a place for retirement or to provide the accommodation and services required by their dependents which were not available in the urban areas where they were forced to reside in order to obtain employment.

The residents of Canaan were very aware that the one asset they had was their employment. When asked what factors were important in determining the acceptability of a site for relocation, respondents gave priority to the demand that their employment should not be placed in jeopardy when they were removed. Much as they were aware that their lack of legal tenure was the source of their immediate problems, by placing the need for secure legal tenure behind the need for maintaining employment, they made it clear that they were aware that without the necessary income they would be unable to secure either tenure, accommodation or services. Their relatively low levels of unemployment no doubt explain why they placed the need for services (such as water, clinics and schools) above that for **employment opportunities**, but their appreciation of their existing jobs and the fact that they resided closer to the workplace than they had ever before (and accordingly incurred low transport costs) made them place the security of those **existing jobs and their proximity** first in their demands. Significant numbers of Canaan residents were employed in Canaan and the surrounding areas. They tended to be low wage earners and their low or non-existent transport costs were of value to them.

Respondents' experiences in Canaan with regard to the absence of services made them able to express clearly their insistence on the immediate provision of basic services in any place to which they might be removed. The absence of services was the source of the strongest felt need in the settlement. Whether respondents were being asked about their aspirations, their basic needs, what they liked/disliked about Canaan, what they expected/desired of any area to which they might be removed they referred time and time again to the total absence of services in the area. Almost half (47.7%) of respondents gave the absence of services as the reason they disliked living in Canaan.

In view of the very high (over ninety) percentage of persons who said they would insist on the availability of schools and health facilities before agreeing to be removed to a particular place it is alarming that such facilities are unlikely to be available wherever the people of Canaan are removed. Such amenities appear to be so crucial to the successful relocation of communities that all necessary steps should be taken to ensure that they are available from the earliest arrival of the settlers. It is not sufficient that sites have been allocated in a site and service development for schools or even that the Department of Education and Training has been notified that schools will be required. Similarly where schemes such as the IDT 'R7500 Scheme' operate instead of leaving it to the new 'community' to motivate the school or to the planners to put in a request (which would under normal circumstances not be met for a number of years), a requirement of the granting of the loans might be that schools (along with other essential

services) should be available in an area before loans will be granted. Negotiations with the relevant education departments to provide temporary or emergency facilities in such circumstances might do much to improve the success of settlement schemes. The good relations of such communities with their new neighbours will to a large extent be dependent on the 'immigrants' not worsening the position of those long established in the area. Where the new settlers are without schools and other services this would be inevitable.

The absence of so many children of schoolgoing age in Canaan indicates that many people will not bring their children to join them in an area where there are no schools. This disruption of family life is another factor necessitating the provision of public facilities early in any such development.

The abnormal household structure of the majority of Canaan households needs to be taken into account when assessing the requirements of the community. Although the average household had 3.6 members, most had dependents who were living elsewhere. The majority of these dependents were children of schoolgoing age. There were in addition very few old people living in Canaan. It may be presumed that these dependents would join their families if adequate accommodation, security and educational and health facilities were available. Accordingly plans should be made for households which are larger than the Canaan average of 3.6 persons. The failure to make allowance for the fact that many households are supporting persons elsewhere through remittances will lead to attributing a higher income to these households than is in fact available to them.

Although the needs and desires of the community may be established from the survey it remains to be established what they can afford, what can be supplied and where land and accommodation can be made available.

Ninety nine percent of Canaan residents pay no rent. There are no rates so that currently (apart from the recent expenditure on water) their only housing costs have been for building materials and labour. Households in Canaan had spent an average of R296 on their houses. Some households had reduced their costs by making use of materials from their previous house, and others by making use of free materials from the dump. There appeared to be some correlation between the amount spent on housing and household income. In response to various questions some respondents referred to the absence of rent in Canaan as an advantage and others to the proximity of the dump in a similar vein. It must be presumed that if they were to obtain secure tenure the residents of Canaan would wish to erect more substantial houses in any new development than they had in Canaan. Building materials and labour would therefore be likely to consume a larger share of their incomes than they had in Canaan. Pinetown municipality had estimated that the rates in Savannah Park would be approximately R25 per month at the lowest level at which they are prepared to provide services. The HSL as calculated for the Durban area by UPE allows R18.94 for rent. Over half of the households in Canaan had incomes below the HSL and would therefore be unable to meet this cost without making sacrifices from other areas of expenditure. It should also be pointed out that the HSL makes no allowance for building materials or labour which all those removed to a site and service scheme would inevitably be incurring.

