BUILDING HOUSES OR CREATING HOMES: HOUSING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN PORT ELIZABETH, SOUTH AFRICA

By

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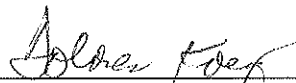of American University

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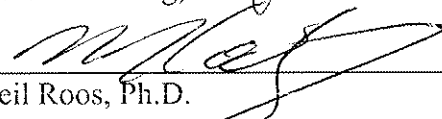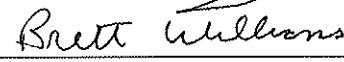the Requirements for the Degree of
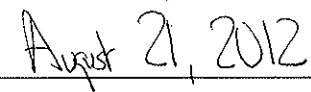
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the impact of government housing projects on the poor in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. The research explores whether the participation and involvement in housing development projects lead to a greater quality of life for the poor and help them with greater access to jobs, quality housing, services, and community. It also addresses how the beneficiaries of housing development projects participated within the projects and analyzes the benefits and drawbacks of housing development programs in meeting the needs of the poor. The research uses theoretical concepts such as poverty, housing, quality of life, and community to contextualize and to explain the situation for the poor and their need for shelter, employment, and services.

This dissertation is based on ethnographic research conducted on beneficiary poor populations directly affected by housing development projects in the city of Port Elizabeth in South Africa from October 2005 to June 2006. The development projects used for the research were the Sakhasonke housing subsidy project in Port Elizabeth's Walmer Township and the township of Wells Estate, a resettlement community.

Some of the main findings from the research were: 1) receiving quality housing had a significant impact on the quality of life of the residents and they were pleased with the type of housing they received compared to their previous residence, yet their access to jobs and income was still a main concern; 2) Sakhasonke residents communicated more frequently with project developers and management compared to the people of Wells Estate, which led to the

Sakhasonke residents having greater understanding of how the project would impact their quality of life; and 3) community and social trust decreased for the people of Wells Estate after they moved to their new homes compared to what they experienced in the their former residences, which leads to further discussion of how new housing can have a significant impact on beneficiaries' ability to develop a sense of community and a greater quality of life.

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I want to thank the National Security Education Program for providing the funding that allowed me to conduct fieldwork in South Africa from 2005 to 2006. I also want to thank the officials, developers and scholars that I talked with in South Africa for taking the time to meet and talk with me about housing development in the country. I also thank the people of the Urban Service Group in Port Elizabeth, especially Clive Felix, who gave me such invaluable support and assistance during my time in South Africa. Most importantly, I thank the wonderful people of Sakhasonke, Wells Estate and the people of the non-participant group for allowing me into their homes and lives for almost a year. Without their support and willingness to work with me, this research would not have been possible. I give a big thank you to my key informant and her wonderful mother; their kindness and willingness to be the first to work with me was the initial spark to this research. I will always be grateful.

There are many friends that have traveled with me during this journey. I thank my dear friends Christine Boyd, Michelle Carnes, Rebecca Frischkorn, Malinda Rhone, Eleanor Makumbe, Ariana Curtis, and Arvenita Washington who have listened to my cries, wiped my tears and gave me such wonderful encouragement when I needed it over the years. Thank you to all my friends, near and far. Your support meant the world to me and helped me get through the

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC……………………………………………………………African National Congress

AIDS………………………………………………….Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

CDC…………………………………………………………..Coega Development Corporation

GNU…………………………………………………………..Government of National Unity

GEAR…………………………………………….Growth, Employment and Redistribution Program

GDP…………………………………………………..……………..Gross Domestic Product

HIV…………………………………………………………Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HDI……………………………………………………………..……..Human Development Index

IDZ…………………………………………………………...Coega Industrial Development Zone

IDP……………………………………………………………..Integrated Development Plan

IFP………………………………………………………………….Inkatha Freedom Party

NGO……………………………………………………...…………...Non-Governmental Organization

NHF…………………………………………………………………National Housing Forum

NP……………………………………………………………………………...National Party

NMMM…………………………………………………Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality

NMMU…………………………………………………Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

NURCHA…………………………………………National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency

PHP………………………………………………………………..People's Housing Process

PE……………………………………………………………………………….Port Elizabeth

QoL…………………………………………………………………………Quality of Life

RDP…………………………………………………...Reconstruction and Development Program

SA……………………………………………………………………….South Africa

SACP……………………………………………………….…South African Communist Party

CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN

HOUSING AND POVERTY DILEMMA

Access to housing is one of the basic necessities for maintaining a sustainable life.

Housing is one of "the first needs of vulnerable populations following natural and man-made

disasters" (Kissick et al. 2006:2). Housing is also a global concern and dilemma, as

international organizations and national governments attempt to develop programs that would

provide adequate shelter to those in need, primarily the poor. Yet for millions of poor people,

housing does not just provide shelter; rather, housing also helps to establish a foundation for

sustainable livelihoods that includes jobs, economic and social rights, access to services and

facilities, food security, and access to education. In this sense, housing helps create a better

standard of living.

South Africa is a good example of how larger housing development issues are played out

on the ground, in light of the country's apartheid legacy and contemporary economic challenges.

The country has become a major player within the international community as one of the most

prosperous economies of the southern African region and the African continent. The post-

apartheid government has used this leading, progressive role and its emerging position in the

global market to push domestic development agendas geared to help the poor through housing

and economic programs.

However, despite development strategies from the government since the end of apartheid

in 1994, housing, employment, health care, and infrastructure are still major concerns for many

South Africans. Many poor black South Africans, primarily in the Eastern Cape and the

Northern Provinces, still live in peripheral, marginal locations without adequate shelter and

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running water. Many of the poor do not have secure sources of income or formal employment and insufficient access to waste disposal facilities, communication, and transportation.

The South African government has tried to address these issues by providing and supporting housing development projects for the poor, but it has been a challenge. Found in the project development language of these housing initiatives are phrases such as "helping the poor achieve a greater quality of life," or "providing beneficiaries with an improvement in their quality of life" (South African Department of Housing 1997). What does it mean when housing officials and developers say they want to increase the quality of life of the poor? For many people who live in poverty, having a house is only part of the problem of sustaining a better life. The poor also want greater access to services, access to income or jobs, and the ability to afford and purchase what they need, as well as a sense of community and security.

Thus, this dissertation will analyze whether the participation and involvement in housing development projects leads to a greater quality of life for the poor and provides them with greater access to jobs, quality housing, services, and community. It will also examine how the beneficiaries of housing development projects participated within the projects and will analyze the benefits and drawbacks of housing development programs in meeting the needs of the poor. The research uses existing concepts such as poverty, housing, quality of life, and community to contextualize and to explain the situation for the poor and their need for shelter, employment, and services.

This dissertation is based on ethnographic research conducted on beneficiary poor populations directly affected by housing development projects in the city of Port Elizabeth in South Africa from October 2005 to June 2006. The development projects used for the research were the Sakhasonke housing subsidy project in Port Elizabeth's Walmer Township and the

newly created township of Wells Estate, a resettlement community impacted by the Coega Development Project. In each of these sites, I examined the populations affected by these projects by creating an ethnographic sample of twenty beneficiaries. I also generated a sample of 20 individuals not impacted by the two housing projects. Consequently, the total number of people I interviewed was 60.

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Addressing the Problem: Housing
and Poverty in South Africa
</div>

Julian May defined poverty in South Africa as "the inability of individuals, households or entire communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard to living" (2000:5). Despite its many accomplishments, post-apartheid South Africa still has a large majority of people living in poverty. Meeting the challenges of poverty for millions of disadvantaged people has been a primary concern of the South African government since the end of apartheid. In its attempt to eradicate poverty, South Africa developed one of the most progressive constitutions in the world. The constitution guarantees socio-economic rights, which include access to housing, health care, food, water, social security, and education (South African Government 2004). However, securing these rights for millions of poor people has been a major challenge for the post-apartheid government in its attempt at poverty alleviation.

The country also maintains a racial and spatial segregation that originated in the apartheid era, which contributes to the current poverty dilemma. The passing of segregational policies during the apartheid era, such as the Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1966, controlled the movement of black South Africans into the cities and created designated rural and urban areas for the different ethnic groups. This only served to perpetuate poverty for black South Africans. Rural "homelands" and peripheral black townships were set aside for Africans, while simultaneously denying them full economic and political rights to participate in the South

African economy (Goodlad 1996).[1] As many black South Africans migrated to the cities in search of employment opportunities, there was an increase in informal settlements and housing, as well as a lack of accommodations in the townships for them. Poor black South Africans with no access to formal housing lived in informal settlements without formal planning or official recognition. Informal settlements can be still found in peripheral and marginal locations in the country.

The current challenge of housing the poor can be viewed as a direct result of former apartheid policy. The apartheid government used housing as the clearest and most direct way of separating the racial groups in the country. By assigning separate townships and areas for the Black Africans, the apartheid government was able to control their access to entry to industrial, factory, or domestic jobs in the cities. After the government passed official apartheid legislation in 1948, separate housing for black Africans was one of the first concerns used to proactively implement apartheid policy. The government forcibly relocated Black Africans from the limits of major cities to outlying areas far from city centers and major highways.

One example of the effects of the apartheid government's housing policies is in the former Transkei in the Eastern Cape.[2] Substandard houses characterized these communities, which were located miles from major roads and highways, thus far from municipal and provincial agencies and the services they provided. People in these housing areas had to rely on sharing their resources and building community trust in order to survive, unless someone in the family decided to leave to find migrant work in the cities or mining towns. The apartheid government created housing areas such as these and the black townships of Soweto in

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[1] Townships were designed during the apartheid era as racially-designated areas for black South Africans.

[2] The Transkei was one of several African tribal rural areas, or homelands, that the apartheid government created to segregate ethnic groups from one another and to control their movement into urban areas.

Johannesburg, the Cape Flats in Cape Town, and Motherwell in Port Elizabeth as a means to control the number of blacks entering the cities.

Residential segregation and inequalities in the living and housing conditions of Africans during apartheid were important catalysts and focal points for the anti-apartheid movement of the 1970s and 1980s (Oakes 1995). Little attention was paid to creating a poverty alleviation strategy or national housing policy during these decades. It was not until the 1990s and the transition to a democratic society that housing became one of the primary concerns of the government. In 1994, the government assessed the housing situation in the country, and it estimated that over 1.7 million households (over seven million people), primarily black South Africans, were without adequate housing or living in informal settlements (Cheru 2001). These numbers pushed the government to create a comprehensive policy to address this housing shortfall.

<u>Government Housing Strategies</u>

As part of the post-apartheid government's housing plan, the government sought to provide housing for the majority of the population, which lacked adequate housing. The Department of Housing was responsible for creating housing policy, but other entities, such as private organizations, NGOs specializing in low-income housing projects, and commercial financial institutions, became the primary planners of housing for the poor (Cheru 2001). In 1997, the Department of Housing launched a national housing strategy called the Urban Development Framework, which outlined the government strategy for subsidized housing to help disadvantaged populations to access adequate shelter (South African Department of Housing 1997). This strategy was part of the government's overall mission to assist populations damaged by oppressive apartheid legislation, enabling them to make "residential and employment choices

to pursue their ideals" (South African Department of Housing 1997:iii). Since the passing of the Urban Development Framework in 1997, the Department of Housing has sought to implement programs designed to integrate cities through "sound urban planning, land, transport and environmental management critical to enhance the generative capacity and ease of access to socio-economic opportunities" (South African Department of Housing 1997:12) and correspondingly to contribute towards poverty alleviation and the reduction of urban inequalities.

As part of the national housing strategy, a housing subsidy program was created to focus primarily on awarding developers subsidies to build houses in pre-approved areas. However, many of these housing developers that built subsidized houses did not take into account whether they were creating access to income-generating opportunities for the beneficiaries, or whether social services and amenities were enhanced (Rust 2002b; Gear 1999). In addition, there was little consideration of whether the national housing strategy provided chances for micro-enterprises and other small businesses in the community. This was important in light of research that argued that the location of low-cost housing often resulted in marginality and lack of integration into the city and broader region, which in turn can contribute to the continuation of the urban social segregation (Tomlinson 1999b; Gear 1999; Rust 2002b). Furthermore, though the national housing strategy established in 1997 led to a greater number of people receiving housing, it only took into consideration the number of houses delivered and did not fully assess the progress of other less easily measured goals, such as quality of life and sustainable living environment (Gear 1999).

The apartheid legacy and geographic landscape, as well as the constraints in finance and housing delivery to the poor that were a result of the 1997 housing policy, pushed the post-apartheid government to readdress the issue of housing development for the poor. In 2004, the

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government published "Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements" which outlined plans for the creation of "sustainable housing communities" in the country for historically disadvantaged black South Africans (South African Department of Housing 2004). "Breaking New Ground" laid out the government belief that housing is a basic human right and everyone is entitled to affordable housing. Furthermore, this new approach to housing was aimed at mobilizing the combined resources, efforts, and initiative of communities and the private and public sectors. It aimed to do this through seven key strategies:

- Stabilizing the housing environment in order to ensure maximal benefit of state housing expenditure and mobilizing private sector investment;
- Facilitating the establishment or directly establishing a range of institutional, technical and logistical housing support mechanisms to enable communities to improve their housing circumstances on a continuous basis;
- Mobilizing private savings (whether individually or collectively) and housing credit at scale on a sustainable basis and simultaneously ensuring adequate protection for consumers;
- Providing subsidy assistance to disadvantaged individuals to assist them to gain access to housing;
- Rationalizing institutional capacities in the housing sector within a sustainable long-term institutional framework;
- Facilitating the speedy release and servicing of land;
- Coordinating and integrating public sector investment and intervention on a multi-functional basis (South African Department of Housing 2004).

South Africa's new housing policy came about through the assistance of a multi-organizational body called the National Housing Forum (NHF), which was created to establish a vehicle for negotiating "a new non-racial housing policy and strategy amongst key groups" (Tomlinson 1999a:137-138).   This forum was made up of political parties, the business community, the building industry, financial institutions, and development organizations. One of the reasons the NHF was created was to address the poor attention given to housing policy during the apartheid years, which laid the foundation of current housing crisis. The government's overall housing strategy also calls for housing delivery to contribute to the socio-economic development and environment of poor communities as well as the racial, economic, and spatial integration of South Africa.

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Why Housing is Important to the
South African Experience

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Housing is one of the most pressing development issues facing South Africa today. Since apartheid was implemented in the mid-twentieth century, housing has been seen as the "face" of apartheid policy and of post-apartheid reform. Given the history of apartheid, housing has been considered a priority in the post-apartheid government and as the most visible means of rectifying the wrongs of apartheid policy. One of the first priorities of the new South African government was to address the backlog of housing for disadvantaged Africans and to build new government housing for them.

Delving into the issue of housing in this research is a means to understanding whether apartheid policy still has an effect on people and their ability to better their lives. Housing is also a good measurement, both qualitatively and quantitatively, to determine the impact of apartheid on disadvantaged groups and whether their quality of life has improved.

Dissertation Overview

The dissertation examines the quality of life of participants in housing development programs. It looks at both access to housing and other indicators of poverty, including access to services, jobs, and community structures. As noted, it is based on research conducted in 2005 to 2006 in the city of Port Elizabeth, South Africa. It focuses on two projects: Sakhasonke Housing Development Community in Walmer Township and Wells Estate Township, a resettlement community.

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. The next chapter (Chapter 2) is a review of the literature on some of the relevant discussions surrounding the research, such as theoretical ideas on poverty, quality of life, housing development in developing and industrialized countries, and how these larger constructs play a role in the drive towards housing sustainability for the poor. How poverty is defined and measured will be explored in this chapter. The literature review also breaks down into subsections the indicators used to measure the quality of life of the people in the housing communities and the non-participant group. These are: 1) quality housing and infrastructure; 2) access to jobs; 3) access to services and amenities; 4) community development and social trust; and 5) beneficiary participation in development projects. The significance of these sections is to explore the discussions and literature on these indicators of quality of life, and why they are an important measurement for the poor in achieving a greater standard of living.

Chapter 3 gives a historical overview of South African housing and its apartheid legacy, which includes a historical review of the city of Port Elizabeth, as well as Walmer Township and Wells Estate, the two communities where I conducted ethnography with their residents. This chapter provides a look into the history of South Africa from its beginnings as a British colony through the apartheid era. An overview of the history of the country will give readers a greater

understanding of how housing policy was created in light of national apartheid policy and how black South Africans had to cope with housing segregation laws. I also discuss how the city of Port Elizabeth handled apartheid policies and how the laws impacted black South Africans living in the city. Lastly, the chapter will present the reader with the current demography of Port Elizabeth, including population and socio-economic statistics and how the city and its people are coping in the post-apartheid era.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology and research design I used in Port Elizabeth. In this chapter, I discuss my independent and dependent variables as well as break down the quality of life indicators that I used in the research. I also discuss the ethnographic and research techniques I used to gather data from the people and other sources in the field. The last part of the chapter will discuss my role as a participant-observer in the field and some of my motivations for conducting housing research in South Africa.

Chapter 5 delves into the characteristics and demography of the residents of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate, as well as the description of the people of the non-participant group. This chapter will also provide information about the people's previous living situation, including the type of housing they had before moving to their new homes and their previous access to jobs and services. This chapter aims to provide readers with a lens into the type of lives the people had before becoming beneficiaries of housing development projects.

Chapter 6 is one of two data chapters that will give the reader detailed discussions and accounts of the lives of the people, communities and households I worked with in Port Elizabeth. It describes how getting their new houses have impacted their quality of life. The first part of the chapter will specifically provide background information on the creation of the housing development projects of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate. I will then measure the participation

level of the residents with their housing projects and determine whether the beneficiaries had adequate communication between them and housing developers. The second part of the chapter will delve into specifics on the type of housing and access to infrastructure among the research groups.

Chapter 7 will analyze the people's access to jobs and services and address the impact of their new housing communities on their ability to access income-generating opportunities, non-infrastructural services, and amenities. This chapter will also explore the dynamics of community and social trust among the residents to provide the reader with an understanding of how the people are involved with their communities and how they view them.

In both chapters 6 and 7, I attempt to share the stories of the people I worked with by providing illustrative case studies of how they coped with their new surroundings and strove to achieve sustainable livelihoods for themselves and their families. Within these chapters, I provide analyses, cross-comparisons and explanations from the research.

The final chapter (Chapter 8) serves as a conclusion to the dissertation. I comment on and further analyze some of my findings, as well as link these results to larger theoretical discussions that were covered throughout the dissertation. In addition, I provide recommendations and suggestions for future action in housing development planning. It is my hope that the dissertation will further anthropological discussion on how these two housing development projects impacted people's lives on a local level, and will raise awareness of beneficiaries' needs in the context of larger housing development ideas and poverty theories.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON POVERTY,

HOUSING AND QUALITY OF LIFE

In order to recognize and understand the problems of the poor and why governments

develop housing programs to assist them, it is important to conceptualize, define and understand

the causes of poverty. Poverty is hard to define due to its complex nature and multiple

dimensions. Despite this, a pathway towards understanding poverty is important in the endeavor

of providing a greater quality of life for the poor.

This literature review addresses and identifies different definitions and causes of poverty

and some of the ways it is measured, including how quality of life indicators are used to measure

how the poor can achieve a greater standard of living. The first two sections address overarching

conceptualizations and definitions of poverty and the various causes of poverty that have been

discussed in the literature. The next section addresses the dilemmas of housing the poor and

covers the ways the poor cope with housing poverty. The final section addresses different

quality of life indicators, such as how quality housing and access to services can help the poor

achieve a greater standard of living. This chapter explains housing in the context of poverty and

conceptualizes housing poverty and strategies to eradicate it.

Conceptualizing Poverty

Conceptualizing poverty is about finding the "meaning" behind the term. Is a single

mother of three children who lives in an industrialized country and has access to welfare benefits

considered poor? Is a person without adequate shelter, access to basic services and food

considered poor? These are some of the questions involved with trying to understand and

conceptualize poverty. Poverty refers to many interrelated, complex ideas with different

significance to different people. For example, material deprivation, lack of money, dependency on governmental or institutional benefits, and social marginality can all be viewed differently, according to the conceptualization and theory of the analyst (Spicker 2007). There are two primary debates in defining poverty that this literature review addresses: to what extent should poverty analysis concentrate on economic or social issues, and what are the non-economic parameters that should define poverty? Lister (2004) pointed out that some of the major debates within the existing poverty literature look at poverty in terms of income or living standards, capabilities, or deprivation, in absolute or relative terms, which this literature review covers.

The definition of poverty has changed over time. In the 1950s, when the term poverty started to become a tool in domestic policy-making and international development, defining poverty became crucial to government agencies. Developed country governments attempted to measure household incomes, income distribution, and unemployment. Global interest in trying to define poverty became more apparent after the 1960s, when famine and malnutrition began to affect large populations in Africa and Asia; international economic development efforts were not successful in establishing sustainable livelihoods for people in less developed countries (Schwartzman 1998).

One of the first widely accepted definitions of poverty was from Peter Townsend's (1979) study that defined poverty in terms of relative deprivation. In this case, the lack of resources negatively impacted people's ability to act out social roles and norms, participate in relationships, and follow the customs expected of members in a given society (Townsend 1979). He defined deprivation as the lack of basic human necessities, such as food, safe drinking water, sanitation, and access to services, which can measured on a range from no deprivation to extreme deprivation.

In 1995, countries attending the World Summit on Social Development adopted a declaration on eradicating poverty. They viewed poverty in several interlocking ways, including lack of income and productive resources to sustain livelihoods, limited access to education, and other basic services. They also characterized poverty as a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life (D. Gordon 2005). Currently, the United Nations definition of poverty is:

> A denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It [also] means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation. [D. Gordon 2005:4]

This literature review examines two major definitions of poverty. The first definition of poverty that is discussed is poverty within solely economic parameters such as the lack of income. The second definition that is examined is that poverty is the lack of resources, access to adequate shelter and other non-economic parameters; this limits the ability of people to raise their well-being and quality of life.

Economic Poverty

As a primary definition, poverty is frequently described in terms of people's economic circumstances. Yeboah broadly conceptualized poverty as an exclusion from a network of economic, political, and social attributes of life; he sees a poor person in Africa as "someone with a deficiency of income but also in economic capital, assets, formal education, housing, power, and even social networks and capital" (Yeboah 2005:150). Two economic factors that Spicker (2007) pointed out are economic distance (marginality) and economic class. He described how economic distance means that people cannot afford to live where they would want

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to live. This defining characteristic can be seen in different ways. First, Jordan (1996) agreed with Spicker that being "economically distant" could mean that poor people are "stuck" in a geographically-defined location that inhibits them from progressing to areas that would better provide services and support that can help them out of poverty. For instance, living in the Brewster-Douglass Housing Projects in Detroit during the 1970s was a hardship for many of its residents, who were primarily African-American. They were economically distant from downtown Detroit and were left to manage in an area that did not offer adequate services, supermarkets or transportation.   Carol Stack (1974) in conducted work in a US public housing project that indicated similar lack of resources and economic marginality.

Secondly, economic distance can also mean the actual economic inability of poor people to participate in their local, and ultimately, national economies. According to Jordan (1996), without adequate household/personal income, income-generating activities or resources to sustain a livelihood or purchase items needed to maintain a quality of life can lead to people becoming inactive participants in their economy, thus making them marginal and economically distant from those who are participating.

Spicker (2007) indicated that having a lack of resources or a financial inability to access items that the poor need should be seen as a defining feature of poverty. The defining features of poverty are classified as not having the financial resources to purchase basic necessities such as food and household items, lacking the money to pay for adequate transportation, or being unable to pay rent or a mortgage. The lack of financial or economic means is for some the main reason that people remain in poverty for a long time.   Mead (1994) argued that lacking steady household income will lead individuals to make poor decisions about their finances and what they can and cannot afford. For example, when money coming into the home is scarce, the poor

are not able to save money for the future and will spend their money on items that they feel are necessary for their current well-being, such as entertainment, food and clothes (Mead 1994). Another factor is that lacking financial means can result in the inability to seek a better paying job. For example, a single mother may not be able to afford regular child care and has to arrange her work schedule around taking care of her child. This makes it harder for her to find a better paying job or to seek educational opportunities that can help her secure stable, well-paid employment.

Some economists view poverty in economic terms, either through individual income levels or individual purchasing power (M. Taylor 2003; Bassett 2009). Economists also define poverty on a national scale by arguing that if the country as a whole is poor, then the people living there must be poor too. Most believe that inadequate government policies and less economic liberalization lead to increases in the number of people living in poverty. They feel that economic liberalization would help private businesses and companies to create jobs, which would then spur economic growth and reduce poverty (M. Taylor 2003). According to Bassett (2009), economic reforms are necessary for struggling countries to develop their infrastructures and to implement macroeconomic policies in order to promote private investment. As part of this type of framework, the government's primary role is to create an enabling environment of macroeconomic stability, including deregulation for private companies. These private companies will then be able to produce more jobs because government restraints are removed. Once jobs are created, there should be a subsequent increase in social justice and quality of life, and a reduction in poverty according to this free market strategy (Bassett 2009).

The World Bank, in most of its Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, has linked economic growth, privatization, and financial deregulation of a country to poverty reduction (Levinsohn

2003). It has argued that economic liberalization within a country would open up more opportunities to businesses to create jobs, which would then stimulate the economy because of an increase in consumer spending. According to this way of thinking, governments in turn would spend less money on national macroeconomic initiatives and would serve as enablers for private direct investments and business.

This dissertation research does not object to the notion that economic factors such as individual income levels, financial means, and purchasing power are important indicators of poverty, but poverty should not be defined by these factors alone. Viewing poverty only through the lens of economic parameters takes away other factors that define an individual's living experience and create a decent standard of living for that person. This research looks at how economic factors are interrelated with non-economic indicators of poverty.

The Non-Economic Factors of Poverty

The second major conceptualization of poverty that this literature review addresses is that poverty is the lack of non-economic facilities, such as housing, education, and other resources that would improve a person's well-being.   In addition to perceiving poverty in terms of economic class standing or the ability to participate within the national economy, poverty can be viewed in terms of a person's social conditions, lack of access to services, and inability to generate capital.

Spicker (2007) described non-economic poverty by looking at it as being deprived of something that limits the ability of a person to achieve a general sense of well-being, such as material needs and social relationships. When he described poverty in term of material needs, he argued that poor people lack and are deprived of certain things or items that are essential to them, such as facilities, health care, and services, which can be extended over a long period of time.

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Spicker also viewed poverty as a low standard of living, in which the poor over a long period of time have to cope with their living conditions compared to others in better economic situations. Goode and Maskovsky (2001) have argued that the lack of access to services and health care are also defining attributes of poverty.

In terms of social relationships, Spicker (2007) discussed how poor people's social class, dependency, social exclusion, and lack of "entitlement" are all factors in understanding poverty. He saw a link between dependency on government assistance or welfare programs as a determinant of social status and argued that the link between government benefits and poverty is taken for granted by researchers and the media (Spicker 2007:4). He also described how poverty can mean "social exclusion," in which poor people are unable to participate in their society or community because of poverty. He added to this group "vulnerable people" who are not protected adequately by a society, such as asylum seekers and the disabled, and people who are socially "rejected," such as AIDS sufferers and drug users (2007).

Other authors point out that poverty should not be defined solely on income and material needs, but instead the term should include various approaches such as looking at the lack of government entitlements (Sen 1999), deficient social relationships, dependency on government largesse, and insufficient access to services such as medical care and education. Lister (2004) discussed a focused approach to defining poverty in terms of low quality of life and an inability to participate in society.

Amartya Sen (1999) offered another perspective of poverty by not looking at only defining it in terms of income, economic status, and living standards, but also by functionality and capabilities. Functionality is referred to as what a person manages to do or to be, given the range of a person's community environment, participation level in the community, and education

level. Sen viewed capabilities as the way people can do things or be, for example having an enabling government or society that is able to provide the freedoms and the choices for individuals to have a quality of life that they want. Sen suggested that money is only a means to acquiring services in order to achieve functionality, and how people are able to spend money and what they spend their money on are important in determining their capability. In other words, people's individual factors, such as age, gender, and health, all determine whether they can generate enough income to be able to meet their needs. Sen argues that poverty should not be defined in terms of income or material resources, but as the "failure of basic capabilities to reach certain acceptable levels" (1999:109).