It is interesting to compare this survey with that conducted one year earlier (Ardington: 1991(1)) with respect to the expressed needs and aspirations of respondents. In mid-1990 respondents seemed overwhelmingly concerned with peace and the need for secure tenure and adequate housing. With the majority of residents having recently arrived on account of political violence at their previous place of residence many respondents viewed the peace prevailing at Canaan as its most important asset. The

second most commonly expressed desire was for security of tenure and more adequate housing. A year later with Canaan having experienced some violence and political tensions of its own, and with the experience of violence in the previous place of residence having receded further into history, respondents spoke less of peace at Canaan - either as an asset or a need<sup>34</sup>. They also did not appear as concerned with security of tenure - presumably because there was no longer any doubt about the illegality of their situation at Canaan. By mid-1991 ninety five percent of respondents accepted that they would have to move in time - but, with the time of removal apparently having been pushed far out, residents had become far more concerned with the absence of services in the settlement. Half the respondents expressed a desire for access to clean water, preferably piped into the house. By comparison the desire for home ownership was expressed by only 27.2% of respondents in 1991<sup>35</sup>. Most of the other needs expressed by respondents also related to services - they expressed the need for improved sanitation, electricity, refuse disposal and telephones. The feeling that the Durban Corporation could not agree to the supply of water, even on a temporary basis, without granting a semblance of legality to the community no longer appeared an adequate reason for the unnecessary hardship the community was experiencing with regard to water. Similarly the fact that there was agreement that the community could stay until alternate sites were found would appear to be behind the view that their existence should be recognized by the authorities and necessary services supplied - if only on a mobile basis. The need for a mobile health service was high on the list of priorities. The fact that the need for schools was expressed less often than that for clinics probably implies recognition that educational services are more difficult to supply on a mobile temporary basis than for example health services, and not that the community did not feel a need for locally situated schools.

The inability of the authorities to resolve the housing crisis of the Canaan community has led to the transformation of a peaceful, tolerant community with some level of optimism about their life chances into a tense and insecure community with problems that appear intractable. 'Like the rest of the 1,7 million shack dwellers in the Durban Functional Region (Leadership, June 1990), like the rest of the 55,000 people who have been displaced by the Natal war in the past 5 years (Daily News 23/01/91), their need highlights the utter lack of a coherent urbanization policy which even begins to address the reality of homelessness in this region.' (Black Sash:1990)

## END NOTES

- 1 According to the preliminary figures from the 1991 Population Census the population of the DFR is approaching of three million.
- 2 A study done for the Urban Foundation in 1985 (Mansfield 1985:29) shows the number of informal dwellers to have varied as follows: 1940s - 100 000; 1950s & 1960s - 50 000; 1971 - 250 000; 1979 - 750 000+; 1983 1 260 000.
- 3 The state built its last houses in Umlazi in 1977.
- 4 The fall in both informal and formal township house occupancy rates indicates that people have dealt with overcrowding by moving out of the houses or rooms they rented. In some cases whole families, or parts of families, have moved out into an informal dwelling; in others an individual has moved out so that he may be joined by his family for whom there was no room in his previous accommodation. In the latter case the family members are likely to be new arrivals from the rural areas.
- 5 The ban on further shack erection or extension of existing shacks was reiterated at every meeting with the authorities. It was part of the job description of Crystal Security to enforce the ban on behalf of the property developer and the then owner, the Department of Transport. However in May 1991 permission to extend existing shacks by interior doors only was granted.
- 6 This probably underestimates the population as a number of shacks were serving as home to more than one household.
- 7 By the Department of Transport, the developer and the Durban Corporation on 7th August 1990.
- 8 In September 1990 and May 1991.
- 9 A letter to the Built Environment Support Group (which commissioned the opinion on behalf of the Canaan Community from the consulting engineers and engineering geologists) from Davies Lynn and Partners of 10.12.90 reads as follows:  
  
We write, following our recent assessment of the economic viability of stabilising the slope at the abovementioned site, for residential purposes.  
  