There are several ways to conceptualize non-economic poverty. Another useful way to look at poverty is in absolute and relative terms—"being relatively poor in a rich country can be a great capability handicap, even when one's absolute income is high in terms of world standard" (Sen 1999:89). Poverty in an economically developed country can be viewed differently from poverty in a developing one. Absolute poverty has been explained as a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs that include food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education, and information (Lister 2004:12). Going back to Sen's argument of capabilities and functionality, absolute poverty also depends not only on income but on access to services. Concepts such as malnutrition, starvation, and homelessness are universal terms used by some societies to define and measure absolute poverty. Absolute poverty in any society, regardless of the income status of the country as a whole, means failure to achieve basic minimal standards of living which would give a person the capability to fully participate in that society, as well as the basic opportunity to do for oneself. According to Sen, absolute poverty "is an approach of judging a person's deprivation in absolute terms rather than in purely relative

terms vis-à-vis the levels enjoyed by others in the society" (1985:673). A person unable to afford to eat is considered poor, regardless of what type of society this person resides in. Some have argued against this minimum perspective of poverty being applied cross-culturally and to every society (Spicker 2007; Sen 1997; 1999; Townsend 1979).

On the other hand, relative poverty means poverty is viewed in the context of the society or culture where it occurs (Spicker 2007). It is socio-culturally defined, and is multi-dimensional, in which the society defines what is considered to be poor. Relative poverty also means that poverty is comparative—it can be understood by comparing the position of people who are poor to people who are not poor in a given society (Spicker 2007). Shelter, food and other commodities may have a different significance and worth in one society compared to another. Spicker (2007) explained that some people may be able to afford a television or camera, which would be luxuries in other societies, but unable to afford adequate housing and transportation. He argued that people are poor not just because of their own circumstances, such as age, gender, or disability, but because of the circumstances of people around them.

Poverty researchers over the years have debated whether poverty should be defined in absolute or relative terms, or in a combination of both. Amartya Sen (1999) has argued how only taking a relativist perspective on poverty does not capture the full extent of extreme poverty in poor countries. Poverty, he contended, has an absolute core, from which all preceding measurements of poverty can be based. For example, lack of access to water, shelter, or food is a basic element in defining poverty, no matter where a person lives. Sen contended that people, regardless of society, have "absolute needs" and a purely relative approach overlooked this idea. Townsend (1979) argued that relative poverty involves various kinds of comparisons and that needs are social constructions. He posed the question, "Are not nutritional requirements

dependent upon the work roles exacted of people at different points in history and different cultures, and isn't the idea of shelter relative not just to climate and temperature but to what society makes of what shelter is for?" (Townsend 1979:135).

Absolute and relative poverty arguments have been reconciled, in some circles, to address both sides of defining poverty. Doyal and Gough (1991) articulated a combined approach of absolutism and relativism into a universal understanding of human needs. These concepts are "universal" because they are necessary in any society before people can participate adequately to achieve their valued goals (Lister 2004). Some of the examples that Doyal and Gough (1991) gave are: adequate protective housing, economic security, adequate nutritional food and water, and basic education. They contended that these needs or satisfiers may vary from society to society. Townsend, with his contribution to the United Nations Copenhagen Declaration in 1995, agreed to a combined definition of poverty that includes absolute and relative poverty. He and David Gordon asserted that "absolute or basic material and social needs across societies are the same even when they have to be satisfied differently according to institutions, culture and location" (Townsend and D. Gordon 2002:17).

<div align="center">

Towards a Multidimensional
Approach to Poverty

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Multidimensional approaches to defining poverty include the UN's definition of "overall poverty" which takes various forms, including, "lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods" (United Nations 1995). This definition also states that poverty,

> occurs in all countries; as mass poverty in many developing countries, pockets of poverty amid wealth in developed countries, loss of livelihoods as a result of economic recession, and the utter destitution of people who fall outside family support systems, social institutions and safety nets. [United Nations 1995]

This conceptualization of poverty has helped bridge a gap between defining poverty in both developing and developed countries. Having an understanding of how to define poverty, including the debate over whether to concentrate on either economic or non-economic circumstances, has led many poverty researchers and government officials to seek the underlying causes to poverty.

In South Africa, authors such as Magasela (2005) and Gear (1999) have assisted the government in coming up with key poverty terminology. Magasela et al. (2007) saw poverty conceptualized in both a broad and narrow sense:

> In the narrowest sense [poverty] means lack of income. In a broader sense, poverty can be seen as multidimensional, encompassing other issues such as housing, health, education, access to services and to other avenues of accessing resources, social capital, and access to social power relations. [Magasela et al. 2007:10]

Magasela et al. (2007) defined "deprivation" as the effect poverty has on people's lives, which takes into account how being poor limits what people can and cannot do in their immediate environment or future. Therefore deprivation is assessed by using indicators that directly measure different types of deprivation rather than solely looking at income as the primary indicator of poverty.

The South African government has taken steps to try to come up with measurements and indicators in order to understand the level of poverty in the country. In 1995, the government released a Poverty and Inequality Report that provided a detailed analysis of poverty and inequality in South Africa and described mechanisms to measure the impact of policies and programs in the reduction of poverty (May 2000). It was the goal of the government to operationalize and to find out from individual South Africans what their definition of poverty was through a Participatory Poverty Assessment government officials conducted in 1997. Those interviews were later used to develop operational indicators of poverty to include:

- *Community alienation.* The Poverty Assessment pointed out that the poor are isolated from the institutions of kinship and community. The elderly without immediate care from younger family members were seen as poor, even if they had a government welfare pension that provided income that was relatively high compared to their neighbors.

- *Food insecurity.* Respondents saw the inability to provide sufficient amounts of food for the family as an outcome of poverty. Families where children go hungry or are undernourished were seen as living in poverty.

- *Crowded homes.* The poor were perceived to live in overcrowded conditions and in dilapidated, inadequate shelter that needed maintenance.

- *Lack of basic forms of energy.* Participants saw the poor as lacking access to safe and efficient energy sources, especially in rural communities where they saw women more vulnerable to sexual violence because they had to walk long distances to gather firewood.

- *Lack of secure jobs*. The poor perceived lack of employment opportunities, low wages and lack of job security as major contributing factors to their poverty (May 2000).

These indicators of what people believe poverty to encompass have helped the government move towards operational definitions of poverty as well as an understanding of the various dimensions of deprivation experienced by people living in poverty. This in turn can focus resources on specific programs such as housing and basic services (Magasela et al. 2007).

Magasela et al. (2007) also noted how the South African government in its report on social welfare in 1995 used concepts of relative and absolute poverty, and also drew from Sen's capabilities approaches in order to conceptualize poverty in a multi-dimensional and relative way that incorporates the idea of meeting basic needs. These relative dimensions of poverty included:

1. Health

2. Material

3. Human Capital

4. Employment

5. Social Capital and Community Development

6. Living Environment

At the core of these relative dimensions are absolute necessities that meet people's basic needs and the United Nation's definition of absolute poverty, including food, water, and shelter.

For research purposes, the parameters of poverty used in this dissertation include housing, employment, health, access to services, and community involvement. One of the focuses of the dissertation is measuring whether better housing provided by the government will help people out of poverty. Measuring people's employment status is another important indicator of poverty, given that access to income can help improve economic status. Access to services, which includes access to health facilities, grocery stores, and transportation, is an important parameter of poverty because it measures whether people have access to basic services that can improve their well-being. Trying to understand why people are deprived of these services, whether they cannot afford the services or they live too far in peripheral locations to access facilities, is another discussion that occurs throughout the dissertation.

Finally, community involvement and participation is another parameter of poverty discussed in this dissertation. Similar to Spicker's (2007) argument on community as a defining feature of poverty status, community involvement or lack thereof can provide a broad qualitative picture of people's poverty experience and cast a light on their interaction with family and

neighbors. This insight into community involvement can help people understand how lack of

community interaction can lead to feelings of deprivation and marginality.

Using some of the earlier discussions, the dissertation research views poverty as a multi-

dimensional concept. This research defines poverty not only as lack of steady income, but also

as a lack of basic necessities, housing, and community or social involvement. Poverty is also

defined in this research by deprivation of resources and lack of access to services and facilities.

<div align="center">Theories on the Causes of Poverty</div>

So what causes poverty and deprivation of resources among some people? Why are some

people poor? Why can't they afford basic health care, good housing or food? Authors have

viewed the causes of poverty in two different ways. Either they see the reasons as individualistic

and/or socio-cultural, or they see the causes of poverty as structural and institutional. This

section will discuss these two approaches.

<div align="center">Individual and Cultural Reasons</div>

Attempts to understand the causes of poverty go back to the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries with several studies looking at determining factors that lead to poverty. Most of these

earlier explanations of the causes of poverty tended to focus on individuals and their abilities.

Adam Smith talked briefly about some of the causes of poverty in the *Wealth of Nations* and in

his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (G. Gilbert 1997). In the latter work, Smith regarded poverty not

in terms of malnutrition, hunger, lack of shelter, and material goods, but in terms of mental

anguish, distress, and social isolation (G. Gilbert 1997). According to Adam Smith, poverty

essentially can be avoided through working and earning a wage. Smith did not see structural

causes of poverty; instead he saw the causes as individualistic and cognitive—in which the poor

are poor because of their inability to earn a wage and due to a lack of work ethic (G. Gilbert

<div align="center">25</div>

1997). He argued that a poor person had to cultivate the "labor of his body" and the "activity of his mind" in pursuit of happiness and social acceptance.

Towards the late nineteenth century, discussion of the causes of poverty turned to looking at social behavior and conditions of poor people within industrialized societies. Similar to Adam Smith's work, these analyses viewed poverty as an individual moral deficiency or pathology and not as a structural problem or lack of available resources and services. Some early arguments for the causes of poverty included alcoholism, immorality, crime, dishonesty, lack of male support to women and minors, and a "roving" disposition (Brandt 1908). In 1906, Lee Frankel classified the causes into four divisions: ignorance, industrial inefficiency, exploitation of labor, and defects in governmental supervision of the welfare of citizens (Brandt 1908).

Most of these categories were developed by investigators from organizations such as the United States National Conference of Charities and Corrections and the Charity Organization Society of New York, which studied families and individuals to figure out what caused them to be poor.

In the early twentieth century, social welfare researcher Lillian Brandt (1908) classified the causes of poverty into two categories:

1. *Causes within the family*: Disregard of family ties; intemperance; licentiousness; dishonesty or other moral defects; lack of thrift, industry, or judgment; physical or mental defects; sickness, accident, or death.

2. *Causes outside the family*: Lack of employment not due to employee, unwise philanthropy, public calamity.

Brandt (1908) argued that having knowledge of the causes of poverty was valuable because it could be used as a tool in helping individual families that needed assistance with

getting out of poverty and in establishing pragmatic planning for the improvement of social conditions. Studies at that stage, she argued, should not focus on the philosophical discussions of the underlying causes of poverty, but should consist of investigation into prevalence of adverse conditions in a practical sense.

It was not until the 1960s that scientific research into poverty studies reemerged, as international development aid increased to post-World War II underdeveloped and developing countries. Poverty studies took on a more global significance than just looking at poverty in domestic settings. Despite this emerging global perspective, authors such as Pond (1961), Thurow (1967), and Gallaway (1967) still viewed poverty in terms of pathological problems of the poor and their inability to engage fully in the larger society, similar to how researchers viewed poverty in the late nineteenth century. Gallaway claimed that blacks were living in poverty at a greater rate than whites in the United States because of their unequal levels of education and market discrimination; he goes on to conclude that the "social attitudes of Negroes, or some other factor that is highly correlated with race" is a predetermining cause of poverty among blacks (1967:35).

Another leading perspective on the causes of poverty during this time was that it was cultural, historical, or "symptomatic" of an entire group of people. Iliffe (1987) wrote that poverty in Africa was not due to colonialism, urbanization, or land scarcity by European encroachment, but to pre-colonial social stratification, power-hungry black elites and chiefs. He argued that a lack of family structure and community in many African cities made the poor unable to bring themselves out of long-term poverty. Iliffe also claimed that poverty should not be seen in westernized terms of landlessness or lack of property as a determinant for being poor, given that Africa, as he argued, was a land-rich and resource-rich continent. He determined that

the causes of poverty were much more ingrained with the social structures and history of African people (Iliffe 1987). Looking at how culture and race plays a part in the causes of long-term poverty has been shared by many authors such as Oscar Lewis (1959).

Similar to Adam Smith's argument, Mead (1994) argued that people are poor and remain poor for a long time because of individual psychological limitations, not because of the limited availability of jobs. According to Mead, "poverty may be due, not so much to a lack of opportunity, as to a lack of enforcement of social norms such as the work ethic" (1994:324). Poor people, in this regard, are poor not because of structural reasons or the lack of job opportunities in their communities, but because they lack the mental strength to "pull" themselves out of their poverty situation. Similar to Lewis (1959), he believed that poor people's culture is a primary reason for the inability of the poor to gain the mental strength to lift themselves out of poverty. One of Mead's indicators that he used to explain psychological limitation is that of poor single mothers. He argued a poor single mother's complaint that she could not find child day care for her preschool children and had to seek government assistance was inadequate, because she was not seeking all available resources, such as family or informal child care options.

Though these approaches to the causes of poverty were used as explanations as to why some people become poor while others do not, they are not sufficient in contemporary anthropology discussions of the causes of poverty.

<center>Structural Causes of Poverty</center>

In spite of prior explanations on the causes of poverty, contemporary authors look at nuanced causes of poverty, which include identifying structural reasons, domestic or international, of why people are poor instead of looking at pathological or cultural reasons.

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Goode and Maskovsky (2001) viewed poverty as a function of power resulting from the ideological, political, and economic processes of capitalism and the state, rather than pathological, passive, or pre-determined circumstances. For many authors, poverty constitutes spatial, economic, and social marginalization as it incorporates a person's entire living environment, not just the inability to generate wealth. Light (2004) argued that a person's struggle to generate different forms of capital—social, human, financial and cultural—can lead to that person becoming poor. Yeboah (2005), looking at housing and poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa, agreed with Light's (2004) ideas on the causes of poverty. Another point Yeboah (2005: 150) made is that the poor in Africa may have skills that they can sell in the informal sector and find informal employment and income-generating opportunities, yet their employment insecurity makes them vulnerable to fluctuations in the economy, so they can move in and out of poverty.

Another alternative perspective to understanding the causes of poverty is looking at social exclusion and marginalization. Many authors argued that social exclusion or family and community exclusion is a cause of people to be poor or to stay impoverished (Spicker 2007). Jordan (1996) looked at how economic markets and commercialization of property have further marginalized already economically-depressed and poor communities, making them unable to fully participate in society, socially and economically. He discussed how,

> As commercialization has advanced, so the proportion of private property has grown, and living units (households and then families) have become smaller and separated from working units. Those without enough private property to survive adverse contingencies still rely on claims from communal resources. [Jordan 1996:27]

Social exclusion as a cause of poverty stems from the idea that a nonexistent family structure or an absence of family can make a person poor. Some authors (Jordan 1996; Spicker 2007) argued that not having access to community and some sort of redistribution of material resources can lead to individuals not being able to escape from poverty. However, it should be

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noted that social exclusion is not the only factor in determining a person's poverty; just because a person is excluded socially from mainstream society or lives on the margins/periphery does not mean that person is poor—some people freely choose to live on the margins and to be excluded from society (Buvinic 2004).

Some authors argued that the lack of power and economic empowerment and resources are fundamental causes of poverty (Morris 1971; Sen 1999; Spicker 2007). According to Spicker (2007), when people lack economic resources, they lack the choices to make their own decisions. These choices can be then regulated and controlled by external organizations or groups. For example, a family receiving government assistance in South Africa lacks control over the amount of the welfare payment, as well as what time of the month it is paid. Sen (1999) argued that even within poor societies, there needs to be some level of power and empowerment. Within most democratic or socialist societies, poor people have fundamental rights, such as the right to vote, the right to education, and the right to health care. However, what is problematic, Sen argued, is their capability to access these rights (1999). When people are desperately poor, it is hard for them to access social and economic protection, despite government programs that are in place to help them.

Cooper and Packard stressed in their work how "the development framework, as it has existed in the past half century, has excluded many questions that are quite germane to questions of poverty, power and change" (1997:30). According to Cooper and Packard (1997) and Khan (2003), development should include notions of redistribution, social equality and justice, and economic sustainability—not just for the country as a whole, but for each individual. For governments and developers alike trying to combat poverty, these progressive objectives should be part of their overall mission to provide help to those in need. This is one of the reasons why

the structure of government is also a determining cause of poverty and can have a direct impact on the poorest segments of society (Soliman 2004).

However, despite the type or structure of the government, according to Mary Tomlinson (1999a; 1999b), the poor are primarily interested in how government development projects affect their daily lives. They want to see immediate results, not just theories on how a project may or should work. Mary Tomlinson (1999a) argued that poor people are concerned with how the development project is translated into their immediate and long-term growth and stability.

Measuring Poverty

One of the first steps in measuring poverty is to determine what level or unit of analysis the measurement will be. Deaton (2005) suggested that poverty measurements should be differentiated between national and local levels.

Macro Level Measurements of Poverty

Poverty can be measured on a macro or national scale by looking at a country's growth domestic product (GDP) or the rate of consumption by consumers. On an international level, the United Nations (1995) decided that a poverty line of $1 or $2 a day is an adequate measurement of income poverty and a determining factor on what constitutes poverty. In other words, a person who is making less than $1 dollar a day is considered to be poor and disadvantaged according to UN standards.

Most international measurements of poverty use indictors to measure the level of poverty in a given country. The United Nations Development Programme (2002) developed the Human Development Index (HDI) to rank countries by a range of indictors, such as GDP per capita, probability of death under age 60, illiteracy, long-term employment, and index of gender equality. The HDI provided composite measures of certain indictors across a selected range.

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Spicker (2007:24) pointed out that summary indices such as the HDI both include and exclude relevant factors that might signify a person suffering in poverty, such as housing standards not being featured in indices of deprivation, or the over-inclusion of signifiers that give greater weight to factors that may not be relevant to particular countries. For example, focusing on agricultural growth for a country where it is not a primary sector for the economy is over-inclusion. The exclusion of certain factors that define poverty because they are not easily measurable or quantifiable can be problematic, as Spicker (2007) and Deaton (2005) suggested, and may not provide a holistic picture of a person's struggle in poverty. For example, only focusing on income growth and macro-level indictors in a single country does not give a holistic view of impoverishment as would multiple qualitative indicators. It should be noted that one of the benefits of having a large summary range of indictors and measurements, such as the HDI, is that researchers and authors from various fields can obtain information particular to their research needs. So an education researcher who is interested in finding out the number of people in South Africa under the age of 60 who are illiterate is able to obtain information from the HDI on this specific issue.

A main concern for researchers looking at macro-level measurements of poverty is the tendency of international measurements to be "one-size-fits-all", not taking into consideration the idiosyncrasies of individual countries. Every country suffers from different levels of poverty and development, so utilizing international standards of poverty may not be the surest way for a government to eradicate or reduce it in its country. In 2000, the General Assembly of the UN launched the Millennium Development Goals to eradicate poverty and hunger and to reduce the proportion of people whose income is less than $1 a day. Countries that pledged to eradicate poverty in their countries, mostly developing countries, subscribed to these macro-level

indicators set forth by the Millennium Development Goals. Deaton (2005) argued that measuring poverty at a national level can be difficult; she goes on to argue that, "we lack the opportunities that exist at the national level to come up with some sort of political agreement on what is a useful definition of poverty. Instead we have a measure that is useful mainly for the international community and NGOs (First World) that are arguing for greater resource flow to poor countries" (Deaton 2005:12). In other words, according to Deaton (2005), national measurements are plausible and worth the effort because of the differences in income and relative standards of living between rich and poor countries. Yet other authors such as Hayry (1999) and Randall and Williams (2001) argued that these types of macroeconomic measurements cannot sufficiently measure the quality of life of individuals and families or other causes of poverty like social marginality, lack of resources, and access to services. Though it is important to recognize international and national poverty measurements, this dissertation does not focus on these types of poverty measurements. The research focuses more on measuring poverty indicators of housing, individual income levels and job opportunities, access to services, and community.

<p style="text-align:center">The Individual and Household Level</p>

Measuring poverty at the individual or household level can be more manageable than doing it at the global and national level, if more tedious in scope and method. Measuring poverty at this level can be tedious because of the in-depth analysis, interviewing techniques, and on-the ground evaluations that usually come with measuring household poverty compared to looking at national economic indicators. Local-level or household-level poverty measurements are able take into account lack of income or consumption, but they also measure gender inequalities and household-level division of labor, how household income is spent and on what,

who has control of the finances, and other qualitative indictors that quantitative ones may leave out (Lister 2004). Lister (2004) and Spicker (2007) argued that there are "hidden poverty" measurements that purely economic measures may leave out, such as discovering an individual's disability, childhood poverty or structural discrimination that causes and forces people into poverty. The apartheid system in South Africa in the twentieth century is an example of structural and systematic discrimination. It was designed to be beneficial to only a small minority of the population, while leaving the vast Black African majority impoverished socially, politically, and economically. However, during apartheid, the country was economically sufficient and viable on a national scale and was not considered a poor developing country (Lemon 1991; May 2000; May et al. 2000). This is an example of how national GDP levels may conceal hidden indictors of poverty among the people.

The unit of analysis on which that this research focuses is the individual or household level. Specifically, individual-level indictors of poverty and what poor individuals lack in housing needs, jobs, community, and access to services can serve as useful tools in explaining what is needed for improving their standard of living. Measuring poverty at the individual level is analyzing how people are deprived of or lacking in something—whether housing, jobs, community, or access to services, as this research argues.

Housing and Poverty

This section deals with the literature surrounding housing and housing development for the poor. As laid out in the first chapter, housing is an important and visible indicator of economic status and quality of life. In the larger field of international development, housing can be considered a key to the sustainability of countries, communities, and individuals. In addition,

housing fulfils a basic human need: shelter. This dissertation is based largely on determining

whether housing programs explicitly confront the larger dilemma of poverty.

Pugh (1995) explained the dynamic and problematic nature of studying housing poverty

and the impact on the poor,

> Although low income is frequently a major cause of housing poverty, such housing-related conditions as low supplies, ineffective land policies, inappropriate building codes, and imbalances in tenure and finance can be significant in assessments of housing poverty and affordability. These matters are central in discussion of housing, all of which are to some extent affecting quality of life conditions in pavement dwelling, squatter settlement, slum living, and public policy responses to low-income housing problems. Housing poverty is also significantly influenced by general economic conditions…housing and poverty can be approached and analyzed in a number of ways. [Pugh 1995:35]

Pugh also pointed out that analyzing housing and its impact on the poor is multidimensional and

problematic due to the interconnections of housing poverty with employment, service

accessibility, and education. According to Kissick et al. (2006), housing is a key input in

economic, social, and community development, as well as a strong motivator for savings and

investment, and these factors should be used as primary housing indicators, instead of relying

solely on housing delivery percentages and figures. In addition, many housing-related activities

contribute directly to income-generating opportunities and to achieving broader socio-economic

development goals, such as female empowerment and local government capacity building

(Kissick et al. 2006:3).

The poverty indicators discussed in the above section on measurements (e.g.,

employment/income and access to services) all intersect with housing in some way. The

interconnections between housing and poverty include the physical attributes or the quality of the

construction of a house that can have an impact on the poor's sense of well-being and security.

For example, if the building material used in construction is of poor quality or the interior is

moldy and constantly damp, or there is a lack of insulation in the walls to protect dwellers, these flaws could impact the quality of life and health of a family. Housing and poverty also intersect with how the poor are able to access jobs and income-generating opportunities, and whether in some way their housing (e.g., location and type of housing structure) helps or hinders them from finding employment. For example, the location of a house in relation to employment opportunities can impact a resident's transportation cost and time.

There are two primary questions that this section on housing and poverty will address. First, to what extent is the lack of housing itself a significant part of the definition of poverty that was discussed in earlier sections, and second, to what extent does stable housing reflects prevailing characteristics of poverty?

Approaches to housing for the poor have existed for several decades, in theory and in practice. By the 1960s, some of the first development programs funded by USAID, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank were created to assist developing countries in providing affordable and formal housing for the poor (R. Harris and Arku 2007). One of the main reasons that international donors concentrated on housing delivery in these early years of development was due to its social significance and necessity for poor populations (R. Harris and Arku 2007:1). Post-colonial countries during this time were faced with massive poverty, urban migration, and a lack of affordable housing in and around the cities. Developers and government officials were concerned about the health and sanitation conditions of migrants living in newly-formed and unplanned informal settlements and slums, which prompted housing development policies and projects in developing countries (R. Harris and Arku 2006; 2007). Towards the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was a shift in the thinking about housing development, and it was seen not only as fulfilling a social need, but as a driver of economic growth in developing

countries. Developers began to see the building industry as a significant player in housing development, which has led many housing researchers to view housing as an investment strategy and not just as a consumption good that cannot provide a fiscal return (R. Harris and Arku 2007). Some of the best-known scholars that played a large role in drawing attention to the dilemmas of the poor with respect to their housing situation were Charles Abrams (1964), William Mangin (1967), and J.F.C. Turner (1967; 1968). These scholars indicated how people without access to formal housing resort to informal shelter.

In light of the history of housing development, some of the major issues in contemporary housing literature revolve around self-help housing, subsidized housing, private versus public, and owning versus renting. For example, some of the main socio-political issues in the United States concerning housing are the concepts of ownership and property-owning versus renting and public housing.[3] In many industrialized countries, there is a larger emphasis on property owning, privatization, and homeownership. For the poor in the United States, seeking homeownership can be problematic and many are forced to rent because the cost of buying a home and the expenses that accompany homeownership are too great. In addition, the cost of housing has gone up faster than renter incomes, and low-quality housing poses a serious problem for the poor (Bratt 1989). The United States government offers a few programs, such as Section 8 housing, to people to obtain low-cost rental housing. Most of time, the waiting list to obtain low-rent or subsidized housing is lengthy. In addition, public housing in the United States and other industrialized countries is inadequate, lacking basic services, dilapidated, or in need of major repairs (Bratt 1989). Though the pursuit of homeownership is also a global concern and

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[3] One of the more recent, hotly-debated housing issues in the United States is mixed-income housing development ventures in cities. Mark Joseph's (2006) work on mixed-income developments in American cities touches on some the issues surrounding this topic, such as forced community building, income-generating opportunities, and increase in quality of life.

not solely confined to industrialized nations, in many developing countries discussing governmental housing subsidies, securing land tenure and creating self-help housing initiatives have been the main focuses of housing development (Shildo 1990).

One of the first housing challenges for the poor in developing countries is securing land tenure so they can build their own houses. In several African cities and rural areas, there has been a tension between providing legal titles to poor families and maintaining traditional allocated lands for communal usage. Yeboah (2005) noted that in Accra, Ghana, a key obstacle the poor face in developing the kind of housing they deem affordable has been securing tenure of land. In Accra, there is a system of land holdings where chiefs, priests, and family heads all have a stake in the ownership of a given parcel of land, which Yeboah (2005) argued has led to problems of tenure insecurity for potential builders. Additionally, these traditional land holdings may not be officially recognized by the government. So for the poor, the financial cost of obtaining legal title for their land may be too much of a burden (Pillay 2008). In order to make up for this legal shortfall in land tenureship, the Ghanaian government has collaborated with the World Bank to try to register traditional lands (Yeboah 2005).

Adding to the debate on land tenure and property rights, Pillay (2008) looked at how South African housing policy has addressed these issues of legality. Pillay (2008:101) argued that having proper title of property can give the poor entry into the formal market as well as establishing capital and assets. Pillay also noted how property should be seen as an "asset for wealth creation and empowerment, as a means to leverage growth in the economy" (2008:101). So instead of the South African government only concentrating on housing provisions through awarding subsidies and other social protections, Pillay argued that housing policy should encompass providing legal rights through titles that can reduce restrictions in the housing sector.

These can limit the poor from generating wealth or income from their property because they do not own their subsidized houses "outright".[4]

Though having a title would provide the poor with legal status of ownership of property, Cousins et al. (2005) argued that it does not guarantee the poor entry into the formal market. According to Cousins et al. (2005), formalization of property rights through registered property deeds can create unaffordable costs such as conforming to building regulations, surveying costs, and taxes that the poor will not have the ability to cover; they point out that giving formal property rights and title will not promote increased financial security or credit/lending to the poor. They argued that the assertion that title to property will open up access to bank credit is not credible because banks would not want to lend to the poor because of the high risk of non-repayment, the low value of their assets, and relatively high transaction costs (Cousins et al. 2005:4).

Despite having or not having formal recognized titles, studies by South African scholars have shown that individuals living in townships viewed their homes as family assets rather than as capital, and that a majority of people felt reasonably secure, even without title deeds (M. Tomlinson 1998; 2006). Mary Tomlinson (2006) suggested that the real constraint in providing adequate housing for the poor is not the lack of property rights and title, but affordability and the limited availability of adequate housing. Even with arguments against the formalization of title, most authors can agree that the poor can still be vulnerable to the abuses of traditional authorities and elected officials. They also have limited access to services and infrastructure because of the lack of formal title and property rights (Yeboah 2005; Cousins et al. 2005).

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[4] Beneficiaries of some housing subsidy programs, like the People's Housing Process that I will discuss in later chapters, do have a degree of ownership of their houses; however, it is greatly limited and regulated. For example, they are not allowed to sell their homes or rent them out for as long as they reside in them.

Housing scholars have also examined the use of the terms affordability and accessibility when addressing the housing situation for the poor. Tipple (1994) discussed the need of African cities to establish affordable housing in order to stimulate economic growth, and argued that governmental response to housing the poor is greatly inadequate. He argued, in the context of formal planning of housing in Africa, "housing has been more readily linked with social welfare than with the so-called productive sectors like manufacturing and agriculture…thus, supple responses have been grounded on the premises that people need housing rather than on the ability of investment in housing to improve the economy" (Tipple 1994:594). Similar in critique is Tipple's collaborative work with Willis on renting and affordability options for poor groups in developing cities (Tipple and Willis 1989). Tipple, Tipple and Willis, and Peattie argued that within developing countries, the poor tend to spend more of their income on housing (e.g., rent and electricity) than on non-housing expenses, which they insist makes it unlikely that urban households could afford their own home without government assistance (Tipple 1994:593; Tipple and Willis 1989; Peattie 1987).

Darke and Darke (1988) argued how affordability should mean people having the means to find inexpensive housing on their own, in conjunction with the government making housing costs reasonable and affordable for them. They pointed out how "affordability applied to [housing] delivery and provisions for the poor have limited usefulness because these groups may literally be able to afford nothing, and obtain their shelter at present through occupying structures they find" (Darke and Darke 1988:43). They argued that it is problematic to use an affordability criterion as a basis for housing policy in developing countries to help households with very low income and the extremely poor because, in most cases, these people do not have any money or capital to afford this so-called affordable housing. In cases like this, as Darke and Darke (1988),

and Jurgen Friedrichs (1988) contended, the government should intervene to make housing affordable for the poor based on what the poor are able to afford. The poor have had to find ways of dealing with their housing shortfall, such as building informal houses and shacks, despite governmental attempts at make housing affordable and accessible to the very poor.

In relation to affordability and accessibility, A. Gilbert and Gugler (1987) discussed governmental responses to the housing needs of the poor and the poor's agency in dealing with their own housing situation through means of spontaneous (shanty) development and squatting. They also analyze different methods of housing that the poor utilize, as well as housing options governments make available to them, such as self-help housing, settlement upgrading, incremental housing, and subsidy programs. In certain cases, governments try to involve the poor in government housing policies. Similar to Gilbert and Gugler's work, Sengupta (2010) talked about the role of self-help housing, or lack thereof, in housing reform in India. Self-help housing is defined as a housing provision approach where the poor are involved in the building and creation of their homes.[5] Sengupta argued that self-help housing strategies should be used more in housing strategies for the poor, instead of massive housing programs that have, according to Sengupta, become laden with bureaucracy and formality (2010).

Self-help housing has been a recognizable housing strategy for many years as an approach to poverty alleviation by getting the poor involved in their own development. Developing governments have implemented self-help housing into their housing policy schemes, given the diminishing public funds for massive housing programs and the lack of market support and interest in providing housing for the poor without equitable return on investment (Sengupta 2010). Self-help housing has been seen by many governments as a way to get the poor involved and reduce the cost of building construction. South Africa implemented their first version of

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[5] Sweat equity, discussed in the later chapters, is also an aspect of self-help housing.

self-help housing in the 1980s through their site and service scheme, in which Africans were given parcels of land in areas serviced by municipalities to build their own houses.[6] The people were responsible for the building, construction, and costs of their houses.

Some authors are critical of self-help housing schemes because of the limits of the approach. Burgess (1985) argued that the poor lack the financial and social capital to create sustainable houses for themselves. He also argued that government-financed self-help housing strategies only serve to limit the power of the poor because they are not the sole title-holders of their homes. In certain cases, governments have co-ownership of the title deed to the houses built in self-help housing projects (Burgess 1985). Huchzermeyer (2003) also discussed the limits of self-help housing in her discussion of the South African site and service scheme, in which these groups may not have access to quality building material or may not have the skills to build their own house, so they have to rely on social and kin networks for building assistance. Self-help housing is also dependent on infrastructure and city services, such as water, sewage, and trash pick-up, provided by the local government. Without these services, according to Huchzermeyer (2003), these houses will not be properly managed.

Many governments still believe that getting people involved in the building of their own houses through self-help will create empowerment for them and a sense of homeownership. The South African government in its second attempt at self-help housing wanted to create a way where funding and building of houses would be covered through a subsidy, and the poor would have a role in the creation of their houses. The People's Housing Process (PHP) program that came about in the early 2000s was created to give public and private partnerships in South Africa

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[6] I discuss more on site and service housing in the next chapter on the history of housing in South Africa.

a way to build housing communities for poor, qualifying beneficiaries through housing subsidies, as well as getting these groups involved in the building process.[7]

Additional challenges to housing for the poor are finance and access to credit. The poor have trouble accessing credit from the formal sector, including the banking industry and mortgage finance companies, because of their lack of collateral and financial capital. Yeboah (2005), Pillay (2008) and Kissick et al. (2006) pointed out that the registration of housing can help unlock "dead capital"[8] for productive investment and credit building for the poor, thereby helping to contribute to local property tax bases. Kissick et al. (2006) also pointed out that good housing can build wealth by appreciating in value over the years for homeowners, so incremental investment in housing by the private and public sectors would allow poor families to improve their asset bases over time.

National governments in many developing countries have become more involved in the provision of housing for the poor through a variety of housing programs, such as housing subsidies, public housing, and self-help housing (Yeboah 2005), but state housing programs do not help the poor in securing or sustaining credit and income to purchase and build their own homes. Yeboah (2005) argued that there needs to be a sustainable platform from the private sector, with the government as an enabler, to provide loans for prospective low-income homeowners, and that the state should serve as a guarantor or lender of last resort to be able to provide and secure loans to the poor.

To circumvent the lack of formal credit for housing, the poor rely on informal and traditional means of securing credit through savings and loans groups and microfinance

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[7] The People's Housing Process is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

[8] Dead capital is a term used to describe the uncollected or unaccountable revenue, which is due to the uncertainty of ownership that decreases the value of an asset. Poor financial policies, procedures and informal markets are some of the leading causes of dead capital.

institutions that are willing to work with high-risk low-income people. The poor use whatever collateral or assets they have in possession to secure credit with these finance groups and institutions. Also, according to Landman and Napier (2010), the poor rely on extended family to help in the building and purchasing of their homes through their informal building skills and expertise.

Shildo (1990) argued that in developing countries, governments have created housing programs for the poor without clearly understanding the recipients' needs. The result has been that state housing initiatives have generally been too expensive and offered very little flexibility in use, and have often been in unsuitable, peripheral locations (Shildo 1990). The provisions of new housing have been criticized for not reaching the poorest individuals, but rather the upper and middle sectors of urban populations (Shildo 1990; Darke and Darke 1988). As stated earlier, the very poor, without adequate access to formal housing, resort to informal housing, also referred to as squatter settlements, shantytowns, illegal areas, or uncontrolled areas (Soliman 2004:9). The causes of informal housing are multifaceted: rapid urbanization, globalization, population growth, lack of housing, migration, and space. Anthropologist Abu-Lughod was one of the first to examine the informal housing sector (Abu-Lughod 1971). Formal housing can be both scarce and expensive relative to income wage levels in many developing countries (Tipple and Willis 1991). Also, there are few low-cost housing developments that are close to employment and income opportunities (Tipple and Willis 1991).

Yeboah (2005) argued that at a macro level, housing the poor will help alleviate their poverty since they would own assets that can be subsequently used for leveraging loans and building economic and social capital. He also argued that housing the poor is one of the surest ways to alleviate poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Kissick et al. (2006) and Yeboah

(2005), housing construction in poor areas can stimulate creation of small businesses and bring people closer to jobs. Yeboah (2005) argued that involving the poor in the building of their own houses will not only improve their economic situation, but will also establish credit and capital for them. In the United States, for example, housing construction creates multiplier and accelerator effects on the economy, based on the demand for furniture, appliances, landscaping, and locally-produced and low-cost building material. These businesses thus profit from the increase in housing construction, which can in turn benefit the local and national economy. This multiplier effect, according to Yeboah (2005:160), is not seen in many developing economies because of the price of local raw material. He argued that for developing countries to benefit from these accelerators, they would need to increase the amount of local raw material used in their housing sectors and reduce its price.

Overall most housing researchers agree that housing should be created to provide benefits to people. Morris (1971) in her work on the history of black housing in South Africa discussed the potential benefits of housing for the poor, and note that it fulfills a number of interrelated individual, family and community needs. According to Morris, housing is about maintaining the physical space both inside and outside the house for certain basic living functions (e.g., going to the bathroom, taking a shower or bath), for shelter and privacy. Similar to Yeboah (2005) and Angel (2000), Morris (1971) argued that a house has the potential to provide opportunities for investment, capital accumulation, and other income-generating opportunities such as sub-letting and home-based businesses. Housing may also provide social status and be used as an indicator of wealth accumulation to others in the neighborhood.

The Move towards Creating Housing
Policy for the Poor

With a greater understanding of the different ways housing and poverty are conceptualized in countries, such as South Africa, government departments are able to individualize operational definitions and measurements of poverty. The Department of Housing in South Africa is an example of a department that uses national and international ideas on poverty to shape its own housing policy. May et al. (2000) noted how the national government recognizes housing as a critical asset and basic need, so securing housing is a productive mechanism for cushioning the poor against the impacts of long-term poverty. They also pointed out that not only does housing "provide shelter and space for human development, but its security encourages households to invest further in it" (2000:236). May et al. (2000) and Gear (1999) argued that in order for housing to positively impact the poor, it needs to be targeted specifically by asserting the poor's constitutionally mandated rights and ensuring that the housing meets their standards of living and quality of life.

South African housing researchers have examined how the government has implemented its national housing strategies in light of housing finance, socio-economic development, and the apartheid legacy. Rust (2002a; 2002b) and Gardener (2003) compared the current state of housing delivery in South Africa against the government's goals and strategic objectives. Rust (2002a; 2002b) looked at public/private partnerships in housing finance and examined current forms and levels of participation by the private sector in light of the current decentralization policies of the national government. Her research also highlighted the factors that encouraged or hampered the efforts of various private sector actors to gear up the state resources used for low-income housing (Rust 2002b:6). Rust argued that the South African housing structure needed to make changes, which would include innovative approaches to community development,

public/private partnerships, and community involvement. South African scholars such as Van Rooyen and Mills (2003) also discussed in their respective works banking and financing options for the poor in their ability to access government housing.

There was a growing concern that government-subsidized, low-income housing in South Africa has perpetuated urban segregation and marginality. Zack and Charlton (2003) analyzed poor beneficiaries of a South African government housing scheme and their reactions to the program. From their research with these housing beneficiaries, they determined that the people were content with their new housing and were "better off," but they wish for additional services to be provided as well, including roads, infrastructure, electricity, and running water. Similar to Zack and Charlton's findings, Baumann argued that the means by which access to housing subsidies are currently structured do not facilitate individual participation in the process and requests for necessary services from housing developers during the beginning implementation stages (Baumann 2003).

Another South African researcher, Huchzermeyer (2003), also looked at housing subsidies from the government for serviced plots and large residential projects. She believed that this propagated social division and residential segregation in the country. She argued how the peri-urban locations of these subsidized residential areas are detrimental to residents' ability to access employment, so "segregation between low-income residential areas and economic opportunities impacts significantly on the household economy" (Huchzermeyer 2003:125).

<center>Transitioning from Housing Poverty to
Greater Standards of Living</center>

As researchers look at the different ways the poor have tried to access housing, attention is paid to what type of responsibilities and roles poor individuals should have in order to secure adequate housing. Morris (1971) argued that there are four key enabling mechanisms or

indicators that should be met in order for the poor to fully reap the benefits of housing:

responsibility, security, choice, and awareness. For the first mechanism of responsibility, Morris

believed that families and the community should have the opportunity to have a direct role in the

provision of and responsibility of housing. Second, Morris argued that individuals should have

security over the property, the right to remain in the area, and the right to be able to pass it on to

descendents. Individuals would have autonomy over their homes without fear of external

intervention. Third, because the socio-economic demands on families and individuals are

complex and constantly changing, there needs to be a range of options available to people from

housing developers and government officials to choose the type of housing as well as the

location of the house. Finally according to Morris (1971:2), people should be aware of and have

access to information and understanding on all aspects of housing. These qualitative indicators

are useful tools in measuring whether programs that are aimed at providing quality housing for

the poor are successfully helping them achieve a sufficient quality of life. These key housing

elements will be used through this research as tools for understanding whether beneficiaries of

the housing projects discussed are actually benefiting from them.

<u>The March out of Poverty: Examining Key Indicators</u>
<u>of Quality of Life</u>

As researchers and governments tackle the issue of poverty and housing, the concepts of

quality of life and social well-being, especially in terms of addressing the needs of the poor, have

been used. How quality of life is defined and how researchers measure it are the two major

themes in the quality of life literature. Historically, quality of life has been defined in medical

terminology. For example, the World Health Organization's definition of quality of life is "the

individuals' perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in

which they live and in relation to their goals" (World Health Organization 1997:1). In addition,

there has been research on human development measurement in relation to quality of life (Lindenberg 1993). Randall and Williams defined the quality of life as "how good one's life is for an individual" which "quality of life for an individual is affected significantly by his or her social environment" (2001:2). Donald (2001) defined quality of life as "the extent to which the necessary conditions for personal satisfaction and happiness…those attributes of the environment that stimulate satisfaction…are achieved" (Donald 2001:260).

Several authors distinguish quality of life in the context of the individual, not primarily at a regional or community level. Joyce et al. (1999) argued how quality of life can only be achieved at the individual, or even more specifically, at the cognitive level. Hayry (1999) used quality of life in the framework of medicine and health care. She further argued how "that good life-quality is closely linked to the concept of need, and that the fulfillment of our (objective) needs is both a necessary and a sufficient condition for our having a high quality of life" (Hayry 1999:24).

Though most of the quality of life literature is centered on the individual, many authors attempt to use the measurement in the context of developing countries and cities. Randall and Williams (2001) in their work looked at quality of life at the local level, in which they used questionnaire surveys to develop a baseline of perceptions of quality of life in their respective communities. In addition, there is a persistent theme in the literature on urban quality of life on the link between amenity characteristics of place such as social, cultural, and economic development (Donald 2001). Randall and Williams argued that quality of life approaches require "an integration of qualitative and quantitative methods that is theoretically and empirically difficult to standardize and replicate in a comparison across communities, given the reliance

upon local input and the interplay between the individual and broader community-level structures" (2001:167).

The concept of quality of life can also be applied to housing. Given the many challenges to housing the poor, several housing indicators are used to point out whether the poor are receiving adequate shelter that would improve their quality of life. Indicators have been important to housing policy for a long time as governments and stakeholders started taking an interest in adequate shelter as a necessary ingredient for poverty alleviation (Horowitz 1987; 1998a; 1998b). In 1995, the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS) came out with the Habitat II indicator system that combined aspects from several participating countries. One of the main objectives of establishing these indicators was to develop in-country capacity for quantitatively monitoring the performance of housing and urban sectors to permit the regular analysis of the effects of housing policies (Flood 1997:1639). The document also stated that governments at all levels, including local officials, should apply shelter indicators as part of their commitment to strengthening their local housing implementation plans for the poor (Flood 1997).

Within the UNCHS Habitat indicator system, two modules or indicator sets are used for housing, the *Housing Affordability and Adequacy Module* that deals with the affordability and condition of the housing supply and the *Housing Provision Module* that deals with the provision of housing, including land development and tenure, finance, construction, subsidies, and building regulations. There are a total of 58 extensive indicators and 15 key indicators in the system. Some of the key indicators include: 1) average household size; 2) household income distribution; and 3) house price/rent-to-income ratio (Flood 1997).

The majority of these indicators are intended to provide a means to measuring housing delivery, but according to Flood (1997), Gear (1999), and Kissick et al. (2006), these UN indicators do not capture the social element of housing and the concerns the poor may have with accessing the formal housing market.

In light of the discussion on measuring poverty and housing, the following indicators are used throughout the dissertation to measure whether housing programs are helping the poor achieve an adequate quality of life: 1) the quality and type of housing they receive; 2) access to essential services such as water, sanitation and electricity; 3) community development and social relationships of trust and reciprocity within the community; 4) the poor having the ability to participate in the housing development program; and 5) household financial security through the provision of jobs or other income-generating opportunities. These particular indicators used in data collection and analysis are addressed in more detail in Chapter 4 on methodology. The next subsections will look at the literature for these indicators to address why these indicators are important in measuring quality of life for the poor.

Quality Housing

Most housing researchers agree that good quality housing is an important measure of a person's quality of life (Erasmus 2010; Spicker 2007; Yeboah 2005). Turner (1967) pointed out that quality housing includes having a secure physical housing structure to live in that will protect against the elements. Erasmus also pointed out that "the uses of shelter include the shelter structure and all the facilities, utility and services necessary for the physical and mental health and social well-being of the individual and the family" (2010:26). Many developing countries have allocated millions of dollars to creating secure, stable housing for the poor to protect them against the elements, as well as to give them a foundation for building quality of

life. But what is considered stable, quality housing? Housing researchers agree that quality housing should follow a set of building codes, a set of rules that detail an acceptable level of safety for houses. In 1961, the International Code Council, an international regulatory organization, developed the International Building Code, which provides minimum building standards to insure the safety, health, and welfare of the residents from hazards. Every three years, the International Code Council updates the building codes.   The International Building Codes have no legal status until they are adapted into a government's building regulations. For example, the South African government has adopted some of these international codes into their building regulations and standards. These codes determine several components of what goes into building a house. For example, the type of cement mixture used to make bricks is standardized. A mixture of poor cement can lead to low-quality bricks that could cause cracks in the walls and other foundational problems. Adopting building codes can standardize good versus poor quality cement. Researchers such as Gear (1999) and Baumann (2003) argued that having some type of building standard for houses can lead to creation of quality housing.

In the South Africa Housing Act of 1997, the government indicated that all inhabitants should have access to permanent residential structures with security of tenure and internal and external privacy (South African Department of Housing 1997). Tenure or property housing rights, according to Yeboah (2005), can be an important element in determining quality of housing because they afford people the ability to make upgrades and improvements to their home and property. In contrast to what is considered quality housing, the type of housing found in squatter or informal settlements where people lack tenure and property rights is not seen as adequate for the poor by the government. Given that over 10 million South Africans were living in some type of non-permanent shack structure by the end of apartheid, the government wanted

to give them more secure and stable housing, which they felt would help them achieve a better life (Richards et al. 2007; South African Government 2004).

Housing researchers such as Gear (1999) and Zack and Charlton (2003) argued that the structural integrity and the spatial structure of a house can help determine its quality. When housing researchers look at the housing structure, the type of building material, size, roofing, walls, and windows are considered. Most contemporary houses also have a section for cooking or a kitchen, a bathroom, a communal area, and a sleeping area or room with enough sufficient space for all the inhabitants. According to Erasmus (2010), a house should have at least the above components in order for it to be a comfortable dwelling for its residents. In addition, housing quality entails keeping the inhabitants protected from the elements, so good insulation and durable strong walls are essential. Erasmus also mentioned that poor ventilation, poor air quality and damp conditions inside a house can lead to health problems such as respiratory infections, pneumonia and other illnesses. The likelihood of developing illnesses is seen as one of the reasons for making sure that the physical structure of the house is of good quality and the construction of the house initially follows building regulations and codes.

<div align="center">

Access to Infrastructural Services
and Amenities

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Though having access to shelter and quality housing is considered by researchers as a fundamental right and basic need, access to running water, electricity and sewage are also very important in order to keep a house running. Infrastructural resources and amenities that help service a home are important components in helping people achieve quality of life. Most authors over the years agree that basic services located inside the home can help make the quality of living better for residents; to show the difference between having and not having access to services and amenities, some authors note the difference between the hardships of living in

informal settlements and permanent structures (Kellett and Napier 1995). Some of the hardships that researchers indicate that squatters have to cope with are the lack of running water and electricity within their shacks. The plight of squatters living in informal settlements and their lack of basic services has been one of the major reasons that many developing governments have adopted housing initiatives that include basic services such as water, sanitation and electricity inside the home (Gear 1999; Richards et al. 2007). Apparicio and Seguin (2006) also have indicated in their study of public housing in Montreal that houses should have running water and electricity to make the living environment healthier and livable for the inhabitants.

Also looking at public housing, Moolla et al. (2011) rated the level of satisfaction among people in public housing in Soweto, South Africa as low because the access to basic services within their homes was inadequate. Within the health literature, researchers and health practitioners argued that people should have access to clean running water when possible and that it should be located within the home (Witten et al. 2003, Hayry 1999).

In addition to basic necessities such as running water and electricity, access to other non-infrastructural services and amenities such as transportation, food markets and stores, schools, and health clinics is also important for adequate quality of life.[9] Moolla et al. (2001) found that the overall satisfaction of residents in Soweto with their housing was low because they believed that their homes were not ideally located in relation to available services. According to Turner (1967), inhabitants of low-income housing considered the proximity to basic services and amenities to be more important than the quality of their houses because without access to these services, most inhabitants would not be able to sustain their livelihoods. The people in Soweto that Moolla et al. (2011) interviewed felt that their homes were too far from bus stops and

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[9] Non-infrastructural services are defined in this dissertation as services and amenities that are not explicitly servicing the structure of the house, but assist the resident with maintaining a living inside the home. A breakdown of the non-infrastructural services analyzed in this dissertation can be found in Chapter 4.

depots, which made them spend more money and time on transportation. Other housing

researchers argue that close proximity to amenities and the workplace is important for economic

reasons and overall satisfaction (Erasmus 2010; Moolla et al. 2011; Witten et al. 2003).

According to Witten et al. (2003), the provision of public amenities such as parks, recreational

facilities and other social services are beneficial to residents' well-being because they provide

space for health-promoting activities and places for informal meetings and gatherings.

<div align="center">

Access to Jobs and Income-Generating
Opportunities

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As stated earlier in the literature review sections on poverty, having access to income and

jobs impacts people's quality of life and their ability to sustain their homes. Poverty researchers

have argued for years that possessing employment can lead to higher quality of life for people

(Drobnic et al. 2010; Sen 1985). Work not only provides people with a sufficient amount of

money to afford and obtain basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter, but it also

provides individuals with a sense of purpose, identity, and social status (Drobnic et al.

2010:206). Spicker (2007) argued that employment can give people psychological satisfaction

and a sense of purpose because they are physically doing something to enhance their quality of

life and supporting the people that depend on them. Being able to bring home money earned can

also signify status in community and household (Spicker 2007).

Access to employment to achieve quality of life can be either through formal or informal

means, as long as the individual is able to make money. In some cases, unemployment is seen as

more of a deprivation for the poor than being homeless because social status within a community

is achieved by how much money a person makes (Spicker 2007). According to Sen (1985), if

individuals have jobs, then they have the capability to obtain the resources and services to

enhance their quality of life far more easily. Without some type of income, individuals can face

constant struggles to obtain the things they need in life (Sen 1997). Though several South African authors have argued that providing people with formal housing will lead to a better quality of life for them (Gear 1999; Huchzermeyer 2003; Tomlinson 2006), unemployment is still seen as the main cause of poverty in the country and is still a national priority (Higgs 2007). The argument for creating more jobs for the unemployed is a major concern in both developed and developing countries.

In addition, unemployment or lack of income not only damages individuals' capabilities to obtain the things that can better their lives, but it can also impede their ability to build up financial or economic capital and assets. According to Bourdieu (1986), financial capital, which is the control over cash and assets, can be used as a foundation for obtaining other forms of capital such as social and cultural capital. Without cash or income, it becomes harder for individuals to maintain their households, social status and overall well-being (Bourdieu 1986).

Community, Social Capital, and Trust

A recurring theme that persistently emerges from the research in Port Elizabeth and in some of the housing literature is the concept of community development and how developing community and social capital can increase people's quality of life. Putnam (1993) defined social capital as the features of social organization, such as the trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action. The networks that are developed by individuals are based upon reciprocal value; in other words, each member or person in the group or network will obtain some sort of value for being part of the group. Other scholars have written about social capital, comparing it to other forms of capital such as financial, physical, cultural, and human capital (Light 2004; Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu (1986) wrote about how social, cultural and human capital can be transformed into one other. In other

words, a person with some form of human capital, for example job training, can soon be in a position to earn financial capital (a high-paying job). However, to participate in the trading system of capital formulation, one must have some form of minimal capital initially (Light 2004:25).

Many authors agree with the idea that community participation and involvement is important in establishing social trust within the given community. Silverman (2004) noted the great contention among academics about how to define social capital. Policymakers and practitioners debate how to implement community-centered programs and to infuse social capital into public programs. They argue that social capital is achieved and built upon established social networks; in other words, without social networks and associations, social capital ceases to exist. Putnam (1995; 2000) talked about the direct correlation between membership in social organizations such as bowling leagues, parent-teacher associations and labor unions and the decline of civil society. Lack of such community involvement is the primary reason for societal problems. Without social organizations, social capital and trust cannot be produced; thus community development cannot be achieved.

In an economic sense, community development, defined as the activity of encouraging the growth of social capital, occurs when individuals in the community become involved in activities and projects that will bring financial capital to their area (Lin 2000). Some of the dilemmas in the social capital and community development literature concern the notions of mutual gain and empowerment among the beneficiaries of social capital projects (FitzGerald 1993; Silverman 2004). In a later chapter, a community vegetable project and the social significance of it to the people in one of the research areas will be discussed.

Many authors agree that the key ingredient in community development initiatives is the community itself, i.e., the residents that make up the community. FitzGerald (1993) noted in her research in South Africa how a participatory community development project in Bophuthatswana Province encountered several problems because many of the villagers were unwilling to trust the development organization that oversaw the project. In addition, there was mistrust among the community members who served on the project committee. Nevertheless, most field workers and academics, such as Silverman (2004) and Lin (2000), agreed that democratic participation and equality are needed to make any type of community development and thus overall housing and economic development projects succeed.

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Beneficiary Participation in
Development Programs

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Several housing researchers argue that the participation of the beneficiaries in the housing development process is important for quality of life (Baumann 2003; Gear 1999; Zack and Charlton 2003; Zack 2004). One of the underlying arguments threaded throughout this dissertation is the discussion of how involved beneficiaries or recipients of development programs should be in the development process. From the decision-making and structuring of the program to its actual implementation, whether beneficiaries should be active participants of within each of these steps is looked at in this research.

The concern about beneficiary involvement is not a new phenomenon within development literature. Since the early 1960s, there have been efforts to include the recipients of development assistance in the framing and implementation of programs. However, recently there has been more attention paid to whether donor agencies and developers are proactively trying to bring in these populations into their project design stages (Chambers 1997). Some of the concerns researchers have with developers not bringing beneficiaries into development

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planning is that it creates an environment of misunderstanding and lack of trust on both sides

(Hobart 1993). Also transparency and communication become more of a concern when

beneficiaries are left out of the planning stages. For many development workers interacting with

beneficiaries, the lack of involvement and transparency can cause strain between them and

beneficiaries, resulting in delayed implementation of projects, arguments over funding, and a

lack of cooperation (Chambers 1997). Knorringa and Helmsing (2008), among others, discussed

the rise in public-private partnerships, as well as contracting agencies that compete for

government contracts to implement projects in developing countries. Some in the development

field believe that the private sector, made up of large and small businesses, NGOs, and

institutions, can deliver results more efficiently than government departments and agencies and

have more face-to-face interaction with beneficiaries (Davis 2008). The two factors that make

development institutions shift to the private sector are size and accountability.