As conveyed to you at our meeting of 7th December 1990, it is clear that the existing ground conditions at the site are too unsatisfactory on which to develop any form of longterm dwelling.  
  
However it would appear that the immediate evacuation is not compulsory, as typical land features that are usually characteristic of short term instability in such a case, have not been identified. These include the development of vertical tension cracks at the top of the slope which would also have induced damage to the existing structures so placed.
- 10 See Appendix B
- 11 Not all respondents were asked why they had relocated to Canaan.
- 12 1985 Population Census
- 13 It is interesting to note that 90% of the scholars who were not living with their families in Canaan (an area in which the DET would theoretically be responsible for supplying education) were at KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture Schools.
- 14 1985 Population Census.
- 15 This settlement consisted of 233 shacks erected between late 1988 and early 1989 on vacant land within Section D Umlazi. It was surveyed by the Black Sash between October 1989 and June 1990.
- 16 See letter from Department of Community Affairs in Appendix A.
- 17 The percentage of female headed household in Canaan was lower than that found in the survey conducted in the informal settlement in Section D, Umlazi (Ardington:1990). In Umlazi as a whole 58% of the 20 - 59 age group was male but in the area surveyed 58% of the age group was female and 38% of the households were headed by females. It would appear that in Umlazi females



- were more likely than males to be unable to obtain adequate formal accommodation and to be forced into an informal settlement if they were to have a home of their own. The emergence of Canaan on the other hand was not a response to marginalized, resource-weak persons seeking accommodation, but the crisis accommodation of persons forced out of their previous homes by violence.
- 18 Ardington: 1990.
- 19 It was noted in Section 3.1 that two-thirds of the dependents of Canaan household heads who were living elsewhere were of schoolgoing age. Had they been living with their families in Durban these percentages would clearly have been higher.
- 20 DET enrollment figures for 1991 indicate that 73% of pupils were in primary school.
- 21 23.8% of this age group was employed.
- 22 NPA Letter: Appendix A.
- 23 All figures taken from Institute for Planning Research: The Household Subsistence Level in the Major Urban Centres of the Republic of South Africa: March 1991: University of Port Elizabeth. Fact Paper No.87.
- 24 Some respondents gave no figure for weekly expenditure on the various items mentioned not because they incurred no expenditure, but because as they had either 'no income' or no regular income, they only purchased when they had money and not because they needed certain items or purchased them on a regular basis.
- 25 The average expenditure of the 60% of respondents who incurred expenditure on water.
- 26 Conducted in September 1990 by third year Town Planning Students from the ML Sultan Technikon.
- 27 The records sum to more than 100% as in some structures more than one type of material was used.
- 28 Some claimed that as many as 16 people had been killed crossing the freeway.
- 29 At the ECT between the Canaan community and all the authorities involved.
- 30 With the exception of a pre-school started by the Women's Group and Church groups in 1991.
- 31 In general such could only be employees resident upon their employer's premises.
- 32 The Pinetown Municipality has also become an 'involved authority' in the Canaan case owing to the fact that it has assumed responsibility for the development of Savannah Park as agent of the Community Services Division of the NPA. Savannah Park has been suggested as a possible relocation site for Canaan.
- 33 Minutes of Meeting 15/1/1992
- 34 Although the peacefulness of Canaan may not have been rated its main asset in 1991 it was nevertheless an important factor in the lives of respondents. Over one third (37.2%) of respondents stated that the absence of violence was what they liked most about Canaan. Some related the absence of violence to the fact that Canaan was 'in town' and others to the absence of political organizations in the area.
- 35 A similar (29.3%) percentage gave as a reason for disliking living in Canaan the lack of security arising out of the fact that they were illegally in the area and could not obtain any form of secure tenure to their houses.

## DIARY

Early in August 1990 five people from Canaan went to the Natal Coastal Black Sash Advice Office having been referred there by the Legal Resources Centre (LRC). They had gone to the LRC because a notice had been erected outside the settlement declaring their occupation illegal. They had also received letters dated 7 August 1990 which they considered to be eviction notices. They were signed by Dr. L.J. Dobrovolsky for Siloette Investments (Pty.) Ltd. on behalf of the developer. The Canaan people requested help in fighting eviction. Following these meetings a committee was elected from the people of Canaan to fight their eviction. Johnny Lantern Ndlovu was elected the first chairman.