Some authors have argued that governments can be notoriously slow and inefficient, and

bureaucratic red tape can hamper program implementation. Chambers (1997) argued that many

governments have become too big to effectively handle implementing development projects, and

programs have been laden with regulations and oversight obligations. Many beneficiaries have

complained that the programs directly implemented by governments have been inefficient and

unsustainable. In addition, many feel that government officials are not concerned with the

idiosyncrasies of local communities, but with supporting large-scale programs that can be

duplicated throughout the country (Gear 1999). This argument has led many development

agencies (national and international) to gear their programs towards smaller non-profits,

businesses, and non-governmental organizations that can have a greater impact on local

communities and directly work with the people who are impacted by these programs. The role

of a non-governmental organization in the development of one of the housing projects examined will be discussed later in the dissertation. Several authors note how development institutions believe that the private sector and civil society can have a greater influence and more flexibility in implementing projects (Knorringa and Helmsing 2008; Arthur 2006). This same argument is used not only for developing countries, but within industrialized nations as well. Though this way of thinking has worked in many cases, it becomes problematic when the debate turns to how much control the private sector should have over development programs compared to the government. Harris and Seid (2000) argued that without regulations implemented by the government, private sector businesses are not held as accountable or responsible for their actions, which could lead to greater inequality, less transparency, and the use of substandard construction materials.

Another major concern regarding the participation level of beneficiaries is how to structure programs to meet the needs of the people in the best possible way. Most development programs have been top-down in which development managers and officials at the top would dictate how development programs would work on the ground. Some of the primary criticism (Chambers 1983; 1997; Nolan 1994; Hjern and Hull 1982) of this approach concerns development officials being far removed from actual implementation. Additionally, conditions on the ground may change or may be unpredictable compared to how development projects are structured at the top. Top-down approaches sometimes do not take into consideration ideas from beneficiaries in local communities and their local expertise. Sabatier (1986), a proponent of top-down development, talked about how the methodology and hierarchical structure of top-down development should be reconstructed because the current structure assumes that the framers of

development projects are the only key actors and the beneficiaries are only impediments to project objectives.

On the other hand, bottom-up development approaches have been criticized (Sabatier 1986). Bottom-up approaches can be seen as grassroots, community-driven initiatives that take into consideration local stresses and issues (Chambers 1997). Given that these development approaches attempt to be more specific and appropriate to local communities, critics have seen this bottom-up approach to development as too local and not capable of being replicated in other areas (Sabatier 1986). In addition to this sentiment, most observers see bottom-up development projects as lacking structure and organizational capacity, as well as objectivity.

Conclusion

This review of literature examined conceptual understandings of poverty, housing, and quality of life as well as some the main indicators and measurements for each concept. It was important to the breadth of this dissertation to provide a detailed discussion on poverty and how it is defined and measured, in order to understand how housing can be used as a tool for poverty alleviation. This literature review also examined current housing literature and discussions to provide context for the housing situation in South Africa. Quality of Life literature was looked at to understand how scholars measure the ability of people to sustain a standard of living and transition out of poverty. Understanding what individuals need in order to maintain a sustainable living is an important tool in poverty alleviation strategies, so this chapter examined how the indicators of quality of life used in the dissertation research (quality housing, employment and income, access to services, community involvement and participation) are all important indicators of the ability of the poor to create sustainable livelihoods for themselves.

It was pointed out in the first chapter how the South African government has tried to help millions of disadvantaged people in the country out of poverty, created because of apartheid, with programs, such as housing initiatives, dedicated to poverty alleviation. As government officials try to create housing development programs to improve quality of life for the poor, it becomes important for them to define what poverty and adequate housing actually entail. This chapter attempted to provide a foundation of understanding of what the poor endure and some of the reasons for the causes of their struggles, as well as to point out how the lack of adequate housing can hinder their ability to achieve a greater quality of life. Given the history of apartheid and housing in South Africa, which the next chapter will discuss, it was important for the literature review to address the discussions surrounding housing and poverty.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF APARTHEID

AND HOUSING IN SOUTH AFRICA

This dissertation is based on research conducted in the townships of Walmer and Wells Estate in the city of Port Elizabeth, South Africa from 2005 to 2006. This chapter provides a historical overview of South Africa, the history of housing in the country, and an overview of the city of Port Elizabeth and specific areas in the city where I conducted research. This chapter is divided into five sections. The first two sections look at the history of apartheid and housing in South Africa. The next section looks at the history of Port Elizabeth and the creation of a segregated city. The fourth section provides an overview of the current demography of Port Elizabeth, and the final section provides the history and overview of the specific sites where research was conducted.

<u>Understanding Apartheid</u>

Apartheid was a system of legal racial segregation that dominated South Africa from 1948 to 1993. Apartheid policy was used as a way for the minority white population, both English and Afrikaners, to preserve white domination, and it was also designed to ensure that the interests of whites were protected against the majority black South African population. However, apartheid existed in the country long before it became official in the mid-twentieth century. The term *apartheid* came from the Afrikaans word for "apartness" and was used in practice as a way to separate white Dutch settlers, later known as Boers or Afrikaners, from native Africans beginning in the 1600s (Smith 1982). Boers used social apartheid to separate themselves from Africans (and systematically, other ethnic groups), only interacting with them for trade or business purposes.

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When the British arrived in Cape Town in 1796, they immediately faced and came into conflict politically and socially with Dutch settlers already living in the region. The Dutch settlers were practicing a form of slavery and a system of common law that gave no social or political standing to non-whites. When the British conquered the Boers in the early 1800s, they set up a British common law system that the Boers found opposed to their societal norms and customs. One of the reasons for the societal conflict between Boers and the English was their difference in treatment of black South Africans. In the mid-nineteenth century, Great Britain was moving towards abolishing slavery throughout their empire, including South Africa. The Boers wanted to maintain a system of control over black Africans and their lands so they could exploit their labor. Blacks, primarily the Khoi Khoi people, were forced to work on Boer lands, coercively, without any form of payment for their labor.[10] Also the British wanted to introduce a system of industrialism and economic liberalism, which was in conflict with the Boer agricultural and landowning practices. The Boers did not agree with any form of imperialism or intervention of any outside powers regulating how they should live in South Africa. In 1835, they migrated out of the Cape Colony to areas further into the interior and established the Transvaal and Orange Free State. In their migration, they had many brutal conflicts and encounters with different African groups, such as the isiXhosa, isiZulus, and Sothos, in their pursuit to escape British rule in the Cape and to establish their own social and political institutions.

The mid-nineteenth century was an unsettled period of transition for South Africans as Boers began to establish farms and large land holdings across the country and moved from under British rule to sovereignty. Though slavery was outlawed in South Africa in 1835 by the British, Boer farmers began to implement a system of serfdom in which black South Africans were

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[10] The Khoi Khoi is a Southern African ethnic group primarily found in the Cape region of the country.

forced into working on white-owned farms and were rarely paid for their labor (Terreblanche 2002). The discovery of gold and diamonds towards the end of the nineteenth century in the Boer-occupied areas created tension between the British and Boers, which led to the South African War of 1899-1902.

Afrikaners eventually lost the South African War, but the surrender agreement with the British Empire included a clause that black South Africans were not allowed to vote in the newly created Union of South Africa (Oakes 1995). The disenfranchisement of black South Africans set up the ability of Afrikaners to pass laws in the early twentieth century that would help them gain control over parliament and unified the country under Afrikaner dominance and nationalism. In addition, many Afrikaners did not want to have social or physical interactions with blacks except through work, so the Afrikaner-led government created laws that would regulate the movement and labor supply of black South Africans and maintain social segregation (Terreblanche 2002).

When the Afrikaner-led National Party took control of the government in 1948, one of the first orders of business was to establish official apartheid through official policies and laws. As mentioned earlier, apartheid is defined by the total separation of racial groups. The National Party was formed by Afrikaners who wanted to maintain a privileged status in the country and access to the best housing, jobs and education, separate from other ethnicities. Apartheid policies created a system of separation between all ethnic groups in South Africa: Whites, Africans, Coloureds, and later, Asians/Indians.

Some authors, such as Browett (1982), have argued that apartheid was imposed in response to Afrikaners who wanted to separate themselves politically and socially from the British—an attempt at nationalism and Afrikaner unity. On the other hand, it has been argued by

Morris (1971) and Smith (1982) that apartheid was created to manage the economic challenges of labor and industry that came after the discovery of gold in the Transvaal. One of the arguments about apartheid's economic beginnings includes the idea that Afrikaners needed a steady supply of cheap black labor to staff mines and urban municipal industries, thus creating a system of separation (Lemon 1991). Though there are different beliefs about apartheid's beginnings, one of the fundamental underpinnings of apartheid is its racist ideology. Afrikaners that supported apartheid believed in the inferiority of Africans and that systematic separation was necessary to maintain the integrity of their white culture (Lemon 1991).

Living under apartheid was harsh and inequitable for all non-white racial groups, but primarily for black South Africans. Apartheid systematically controlled the movements of blacks throughout the country. It also stifled the cultural, personal and community growth of Africans during from 1948 to 1991. Black Africans were relegated to the periphery of cities to live in substandard townships or to designated ethnic rural homelands. From 1954 onwards, the Department of Native Affairs attempted to link urban Africans to their respective homelands. Tribal homelands, or Bantustans, were constituted as separate entities where Africans would be recognized as citizens. Because they were made citizens of the homelands, black Africans were not allowed to participate in South African politics and were forced to carry passes if they wished to travel into the rest of the country. However, most of the homelands were in areas with little long-term employment and with unsuitable land for agriculture, which meant blacks had to leave these areas to find income-earning opportunities in or near cities.

After the outbreak of World War II, many blacks migrated to industrial cities such as Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg to look for new employment opportunities and to escape the pressures of poverty in the rural areas. According to Maasdorp and Humphreys (1975),

commercial, mining and shipping activities were stimulated by the war. Despite influx control

laws put into place to control the number of blacks moving into the cities and the number of

houses and hostels built for them, blacks continued to come because they wanted to escape

poverty and find work. However, the government could not keep up with the demand for

housing for migrant black Africans, and most existing townships were not capable of handling

the growing population. Black Africans started to build their own temporary houses or shacks in

any vacant area they could find. Squatter settlements, or shantytowns, started to emerge on the

outskirts of African townships because of the lack of adequate housing   Squatter housing was a

means of survival for Africans. The rise of informal settlements led many Afrikaners to justify

the need for separate housing for black South Africans. Afrikaners were worried that without

strict housing regulations that would house black South Africans separately, there would be a

steady influx of blacks from rural areas to the cities (Terreblanche 2002).

After massive anti-apartheid campaigns and the impact of global economic sanctions on

South Africa, apartheid policy began to unravel with the election of F. W. De Klerk and the

release of political prisoner and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in 1990. As

the struggle to end apartheid mounted, right-wing extremists and African groups worried about

the dominance of the ANC applied pressure to maintain the system.   The late 1980s and early

1990s saw some of the most violent struggles between supporters and opponents of apartheid in

the history of the country. In February 1990, after De Klerk announced the "unbanning" of

liberation and activist groups, more than 450 people were murdered during this month (Oakes

1995:507). The Zulu-led Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

had deadly clashes with ANC supporters throughout the country, mostly because they feared that

an ANC-led government would economically and socially marginalize the Zulu people. In 1991,

Mandela, De Klerk, and some other leaders of the ANC and other political organizations formed

the Government of National Unity to embark on national reforms to transition the country from

authoritarian rule to democracy. Despite the anti-unity struggles, on April 26, 1994, South

Africa held its first democratic election in which all ethnicities were allowed to vote.

<u>Housing in South Africa</u>

The provision of housing in South Africa has long been intertwined with apartheid. The

idea of separate housing for Africans started when the white settlers of major urban industrial

cities in South Africa, such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, needed African labor to help run

the cities. However, whites were not ready to accept these African workers, including municipal

workers, domestics and housekeepers, dock workers and caretakers, comma as equal and fellow

citizens. Whites also did not want to live next to them. Most of them feared the spread of

contagious diseases by Africans, such as the bubonic plague.[11] Though not sanctioned by the

government, segregation was achieved in the private housing market through racial exclusion

clauses in suburban property deeds and titles (Lemon 1991:3). Some municipalities, such as Port

Elizabeth, allowed the development of segregated areas for Africans in the form of townships

and shack settlements within the city. In the late nineteenth century, compounds in mining

towns, such as Kimberly, were established to house Africans working the mines, assuring mining

companies a reliable supply of labor (Lemon 1991). These single-roomed compounds, later

referred to as hostels, were only for male workers, so they were not full-fledged housing for

families. Black South African families were left in rural areas and not allowed to live with the

mine workers for fear of the creation of an organized working class (Lemon 1991). According to

Maasdorp and Humphreys (1975) and Lemon (1991), the economic structure of apartheid

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[11] Fear of the spread of disease did not, however, affect the location of African townships, many of which were located near trash dumps, sewage treatment plants and livestock slaughterhouses.

created a system of control, dependency, and subjection of African mine workers. It relies on Afrikaners to provide job opportunities and adequate housing for them near urban centers.

There was no centralized state control over Africans living in or in close proximity to cities, and many major cities did not start establishing segregated townships until 1923.[12] By the 1920s, the national government became more involved in the housing situation for Africans. In 1923, the government passed the Natives Urban Areas Act, which empowered local municipal authorities to set aside segregated lands for Africans, to house Africans living in cities, and to implement a system of influx control of urban Africans (Lemon 1991). The 1923 act not only established a framework for how Africans were to live and enter urban areas, but it also laid the foundation for future apartheid legislation.

The Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 strengthened influx control laws by allowing a black to claim permanent residence in an urban area only if the person resided there since birth, and lawfully resided there for 15 years (Lemon 1991). Despite the fact that black South Africans had lived in their homes for many years, many could not prove legal residency because they did not possess any legal documentation. Blacks were subsequently removed from city locations to shantytowns or uncontrolled areas outside the cities. The only way they could legally enter the cities was if they had state-issued passes.

The housing situation for black South Africans became extremely dire during World War II. Materials that were normally used for housing construction were reallocated towards the war effort, causing the housing backlog to increase. In addition, with the near depletion of gold from

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[12] One of the preliminary documents before the 1923 Natives Act had mentioned that, "the native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the White man's creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister" (Lemon 1991:4).

the mines, many towns and cities did not create new housing for Africans (Lemon 1991). This is one of the reasons for the increase of squatter settlements outside large cities.

When the Afrikaner-led National Party took control of the government in 1948 and started to implement tougher apartheid legislation, they used housing to exercise control over black South Africans. The Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1966 had stricter and more far-reaching effects on racial segregation than previous legislation and created the "apartheid city" (Lemon 1991).[13] The Group Areas Act framed an important apartheid philosophical tenet—"that incompatibility between ethnic groups is such that contact between them leads to friction and harmonious relations can be secured only by minimizing points of contact. By preventing contact, urban residential segregation hinders any transition from conflict pluralism to a more open pluralistic society" (Lemon 1991:8). With the two Group Areas Acts, the apartheid regime hoped to halt allegiances, affiliations, or community organizations that would link people across ethnic lines. This racial housing zoning also prohibited inter-group social contact within ethnic groups that might occur in churches, sporting clubs, or any other social gatherings.

The Group Areas Acts also extended control over private property by regulating the sale price of houses and businesses. The white population was set up to benefit from this scheme because many Africans (and other non-white groups) were unable to purchase property at set market prices. Black South Africans were forced to live in designated locations and, if they wanted to purchase property, they had to do it in these areas.

By the 1980s, pressures to end racially segregated housing areas increased as the demand by black South Africans for housing increased. As more black Africans were moving to the cities to look for employment and middle-class black Africans living in the townships were able

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[13] The Group Areas Act was not only the basis of apartheid housing laws, but it also formed the basis for segregated education, and health and social services.

to afford larger homes, the demand on the government for adequate housing became even more pressing despite apartheid restrictions.

History of Port Elizabeth

The historical accounts of Port Elizabeth differ considerably from other major cities in the country. This can be contributed to the lack of definitive accounts or research on the history of Port Elizabeth compared to other major cities such as Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town. J.J. Redgrave's *Port Elizabeth in Bygone* Days (1947), Eleanor K. Lorimer, *Panorama of Port Elizabeth* (1971) and Margaret Harradine, *Port Elizabeth: A Social Chronicle to the End of 1945* (1994) gave a one-sided look at the creation of Port Elizabeth by concentrating on pioneering British settlers and portraying them as making the sole contribution to Port Elizabeth, hence leaving out early contributions to the city by Afrikaners, Indians and black Africans. The black population is nearly invisible in these accounts; blacks are only mentioned in references to labor categories and how they supplied Port Elizabeth with labor. Furthermore, none of these books discussed the social development and segregation of the city. However, I was able to obtain helpful information on the history of the city by utilizing urban social historical accounts that concentrated on particular populations and locations in and around the city. A few contemporary historical accounts focus on the particular histories of black South African populations and their locations, yet there is still no all-encompassing definitive account of the history of Port Elizabeth. Historian Gary Baines (2002), in his book *A History of New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1903-1953: the Detroit of the Union*, contributed a compelling account of the creation of the New Brighton township vis-à-vis Port Elizabeth, which includes historical information on the creation of the Port Elizabeth Municipality and metro area, which was helpful in mapping and shaping a brief history of the city for this dissertation.

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Port Elizabeth was founded by British settlers in 1847 as a commercial wool farming town in the Cape Colony, in conjunction with the emerging British textile industry. The city soon became a major trade station in the eastern district of the Cape Colony. It also provided supplies such as ostrich feathers, hides, and similar materials (Baines 2002:12). Port Elizabeth was known as the "Liverpool of the Cape" for its favorable port and harbor of Algoa Bay (Baines 2002:12-13).[14] During this time, Port Elizabeth town was majority white English, with some Xhosa-speakers doing domestic work for these pioneers. Xhosa-speakers also lived in the rural areas surrounding Port Elizabeth, although only a handful sought employment within the city during this time. Most of the employment was limited to manufacturing industries, export/import shipping industries, and harbor duties. Many blacks, especially women, worked in domestic service, where they were employed as housekeepers for white households. Unfortunately, Port Elizabeth could not compete with the economic and political dominance of Cape Town, also known as the "Mother City,"[15] and thus suffered from economic undercapitalization and poor infrastructure. The low population of this time reflects the lack of employment and job opportunities in the area (Lemon 1991).[16]

Between 1891 and 1904 the population began to increase steadily. More black South Africans began to migrate from surrounding rural areas into the city as casual migrant workers, and white Afrikaners trying to escape the Boer-English War fled from their diminishing peasant farmlands to the city. The number of Asian and Coloured people increased as well. Most of these new residents worked for the railways and the harbor as contractual workers. During

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[14] See the map later in this chapter for the location of Algoa Bay in relation to Port Elizabeth.

[15] Cape Town still is referred to as the "Mother City."

[16] The total population in Port Elizabeth in 1855 was 4,793. Of this number, 3,509 were white and 1,284 were African. This number does not distinguish between Afrikaners and English or between Xhosa-speakers and other Black Africans.

World War I, Port Elizabeth experienced an economic boom in its commercial industries, yet as soon as the war ceased, Port Elizabeth suffered an economic recession. To help restart the fledging economy, the municipality began to look at other new economic ventures, particularly in industry.

<center>Rise of an Apartheid City: Port Elizabeth,
Housing and Apartheid Policy</center>

During apartheid, the city of Port Elizabeth tried to maintain a progressive image compared to the rest of the country. City officials wanted to display to other cities that their black and white populations could work together for the benefit of city-wide economic growth and industrialization. With a large unskilled labor pool and a large number of seasonal black African and Coloured contract workers, the late 1920s in Port Elizabeth saw the establishment of an automobile industry. This fledging industry was a major change for the city from its foundation as a commercial port, and soon Port Elizabeth earned the title, the "Detroit of South Africa" (Baines 2005:79). During this time, both whites and Africans worked at automobile factories, where a desegregated workforce was promoted. This image, along with its working relationship with Black African populations, promoted an impression of Port Elizabeth as a "progressive city" (Baines 2005).

Most of the African workforce during the early twentieth century lived in the New Brighton township of Port Elizabeth.[17] New Brighton, established in 1902 as a "model native settlement" under the Native Reserve Location Act, was just within the borders of the Port Elizabeth municipality, on the outskirts. New Brighton was seen as different from many other African locations across the country because it existed prior to the Urban Areas Act and other

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[17] Though I did not conduct any research in the New Brighton Township, it was the first black township in Port Elizabeth and laid the foundation for black culture in the city.

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separatist legislation. The township housed working black families who owned property and their homes. The existence of New Brighton as an established place for black African workers helped to promote the city as progressive in its dealings with black populations. Furthermore, New Brighton helped produce an image to whites in Port Elizabeth of an exceptional and acceptable African population compared to other Africans elsewhere. Most black Africans living in New Brighton were middle-class and had been living in the city for many generations (Baines 2002).

As the national government was enacting segregation policy for the country, city officials in Port Elizabeth in the early 1920s attempted to sculpt the Natives Urban Areas Act to correspond with the city's progressive image and address specific local concerns. Because of their close contact with local blacks residing in the city, officials did not want the hostility that was aimed at national government policies directed at them. Port Elizabeth officials wanted to show their constituents that their early housing policy in the city during apartheid was more about the creation of better and healthier African areas and elimination of unsanitary informal settlements than about human rights eradication and implementing national urban areas legislation. Thus local authorities maintained their liberal, progressive image without being identified as racist during this era (B. Taylor 1991:67).

During the implementation stages of the Urban Areas Act, most black African, Coloured, and Asian populations were relocated to specific, separate areas to further control their movements into Port Elizabeth. By this time, most of these disadvantaged groups were living in slums and informal shacks in the inner-city Korsten area, which is just north of the Algoa Bay in Port Elizabeth. Most of the Coloured population continued to live in the Korsten area, but most of the African population was "relocated" to the periphery in Kwazakele, which is an area

northwest of the central district of the city and north of the New Brighton. Because the local

government was required to compensate home and property owners for their relocation, black

Africans were considered the cheapest and least compensated racial group to be removed, due to

their lack of property ownership. So before Port Elizabeth officials began forcibly to remove

black Africans to the urban periphery, they offered them the opportunity to build their own

houses on pre-approved municipal land in the area of Kwazakhele north of New Brighton. These

areas came to be known as site and services schemes: inexpensive residential areas provided with

municipal services such as water and sanitation, where Africans could build their own homes on

surveyed plots, under the supervision of local authorities (B. Taylor 1991).

During the 1960s through the 1980s, site and services schemes were a favored practice

among developing countries as a way to alleviate the stresses of over-population in urban areas.

Many developing country governments, including South Africa, faced a huge dilemma: trying to

provide infrastructure and housing in congested urban areas. Most governments spent their

efforts building large public housing dwellings, such as multi-story housing projects in

Johannesburg, and eradicating large informal slum settlements that surrounded major cities

(Mayo and Gross 1987). These solutions did not fully solve the problems of poverty, chronic

unemployment, and inaccessibility to services and facilities that plagued urban residents and

immigrants. In addition, more than two-thirds of people who qualified for public housing never

received it, could not afford it, or got lost in the bureaucratic red tape (Mayo and Gross

1987:303), so instead the South African government decided to concentrate its efforts on site and

services strategies. This made it easier for individuals living in dwellings not formally

recognized by city or provincial governments to upgrade their existing informal houses. In terms

of upgrading, people who were living in informal housing, primarily located in the townships,

were now allowed to receive official municipal services. In addition, people were able to build their own homes on these site and services plots if they did not have existing shacks. City governments were able to provide these site and services homes with municipal services and utilities such as running water, electricity, flush toilets, trash pickup and postal services (Mayo and Gross 1987).

Housing researchers, such as Bev Taylor (1991), have pointed out that site and services schemes were hailed by South African government officials and other stakeholders as a "panacea for low cost housing provision in Port Elizabeth" (1991:75). White South Africans and government officials were pleased with site and services schemes because they saw them as a way to eliminate "unattractive" informal settlements in the developing areas of the city; this also separated blacks, sending them to more distant residential areas. Also, local authorities gave the impression that moving to these areas was healthier for Africans because they were given the opportunity to live in better conditions compared to existing slums. Thus, local officials succeeded in not only implementing the required Urban Areas Act, but they also succeeded in maintaining friendly terms with the black Africans by giving them the opportunity to build their own homes.

However, black South Africans had major concerns about site and services schemes. Most saw it as another tool in governmental segregation because they still lived in racially-designated separate townships and were not allowed to freely travel into the cities. As Bev Taylor noted, "the provisions of residential amenities and services were also seen as a means of controlling Africans locally" (1991:75). In other words, local Port Elizabeth officials felt that if they provided blacks with these services and the ability to build their own homes or upgrade existing shacks, then that would curtail their hostility towards national apartheid policy. Black

South Africans were made to be grateful for the services that the municipality was providing, which advanced the goal of the national governments to separate the populations (B. Taylor 1991).

<div align="center">Economy and Housing in Port Elizabeth
Before and During the Apartheid Years</div>

Many of the economic changes in Port Elizabeth, although prior to official apartheid legislation, directly affected its housing problems As stated previously, the city had major industrial zones, which attracted auto manufacturers and heavy industry. Its ideal port and harbor location along the Indian Ocean also made the city attractive to foreign and national investors. In the early twentieth century, Port Elizabeth officials began campaigns to market the city's business potential to foreign investors. The direct marketing campaign succeeded; both Ford and General Motors launched assembly plants in the city during the 1920s, followed by European automakers after World War II.

One of the main elements of the marketing campaign was the city's stable, abundant, and cheap African workforce, said to be a readily available supply of labor for new factories. The use of African labor as a marketing tool for attracting foreign investment only perpetuated the need for local authorities to "manage" their black African populations in controlled residential areas or locations. Because the primary concern of the local government was to accommodate industry, local officials and the national government were repeatedly at odds when it came to total racial segregation and other national apartheid legislation. Authorities in Port Elizabeth disagreed with the national government over removal strategies. City officials in Port Elizabeth believed that the cost of removing residents to segregated areas would be too much and take too long to complete. They also felt that the removal process would severely impact the readily-available labor pool of black South Africans for the auto industry because residents would be too

far from these jobs and would be too preoccupied with resettlement to be able to work (Baines 2002). In response to this disagreement, the national government made it difficult for city officials to obtain government housing loans for the development of new site and services areas; thus the municipality became more dependent on the local auto industry to supplement the cost of removing black Africans to newly created segregated areas.

However, neither the local nor national government considered or understood the terrible effect forced removals of Africans into segregated areas would have on the population. Most of the black Africans that resided in these segregated areas were factory workers and tenants paying rent to the municipality or another African property owner. Many also lived in substandard housing or makeshift informal shacks with overcrowding and poor sanitation. One of the methods officials used to move Africans to outlying areas was to convince these poor populations that it was in the best interest of their health to move to an area with better sanitary conditions, which the municipality would provide. Many black Africans agreed to the removal, yet others did not, arguing that the relocation would disrupt their families and communities. Despite the disagreements, most black Africans were relocated to the outskirts of Port Elizabeth, which caused a greater financial burden, as people needed to travel into the city for shopping, employment, and other services. As part of influx control measures, blacks entering the city from the townships had to indicate their reason for being in the city—the typical reason was for work (Baines 2002).

Furthermore, these removals affected the mentality of some Africans living in these areas. Though the housing was a considerable improvement over their former locations, Africans were not given a voice in the removal process, nor was their input considered. This

inferior treatment towards Africans was not atypical during this time, which led to greater defiance against the apartheid state.

<div align="center">

"*Ibhayi* is Home": Africans' Perspectives
on Housing during Apartheid

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Compared to other anti-apartheid campaigns across the country during the apartheid years, Port Elizabeth was not a major arena for the freedom movement. For example, residents did not participate as much in the Defiance Campaign, an organized campaign of civil disobedience that began in April 1962, as did residents of Johannesburg and Cape Town. Led by the ANC, the campaign was undertaken by a number of organizations as a way of marking the 300th anniversary of the arrival of Dutch setters to the Cape of Good Hope.

Port Elizabeth officials saw themselves as creating a "progressive city", which was an example of how South African cities could cultivate a working relationship by providing free housing and municipal services to the black population. In return, many Africans were pleased by the actions of city officials and became willing participants in housing and economic programs in their townships. Bev Taylor (1991) argued that national and local officials saw the provision of amenities and services to Africans as a means of keeping their minds off national grievances and political viewpoints.