The committee and representatives of the LRC met with Dobrovolsky and agreed to stop the cutting of gum trees, prevent the erection of any further shacks and to look for alternate land.

In October 1990 Shadrack Ndaba replaced Johnny Lantern who had resigned as chairman. A community meeting of 6 October 1990 decided that they were not refusing to leave, but would insist on a suitable alternate site nearby. They were still eliciting help (from Black Sash among others) in resisting eviction.

As the Department of Transport had no office in Durban, it, as owner of the land at Canaan, employed Chrystal Consultants to control the illegal occupation. Miles Cunnison of Chrystal Consultants thus represented the current owners and the interests of the future developer.

Eviction notices were sent to all households telling them to leave area by 14.10.90. The letter was signed by The South African Roads Board, the Department of Transport, the City Council of Durban, Dr. L.J. Dobrovolsky and Siloette Investments (Pty) Ltd.

At a meeting on 12.10.90 in connection with proposed eviction on 14.10.90 Mckhenna undertook to investigate Kennedy Road as an alternate site. Mr. de Klerk of the NPA said that the NPA was developing a vast area in Mariannhill for urbanization and that as there was no land available in the Durban area on which to settle the people of Canaan Mariannhill should be considered as a relocation option. Immediately the Canaan representatives present at the meeting rejected the suggestion saying it was too far from their places of work and that there was too much violence there. As the majority of Canaan residents had relocated to Canaan on account of violence they did not wish to go to another area where they perceived the risk of violence to be high. They nevertheless said they would consult with the people of Canaan. This they did at a community meeting on 30.10.90 where the community confirmed that they were not in favour of relocation to Savannah Park on account of its distance and the perceived potential for violence. (At this stage everyone was talking of 522 houses. The community had lodged a list of household heads and numbers at the Black Sash.)

At the meeting on 12.10.90 Stephanie Miller was delegated to draw up a list of suitable vacant sites in Durban. She sent the list to the NPA and the Department of Transport on 16.10.90.

In November 1990 an independent geotechnical survey was commissioned by BESG and Black Sash for community who wished to investigate the possibility of developing Canaan for low cost housing. The report dated 10.12.90 found that such development would not be economically viable, that the land was indeed unstable and the residents in danger - although there was no need for them to move immediately.

In recognition of their reluctance to settle in Marianhill the Directorate of Planning suggested in a letter to the Minister of Transport that the possibility of setting up a transit camp in Released Area 33 Inanda should be considered. This suggestion was not put to the people of Canaan.

On 7.12.90 the NPA wrote to the Pinetown municipality in connection with the possibility of their making sites in Savannah Park available to the people of Canaan. They stated that the people in the adjoining communities should be consulted.

In December 1990 there were the first indications that houses were being sold in Canaan and that the people were not happy with Ndaba's leadership. There appeared to be conflict between the youth and Ndaba.

During December 1990 and January 1991 there were murders and complaints of corruption and harassment by Ndaba. The committee was dissolved but was re-elected. Ndaba promised to reform.

In January 1991 the Canaan committee attended a meeting with the Pinetown Municipality and the Greater Mariannhill Committee at which the possibility of moving to Savannah Park was discussed.

On 19.03.91 a letter was written to the NPA querying the progress re Savannah Park - saying if it was out of the question what consideration was being given to alternate pieces of land?

At an April 1991 Meeting at the LRC with Cunnison people were given permission to extend existing shacks but only by interior doors. Shabalala was said to have visited Canaan and bought a house.

In May 1991 affidavits re corruption and intimidation by Ndaba were lodged. Ndaba was confronted at meeting at LRC on 17.5.91 and was subsequently ousted as leader. Duma was selected as leader by the Women's Group. There was a fire at Ndaba's house and Ndaba and his family were chased out of Canaan.

On May 31 1991 there was a meeting of the new committee re the proposed meeting with Pinetown authorities.

On June 1 1991 a meeting was held with the Pinetown authorities and Canaan committee about the proposed move to Savannah Park. No representative of the St. Wendolins community was present. The Canaan committee was subsequently taken by NPA to see Savannah Park.

In June 1991 Ndaba laid a charge against Duma who was harassed by the police.

In July 1991 the Canaan and St. Wendolins Committees met. It was clear that St. Wendolin's plans for Savannah Park did not include Canaan.