On the other hand, some black Africans lost their property during removals to the newly created townships. Some of them were forced to relocate without adequately gathering their belongings (B. Taylor 1991). In addition, blacks reported that once they moved into the townships, their situation only got worse. These townships were farther away from formal work opportunities and only contributed to increased cost of travel and cost of living, a drain on household finances, and a decline in overall physical and mental health. These problems served

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to galvanize local ANC support as a way to protest against forced removal and the overall housing policy.

For the most part during the 1960s and 1970s, blacks in Port Elizabeth cooperated with this deal. There was widespread agreement between African representatives and the local authorities. Blacks living in Port Elizabeth were granted more socio-cultural rights compared to black Africans living in other major cities (Baines 2002). For instance, New Brighton residents were able to establish civic and community organizations, such as saving and credit groups and athletic organizations. They were also able to practice their traditional cultural customs within the township, hold community-wide cook-outs, and have annual music and folk festivals (Baines 2002). Generally, most people living in New Brighton felt that they were part of a larger community and took pride in a collective identity of the township (Baines 2002). They considered their houses as *ibhayi*, the Xhosa term for home. The collective history of Africans living in the New Brighton township of Port Elizabeth was that of community building and cultural heritage. Overall, black Africans found ways to cope with their living arrangement in the city during apartheid, but only at the expense of their universal human rights of equality, self-determination, and freedom.

Overview of Contemporary Port Elizabeth

Currently, the city of Port Elizabeth with a population of 1 million is the fifth largest in South Africa and the largest in the Eastern Cape Province. It is located on the southeastern coast of the country, bordering the Indian Ocean and Algoa Bay (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. South Africa and its Major Cities (Source: CIA World Fact Book 2012)[18]

In 2000, the city of Port Elizabeth and neighboring towns of Uitenhage and Despatch discontinued their local councils to become the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality with a total population of 1.5 million. According to the South African Census of 2001, of the total population, about 60 percent is black South African, 23 percent is Coloured, 17 percent is White[19] and a little more than one percent is Indian/Asian (Statistics South Africa 2003). The main African ethnic group in the area is isiXhosa, followed by Zulu and Southern Sotho.

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[18] Figure 1 is an open access map from the CIA World Factbook.

[19] English and Afrikaners make up the White category in the SA Census.
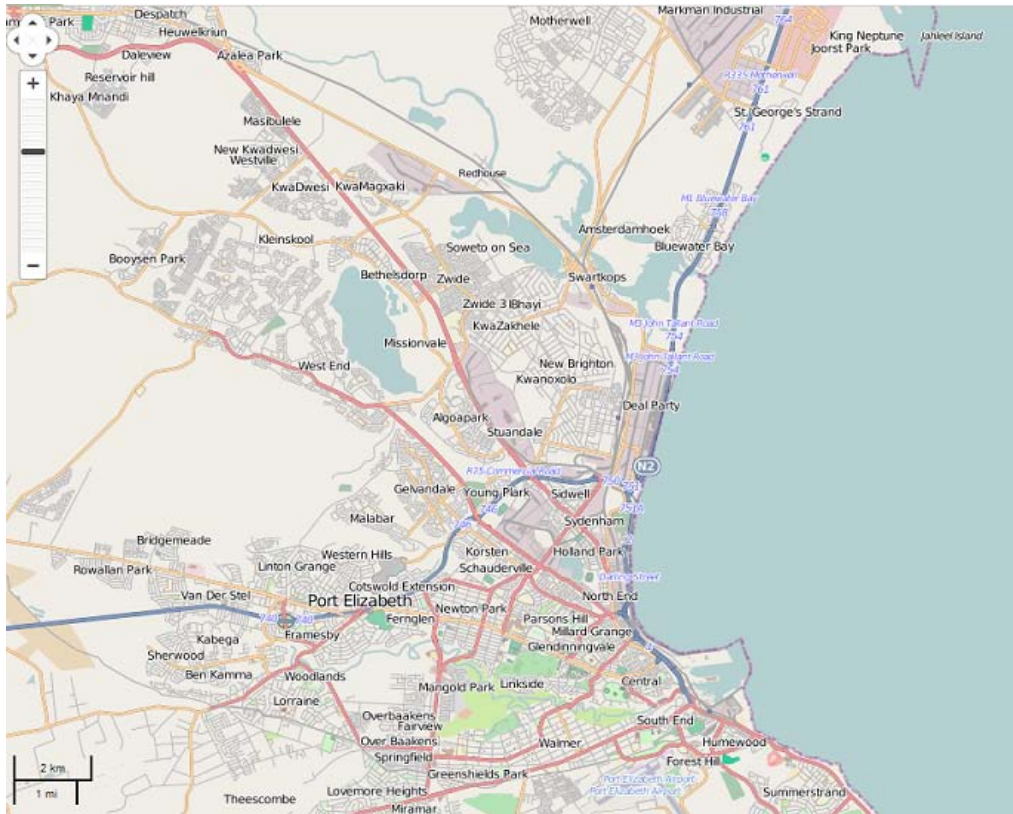
**Figure 2. Port Elizabeth and its Neighborhoods and Townships
(Source: OpenStreetMap Contributors, CC BY-SA 2012)[20]**

As shown in Figure 2, the city is made up of several neighborhoods which serve as "inner-suburbs" or residential, neighborhood areas. As stated earlier, most of the neighborhoods were created to be racially-designated districts in the early 1900s, which carried through into the apartheid era. Because of this, access and travel to and from certain residential areas were restricted during apartheid according to Urban Areas Act regulations. Some of the main residential areas in Port Elizabeth such as Summerstrand, Humewood, and Walmer were previously designated white areas; New Brighton, Motherwell, Zwide, Walmer Location and Wells Estate were designated African locations or townships; Gelvandale was for Coloureds and

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[20] Figure 2, as well as Figures 3 and 4 below, are open access maps from OpenStreetMap.

some Indians and Asians.[21] Though most ethnic groups currently still live in these geographically segregated settings, all are now free to live in any area they choose.

The Nelson Mandela Municipality is the economic powerhouse of the Eastern Cape Province, contributing 44 percent to the province's Gross Domestic Product (Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality 2007:16). With its favorable location along the Algoa Bay and natural harbors, the city is a major seaport and trade center. Port Elizabeth is still the automotive manufacturing capital of South Africa. Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen have factories in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality. Tourism is another major source of revenue for the city, especially eco-tourism.[22] Township tours have become a major staple in the eco-tourism business, in which international and domestic visitors explore black African townships historically off-limits to foreigners. Township tours have become a significant part of Port Elizabeth's strategy to attract international visitors and investment.

Another sizable economic project for Port Elizabeth that is important to future growth and development in the region is the Coega Industrial Development Zone and Port of Ngqura. The development area was set to become a major duty-free industrial and manufacturing center for international and domestic companies. With an ideal deepwater port, many believed it could rival ports such as Hong Kong, Dubai, and Singapore. Not only do Port Elizabeth officials see the Coega project bringing in new investment and profit to the city's economy, but new skilled and unskilled employment for local residents as well. The Coega project and its relation to housing and employment will be discussed in Chapter 6.

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[21] Interestingly enough, black African areas are called townships or locations, whereas white and Coloured areas are considered regular neighborhoods, which only demonstrates the inferior or lesser status blacks endured during apartheid compared to their other counterparts. To this day the word *township* carries a racially-charged subtext in everyday discourse and in scholarly literature.

[22] Eco-tourism is a type of tourism aimed at ecological sustainability and environmental conservation.

There are about 260,000 households in the city. The average household size is four

persons, similar to the United States. Most Port Elizabeth residents are Christian, comprising

about 90 percent of the city's population; the next largest number of residents are Muslim. Less

than 2 percent of residents, primarily black Africans, follow a traditional religion. Only one-

third of the population has completed high school, which in South Africa is also known as

matriculation. The term matriculation or matric is used in the country to describe the process of

finishing the final year of high school. Less than 10 percent of the population has an education

higher than the high school level.

Port Elizabeth has a 30 percent unemployment rate, one of the highest among major

metropolitan areas (Table 1).

Table 1. 2010 National and Local Unemployment Rates

Ethnicity	Port Elizabeth Unemployment Rate	Port Elizabeth Average Yearly Income (dollars)	National Unemployment Rates	National Average yearly Income (dollars)
Africans	40%	R12,808 ($1,925)	29.5%	R9,790 ($1,471)
Coloureds	24%	R20,182 ($3,033)	22.5%	R16,567 ($2,535)
Asian/Indians	9.8%	n/a	10.1%	R51,457 ($7,874)
Whites	4%	R56,909 ($8,554)	6.4%	R75,297 ($11,522)

Source: South African Government 2010

Of the unemployed, 78 percent are African and about 20 percent are Coloured. Overall,

about 40 percent of all Africans and 24 percent of Coloureds in Port Elizabeth are unemployed,

whereas less than 10 percent of Asians/Indians and less than 4 percent of whites are without work. The annual median income in Port Elizabeth is R21,837 ($3,282).[23]

There are several reasons for the differences in yearly income among the ethnicities, but most stem from apartheid, whose effects have continued into the present. After apartheid, white South Africans still maintained favorable positions within society, especially in the private sector. Most South African businesses were white-owned during apartheid, and the end of apartheid did not change the management structure or ownership of these businesses and companies. Some of the major companies such as Anglo-American and De Beers are still majority-white controlled. In addition, most of the agricultural lands in the country are still controlled by white-owned agribusinesses and farms. This includes some of the most fertile and profitable lands in the country. Given their large ownership of businesses and farms, white South Africans are still among the wealthiest people in the country.

The disparity in income levels among black Africans compared to other ethnic groups has its beginning in the apartheid years. Because of apartheid legislation, Africans were barred from many industries and businesses and were denied access to numerous formal employment opportunities. The apartheid government, through its national Bantu education system and segregational policies, designated jobs for Africans-only, such as in mining and domestic services. The legacy of apartheid has left millions of black Africans unemployed and poor for several decades, and they still struggle to this day to find jobs and secure employment.

Despite new government programs, such as job training workshops, to help historically disenfranchised and impoverished black Africans obtain formal employment and become active participants in the national and local economies, black Africans are still the poorest ethnic group in Port Elizabeth, making an average income of R12,808 ($1,925) per year. This is half the

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[23] The Rand is the national currency. At the time of my research, the currency rate was R5.97 to US$1.

average wage of Coloureds and less than one-quarter that of whites. Across the country, the unemployment rate among black Africans, who mostly work as unskilled laborers, is 40 percent, while the rate of poverty in Cape Town and Johannesburg is 30 percent and 38 percent, respectively (Leibbrandt et al. 2010).[24]

Since the end of apartheid, the number of skilled jobs with potential for higher earnings has increased due to globalization and new technologies that made traditional unskilled jobs less in demand; however, this has been disproportionately in favor of white South Africans, who have historically benefited from privileged education, job placement, and training (Leibbrandt et al. 2010). Beginning in 1998, redistributive legislation, the national Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), was created to accelerate economic and social justice for historically disadvantaged groups. However, when attempts to incorporate Africans into the economy through job placement and affirmative action failed, black South Africans could not bring in enough income to be able to participate and contribute to the local economy. Most of the unemployed relied on family and support networks for assistance. As black-owned businesses began to arise in Port Elizabeth due to the benefits of government legislation in 2001, black business owners tended to give jobs to constituents, family members, and supporters instead of making those positions open and competitive to the large unemployed black African population (Iheduru 2004). Port Elizabeth's black Africans without political and economic connections were left out.

<div align="center">Current Port Elizabeth Development Plans</div>

Port Elizabeth was one of the areas most affected by the disinvestment and capital flight of foreign companies due to global economic sanctions against the apartheid government during

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[24] Cape Town has the lowest poverty rate among major cities in the country.

the 1970s and 1980s. The unemployment rate was 60 percent at that time (Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality 2007). Even now the city is still struggling with this legacy, but is making strong inroads in attracting foreign investment and developing its unskilled labor force.

Basic infrastructural services in Port Elizabeth have developed considerably since the end of apartheid. About 70 percent of the population has access to a flush toilet, 65 percent have electricity in their dwelling, about 50 percent have running water inside their dwelling, and the majority of the population has some access to running water (Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality 2007). Within the city, almost all households have access to municipal services such as wastewater management, postal service, and trash pick-up.

With the increase of these municipal-provided services and basic infrastructure, the life-expectancy of Port Elizabeth residents has risen to 50 years from less than 40 years during apartheid (Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality 2007). However, health care still remains a serious problem; more than half of the people have no private health insurance and still rely on provincial health services, which are poorly maintained and staffed compared to private hospitals and clinics. Most South Africans prefer to be treated at private health centers than provincial ones, if they are able to afford the services. Also, the number of people with terminal illnesses such as AIDS or HIV has increased steadily over the past decade.[25]

One of the main goals of local officials in South Africa cities is to do away with the "post-apartheid" label and move towards creating a new vision for their cities through innovative economic development and international cooperation. These strategies have helped the country

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[25] The Eastern Cape Province has one of the highest numbers of HIV cases in the country and one of the highest mortality rates for terminal illnesses. Fortunately, within the past few years, the number of international health organizations, non-profits and NGOs has increased to help combat HIV and AIDS in South Africa. These organizations provide funding for anti-viral medication, counseling, and long-term care. For more information on HIV/AIDS in South Africa, see Robins (2006) and Benatar (2001).

to become one of the largest and most efficient economies in Africa, a regional economic and political powerhouse, and a major player in global markets.

On an individual level, people in the city now have more rights and privileges, and the freedom to venture into areas previously closed off to them because of their ethnicity. Also, the city is revamping its "Friendly City" image to attract more international and domestic visitors to beaches and the internationally known Addo National Elephant Game Reserve. Steadily, city officials are trying to promote the city as an attractive destination in the new South Africa.

Historical Overview of Specific Research Areas

Walmer Township

A third of the research was conducted in the township of Walmer, a majority Xhosa-speaking township located in the southwest section of Port Elizabeth. My specific research site of Sakhasonke is located in the northeast corner of Walmer Township. Walmer Township is located near the Port Elizabeth Regional Airport and is one of over a dozen black townships in the Port Elizabeth area. It is also known as *Gqebera*, the Xhosa name for the township. In the early 1900s, Walmer Township was a place for municipal workers who previously lived in poor living conditions in other areas of Port Elizabeth. After World War II, there was a mass migration of Xhosa people into the area, and eventually the Coloured population was forcibly removed from Walmer to Coloured-designated areas by the Group Areas Act (McLachlan and Jack 1995:4). After the 1950s, Walmer Township became a Xhosa-dominated area (McLachlan and Jack 1995:4).

Between 1960 and 1980, there were many attempts to demolish the homes and businesses in Walmer Township and relocate the population to other black townships across town. The main reason for the opposition to Walmer Township was its proximity to white-majority

neighborhoods and businesses; many whites did not fancy the idea of having Africans living so close to them, given that most other black townships were on the far-east side of the city. Black Africans living in Walmer opposed and protested the possible forced removal during this time and their objections eventually won out. After the 1980s, talk of forced removal ceased.

Currently, Walmer is the third largest township in Port Elizabeth with over 30,000 residents. Figure 3 below shows the location of the township in Port Elizabeth. Though most of the population growth has been in the informal settlements of the township, many residents dwell in site and services plots and houses created by the Reconstruction and Development Program of 1995-1999.
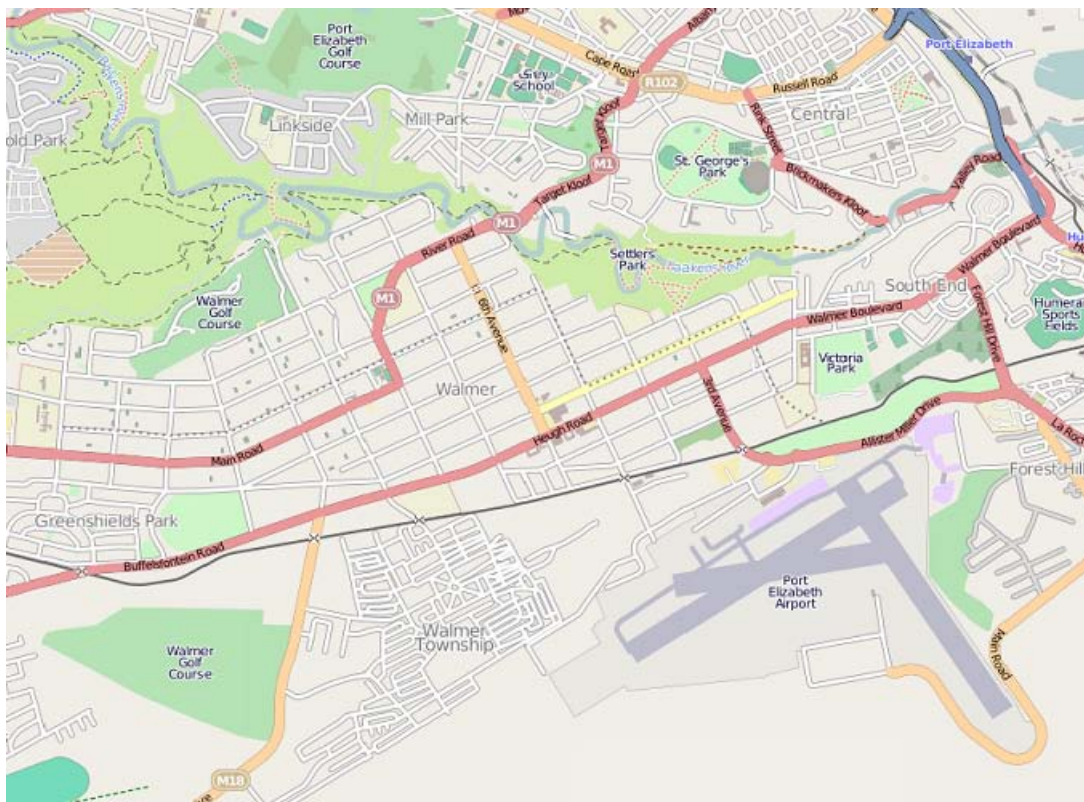
**Figure 3. Walmer Township in Proximity to the Port Elizabeth Airport
(Source: OpenStreetMap Contributors, CC BY-SA)**

There are one major high school and two primary schools in Walmer Township. There is also one clinic in the area, but most individuals go outside the township to the local clinics located in Walmer proper.[26] Some residents prefer to go to clinics outside the township because they believe that these clinics are better managed and maintained than the one within the area (Moeller 1998).

The township has seen some commercial development since the 1990s, in the form of a few spaza shops,[27] hair salons, eateries and small informal markets along Fountain Street, the main street in the location. However, the size of Walmer and its location within the predominantly white Walmer neighborhood have prevented increased economic development throughout the township. Despite the few spaza shops dotted throughout the township, most commerce is located along the main road of the city. In order to create more space for economic development, planners would have to expand within the neighborhoods or build closer to the airport.[28] Because of existing city zoning laws that require the airport to have enough open air and space surrounding the airport field, the city does not allow any type of residential or commercial development in close proximity.

Unlike most other black townships in Port Elizabeth, Walmer is primarily residential, yet the township is close to services and commerce outside its borders. There are plenty of shopping centers and businesses outside the township and many residents can catch a minibus into town or walk to their destination. In light of this, local leaders have tried to create more opportunities within the location for the convenience of their residents. The Walmer Housing Development

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[26] Walmer "proper" represents the surrounding neighborhood of Walmer, in which the black township is situated. Similar to the neighborhood scheme in most large US cities, wards or sections of Port Elizabeth are given name designations.

[27] *Spaza shops* are similar to small convenience stores in the United States.

[28] The Sakhasonke housing project is an example of how developers were able to purchase land close to the airport in order to create a new housing development.

Trust, made up of local businesses and NGOs, planned several development ventures in Walmer, including housing and economic projects. Their most recently completed project was the Sakhasonke Housing Development Project in 2005. This housing area is located in the northeast section of the township, closer to the airport, and about two miles away from Fountain Street.

Wells Estate

The other location in Port Elizabeth where ethnography was conducted was in the township of Wells Estate. The history of Wells Estate is different compared to Walmer, but similar to how past black townships in Port Elizabeth were created. Wells Estate was established in 2001 as a new township for families living in informal settlements that were displaced by the construction of the Coega Industrial Zone and Port. Three informal settlements were affected by the Coega Project: King Neptune, Council Grounds, and Colchester. More than 300 families living in these informal settlements were relocated to new houses in Wells Estate.

The municipality and the Coega Development Corporation (CDC) created more than 1000 new homes in this development, with first preference given to displaced families. Once the displaced were settled, other people were able to apply for housing in Wells Estate to occupy the remaining homes. The housing construction in the township was a joint collaboration between Nelson Mandela Municipality and the CDC. The CDC financed the bulk of the housing construction. The township is located just north of the Coega Port off the N2 highway and is about 15 km north of the city center of Port Elizabeth.

The CDC pushed to resettle these people because they did not allow any type of residential area in the proposed industrial zone and port. Municipal officials collaborated with the CDC to develop a low-income housing community for the people affected by the Coega Industrial Development Zone (IDZ). I was unable to obtain information at the time of research

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on how much it cost to build and develop the houses in Wells Estate or additional information on the legal agreement between the CDC and municipal housing developers.

In 1999, ANC representatives informed residents living in the informal settlements about their pending relocation to Wells Estate once the houses were built. However, once the houses were completed, the people were only given seven days notice about their resettlement.   In addition, as part of the resettlement agreement, residents were requested to demolish their shack houses after they moved their belongings to Wells Estate. I will discuss the resettlement agreement and package in more detail later in the dissertation.

The houses in Wells Estate are identical in size and shape, and the spatial layout of the township is similar to the landscape of Walmer Township. There are two primary schools in the township and one temporary clinic which is staffed with a couple of nurses and is only open part-time during the week. As indicated in Figure 4, the closest township to Wells Estate is Motherwell, the largest and most self-sufficient of all Port Elizabeth's townships.
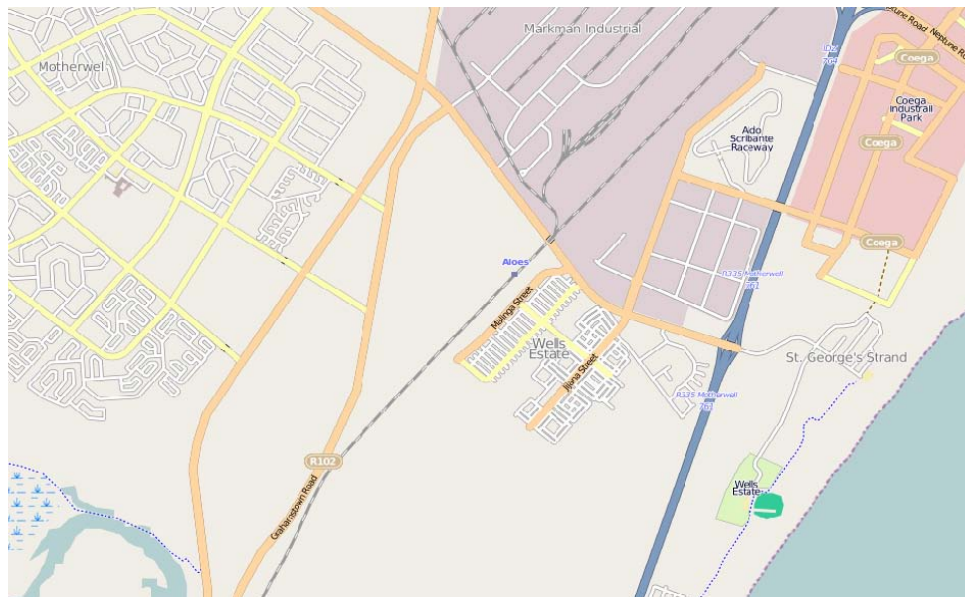
**Figure 4. Wells Estate township in proximity to Coega and Motherwell
(Source: OpenStreetMap Contributors, CC BY-SA)**

Wells Estate, Resettlement and South Africa

As mentioned above, Wells Estate was created because people living in targeted Coega developments lands had to be relocated, or removed, from those lands. Relocations, resettlements, and forced removals have a long history in South Africa before and during apartheid. Black Africans have been systematically displaced and removed from their homes since the arrival of European settlers to the country (Desmond 1971). It was discussed earlier in the chapter how people living in informal settlements within Port Elizabeth in the early 1900s were forced out because city officials and white residents feared that contagious diseases were "breeding" in these areas. Officials used this as their reasoning to forcibly remove black South Africans and Coloureds to the outlying townships of Port Elizabeth. During the height of apartheid in South Africa, between 1960 and 1983, more than 3.5 million Africans were relocated to areas designated for them, either to one of the desolate ethnic homelands or to black townships on the outskirts of major cities (Platzky and Walker 1985:9).

Initially, forced removal was also used as a tool by the government to control the movement of Africans into the cities for work. Yet by the 1980s, the government began referring to these removals as "voluntary relocations." According to Platzky and Walker (1985), removal changed from being deliberately forced by the government through the use of police, guns and dogs to being indirectly forced with "generous compensation" packages that would afford relocated black Africans the ability to have a greater quality of life and to live normal and happy lives, as government officials put it. One of the main reasons for the change of tactics was that government officials were concerned about the image of their relocation policies and wanted to emphasize that relocated people were being given better homes than what they had before. Yet despite the new housing relocated people received, they were still excluded and marginalized from society in many ways (Desmond 1971; Platzky and Walker 1985). Blacks were not given

the right to vote and their movements were strenuously restricted and enforced. Schools were many miles away from relocated settlements and some school-aged children could not attend because the schools were too far for the students to reach. Also, municipal services were sparse in resettlement areas because infrastructure (i.e., water, sewage, telephone wires, electric wires and roads) was seriously deficient and not a priority to some municipalities. Priority was given to white areas instead.

For the people of Wells Estate, the Coega Development Corporation in 2002 guaranteed in a resettlement package to relocated residents that at least one member of each household would be employed at Coega in general maintenance or as a contractor, and another member would receive training from the CDC for managerial positions.[29] Though this was an effort of the CDC to try to create job opportunities for the people of Wells Estate, most of these pledges were not kept. The lack of jobs and the inability of the people of Wells Estate to find employment will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology and research design for the research on the two housing development projects in Port Elizabeth.

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[29] The resettlement package will be discussed in detail in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter will describe the research design and methods used to obtain data for the

dissertation. I generated the following research questions after reviewing the history of housing

development in South Africa and looking at the issues raised in the literature review: 1) how has

the structure of housing programs impacted the quality of life of poor residents in Port Elizabeth;

2) what are the main concerns and issues that the participants face; 3) what would help them

achieve a greater quality of life, in the context of these housing development projects; and 4)

when development projects aim to "improve the quality of life" of their beneficiaries, what does

that actually mean—how can quality of life be measured?

In order to answer the research questions, I conducted comparative ethnographic research

on beneficiaries of housing projects in the city of Port Elizabeth in South Africa from October

2005 to June 2006. The housing projects in the study were the Sakhasonke housing subsidy

project in Port Elizabeth's Walmer Township and the Coega Development Corporation-funded

housing township of Wells Estate created by communities resettled from the area given to CDC

for its economic development projects.

The first sections of this chapter describe the independent and dependent variables, and

the indicators used for the research. Subsequent sections explain the specific methods and

techniques used to gather information, including participant-observation and interviewing. The

final section will discuss my positionality and role as a participant-observer.

Independent Variables

The independent variables used for this research project were 1) whether one participated

in a housing program or not, and 2) the institutional structure of the housing program. I

examined the populations affected by these projects by creating an ethnographic sample of the

beneficiaries. The sample that I created for the Coega development project comprised the people

who were relocated to the township of Wells Estate because of the economic development

initiatives of Coega. The beneficiaries of the Sakhasonke project included actual recipients of

the national housing subsidy program; by design this included the lowest income bracket, which

were those making less than R3,500 a year ($430), the annual poverty line in South Africa.

Once I determined the population to be researched, I was able to establish a sample of 20

individuals from each beneficiary group. I used a combination of snowball and judgment

sampling methods. My primary informant in Sakhasonke, "Babso", helped me find individuals

in the housing community who were willing to talk to me, and from those individuals, I was able

to determine which ones represented an equitable representation of the community. I made sure

I spoke to an equal number of men, women, unemployed/employed, educated/uneducated, and

people of different ages.

To compare those who participated in these housing schemes with others, I generated a

sample of 20 individuals who are not impacted by the two housing areas. This group was made

up of individuals that were put together because of their similarity of not being part of

Sakhasonke or Wells Estate housing projects. Each person was interviewed separately and not in

a group setting. The people of this group were a mixture of folks living in the city of Port

Elizabeth, with no connection to the housing communities of Sakhasonke or Wells Estate.