In July 1991 three shacks were destroyed by fire and one child killed.

On September 12 1991 there was a meeting at ECT between Canaan and the authorities. Pinetown and St. Wendolins representatives were absent. Councillor Corbett agreed to look into the water supply to Canaan and the financing of relocation.

On September 17 1991 taps were installed on two hydrants at Canaan. 16 people were said to have died fetching water. A deposit was required for the water and households

were required to pay R3 per month for use of the taps. Very soon there were allegations that Duma who was collecting the money was robbing the public. It was suggested by some that the community should refuse to pay.

In September 1991 the Durban City Council voted R7.5 million towards resettling the people of Canaan.

On October 30 1991 a meeting between the committee and the authorities at Pinetown was held. St. Wendolin's representatives walked out saying they were brought there under false pretences.

In November 1991 Councillor Corbett told a group from St. Mary's church that there was no suitable land in Durban to which the community could be moved.

During December 1991 the opposition to Duma and threats to his life increased. Rumours that land transfer was about to occur increased uneasiness in the community.

On January 15 1991 a meeting was held on the instigation of various church groups which was attended by the Canaan community, church groups, NPA, Department of Transport, Pinetown Municipality, Chrystal Security, Black Sash etc. and Archbishop Hurley. No representative from St. Wendolins was present. The Archbishop was asked to act as a mediator between Protas Madladla and the St. Wendolins Community and the Canaan Community in an attempt to resolve the issue of who should be accommodated at the completed sites at Savannah Park.

Representatives. Now this is one of our big problems that I have been talking about. For example, in Cato Manor .... the House of Delegates. ... and prior to that the House of Assembly in Block AK. ... And now that (Block AK) is in the House of Representatives they are wanting to use it for a teachers' training college when we've already got more teachers' training college space available in Natal than we'll use in the next twenty years. This is the idiocy with which we are trying to achieve some modicum of forward progress. I don't know what one can do under those circumstances, but you need a regional authority that has power over the land of KwaZulu, over the land under the Province, over the land which is under the control of the various Houses of Assembly, Delegates and Representatives and which can give immediate approval for development. Now this is what we have not got.



Correspondence - City Medical Officer of Health 19.12.90

Durban Corp. MD 143

2443 DURBAN  
4600

TEL : 300-3911

FAX : "CITIELTH"

FAKS No. : (031) 300-3030

FAKSNR. : Ref: D/137  
16/10

City of



Stad

DURBAN

Enquiries - Navrae  
City Medical Officer  
of Health

CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT  
STADSGESONDHEIDSDIENST

9 OLD FORT PLACE  
OU FORTOORD 9  
DURBAN  
4001

1990-12-19

S. Ndaba : Chairperson of Canaan Committee  
R. Hotz : Black Sash Representative  
The Black Sash (Natal Coastal Region)  
27 Ecumenical Centre  
20 St. Andrews Street  
DURBAN  
4001

1990 12, 3 1,

Dear Sir

CANAAN SQUATTER SETTLEMENT

Further to my letter of 1990-12-11 to you, I wish to inform you that I have been advised that the local authority will not be installing a water supply to the above settlement.

It is recorded that the department's mobile clinic service was operating at this settlement on 1990-12-17.

Yours faithfully

C.A. Pieterse  
CITY MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH

c.c. Acting Associate Town Clerk  
DURBAN.

Your reference (0) JCR/9/7;  
(2) JR/6/1/3; and  
GR/9/7

MJJ/pf

Correspondence - NPA Community Services Branch 20.12.90

NATÄLSE PROVINSIALE  
ADMINISTRASIE



TAK GEMEENSKAPSDIENSTE  
DIREKTORAAT: BEHUISING EN  
MAATSKAPLIKE WELSYN

KARL EGGERS BULDING  
LAFDMARKSIRAKAI 118  
PIETERMARITZBURG

NATAL PROVINCIAL  
ADMINISTRATION

COMMUNITY SERVICES BRANCH  
DIRECTORATE: HOUSING AND  
SOCIAL WELFARE

KARL EGGERS BULDING  
15A LONGMARKET STREET  
PIETERMARITZBURG

Pensions Coordinator  
Black Sash (Natal Coastal Region)  
27 Ecumenical Centre  
20 St Andrew Street  
DURBAN  
4000

FRANSKAL  
TINYATI SAG  
3200E HAMARITZBURG X1724

NAWAF  
ENQUIRIES G Jessnitz

MOU  
SOUZIN  
EAT 8

VERWYDINGSNO  
REFERENCE NO Blak Sash.1

VERVAAGINGSNO  
YOUR REFERENCE NO Pensions  
20 December 1990

Dear Madam

REFUGEES AND SQUATTERS PENSIONS

Your letter dated 6 November 1990, refers.