One of the main reasons I chose to create a non-participant group instead of conducting

research solely on the two housing communities of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate was because

having a group not impacted by the housing programs helped me create an independent

foundation of understanding of what housing, quality of life, and poverty overall was like for

people in Port Elizabeth, separate from the specific housing projects. Looking at the lives of people not impacted by subsidy programs or forced resettlement considerably helped me build an overall understanding of the importance of having access to services and facilities, jobs and income, and community for people in Port Elizabeth, regardless of whether they received housing assistance. From this group, questionnaires were used to obtain basic information of the person such as name, age, occupation (if any), and gender.

To obtain information about the institutional structure of the housing projects for the second independent variable, I conducted document review and open-ended interviews with government officials, housing officials and developers, and local government representatives. The document review and interviews were done to obtain perspectives on the objectives and goals of development projects, as well as to understand how each project was intended to work.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables used in this study were housing, income and jobs, quality of life, and community participation. To operationalize the dependent variables, I developed indicators that would help measure whether these housing programs were giving the beneficiaries a better quality of life. In order to measure how people were impacted by these housing projects, Quality of Life (QoL) indicators were used as a tool to measure the everyday lived experiences of beneficiaries. Indicators used in the research were similar to what Richards et al. (2007) used in their research on the quality of life of people living in informal settlement in South Africa. One of the reasons the indicators of Richards et al. were used in this research was because their survey centered on housing sentiment and feelings. Domain indicators used by them include housing and basic services, satisfaction with life, leisure activities, and employment needs (Richards et al. 2007). Some of the questions they asked were, "Do you feel a sense of

belonging with your community?' "How satisfied are you with you standard of living?" "How satisfied are you with your house?" (2007:385).

I also used QoL measurements similar to the ones Moeller (1998) used in her analysis of quality of life in South Africa. In 1996, Moeller conducted a study of the quality of life of people living in the post-apartheid era. She used a set of indicators to measure their satisfaction with their living environment and overall happiness with their community and society at large, and she used percentage satisfied (1-5 rating scale), mean satisfaction, and standard deviations as analytical tools.[30] Some of the indicators that she used were:

1. Community satisfaction and feeling

2. Recreational activities and facilities

3. Access to food and the type of food consumed

4. Access to health

5. Access to education

6. Access to transportation

7. Access to employment and job opportunities

8. Security against crime in the community

9. Housing

Housing was further broken down to include people's feelings about their existing dwelling, including the size of the dwelling, and their choice of where they would like to live (Moeller 1998:46-47). Data were also disaggregated by age, gender, income and education level to provide information on racial inequality and poverty in the country.

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[30] Moeller's research into the quality of life and happiness of South Africans was taken right after the first democratic elections in that country, so the results were greatly influenced by a sense that the country was moving in the right direction and hope for the future.

I combined quality of life indicators and questions from these two past South African poverty analyses to develop a set of dependent variables:

1. Housing and infrastructural services

2. Income and employment

3. Access to non-infrastructural services and amenities (access to services, markets, recreational facilities, health, and education)

4. Community development and social trust

5. Participation in housing development projects

I used these *key domain* indicators to measure and ask questions about the social issues and topics of concern to the people directly impacted by development programs, and the issues that were also important to their ideas of maintaining a quality of life. The combination of quality of life indicators from past South African studies and ethnographic, participant observation helped determine whether these housing projects had a substantial impact on the beneficiaries.

Housing

This set of indicators was used to measure the housing needs of the people interviewed and to collect ideas on what they deemed adequate housing, what they needed for sustainable housing, and how satisfied they were with the housing they received. The people were also asked to comment on their relationship with housing developers, in order to measure the level of transparency and communication. When I talked with them about their sentiments on the housing process and implementation, I also used the housing indicators that Morris (1971)

developed in order to understand whether the new housing was giving the beneficiaries a sense of responsibility, security, choice, and awareness.[31]

I also asked the participants about the physical structure and quality of the houses built in order to determine whether the actual construction of the house influenced their quality of life, compared to the houses they had previously. So I looked at the number of rooms in the house, whether the house had amenities such as running water, a flush toilet, and a kitchen area or a place inside where food can be prepared. Outside features were also taken into consideration, such as whether there was space close to the house for expansion, extension buildings for unmarried men in the household, areas for start-up businesses, and small gardens for growing food. I also asked about the type of material used in the construction of the houses and whether it was standard or sub-standard. I looked at the building codes in the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act to determine what is considered standard quality construction material in South Africa, such as the type of timber, concrete, brick, dry wall, and insulation materials.

Another factor that I looked at in this research was the issue of land tenure and homeownership. In order to verify the legal status of the participants, I looked at program implementation documents and beneficiary criteria to determine what their residency status would be after they received the houses and what legal documentation they would possess to indicate legal rights to their houses.

A final measurement looked at was a comparison between their previous houses and their new houses. I asked specific questions about what type of housing they had and the physical structure of their old house. For example, most of the people in Wells Estate lived in informal settlements before relocating to their new township. I wanted to know more about the structure

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[31] This list from Morris (1971) can be found in Chapter 2.

of their shacks and material they used to build them, which I then compared to the Wells Estate houses. This was to determine if the people were satisfied with the construction and material used for the new houses.

Income and Employment

This indicator was used to measure whether new housing helped with the creation of income-generating opportunities and jobs for the people affected by the projects. It was important to determine the employment and job needs of the beneficiaries separate from the housing project itself, in order to establish a basis of their employment needs. Questions that I asked were: "What is the most important aspect in finding a job for the informant/what does the informant need to find employment?" "How has moving to this new house helped you with your income situation or finding employment?" "How did the housing program help you find new employment?" These questions helped determine their current job situations and their prospects of finding new employment in light of the housing program.

In addition to these questions, I also asked about their actual monthly income and compared the responses to national levels. They spoke about their current job situations and their prospects for securing formal employment. For those who were employed, I asked what type of jobs they had. For those who were unemployed (but may still have been receiving some form of income), I asked what vocational skills they had that they could use in a job.

I also wanted to know more about what types of income they were receiving, not just from employment. I asked whether they were receiving government assistance, pensions or other sources such as remittances from family members or neighbors. After I asked what income they received, I asked them what they spent their income on, what items they purchased for their

house, and what they considered the most important items they spent their money on, such as food and clothing.

Community and Social Trust

I also asked the people to describe their concepts of community, kin relations, and relations with local institutions. I raised questions about their relationships with neighbors within the housing development communities as well as with other low-income people in their areas. In addition to the open-ended interviews, I conducted participant observation to contextualize beneficiaries' notions of community, such as relationships with people in their immediate area and with family members.

In addition to obtaining people's ideas on community, I used indicators to measure the level of community that was present in Sakhasonke, Wells Estate and the non-participant group. I asked about community organizations and formal associations that were present in their areas and if these organizations were good representations of the people. I looked for other forms of community involvement and activities, such as churches, committees, community sport groups, and clubs. I observed and asked about informal child care facilities or neighbors who would watch pre-school age children in the community for each other. I studied whether the neighbors were interacting with each other through reciprocity, task sharing, and redistribution. Of particular interest to me was how the people felt about their community as a whole and whether they felt a part of it. Finally, I asked for their ideas on crime and safety in their housing areas, then compared their beliefs with statistics on crime in Port Elizabeth and individual neighborhoods and townships within the city.

Access to Non-Infrastructural Services
and Amenities

This set of indicators measured other aspects of quality of life such as access to food markets, transportation, services, education, and recreational and health facilities. In order to measure access to these facilities and services, I looked for the nearest food markets and stores and the time it took the people to get there, either by walking or public transportation. A primary concern was to locate transportation in the housing area, such as bus stops and taxi stands. I looked to see how far and long it took people to get to these transportation spots. I also looked for the schools, clinics and educational facilities nearest to the housing areas, the distance from them, and the time it would take for people to get there. In terms of the types of educational facilities, I looked to see if there were primary and secondary schools in the area that school-age children were able to attend, as well as technical training schools for adults, colleges, and community colleges. Additional questions I asked were: "What types of services are important to you?" "How did moving to these houses change or affect your life in terms of the main facilities and services?" The latter included:

1. Education: availability and proximity to schools and day care centers

2. Health: availability and quality of clinics and hospitals

3. Recreational and sports facilities

4. Taxi and bus ranks

5. City services (i.e., electricity, water, trash pick-up).

These questions were crafted to understand what is considered important to their overall sense of satisfaction, well-being, and necessity.

Participation Level in Housing
Development Projects

This indicator was used to measure the participation level of the beneficiaries within the housing projects in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate. I wanted to observe what communication and discussions occurred between residents and housing developers. I asked both residents and developers directly how they felt about the communication level between them. Some of the questions I asked were: "What is the level of beneficiaries' involvement in the housing development planning stages?" "How were residents kept informed about the housing project during the building and implementation stages?" "How was their input noted during the beginning design stage?"

I asked the residents of Sakhasonke how many of them actually participated in or had jobs with the housing project as contract workers. I asked the people of Wells Estate how informed they were of the resettlement package and whether they felt the communication between them and Coega officials was sufficient. I asked the non-participant group how not participating in housing development projects affected them.

Fieldwork Techniques

The techniques that I employed in Port Elizabeth were open-ended interviews and participant observation to help understand the informants' daily activity and current living situation, using probing techniques and open discussion in these meetings. I recorded these interviews when permission was granted. Throughout my fieldwork, I continuously transcribed recorded material.

Open-Ended Interviews

Initially when I started research with the people, I inquired about their perspectives of their living environment and their views of what they needed to constitute a healthy quality of life. After I generated an introductory understanding of their current living conditions, I started conducting open-ended interviews with established questions to figure out informants' perceptions of quality of life. I asked questions such as: "How important to you is obtaining a job?" "What do you need to have food security?" "What values are important to your daily health and well-being?" "What items and services do you need in order establish a sense of well-being and balance?" "Where do you get these services?" "How important to your sustainability is having access to shelter, jobs and services?" "What types of services are important to you?" "What type of income do you have?" "How many people are in your household and is the number of members a main factor in your general stability?" "What do you need to maintain a stable, productive life?"

These types of questions allowed me to establish a working framework to assess quality of life, access to jobs, and basic necessities that enabled me to determine which were most important to the informants.

A major aspect of this research was to determine and measure the relationship among quality of life, access to jobs and services, and the housing projects. I documented informants' viewpoints on the project, in light of housing project's objectives and goals. I also asked them whether their quality of life values (or the values that comprised their understanding of quality of life) were being met by either project. Questions that I asked were: "How much has your income level increased because of this project?" How has this project created any type of income opportunities for you?" "How has this project increased your access to services?" "If you were given the subsidy money on an individual basis, how would you use it?"

I asked the people of Wells Estate how they benefited from the Coega relocation program, in particular whether the Coega project supplemented any part of their daily life, such as their ability to access schooling, education, savings and/or banking. I then compared these answers with the objectives and goals of the development projects.

In addition to the interviews that I conducted with the people in the research areas, I also conducted interviews with government officials, developers, and people working for non-profit organizations. Most of these interviews were done at the beginning of my fieldwork.

Ethnography and Participant Observation

As stated before, I conducted participant observation with the beneficiaries in order to be fully engaged with their daily lives, observe how they spend their time, and observe their geographical location in relation to essential services. Participant observation has been a principal tool and method used among anthropologists for many years to conduct in-depth analyses that basic interviews may not be able to produce (LeCompte and Schensul 1999a; 1999b).

I conducted participant observation to analyze the experiences of the individuals of these beneficiary groups in order to generate observations on how they structure their lives. I was able to observe beneficiaries' actual housing infrastructure, their eating habits and frequencies (i.e., how many times a day they eat, what and how much they eat), and their health levels. I was able to observe how much they communicated with their fellow neighbors and to observe their living environment. I could also see first-hand how the beneficiaries' geographic locations did or did not hinder their ability to access resources, as well as to see how these populations obtained basic needs (e.g., food) and services (e.g., health care and education). This helped me to understand

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and document in a holistic manner their current daily living conditions in relation to their access to services and their level of income.

<u>My Role as an "Objective" Participant-Observer:</u>
<u>Positionality and Personal Background</u>

One of the reasons I wanted to conduct research in South Africa on housing and economic development came from my own childhood experiences growing up in Detroit, Michigan. I grew up in housing provided through Section 8, a federal welfare program that assists qualified, low-income applicants with affordable housing. Because of this housing program, as well as the effort my parents made to provide a decent standard of living for me and their family, we were able to have a good quality life. Though there were sacrifices and struggles along the way, we found ways to lean on each other and grow stronger as a family.

In college, I was able to study abroad in South Africa for a semester in 1999. While at the University of Port Elizabeth, school officials took new students, including me, on a tour of the nearby townships of New Brighton and Motherwell. This was my first experience in black African townships. To visit there and meet some of their residents in person, not just see them in photographs, was a great experience. However, visiting the townships was not the main highlight of the tour for me. The tour guide took us to the outlying squatter settlements that dotted the periphery of Port Elizabeth. I have never seen such massive destitution in my life, where hundreds of people lived in corrugated metal structures with no nearby access to water and sanitation. In light of my upbringing in Detroit, visiting the squatter settlements for the first time had a tremendous impact on my life and led me to a greater understanding of the importance of adequate housing in establishing a good quality life.

As I became older and entered the field of anthropology, I was interested in finding out similar stories around the world: How did different cultures cope with housing and poverty?

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How did governments respond to these needs with development programs? On a personal level, I wanted to know if families had the same type of struggles my family endured and whether government housing programs helped them in a similar way that Section 8 housing helped mine. I felt these past experiences would help me relate to and bond with the people I met in Port Elizabeth.

When I began talking with folks in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate, they wanted to know more about me, and I was more than willing to provide them with my personal history and background. I talked about my large family and growing up in a low-income household. I also discussed the racial struggles my parents faced during the Civil Rights era in the United States. I talked about the African American experience and the similarities and differences that we shared with black Africans in South Africa during apartheid and after. I believe having these back-and-forth discussions with them about myself and the issues that concerned me created a sense of trust and understanding, which made it easier for people to discuss their experiences with me.

But it was not all smooth sailing; I still faced some obstacles. When I first arrived in Port Elizabeth, I felt as though I would start my research immediately, given the fact that I had established contacts in the region, was familiar with the area, and had visited some of the sites where I wanted to do my research. I had a well- structured, specific proposal and timeline, and I was a "gung-ho", overly-confident graduate student who believed I could change the world. There is no better way to put this: reality smacked me in the face after a few weeks in Port Elizabeth. Most of my contacts were either too busy to work with me or had other assignments in process, they didn't answer my phone calls, or they had moved to other South African cities. Despite the fact that I knew the areas where I wanted to conduct research, I felt at the time that I

could not just walk into these areas and say "Hello, I'm an anthropologist. Do you want to talk to me?"

One unfortunate assumption I made was that this process would be easy, because I am a black woman. I assumed because I shared African descent, the rapport and trust would come sooner than it did. However, one of my informants, "Siko", told me one day, "Tiwanna, yes, you are black and we love you, but you are still American and not one of us." Despite being of African descent, I was still seen as a Westerner with an American accent. I do believe people opened up to me more easily than to a white Westerner (or a white South African) because of my ethnicity, but the facts that I spoke a different language, had a different accent, and was not South African meant that I was still considered an outsider.

I began to realize and came to respect that when many ethnographers start conducting fieldwork, it can be difficult to gain that first step with locals, unless they have already established contacts within their target locations. For many ethnographers it takes most of the research trip to establish good rapport with informants and the population. Researchers such as Handwerker (2001) and Pawluch et al. (2005) argued that cultivating relationships with informants prior to starting fieldwork, interviews, and participant-observation is required and necessary to ensure a viable working atmosphere. This step makes certain there is a feasible level of trust between informant and researcher. Ethnographers should consider their "in" or their way of gaining a foothold in a community. Ways of doing this could include introducing oneself at community gatherings or events, churches, and other communal places.

The way I obtained my "in" was not the way I envisioned establishing initial contact. At my first apartment in Port Elizabeth, I made friends with the housekeeper and one day as we were discussing my research, she exclaimed how she lived in a newly-created housing

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community in Walmer Township called Sakhasonke. I could not believe my good fortune. From there, I was introduced to her lovely daughter and we became involved in each other's lives, and I was able to establish primary informants and assistants during my time there, based on this initial friendship. I later discovered that the Sakhasonke Housing Development Community was a project partly managed by a non-profit with which I was familiar: the Urban Service Group.[32] This made it easier for me to establish communication and set up interviews with stakeholders and managers, as well as to obtain background information regarding the project.

About a month later after establishing contact with my primary informants, I was able to start building a network of people with whom I would be able to conduct participant-observation. Building this rapport and level of confidence took approximately two to three months. During this time, I made an effort to get to know people in the housing communities of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate on a personal level. I wanted to make sure my research goals, objectives, and myself were as transparent as possible. Throughout my entire research trip, these preliminary meetings were the most beneficial to my personal understanding of the people and Xhosa culture; they became the grounds for lasting friendships with my colleagues.

Conclusion

This chapter covered the methodology used to conduct the research for the dissertation. This research design, along with the previous quality of life research completed in South Africa, allowed me to establish a working framework of quality of life to measure how the quality of life of the beneficiaries was affected by housing development projects. The research framework also

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[32] Through additional networking with the assistance of the Urban Service Group, I was able to make contacts in Wells Estate as well.

helped connect themes and discussions that occurred throughout the research to larger theoretical

constructs, which will be examined in the next chapters.

CHAPTER 5

PROFILE OF THE PEOPLE AND

PRIOR LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES

This chapter covers the demography and cultural aspects of the people of Sakhasonke,

Wells Estate, and the non-participant group, including their age, education level, and gender.

The intent of this chapter is to provide a clear, detailed picture of the previous living experiences

of the people before they moved into their new houses.

The first two sections will provide a general overview of Xhosa culture, which is the

dominant ethnicity in the research groups. The following sections will cover the prior living

situations of the people based on the indicators of quality of life that were used for this research.

Being Xhosa: Ethnicity, Marriage and Family

The primary ethnic group in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate is Xhosa, which is not

uncommon in the Eastern Cape Province, given that most people living in the Eastern Cape are

Xhosa speakers.[33] Many residents of Sakhasonke still have extended family in the rural areas of

the Eastern Cape or in the former tribal homelands.   There are few other ethnicities in

Sakhasonke, Walmer Township and Wells Estate, and even fewer people from other countries

living in the vicinity.

Since Xhosa is the dominant culture in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate, most of the

customs, communications, and practices of the people there originate from its cultural traditions.

One example is the practice of bridewealth. There are several young men living in Sakhasonke

that have long-term or live-in girlfriends, but are unmarried because they cannot afford the bride-

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[33] The largest ethnic group family in South Africa is the Nguni—made up of Zulu, Swazi, Ndebele, Xhosa, Pondo, and Thembu. The Nguni group constitutes about two-thirds of the total black population of the country (Afolayan 2004).

payment to her family. One of the reasons the value of bridewealth is notoriously high is

because it is based on the traditional, rural exchange of cattle called *lobola*, so it usually takes a

groom and/or his family many months and sometimes years to accumulate enough money to pay

bridewealth. There are cases where Xhosa men and women decide to get married without

adhering to cultural traditions, but the practice of marrying without bride-payment in the Port

Elizabeth area is uncommon in comparison to other cities such as Johannesburg and Cape

Town.[34]

"Babso" mentioned how Africans from the other provinces typically view the Xhosa

people of the Eastern Cape as very traditional and non-contemporary. Babso and her friends

appreciate this attitude and generalization made of them because they feel that African traditions

are being lost in these contemporary and technologically savvy times. The majority of people

living in Sakhasonke are under the age of 40 and some of them feel as if their generation has to

continue the traditions laid down by their parents or these customs will be lost.

Based on blood ties and marriage, kinship creates the foundation for moral and cultural

norms, as well as religion and other societal obligations. How people interact within a Xhosa

community is typically based on kinship first. Xhosa culture is patrilineal, which means that

family descent is traced through the father (Afolayan 2004; Paux 1994). Also, similar to western

societies, the nuclear family made up of the father, mother, brother, and sister is the most

fundamental unit of any kinship relationship. Extended family members such as aunts, uncles

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[34] Among the Xhosas, another marriage ritual called *ukuthwala* is practiced, in which the bride is "kidnapped" by the groom and his friends and brought to his family's residence. This results in the bride's family coming to the groom's house to negotiate the bridewealth. *Ukuthwala* as a traditional marriage ritual where the woman is physically kidnapped against her will is rarely practiced or tolerated in contemporary times, but a postmodern form of *ukuthwala* is staged and play-acted by willing participants who are aware that a "kidnapping" will occur.

and cousins are also seen as important relatives within the kinship group, yet the nuclear family is the primary segment.

However, kinship terms are not only reserved for families. Good neighborliness, respect and community involvement are important among the Xhosa. Xhosa children are taught at a young age to respect the elders in the community by calling them *umama* and *utata*, which mean mother and father. Middle-aged men are usually referred to as *umalume,* which means uncle. Peers within the same age group are normally referred to as brother (*ubhuti*) or sister (*usisi*).

During fieldwork, I was able to take a trip with Babso and her family from Walmer Township into the rural areas of the Eastern Cape, formally known as the Transkei, to visit her extended family for a get-together. In this setting I witnessed the interaction among relatives and elders of the family, and the honoring of ancestors through food and drink. Also evident was the openness that Babso's family showed to people in the neighborhood. They invited them over for dinner and drinks, and Babso's family (all the women) prepared and served the meals to the neighbors; I reluctantly helped with cooking that started at 4 A.M. in the frigid morning cold.

What I noticed as a participant-observer during this visit was that the kinship bonds between family members were extended to the entire community. Friends and neighbors were welcomed and honored, and they all felt a real sense of community, deeper than just having a house in close proximity to one another in a neighborhood. It reminded me of the family reunions that my matrilineal family back in Detroit had every three years, except that the Xhosa treated non-relatives like brothers and sisters. According to Bank (2011), building social trust is important in order to keep social cohesion, security, and reciprocity within a Xhosa community. The people in Xhosa communities, such as Sakhasonke, want to have a foundation of trust so they can go to their neighbors and relatives for financial assistance or help in buying food or

clothing. Repayment of help is often expected, but it does not have to be in the form of actual cash; it could be in the form of cooking a meal for the neighbor or relative or installing pipes in a new house, as was the case for several residents of Sakhasonke. Establishing social trust in these communities also provides a sense of security and safety for the residents. Neighbors, especially in Sakhasonke, actively try to reach out to one another as a protection against crime in their communities, so knowing the people they live next to can give them a sense of security. Safety and security were important issues for the people in Wells Estate and Sakhasonke, which will be discussed later in the dissertation.

Economic strife and hardships as well as societal changes have reshaped the structure of the family and the household, transforming Xhosa gender roles and kinship relationships. The role of the husband/father as the patriarch and the main provider and the wife's role as nurturer, mother, and maintainer of the domestic structure within the Xhosa home have changed (Bank 2011). Scattered throughout the townships of Walmer and Wells Estate are female-headed households, in which the woman is the matriarch, provider, and homemaker.

When I started research in both communities, but primarily in Wells Estate, I was surprised by the number of female-headed households and the lack of an older male presence within these families. The majority of people that initially took me into their homes and showed interest in talking were all women. It was not until after I started making more contacts with the people that I started meeting more men, which is different from my experience in Sakhasonke, where I met and talked with more men than women.

Gender roles in Xhosa culture can be specific and static, but this is changing rapidly. Women were typically seen as the homemakers and men were positioned to be workers and "breadwinners," bringing income to the household.   Some scholars considered the apartheid

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system and its effect on the economy and African cultures as reasons for the disruption of gender roles and the division of labor (B. Taylor 1991; Francis 2002). Apartheid limited both black African men's and women's ability to find work, obtain proper job training, and education. As the apartheid system came to an end, Xhosa men were unfortunately left unable to find jobs to support their families, thus leaving the responsibility on women to bring in some sort of income while still raising the children and maintaining the house. This has caused more damage to the Xhosa cultural system than ever before; however, it has also given women more responsibility and leadership in their household and communities.

As unemployment and job scarcity steadily climbed and became a major concern in the country, more women started to venture out of their traditional roles and began taking on jobs and pursuing income-generating opportunities outside the home. Most of these jobs are within the informal sector; they include spaza shop vendor, selling fruit on the side of the road or in informal markets, braiding hair, and selling crafts and collectibles to tourists at flea markets.

In addition, because of post-apartheid educational opportunities and funding, many more Xhosa young men and women are entering college and obtaining professional degrees that help them land jobs at businesses and firms within the private or public sectors. The impact of these societal changes on Xhosa households within both communities and the non-participant group will be discussed in the upcoming chapters.

Issues of Ethnicity and Identity
For the Non-Participant Group

Compared to the residents of Wells Estate and Sakhasonke, not being Xhosa was a challenge for a couple of people in the non-participant group. Two of the respondents were

Tswana and could speak Xhosa fluently.[35] The first one I spoke with, "Refy" mentioned how being Tswana and coming from Johannesburg were difficult challenges when she married into her Xhosa in-law family. She said that her in-laws would have preferred that their son marry a Xhosa woman, primarily because of the cultural and customs barriers that they predicted would occur between the two. However, both Refy and her husband "Paul" were cautiously optimistic about their future. Refy would say many times that, "This would not be a problem in Johannesburg, people marry whomever they want without all the drama. Some people getting married up there don't even have to worry about bridewealth payment. But it is different here in the Eastern Cape, where Xhosas stick to tradition a lot more."

The other Tswana person in the group was "Seti", a 24-year-old college student, who moved from Botswana to Port Elizabeth when she was 21 years old to attend the Nelson Mandela Municipality University. She moved into the area of Port Elizabeth called Central, which is also referred to as the Central Business District. The primary reason she moved there was because renting a flat in that neighborhood was far cheaper compared to the inner suburbs like Summerstrand and Humewood. A fluent Xhosa and Afrikaans speaker, Seti did not feel that she stood out among people in Port Elizabeth, yet she mentioned how sometimes she would feel alone because she was not from the city originally, and most of her Xhosa classmates were from the nearby townships. Even though she could speak the language, she was not part of that culture.

Despite not being Xhosa, Seti found ways to integrate into city life separately from the townships. She made friends with other racial groups (i.e., whites and Coloureds). Her live-in boyfriend was Coloured; he worked as a contractor and was gone several months at a time. Seti

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[35] Tswana is an ethnic group made up of people with descent from the country of Botswana. There is also a sizeable population of Tswana living in South Africa.

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enjoyed the fact that Central was multicultural with more non-South Africans living in the

neighborhood compared to the townships, so she felt that she could in her words, "enjoy the city

more without the restriction of adhering to larger cultural norms."

<div align="center">
Housing and Access to Services
Prior to Moving
</div>

This section will discuss the types of housing the people of the three research groups had

before moving to their new homes as well as the type of prior access they had to infrastructural

services such as electricity, water, and sanitation.

<div align="center">
Wells Estate
</div>

The types of housing that the people in the three research groups had prior to moving to

their new homes ranged from informal shack housing to single-family homes.[36] The large

majority of residents of Wells Estate lived in shacks within informal settlements prior to their

move (Table 2).

Table 2. Type of Housing Prior to Moving (number of people/percentage of people within
research site)[37]

	Sakhasonke	Wells Estate	Group 3	Total
Site and Service House	14 (70%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	16 (27%)
Informal/Shack	1 (5%)	18 (90%)	0 (0%)	19 (32%)
RDP House	3 (15%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (5%)
Rental Housing/Apartment	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	16 (80%)	16 (27%)
Own Housing/Apartment	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	1 (1%)
No information	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	5 (8%)
Total	20	20	20	60

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[36] After all the people who were living in informal settlements affected by the Coega Project were relocated to Well Estate, the township was then opened to people from other nearby locations.

[37] All subsequent tables in the dissertation are from my own data.

A conventional informal shack consisted of poor quality building material, usually aluminum, tin, and plastic sheeting. The residents used cast-off building items, second-hand corrugated iron, and discarded windows to erect their shacks because this material was inexpensive. In addition, the choice of material was determined by availability from informal building markets that catered to people who wanted to erect informal, non-regulated houses and structures. Their shacks varied in size, but a conventional shack in Port Elizabeth (as shown in Figure 5 below) was about 20 square meters, approximately 215 square feet.

Figure 5. Example of Informal Shacks in Port Elizabeth [38]

Most residents informed me that they partitioned the inside of their shacks into two separate rooms or areas. The partition was a sheet, a rug, or corrugated sheeted iron. One room would be their living or communal room, including a section reserved for their kitchen. Some residents told me that their kitchen area would comprise a table that would have an electric burner and a kettle for warming up water. Some residents had enough money to afford a small

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[38] All photos in the dissertation were taken by the author.

refrigerator (dorm-room size) to store perishable foods, but some of the residents told me that this "luxury" of having a fridge was not widespread. One Wells Estate resident, "Nomazuli," said that in her area of the informal settlement, only two people had refrigerators. The fridges were shared and used by the neighbors on a communal basis; neighbors who stored food in them would cook meals for not only the owners of the fridges, but for everyone in their area of the informal settlement. The other room inside would be reserved for bedroom and sleeping quarters. Nomazuli said her shack had enough room for a small bed, but other relatives that resided in the shack, such as her children, slept on blankets on the floor.

In their former areas, Wells Estate residents found that obtaining clean water was a daily challenge since these shacks did not have running water. Many residents mentioned that they would have to walk a distance (not specified to me at the time of research) to reach a water pump that provided clean water. Residents would then fill up several buckets of water and carry these buckets back to their shacks. The water was then used for washing dishes, bathing, and cooking. Waste water and sewage disposal was a major problem and posed serious health risks for the residents, but many residents found ways to make it work. Residents mentioned how they used a bucket for human waste; they would either keep the bucket in an outhouse detached from their home, or in a separate area inside their shack away from the kitchen and sleeping area. Each day a member of the household would deposit human waste in a designed area within the informal settlement, which was some distance away from any shacks.

Though many informal settlements do not have electricity provided by the municipality, residents in some of these settlements were able to obtain electricity illegally. Informal businesses would go into these settlements and provide electricity for the people. Authors such as Peattie and Aldrete-Haas (1981) and Leimgruber (2004) have written how this type of illegal

electricity is also seen in informal settlements in Latin America and Asia. Squatters are able to have electricity to power lights, televisions, radios, and cooking appliances in their shacks. As an alternative to electricity, many squatters used other fuel for cooking and heating, for example, liquid paraffin (Kehrer et al. 2008). However burning fuels in informal shacks is dangerous and can cause fires that can spread to other shacks in congested informal settlements (Kehrer et al. 2008).

In terms of housing tenure in South Africa and in other developing and developed countries, people who live in informal settlements are typically considered squatters, people who illegally reside in areas that they do not own, rent, or have permission to use. Squatters do not have any form of tenure of property or housing, and their houses are not recognized formally by local or national authorities (Morris 1971). In a legal sense, squatters do not own their shacks. As for most informal settlement dwellers in the country, Wells Estate residents did not pay any taxes nor was their settlement serviced by the municipality for sewage, running water, trash pickup, and other services.

Local authorities do recognize areas where large communities of squatters live together, as was the case with residents of Wells Estate. As mentioned in Chapter 3, some of these informal settlements were given names. Across the country, local authorities would not forcibly remove people from informal settlements because the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Bill of 1997 protected squatters from being removed without a justifiable or legal cause. In the case of resident of Wells Estate, they were removed from their prior residences because of the Coega development project.

Sakhasonke

The majority of residents of Sakhasonke lived in nearby Walmer Township and resided in either RDP houses or in site and services housing. I wanted to explore more of their feelings about housing compared to the housing that they had before moving to Sakhasonke. I also wanted to know how they felt about government housing programs in general. Residents of Sakhasonke were aware of the difference between their new homes and the homes they had before in Walmer Township. Several houses in neighborhoods in Walmer Township were site and services homes, in which residents had the ability to build their own houses on serviced plots. Some of these houses were made out of brick, or a concrete mixture, but access to building material depended upon what people could afford. People with higher incomes could afford to add extensions to their homes, install sturdy and durable roofs, and put insulation in the walls of their houses. Yet there were many people in the Walmer neighborhoods who did not have the money to afford standard building material such as brick, wood, or concrete and instead had to rely on informal means of building their houses.

Nevertheless, whether the site and services houses were made of durable building material or not, services provided by the municipality were limited and were becoming outdated. Many residents were losing guaranteed services such as street trash pick-up, mail delivery, supply of water, and sewage because of local government budget constraints.[39] Residents saw this as a major concern while they lived in Walmer Township and were satisfied that the People's Housing Process (PHP) project developers made an effort to create better housing in light of some of the pitfalls of former government housing initiatives.

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[39] One Port Elizabeth official that I had the opportunity to speak to mentioned that because basic property taxes were not collected from some of the people living in site and services houses, the local, city, and provincial governments were losing revenue, which created a strain on their ability to provide infrastructure services to communities.

This was also the case for people living in RDP houses in Walmer Township. There were two main neighborhoods in Walmer Township where RDP houses were built. Not only were municipal services also becoming strained for RDP neighborhoods, but the houses were of substandard quality and poorly constructed, so they were frequently criticized by Walmer residents. Residents of Sakhasonke mentioned that some residents in Walmer Township would abandon their RDP houses and move into empty site and services houses because they felt that those houses were safer and more durable.

In terms of housing tenure, the people living in site and services houses had complete ownership and possessed title deeds to their property. Most of those living in RDP houses did not have title for the houses, and the provincial government controlled the title. Those people only had "partial title ownership" that allowed them to make changes to houses without obtaining permission from the provincial government. For that reason, they were not seen as renters, but as co-owners of their houses.

Looking at the services prior to moving to Sakhasonke, most of the residents had access to basic infrastructural services such as electricity, inside running water, and sewage. Since most of the people lived in recognized formal areas compared to their counterparts in Wells Estate, Sakhasonke residents had access to municipal trash pick-up and official mail delivery.

<center>Non-Participant Group</center>

The majority of the people of the non-participant group lived in formal housing prior to their move to Port Elizabeth. The type of formal housing varied, ranging from apartments to single-family houses. The majority of the people rented their homes or lived with their parents where they did not have to pay rent. Similar to residents of Sakhasonke, all of the people of this

group had access to basic infrastructural services prior to moving to their homes in Port Elizabeth.

Access to Jobs and Income Prior to Moving

This section will discuss the jobs and income situations of the residents of the three research groups prior to moving to their new location.

Wells Estate

The majority of the residents of Wells Estate before their resettlement were unemployed and receiving some form of government assistance. A small minority of people worked informally in some capacity, but the vast majority was unemployed both formally and informally.   In addition, the education level among Wells Estate residents was relatively low compared to the other research groups. Slightly less than half of the people interviewed finished high school (45 percent) and no person I talked to received educational or vocational training beyond matric. I needed the help of a Xhosa translator for ten of the twenty interviews conducted because some of the residents could not speak or understand English. Though I received Xhosa conversational training and was able to speak Xhosa in conversational settings, I employed a Xhosa speaker to assist me with these interviews. The average age of people that I met and talked with in Wells Estate was 36, which was seven years older than the average age of the people of Sakhasonke. I believe one of the reasons that most of the residents of Wells Estate were older than their counterparts was because they were already responsible for managing households and had established livelihoods in their informal settlement prior to Coega resettlement.

Sakhasonke

For the residents of Sakhasonke, most people had some form of formal or informal

employment (see Table 3).

Table 3. Type of Employment People Had Prior to Moving (number of people/percentage of people within the research group)

	Sakhasonke	Wells Estate	Group 3	Total
Formal Employment	8 (40%)	2 (10%)	8 (40%)	18 (30%)
Informal Employment	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	7 (12%)
Contract/Seasonal Worker	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	4 (7%)
Unemployed	5 (25%)	14 (70%)	4 (20%)	23 (38%)
Other	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
No information	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	6 (30%)	7 (12%)
Total	20	20	20	60

Only a few of the residents were receiving government financial assistance. The

financial assistance was primarily child dependency welfare because most of the residents had

children and were able to receive welfare for them in relation to their income status. The next

chapter will discuss how two of the main requirements to get a house in Sakhasonke were having

a child and having an income at or below R1,500 per month ($200).

The residents of Sakhasonke are among the most educated of the research groups. About

75 percent of them have completed high school and about 15 percent have additional vocational

training or university education. Every person that I talked to was fluent in at least two

languages, and about 40 percent could speak three or more. The average age of the people of

Sakhasonke was 29. While conducting formal interviews, I did not need to use a translator.

Non-Participant Group

The income and job status of the people of the non-participant group varied. Their living and economic circumstances were different from the other groups, in part because of their ability to afford to live in the inner suburbs of Port Elizabeth rather than the poorer townships. Yet these individuals still faced housing and economic concerns and choices similar to those the people of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate faced.

The distinctive characteristic about the members of this group was that most of them were not from Port Elizabeth, but migrated to the city for various reasons. For example, many chose to live in Port Elizabeth because the cost of living was affordable, and less than other major cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg. The rent in Port Elizabeth ranged from $270 to $338 for a one-bedroom apartment compared to $832 in Johannesburg. The rent was even cheaper the farther the apartment was outside the central business district and inner suburbs, but apartment options were less outside the city. Most of these areas were already occupied townships and available rental housing was a challenge for Africans coming from outside Port Elizabeth.

The cost of living was a main reason why Paul and Refy moved from Johannesburg to Port Elizabeth. Paul and Refy, ages 22 and 23 respectively, had recently gotten married and moved to Port Elizabeth because Paul was able to obtain a new job at the Volkswagen car factory located in the city. Since Paul was originally from Port Elizabeth, moving back made him closer to his family. After raising the money to pay for bridewealth for Refy, the young couple was able to get married and find a new place together in Port Elizabeth to start their lives.

The people of the non-participant group did not have many similar reasons why they chose to live in the city, compared to the other black Africans living in the townships where access to government housing was more common. A reason could be that the city Port Elizabeth

has a mixture of rental and purchased properties which people with steady income can obtain. In

comparison to other major cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, housing prices in the

residential market in Port Elizabeth are not expensive, making it easy for a newlywed young

couple to create a new life.

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Access to Transportation, Markets and
Other Facilities before the Move
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This subsection will discuss how the people accessed non-infrastructural services such as

transportation and other amenities before their move.

<div align="center">

Wells Estate
</div>

Prior to their relocation to Wells Estate, residents' access to transportation depended on

how close their shacks were to major roads. Some shacks were farther away than others. The

closest major road to the informal settlement, where the majority of residents lived, was the N2

Highway. This highway stretches from the west, going up and around Port Elizabeth and then

towards the rest of the Eastern Cape Province to the northeast. Along the road are designated

places where minibus taxis can stop and pick up or unload passengers. Larger than a regular

taxi, minibus taxis are large vans that can carry up to 17 people inside. Riders are charged a fare

that depends on the distance to their destination. Some of the residents did mention (but not

specify) how they had to walk a distance from their shacks to get to the road in order to access

the minibuses because they would not drive into the settlement. When asked why these

minibuses would not drive into the settlement, a few residents said it was due to the lack of

paved roads there.

Residents did mention that few roads led into their settlement, so if they wanted to access

transportation to get to food markets, stores, and health care clinics located in the township of

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Motherwell (about four miles away from the settlement) or in the city of Port Elizabeth, they would have to catch a minibus. These minibuses were the only type of public transportation accessible to the residents. Residents mentioned that the larger city buses did not stop at the settlement.

Residents of Wells Estate did not go into detail about how they accessed educational services, schools, and health care clinics before they moved into their new homes; however, from their discussions on transportation, getting to these places was contingent for the most part on their ability to access the minibuses.

In regards to recreational facilities and what residents of Wells Estate did before moving, most of them commented on how close the beach and waterfront were to the informal settlement. Some of the residents mentioned that would go down to the beach for enjoyment and recreation and that it was a welcome reprieve from the reality of living in an informal settlement.

Sakhasonke

The residents of Sakhasonke faced a completely different situation from their counterparts in Wells Estate. As stated previously, most of the people were from nearby Walmer Township, which is less than two miles from Sakhasonke. When they lived in Walmer Township, residents did not have to travel a long distance to access stores, schools, food markets, and other services. Food stores, flea markets, and a health clinic were available within the township, but residents had to travel outside if they wanted to go to larger grocery stores and shopping malls. From my own observations of Walmer Township, public transportation was plentiful and accessible. There were both minibus taxi stands and public bus stops within the township. There was one primary school within Walmer Township, but older students had to travel outside of it to access secondary/high school.

In regard to recreational facilities in Walmer Township, I observed several designated grassy areas for people to play sports such as cricket and soccer, which were popular with children. These sport areas were scattered throughout the township. Most of the Walmer Township residents also had access to postal services and other municipal services.

Non-Participant Group

Before moving to their homes in Port Elizabeth, members of Group 3 had access to non-infrastructural services that was similar to that of their counterparts before they moved to Sakhasonke. Almost all the people of the group had good access to transportation, health care clinics and hospitals, food markets and grocery stores, and schools in their previous residences. The move to Port Elizabeth did not change their ability to access these services.

Quality of Social Relationships and Community
Prior to their Relocation

This section will deal with the research groups' prior social relationships and community sentiment before moving to their new homes.

Wells Estate

A few Wells Estate residents that I talked with mentioned how they felt more community and had more trusting social relationships in the informal settlement than in Wells Estate. They mentioned how their poverty situation within their informal settlement made them interact more with their neighbors due to sharing of resources and services. I mentioned in an early section that some residents shared common refrigerators. Residents that used their neighbors' fridges cooked meals for them and for nearby neighbors that also used the fridge. Although many current residents of Wells Estate did not provide a great deal of information on their community circumstances in their previous homes, the few with whom I spoke felt that there was loss of

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reciprocity, resource-sharing, and acts of kindness within Wells Estate. I have the impression that they experienced a greater sense of community and social trust in the informal settlements.

<center>Sakhasonke</center>

Most of the people of Sakhasonke experienced a sense of community when they lived in nearby Walmer Township, but most of them only experienced it in their particular neighborhood or street. Most people had lived in their homes (primarily site and services houses) for decades since Walmer Township was established. Babso spoke about how there were some areas within the township that she did not go into, primarily at night, because she felt the areas were not safe. She felt safest close to her mother's home and neighborhood.

From some of my observations in Walmer, neighbors regularly communicated with each other and helped people in their neighborhoods who were struggling with their bills or lacked money to buy food. I remember one morning visiting Babso's mother, where a close friend that lived a couple streets down came over to return a few large pots that she had borrowed. I asked the woman what she used the pots for; she said some relatives from the Transkei visited the previous weekend and she needed the extra pots for all the stews she was making for everyone. Though this was only a single incident, this provided me an idea of how neighbors in Walmer felt comfortable enough with one another to borrow items and share resources.

On the other hand, Walmer residents distrusted people they did not recognize as being from their neighborhoods. The majority of residents of Sakhasonke were from homes that their families had lived in for many years, so for most of their lives they lived around the same people with whom they had grown up. Strangers in their neighborhood, especially people smelling like alcohol, were immediately seen as threats and potentially dangerous. One afternoon while talking with Siko outside his parents' house in Walmer, a middle-aged man in worn clothing,

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looking apparently drunk and muttering words I could not understand, approached the house. Siko immediately stopped our conversation, stood up and yelled at the man, "*Khawususe umqundu wakho apha* (Get the hell out of here)!" This was my first time seeing Siko so upset. He told me that people have to watch out for drunken middle-aged men (he did not say anything about drunken women) in their neighborhoods because he believed they were likely to commit burglary and other serious crimes.

That incident reminded me of a conversation with Babso's mother around the time I first visited her home in Walmer Township. She had a three-foot wire fence surrounding her house and two additional extension structures on her property. When I initially arrived at her house, she had two mixed-breed dogs that barked and growled at me as I approached her gate. Babso's mother had to come out and restrain the dogs so I could enter her property. Once we were inside her home, she closed her front door to keep her dogs outside and away from their eager campaign to rip me to shreds! Babso's mother told me that she kept dogs primarily for safety, because a few years ago, two men broke into her house during the day when no one was home and stole various items from them. After that incident, she and her husband got dogs to protect their property and themselves. Although my initial encounter with her dogs had me fearing for my life, after subsequent visits to her home over the course of several months, her dogs recognized me and would immediately jump up my legs in a vain attempt to get me to scratch their heads. I grew quite fond of them.

Other residents in Walmer Township kept dogs as well, which led me to think that many people purchased dogs as a way of protecting themselves from intruders. Besides seeing the dogs as a means of protection, Babso's mother and others loved their dogs. However people

who could not afford other safety measures such as house alarms got dogs to protect against crime in their neighborhoods.

Non-Participant Group

Non-participant group residents did not go into detail about their past communities and how much social trust was apparent. However, some remarked that there were more community and kinship ties in their former areas than in the city of Port Elizabeth. One of the people from the group, "Mzui," mentioned how he missed the sense of community and cohesiveness he felt when he lived in Motherwell compared to his life in downtown Port Elizabeth. He also spoke how he enjoyed the ethnic homogeneity of Motherwell versus the multiculturalism that existed in the city of the Port Elizabeth. Mzui's living situation will be discussed in detail in a case study later in the dissertation.

Cross-Comparison of Prior Living
Situations of Research Groups

Regarding the previous housing and access to infrastructural services of the residents of the two housing communities and the non-participant group, the residents of Sakhasonke and the non-participant group had similar adequate access to good housing and municipal and infrastructural services. These residents did not have problems with obtaining access to water, electricity, or waste removal, so these issues were not main concerns for them. However, the residents of Wells Estate, because they had lived in informal settlements, did not have sustainable access to quality housing or easy access to infrastructural services and resources. Their access to clean water was a daily task and obtaining electricity was problematic for many of the residents.

Access to jobs and income was a challenge for all the people in the research groups in their previous residences, but the greater educational experience of the residents of Sakhasonke and the non-participant group compared to their Wells Estate counterparts increased their likelihood of finding employment. However, more people of Wells Estate received some form of government financial assistance when they lived in their informal settlements than the people of Sakhasonke and Group 3.

The people of the non-participant group and Sakhasonke had good access to transportation, food markets, clinics, shopping malls, and other non-infrastructural services in their previous residences compared to the residents of Wells Estate. It was a daily challenge for residents living in informal settlements to access minibus taxis that would only make stops on major roads. This challenge impeded or slowed them from getting to food markets and other places outside their settlements.

In regard to community and social trust, the residents of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate experienced community involvement and the sharing of resources in their previous residences. However, I have the impression after talking with the residents that the people of Wells Estate experienced a greater sense of social cohesion, trust, and community involvement compared to the people of Sakhasonke in their prior circumstances. Given the poor allocation and deprivation of services within informal settlements and the overall poverty of their residences, the Wells Estate residents who lived as squatters found ways to survive by sharing their resources and trusting their neighbors. Wells Estate residents did not speak about crime or safety issues in their former areas, unlike the people of Sakhasonke who discussed issues of safety with me, and which I witnessed.

Conclusion

This chapter covered the diversity of the people of this research by delving into their ethnicity, cultural customs, and everyday occurrences that are important to their livelihoods and make them individually and culturally unique. Given that most of the inhabitants are Xhosa, it was important to discuss the different aspects of Xhosa culture. I found it especially interesting that members of all three groups remarked upon the greater sense of community in their prior residences than in their new homes. This was apparent even in the case of Wells Estate residents, who moved into homes of far better quality and with much greater access to services than they had in the informal settlement.

CHAPTER 6

A LOOK INTO THE HOUSING PROGRAMS,

PARTICIPATION AND QUALITY OF HOUSING

This chapter will cover the issue of housing for the residents of Sakhasonke, Wells

Estate, and the people of the non-participant group, as well as provide background information

on the housing projects of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate. The chapter will address how the

housing project itself has impacted or improved their quality of life. Additionally, I will describe

the national government housing process and how it led to the creation of Sakhasonke. The next

sections will provide a detailed account of the Sakhasonke housing project from its inception as a

government-subsidized People's Housing Process (PHP) project, through the formulation and

application process, to the construction of the houses in the community. Subsequent sections on

Wells Estate are similar in scope to that of the preceding ones on Sakhasonke, but the role the

Coega had on the relocation of people affected by the development project and the eventual

creation of a new housing community will be addressed.

The second part of the chapter will break down residents' participation and role in the

development project and address their sentiments in regard to the projects. The third part of this

chapter will address the type of housing and infrastructural services to which the residents had

access. Using the quality of life indicators addressed in the methodology chapter, they are

divided by the research site group and the findings and discussions that emerged from analyzing

issues of housing and housing services.

South African Housing Development, the People's Housing Process (PHP) and the Beginning of Sakhasonke

Earlier chapters touched on the significance of South African housing policies to the

poor. Mackay (1999) argued how "the main housing problems derive from historical inequalities

and injustices in the educational and political structure and lack of income. Good quality shelter

is readily available but most of the population cannot afford it" (1999:389). The year Mackay

made this observation was the same year Thebo Mbeki took office (1999), and the same

underlying housing problems in South Africa existed almost ten years later. As pointed out in

earlier chapters, housing has been a primary issue for the government towards the end of

apartheid and afterwards, and the national unity government under Nelson Mandela inherited a

socio-economic challenge of trying to provide adequate housing to millions of poor Africans. In

1994, almost eight million people, or 20 percent of the population, lived in squatter settlements

or in backyard shacks; another million people lived in hostels (Mackay 1999).

The first chapter discussed how the South African National Housing Forum (NHF), an

organization made up of government officials, non-government organizations, and the business

community, was created in response to the lack of attention given to housing historically

disadvantaged black South Africans. Two of the first activities by the NHF were to restructure

the government's housing institutions and to reformulate the apartheid government's housing

policy in order to help poor Africans obtain housing. Several large banks, such as Standard Bank

and FirstRand Bank, hesitated to finance mortgages to high-risk[40] and low-income groups. In

2002 the national government announced a move to make housing subsidies the main instrument

to address the legacy of poverty and inequality (Khan 2003). The housing policy shift of 2002,

with a new two-stage system tenure of serviced land and housing construction through subsidies,

replaced the previous three-stage Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) approaches

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[40] High-risk individuals in the South African context are people considered at risk of not fulfilling the terms of a mortgage loan agreement. These are individuals with no formal income, assets and property to use as collateral, or who have no credit history. Millions of historically disadvantaged black South Africans fell within this category because they were not able to accumulate enough wealth and assets during apartheid to obtain a mortgage from established financial institutions such as banks.

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to housing delivery, which were: 1) provision of a site with secure tenure; 2) provision of essential services; and 3) house construction.

In light of this new housing focus, by the beginning of 2000, the South African government established the People's Housing Process (PHP) as part of the national housing subsidy program. The main focus of the PHP was to support households who wish to enhance their subsidies by building or organizing the building of their homes themselves (Baumann 2003).[41]

The PHP was created to assist people and housing developers with access to housing subsidies plus technical, financial, and logistical support for the construction of their houses. In terms of how the technical and financial support actually work, interested people would form a group with the assistance of a supporting non-governmental organization, then apply for facilitation grants from the government. The facilitation grants provided start-up funding to assist communities and the supporting NGO to prepare the subsidy application, obtain technical assistance from external groups, and procure labor and materials (Baumann 2003:10). There are six procedural steps to the People's Housing Process:

Step 1: *Recruiting by a Facilitator*. An accredited facilitator recruits people eligible for a Housing Subsidy and helps them form the group for the PHP. Facilitators are independent agents who have been trained by the government to work with the PHP. They also act as representatives of beneficiaries to the state.

Step 2: *Electing a Support Organization*. The group elects about 10 people to represent them in a Support Organization, which is responsible for managing the building project.

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[41] The People's Housing Process was initiated in 1998 along with several other housing programs by the Department of Housing. It was not until 2002 that the government began to emphasize the PHP.

Step 3: *Submitting a business plan*. The facilitator and support organization draw up a business plan that includes floor plans and a list of beneficiaries to the Department of Local Government and Housing for final approval.

Step 4: *Paying out subsidies in installments*. Upon approval of the business plan, the Department of Local Government and Housing will pay out initial installments to an accredited Accounts Administrator appointed by the Support Organization.

Step 5: *Training of support organization and builders*. Members of the support organization have to attend a project-management course before official building begins. They must also identify a number of unemployed, unskilled people from the list of beneficiaries to attend a 60-day house-building course to teach them skills such as plumbing, bricklaying, and carpentry. This is considered the "sweat equity" part of the People's Housing Process. Beneficiaries are expected to assist in the construction of their houses. Providing sweat equity also keeps housing cost low and allows for the construction of a greater number of dwellings.

Step 6: *Building Begins*. Once the basic organizational foundation is set, the support organization may begin ordering materials to start the actual building process.

According to this framework, the beneficiaries can build their own homes or hire contractors; they can make their own materials or obtain them from suppliers. Initially, subsidies given through the PHP were set up and originally envisioned by government housing officials as a way to encourage community involvement (M. Tomlinson 1996; 2006).

The support organization must contract a housing certifier responsible for certifying and auditing the quality of the houses. A housing certifier is an independent, third-party individual or consulting firm that assesses the quality of the housing construction done by the government. They are responsible for ensuring that the quality of the houses corresponds with national

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construction and building standards. Once this beginning process is finished, the support

organization submits the application on behalf of the beneficiaries involved in the project. If it is

approved, the government releases the subsidies to the support group.

Though housing developers that built the houses for Sakhasonke were approved for a

PHP subsidy, they did not follow the step-by-step process laid out by the government to obtain it,

especially the part where communities were supposed to create their own bottom-up organization

to apply for a grant. Because the type of subsidy grant from the government was created to

directly help housing developers, the creation of Sakhasonke was a top-down endeavor in which

private and non-governmental organizations collaborated to develop the housing community.

The people of Sakhasonke were not fully part of the beginning planning stages of the housing

development, though some of their input was considered. The following section will discuss

how Sakhasonke was developed and how the residents were involved in the creation of the

housing project.

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Background of Sakhasonke Housing
Development

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This subsection will give the reader an understanding of the planning and creation of

Sakhasonke. In 2002, the PHP Sakhasonke Housing Development Project[42] was initiated by the

General Motors South Africa Foundation, formerly known as the Delta Foundation, to provide

low-cost housing for the poor. The Delta Foundation purchased land on the northwest fringes of

Walmer Township, which was identified by them as an ideal area for new housing

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[42] The Department of Local Government and Housing considers the Sakhasonke Housing project a
"Managed People's Housing Process" because of the greater managerial structure and the use of external
stakeholders compared to beneficiary management and control in a conventional PHP project.

construction.[43] The final total cost of the project after construction was R10,392,069 ($1,021,533).

Sakhasonke has 337 houses with a targeted population of 1,658 people. At the time of research, Sakhasonke had less than 700 people living in the community. The houses were designed as two-storied duplexes or triplexes that share communal walls and services. In this high-density building strategy, houses are built on smaller plots compared to Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) housing plots. In past low-cost housing projects, such as RDP housing, plot sizes were made bigger but the houses were smaller. Bigger plots require costly installation of services (e.g. water, sewage system, electricity) for each house. For example, conventional RDP houses located in areas of Walmer Township have an average plot size of 216 square meters, compared to Sakhasonke's 46 square meters per housing unit, including back and front yards. Sakhasonke meant to demonstrate how two-story housing could reduce land, service, and building costs in order to provide more spacious houses than other government programs. Some researchers argued that previous housing schemes, such as the RDP houses of the late 1990s, wasted land on houses in which only a few people could live (Baumann 2003). Also, since Walmer Township is a centrally located black township close to Port Elizabeth's central business district and suburbs, housing developers saw this location for Sakhasonke as different from other black African housing developments normally built on the outskirts of cities.

The project began with the formation of the Walmer Housing Development Trust, composed of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, the Eastern Cape Department of Housing and Local Government, the Urban Service Group, the Unit for Building Research and Support from Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, and Metroplan Town and Regional

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[43] The GM South Africa Foundation initially purchased the site of the Old Walmer Caravan Park for R126,000 ($21,000).

Planners. The Urban Service Group is a non-profit organization based in Port Elizabeth. It was founded in 1998 in the city as a locally-based organization that could respond to development issues that directly impacted the poor in the city. The Urban Service Group collaborates with several organizations in the area to address social concerns for low-income populations. It helps draft project proposals, canvasses neighborhoods, serves as an advocate, and communicates directly with people impacted by development projects. It primarily works with issues of social justice, community development, and organization within the black townships in the city. The Unit for Building Research and Support, located at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, provides research on low-income housing and housing subsidies. It also provides community assistance on development and construction projects. Metroplan Town and Regional Planners is a building and construction firm located in Port Elizabeth; it provides technical expertise in housing construction projects.