The matter of pensions payable to refugees and squatters in the R.S.A. is that if they qualify in all other respects they may be paid a social pension.

There are however certain conditions that should be brought to the notice of the refugees and squatters.

If a pension was previously paid to such person, and he/she was a resident of KwaZulu, this must be mentioned when an application is made for a social pension. These applications will be clearly marked whereupon this office will, before approving the application, make enquiries with KwaZulu as to the status of the application from that department. If the pension is active, the application will be rejected, in which case the applicant concerned would have to go to the KwaZulu office where the pension is paid and request them to transfer the pension to this Administration.

Whenever an applicant approaches this office for a social pension, such an applicant will be issued with a declaration which will have to be completed as proof residency in the R.S.A. In the case of squatter camps, the signature of the spokesperson, and the spokesperson only, will be accepted.

Yours faithfully

  
DIRECTOR-GENERAL  
GJ/es



## **APPENDIX B**

### **Methodology**

At the request of the Canaan community as expressed through their committee a questionnaire to establish the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the community was developed. These details were required to enable them to present a substantiated case to the authorities with regard to their housing and other needs.

Interviews were conducted by three fieldworkers in June and July 1991. There was an attempt to interview all 429 households said to be in existence at the time. However only 359 interviews were completed. Some of the houses appeared to be non-existent, some unoccupied and the residents of others were never available despite attempts to find them at home at different times on different days of the week.

75% of the respondents were the heads of their households, a further 20% claimed to be the final instance decision makers and the remaining 5% were ordinary adult members of the household.

The information obtained from this survey was analysed and placed in the context of a previous survey and various forms of interaction with the community over the preceding two years. The first survey had been conducted by students of the M. L. Sultan Technikon; a video had been made by the Black Sash consisting of interviews with members of the community and the authorities involved; an investigation into the position of women and of access to fuel and water in community was conducted as part of a broader M.A. research project by Wendy Anneke from the University of Natal. The Black Sash (Natal Coastal), which became involved in August 1990 when the first eviction letters were received, continued to be involved in an advisory capacity and use was made of their file material relating to meetings and correspondence with the various authorities involved. Interviews were held with municipal authorities, town planners and community organisation leaders both in Canaan and in communities to which it was suggested that the residents of Canaan might be removed.

## REFERENCES

- Ardington E M: Clare Estate Shack Settlement, Working Notes, CSDS, University of Natal, 1991.
- Ardington E M: Durban's Pavement People, Working Notes, CSDS, University of Natal, 1991.
- Ardington E M: Survey of Umlazi's Section D Squatter Settlement, CSDS, University of Natal, 1990.
- Black Sash: Black Sash Advice Office Report Natal Coastal Region 1990.
- Black Sash: Taped Interviews for Video on Canaan, 1990.
- Central Statistical Services: Population Census 1985: Report No.01-85-04, Age by Statistical Region and District.
- City of Durban: City Health Department: Letters dated 11.12.90 and 19.12.90 to Chairperson of Canaan Committee.
- Davies Lynn and Partners: Letter dated 10.12.90 to Built Environment Support Group.
- Institute for Planning Research: The Household Subsistence Level in the Major Urban Centres of the Republic of South Africa: March 1991: University of Port Elizabeth, Fact Paper No.87.
- Mansfield P: Powerhouse or Poorhouse, Urban Foundation, 1985.
- Minutes of Meeting: January 15 1992, Ecumenical Centre, Durban.
- Natal Provincial Administration: Community Services Branch, Directorate: Housing and Social Welfare. Letter dated 20.12.90 to Pensions Coordinator Black Sash.
- Statistical News Release: PO 301. 1991 Population Census Preliminary Results 28.8.91.
- Urban Foundation: Urban Debate 2000, No 10. Informal Housing Part 1: The Current Situation, August 1991.

This work is licensed under a  
Creative Commons  
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:  
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>