These organizations make up the Housing Trust and were responsible for overall project management of Sakhasonke. One of the goals of the Walmer Housing Trust was to create a viable housing living environment to serve as a model for national replication. Developers and politicians were hoping to replicate the type of housing and cost of construction that was used in Sakhasonke for other housing projects across the country.

<center>Application Process</center>

In 2002, the application process for potential Sakhasonke residents commenced. Beneficiaries were notified of the project by flyers and posters distributed in the neighboring Walmer Township by the Walmer Housing Development Trust; the Urban Service Group mainly did this work, and conducted most of the "door-to-door" communication and contact. It was also

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responsible for fielding questions and making sure potential residents were fully aware and "involved" in the project's planning and implementation stages.

These initial dealings by the Urban Service Group were followed by a series of general meetings to inform interested people of the project proposal and gain their interest. A show house and a smaller replica were built to test the response of people at these meetings. The response was massive from the neighboring township; many individuals from the adjacent township were impressed by the design of the houses and submitted their applications.[44]

To take part in any People's Housing Process project, the applicant had to meet the following qualifications:

1. Be married or cohabiting with a long-term partner, or be single or divorced with financial dependents

2. Be a South African citizen or have a South African Permanent Resident's Permit.

3. Be over 21 years of age or under 21 years of age and married or divorced with financial dependents.

4. Be of sound mind.[45]

5. Have a monthly household income less than R3,500 ($583).[46]

6. Be willing to live in the home built with the subsidy with family and not sublet or rent the property.

After being able to verify eligibility, applicants had to supply as part of their application package: a copy of their South African identification card (including partner's or spouse's), birth

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[44] The majority of Sakhasonke residents are from Walmer Township. However, some beneficiaries from other townships or parts of Port Elizabeth found out about the project from word-of-mouth or while working in the Walmer area. To their benefit, they are now living closer to their place of employment and therefore can save on traveling expenses by walking to work.

[45] The program classified a person of "sound mind" as someone without any mental illnesses.

[46] The target income amount for potential Sakhasonke beneficiaries was R1,500/month ($250) or less.

certificates of dependents and their identification numbers, a copy of marriage certificate or divorce decree; and a recent pay slip as proof of income.[47]

The Urban Service Group and Metroplan developers facilitated the selection of the beneficiaries for submission to the Department of Provincial, Local Government and Housing for approval. After being approved, selected applicants would receive title deeds to their prospective properties. Applicants, after signing their title deeds, were not responsible for any mortgage payments on their house. Mortgage payments that title deed holders would have made on their houses were covered by the housing subsidy program, so residents were not responsible for any type of mortgage payments. After construction was completed in 2005-2006, beneficiaries were able to move into their properties.

Compared to other self-help housing programs in the past, The People's Housing Process housing development program allows residents to have formal ownership of their houses through freehold ownership. With freehold ownership, individuals are supposed to have full ownership and title to their property (R. Gordon et al. 2011). As owners, beneficiaries are responsible for paying taxes and services (e.g., electricity, water), as well as maintaining the property. Residents of Sakhasonke are taxed by the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, and these taxes cover sewage, trash pick-up, and water. Taxes are calculated annually, and Sakhasonke residents receive a monthly bill based on the annual tax, which usually runs around R500 ($83) per month. Their title deeds are registered with the Deeds Office, the primary government office in each of the nine provinces that records ownership and other rights relating to immovable property (R. Gordon et al. 2011). The Walmer Housing Development Trust assisted residents with formalizing their titles with the provincial government. Given that Sakhasonke is a cluster

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[47] To my knowledge, most Sakhasonke beneficiaries were not asked to provide a pay slip as proof of income in the application process. This indicates how flexibly PHP projects can be created and planned in order to accommodate targeted audiences.

housing development, meaning that houses are attached to each other, owners gain ownership title over their house and garden, but must communicate and work with other residents to look after common areas.

<div align="center">

Coega Economic Development and the
Makings of Wells Estate Resettlement

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This section will provide background information on the Coega economic development project in order to give a clear understanding of what led to the creation of Wells Estate. To help jumpstart the economy in the Eastern Cape, the national government created the Coega Development Corporation (CDC) to oversee the development and construction of the proposed Coega Industrial Development Zone (IDZ) and Port.[48] The Coega project was envisioned by the national government as a future major industrial center, with the port as its primary vehicle to bring in revenue from shipping companies that would use it. This project was set up to provide an additional deepwater port to the existing and heavily used downtown Port Elizabeth harbor and would have modern information technology capabilities, transportation facilities, and plenty of room for companies to expand in the future. Also, the Coega Port would serve not only as a port but as a construction and industrial park for various industries. The CDC and the government were hoping that export-oriented companies would set up shop at the port as means to stimulate the creation of additional industrial and manufacturing jobs in the Eastern Cape Province, where the unemployment rate was one of the highest in the country.

The Coega project area is situated on the northwestern fringes of Port Elizabeth in Algoa Bay. The Coega IDZ is located 25 km away from the city, and it covers about 12,000 hectares (see Figure 4 on page 102).

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[48] When the CDC was established in 1999, there was no information available about whether the corporation was a public entity to be held accountable for the use of public funds, how it was constituted, or if it was fully para-statal.

The National Port Authority helped Coega developers establish port infrastructure such as the breakwaters and quays at the development site. Figure 6 below illustrates a sign that fenced off the construction area of the Coega IDZ from Wells Estate.

Figure 6. Coega Sign and Fence in Wells Estate Township

By the beginning of the construction of the IDZ, no businesses or industries had decided to relocate or establish manufacturing there. It was only in 2006, after negotiations with local communities and the city officials that investors began to commit to establishing businesses at Coega. Later in that year, the South African firm Sander International agreed to become Coega's first tenant. A few months later, Southern Cross Precision Strip Consortium agreed to set up a steel facility at the IDZ. Finally, Canadian aluminum producer Alcan agreed to become Coega's first anchor tenant firm by setting up a smelter on the site.

The total cost of the Coega IDZ has been estimated to be around R12 billion (about $1.5 billion), most of it coming from public investments and South African taxpayers. The CDC has hoped that the new industries investing in and moving to Coega will provide more than 14,000 manufacturing and industrial jobs over the next 30 years. Coega promised local authorities that

greater investment and economic development from the Coega IDZ would bring in more employment and a greater quality of life to the people of the Eastern Cape.

<div align="center">
Background on the Creation of Wells Estate
Housing Community
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In 1999, the Coega Development Corporation proposed the resettlement to a new community of people living in informal settlements directly impacted by the proposed Coega IDZ area. The following year, the CDC agreed to relocate 300 households and to provide new housing and an economic resettlement package for the people. The municipality and the CDC had to determine a location for the relocated communities. They decided on a location approximately one-half mile outside the IDZ area, but still west of the major N2 highway. They named the area Wells Estate.

The CDC and the municipal officials partnered to provide the people that relocated to Wells Estate a resettlement package that included benefits and initial assistance to households to help acquaint them with their new surroundings. In addition to a new house for each family, the economic resettlement package included:

- Work-related training for a maximum of one year to at least one member of each family in preparation for the Coega project.

- One job per family related to the Coega project. Other members would be able to place their names into a labor pool for future employment.

- R 3000 ($370) to each household that did not qualify for a housing subsidy from the government. This amount was to be used by families for extras on their new homes (extensions, window shutters, fences, water heaters, etc.) that were not part of the

construction of the original house. Grave sites in the Coega IDZ were required to be preserved.[49]

People were informed in late 1999 about their relocation to Wells Estate and the resettlement package they would receive in a series of meetings and workshops held by the local ANC branch and councilor. Attendees discussed the types of houses and extra compensation they would receive from the CDC (Sandy and Maziz Consulting 2000:8). Each household would receive services and amenities that would include electricity, water, and flush toilets in each house. The neighborhood would have one permanent primary school, a clinic and space for a communal garden (Sandy and Maziz Consulting 2000:8). Building contractors were contacted and employed to start the building process in 1999. These local contractors were hired by the CDC on behalf of the municipality. Some members of the relocated communities were supposedly involved in the building process, but I did not speak to those people while I was there. Families and individuals that moved from the Coega development area were told of their resettlement seven days prior to their actual relocation.[50] A notification letter directed individuals to pack their belongings and provided the date that their bulk items such as furniture and appliances would be transported to their new homes by trucks. It also requested that the people demolish their old shack houses prior to moving. The physical move took place in June 2001 when about 300 families were relocated to Wells Estate. Figure 7 is an example of one of the newly created houses in Wells Estate.

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[49] An evaluation of the resettlement package was provided through a Forensic Audit of the Coega Resettlement Process, carried out by the Coega Development Corporation and mandated by the national government (Coastal and Environmental Services 2001).

[50] Residents were also informed that they would receive a resettlement package that included benefits before they moved to Wells Estate.

Figure 7. House in Wells Estate

Participation in Development Projects and
Feelings towards Project Management

This section will examine the level and type of participation experienced by the residents

of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate by comparing it to the non-participation of Group 3 with the

housing projects. The following subsections are divided according to research group. As

discussed in the methodology chapter, the criteria used to measure participation were: 1) level of

engagement and communication with project managers and developers; 2) how involved

residents were in the planning stages of the project; 3) how involved residents were in the

implementation stages of the project; and 4) how the project design allowed for engagement

between developer and beneficiaries. I will also address in this section residents' sentiments and

feelings about the structure of the housing projects.

Sakhasonke: The Housing Program
and the Residents

This subsection looks at the People's Housing Process subsidy program overall and
specific impacts on beneficiaries' quality of life in Sakhasonke. In general, beneficiaries were
pleased with the subsidy program and its implementation. All residents interviewed were
moderately satisfied with the Walmer Housing Development Trust and the job it was doing
overseeing the management of Sakhasonke. The residents felt overall management of the PHP
went well, especially at the beginning stages where Trust officials, most notably representatives
from the Urban Service Group notified prospective beneficiaries in Walmer Township. Despite
not being part of the planning stage and management team, over half of residents had previously
heard of PHP subsidy programs and national housing strategies, so they were aware what the
PHP Sakhasonke project would entail. In addition, most people in Sakhasonke had completed
high school matric and some had even gone on to tertiary institutions, which could have helped
them understand larger governmental and structural processes.

Most people I talked to understood that PHP projects, in general, have beneficiaries work
on the construction of the houses as sweat equity. However, only a few of the people, mostly
men, were actually employed as contract laborers for the Sakhasonke project. They were
employed as plumbers, painters and electricians. The vast majority of jobs for the project went
to small businesses from Port Elizabeth that were contracted by the Walmer Trust to do most of
the construction work.[51] Most residents did not have a problem with this arrangement. This is
despite arguments from Yeboah (2005) and Sengupta (2010) that self-help housing and creating
jobs for the poor in the construction of their own housing would led to greater quality of life for
beneficiaries. Though it may have helped those few who actually worked on the project, it was

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[51] I was not able to obtain information from the Walmer Housing Development Trust on the external groups
that were hired to do the building and construction.

not the case for everyone. For example, only one resident I spoke with was able to find other informal construction work after helping with the construction of Sakhasonke. "Madisi," a 28-year-old male with two children, was able to get additional temporary jobs installing insulation for new houses in Sakhasonke and elsewhere. Madisi already had previous training in how to install insulation, so he did not need to receive any additional training from Sakhasonke housing developers.

One of the major concerns that beneficiaries had was whether their input was noted by the Walmer Trust during the implementation stages of the project. About 70 percent of residents felt that their input was not noted or heard during the implementation and creation stages of the project. As stated previously, Trust officials went to prospective beneficiaries in neighboring Walmer explaining the project and showcasing a replica model of a house to them. Most people felt that if they disagreed with the model of the house, they would lose their chance to relocate to Sakhasonke. Residents were also told that there were building codes that prohibited any extensions or add-ons to their houses, which was common practice in their previous residences.

Residents also did not have control over which contracting firms were hired to work on the construction of the houses and what materials were to be used. In addition, they were not given budget information and told how it was being allocated, which was a prevailing reason that they were partially unsatisfied with the Walmer Housing Trust. About 20 percent of residents interviewed felt there was a significant lack of transparency and communication between them and the Walmer Trust. In addition, about 80 percent were upset that there were blocks set up by the Walmer Trust to prevent residents from starting up their own businesses in the housing community.

Most felt that the PHP subsidy program was not unique compared to other types of subsidy programs available, but most individuals did appreciate the level of autonomy that subsidy programs provided them. They believed that current housing subsidy programs were much better than the RDP housing programs of the 1990s. Residents of Sakhasonke believed that government housing programs before the PHP were necessary steps in order to ensure that Africans had access to adequate shelter. Many of them were satisfied that the PHP project of Sakhasonke used new building techniques, better building equipment, and up-to-date housing infrastructure such as running water, flush toilets and electrical boxes compared to the older RDP and site and services houses. Yet similar to the people who owned these previous types of houses, Sakhasonke residents were still financially responsible for any add-ons or improvements to their houses' interiors. For a family to have insulation, electrical wiring throughout their home and even a kitchen was dependent on whether they could afford it and/or if they knew a contractor, like Madisi, who could do the work.

Wells Estate: Coega Resettlement Housing
Program and the People

This subsection looks at the Coega resettlement housing program and its impacts on residents' quality of life in Wells Estate. The majority of residents believed that their relocation to Wells Estate greatly affected their lives in terms of facilities and services compared to what they had prior to their move. Most felt that their move negatively affected their ability to access services. Though access to transportation was deemed better by the residents, the two major facilities that were deemed important to residents, job training and schools, were now farther away. There was only one primary school and no secondary school in Wells Estate, so high school students had to find transportation to go to schools in the nearby townships. This was a burdensome expense on the entire household as daily taxi fare, book, tuition fees, and uniforms

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for school were factored into the monthly budget. Unfortunately, I talked to several parents having to decide on which days of the week their children would attend school or not attend at all. Parents of school-aged children indicated that the cost of tuition was too high for them to handle. The cost of tuition for public schools[52] in South Africa ranges from R6,000 to R15,000 per year ($742 to $1,856) and for private schools is more costly at R10,000 to R35,000 per year ($1,238 to $4,332). This does not include the cost of transportation, books and uniforms (South African Info 2011).

The majority of the people I talked to felt that the Coega project had not impacted their lives in any meaningful way and that they did not have a say in the implementation of the housing development project. Despite successful physical relocation of items to their new houses from their old ones, individuals were still trying to adjust to Wells Estate itself no comma and to the political and economic consequences of their resettlement. Few were aware of the political environment that surrounded the Coega project and what its economic struggles meant to them as a relocated community. Most people were not informed of the exact issues and economic plans that Coega had for the people of Wells Estate and their role in the progress of the project. Residents believed that along with their resettlement package, they would also receive employment or obtain job opportunities with Coega. Yet this was not to be the case immediately, or at all, for the people of Wells Estate. One of the greatest disappointments encountered while talking with the residents was the realization that they were not getting the jobs that they were promised by Coega officials.

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[52] Most public schools in South Africa are state-subsidized. The poorer the community that the school is located in, the more money the school receives from the state. However, parents are still expected to pay a fee to cover expenses not covered by the subsidy.

Table 4. Coega Project Impact on Wells Estate Residents

How has the Coega Project impacted the informant's life?	Number of Wells Estate Residents	Percentage of People within Wells Estate
In a Positive Way	6	30%
In a Negative Way	0	0%
Coega has not Impacted my Life in any way	14	70%

However, despite most residents' ambivalence toward the Coega project and officials because of failed promises, they do not think negatively about the Coega economic project itself (see Table 4). A large proportion of this sentiment was due to most people not knowing exactly what Coega was doing. When I asked people about what kinds of industries or work would be taking place at the industrial site, almost everyone had absolutely no idea. If there was any negative sentiment, it was typically lodged against CDC officials for not finishing the development of Well Estate or providing jobs. They mentioned how Coega representatives or officials never explained to residents exactly what Coega would be building or constructing and what their development outcomes and economic ventures would be. One of the major constraints for the few people who actually tried to obtain information about Coega's economic and housing development plans was not knowing what and whom to ask. The ANC representative that they turned to for answers offered only limited assistance to the people. In addition, housing developers only came into Wells Estate rarely to assess the progress of the township. During the time of research, I did not come across or hear of any Coega official or housing developer coming into Wells Estate.

Only a few people in the community knew what the Coega project would be building to attract foreign and domestic industries, and they were primarily seen in the community as leaders or "go-to people" for information. The average resident in Wells Estate was not familiar with

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the objectives or mission statement of Coega and had no individual communication with Coega officials.

Table 5. Coega Involvement with Wells Estate Residents

Are Coega managers and officials actively involved with the area or community?	Number of Wells Estate Residents	Percentage of People within Wells Estate
Yes	1	5%
No	15	75%
No answer/No comment	4	20%

Communication and correspondence between Coega and Wells Estate residents were non-existent at the time of research. Most residents never met any representative from Coega or talked to anyone about completing the construction and development of Wells Estate (Table 5). As for the promise made in the resettlement package of providing job training and employment for at least one member of a household with Coega, only two people I spoke to actually obtained short-term contract positions with Coega. Most residents did not see the project as supplementing any part of their daily activities; they just did not view Coega as a factor in their lives in any way.

<center>The Non-Participant Group: Non-Participation in
Housing Development Programs</center>

The non-participant group was not part of either the PHP Sakhasonke Housing project or the Wells Estate resettlement, so they were not participants in these or any other housing development projects. However, their non-participation was important in understanding how housing projects actually have an impact on beneficiaries.

Some in the non-participant group felt that their quality of life would increase somewhat if they lived in government housing, either in Sakhasonke or Wells Estate. Although most

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thought highly of the way government has delivered housing since the end of apartheid, all except Muzi also mentioned if they were offered government housing, they would not take it. He was the only respondent who would have accepted this type of housing. Refy was adamant about her reason for not wanting government housing. She believed that government housing should go to those less fortunate than she and her husband. Both Refy and her husband had formal jobs in the city and were paying rent on their apartment. In the conversations I had with Refy, she believed that her financial and housing situation was stressful, but not so unmanageable that she and husband would apply for government housing. Also, Refy and her husband did not have any children, so they would not have been eligible to obtain a home in Sakhasonke, which required residents to have at least one dependent.

Muzi, on the other hand, would not have accepted government housing if given the opportunity to be a recipient. He believed that living in a subsidized house would help the financial situation for him and his family.

Regarding their relationships with housing developers and management in comparison to the residents in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate, most of the people of the non-participant group who were living in rental apartments had good relations with their landlords. Most had open communication, and Seti mentioned that her landlord was a good friend with her live-in boyfriend at the time. However, all the renters were fully aware of their rental agreements and knew that their renter-landlord relationship was dependent on whether they could pay their rent.

Being a non-participant in the housing projects did not seem to diminish the quality of life of the non-participant group. Instead the non-participation seemed to inspire some of them, such as Refy and Seti, to have stable income so that they would not have to rely on government housing. It would also allow them the ability to purchase better housing. Though they

appreciated housing programs in general and how they have helped millions of disadvantaged

South Africans with obtaining stable and formal housing, most of this research group felt that

they were not part of that "disadvantaged" group and could find adequate housing on their own

without the assistance of the government or private sector.

<div align="center">

Comparison of Project Management, Participation and
Beneficiary Sentiment between the Research Groups

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Using the indicators in the methodology chapter in a cross-comparison between research

groups, I observed more participation among the Sakhasonke residents than among the people of

Wells Estate. Sakhasonke residents were more engaged with the planning and implementation of

the project than the people of Wells Estate with their resettlement (Table 6). With the formation

of groups, such as the Sakhasonke Residents' Committee, the residents of Sakhasonke were

active in ensuring that the Walmer Housing Trust was listening to their concerns about the

community.

Table 6. Project Participation Level

How Satisfied are you with your level of Participation with the Project?	Sakhasonke	Wells Estate	Total (Percentage)
Very Satisfied	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	6 (15%)
Satisfied	6 (30%)	5 (25%)	11 (27.5%)
No Opinion/Neutral	4 (20%)	10 (50%)	14 (35%)
Unsatisfied	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	7 (17.5%)
Very Unsatisfied	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)
Total	20	20	40

On the other hand, Wells Estate residents did not have good communication with housing developers and Coega officials. They did not create resident committees to serve as representative bodies to housing developers to express their concerns and issues. Wells Estate residents were also not aware of what the Coega Development Corporation was planning in regards to future development within the township. In addition, neither Coega nor city officials that I spoke with mentioned if they had any recent conversations with the residents about their resettlement packages or about the residents' general satisfaction with their houses and the township.

In regards to participation with the project itself, Sakhasonke residents actually participated or benefited more compared to residents of Wells Estate, though only a few worked as contract workers on the construction of houses in Sakhasonke.

Housing developers in the planning stages of the project tried to communicate with prospective residents of Sakhasonke by showing them a model of what a typical house would look like and listening to their opinions on the design. This was not done for the residents of Wells Estate prior to their resettlement. Instead the authorities notified the people that they would be moving into new homes but did not show them what the houses would be like nor ask for their opinion about them. Though most of the residents of Sakhasonke were not too pleased with the level of communication and correspondence with the Walmer Housing Development Trust, they established better channels of communications (through the creation of resident committees and associations) with developers compared to their counterparts in Wells Estate.

The Quality of Housing and Infrastructural Services

Using the indicators of quality of housing, housing design, and housing interior/exterior structure, discussed in the methodology chapter, the following subsections will describe the types

of housing the three research groups received as well as their access to infrastructural services such as electricity, water, and sewage.

Sakhasonke Housing and
Community Infrastructure

The design of each house in Sakhasonke was to achieve the most amount of space possible relative to cost (see Figures 8-9). In other words, developers wanted to build houses that were spacious and at the same time would keep building and construction cost down. An additional 24 square meters surrounds each unit. Each house has space for a kitchen, a lounge/living room, a bathroom with a toilet downstairs, and two bedrooms upstairs. The final layout of the inside is up to the beneficiary.

Figure 8. Sakhasonke Houses

Figure 9. Frontal View of a Sakhasonke House

Figure 10. Kitchen Area of Sakhasonke House

Figure 11. First Floor Living Room Area

As shown in Figures 10-11 above, the kitchen area has a sink with a water faucet; the rest

of the section is left for development, leaving it up to the beneficiary whether to build

countertops and cabinets, and to install a refrigerator, oven/stove, and other kitchenware and

appliances. In the bathroom there is a water faucet with sink, a toilet, and a sectioned-off base

area for bathing or installing a shower. Further improvements to the bathroom, such as installing

a bathtub and/or shower, mirrors, counters, and cabinets, are up to the resident.

The upstairs area of these houses is set aside for bedroom space. Similar to a loft, the

upstairs is completely open space, which can be partitioned into two sleeping sections.

Also within each house is a prepaid electricity meter with ready-board (see Figure 12).[53]

However, no electrical wiring or outlets in the house are attached to the meter. If people want

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[53] Most houses in South Africa use prepaid electricity meters instead of the "bill-later" method. Patrons go to any certified venue (e.g. kiosks, spaza shops, grocery stores) and purchase electricity for varying amounts. The seller then provides the patron with a set of numbers to enter into the meter box for the amount purchased. This prepaid method is preferred by millions of people in South Africa because it places the responsibility, agency, and amount of electricity a household can use (and waste) in the hands of the consumer. It is similar to the use of pre-paid cellphones.

electricity in their house, they are responsible for hiring electricians to come in and wire it, at the expense of the residents.[54]

Figure 12. Electricity Box and Meter in Kitchen Area

The building materials used were of substandard quality, which to the benefit of the developers, kept building cost at a minimum. According to national building codes, substandard material is material that is below national standards. This includes the types of concrete mixture used, so if the water quality of the mixture were poor then the concrete blocks used in construction would be considered substandard. Sakhasonke houses are built with concrete blocks and externally plastered. Internally, the walls are not plastered or painted; it is left to the beneficiary to plaster the inside. The ceiling area of the first floor is topped off with exposed standard plywood timber. The second floor is accessed by a plywood and timber staircase. The upstairs internal finish consists of painted concrete blocks and an insulated vaulted ceiling. All houses come with windows and plywood front and bathroom doors. The front door has one key lock. If beneficiaries want to add extra security such as a deadbolt or chain, it would be at their expense.

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[54] At the time of my research, electrical work was not complete in all the houses. By the end of 2006, most units had an electrical distribution board and a prepaid meter box with three plug sockets and a central room light.

Services provided for each house include individual water metering, shared sewer connections, electrical meter box, and surface storm water drains. Except for the electric meter, the other services are external. Also, each house has a backyard and a small front yard where next-door neighbors can communicate with each other. Unfortunately, neighbors can also communicate, if they want to, through the thin plywood walls that separate the houses in the duplex. Although washing or laundry facilities were not provided by the developers, most households have erected washing lines in their backyards or on the sides of the houses.

The developers tried to accommodate the needs of the elderly and disabled by making the front doors of the houses at ground-level and accessible. Unfortunately, the staircases inside are inaccessible and too steep for disabled persons to use, so they are forced to live on the ground floor with access to the bathroom and kitchen.

Before the construction of Sakhasonke, the property had existing buildings that were converted into a central building site office for the developers and then eventually into a central community facility used by the residents for various purposes. This community building, also known as the *crèche*, houses Sunday night church services, daily day care services, and community meetings. Community residents have complete control over running the crèche. The housing development went up around this community facility.

Figure 13. Additional View of Sakhasonke Houses

As illustrated in Figure 13, throughout the housing development are paved pathways, walkways, and tarred short service roads. Community grass areas are maintained by residents and garbage is collected in private bins from each unit weekly by the municipal refuse service.[55]

The placement of houses and streetlights along pathways ensured there were no dark areas cut off from lighting. At the request of the residents of Sakhasonke, the entire development was enclosed by a 2-meter wall for security. As an additional security measure, there is only one gated entrance into the property. People in the community, primarily men, take turns patrolling the entrance and looking out for suspicious activity or unfamiliar people.

Community development projects were also planned by the Walmer Housing Development Trust to promote growth of social capital and cohesion among the residents. The first community development project was a vegetable garden created in partnership with the Maranatha Mission of Port Elizabeth, a non-profit organization that assists communities with planting material to create vegetable gardens. About 700 square meters in the northeast section of Sakhasonke was set aside for the vegetable garden. The vision behind the garden project was

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[55] At the time of research, there were no recycling services available for residents. A recycling project is in progress for Sakhasonke, as a small business community project to help all the residents.

to establish a community-wide activity that residents would manage. The goal was to generate semiannual income and social capital to benefit all Sakhasonke residents. The Urban Service Group worked for almost two years to facilitate this project in order to "encourage subsistence activity and improve the aesthetics of the environment" and to "encourage respect for the community's living environment and improve nutrition" (Urban Service Group:2). The garden project was one of several sub-programs within the larger housing project agenda of the developers. More than R30,000 ($2,945) was budgeted from the housing subsidy package for the garden project. I will discuss the community development project in detail later in the dissertation.

Despite concerns with the management of the project, most of the residents are satisfied with their living environment compared to their former residences. They enjoyed the newness of the houses compared to the older houses they were used to in Walmer Township. Some of the residents spoke of deteriorating or out-dated pipes for gas and water, population congestion in the neighborhoods, and the increase of crime in Walmer. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Babso spoke of how her mother and father got dogs to protect their house and property in Walmer against people who would try to break into houses. Some of the residents also came from poor sections of Walmer Township in which municipal services were difficult to obtain. Residents saw Sakhasonke as providing a safer living environment for them to raise their children, as well as providing a foundation of security to build a better life for themselves. Over 95 percent of the residents were generally pleased with their housing and with housing in the entire community because the new houses were better equipped and better serviced than the older houses in Walmer. Residents also believed that their new houses would help their overall quality of life and improve their ability to secure and maintain employment. "Boni," a thirty-two year old male

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hairdresser, talked with me one late April day about how he believed his new housing had helped increase his and his young son's chances at achieving a good quality of life, but was skeptical whether developers and representatives of the Walmer Housing Trust cared for the residents' future sustainability.

Despite this general appreciation for their new housing, most residents did not fully consider their new houses as their homes. Given the relative newness of Sakhasonke, people were still settling into their houses and in the process of setting up the interiors, laying insulation, and performing other tasks to create inside living environments; they had not had the opportunity to substantially create a home where they could feel comfortable.

Wells Estate Housing

Similar in style to a RDP house of the 1990s, a Wells Estate house is located on a plot size of 216 square meters and has four rooms (kitchen, bathroom, living room, and bedroom). The houses are single-level with no stairs leading to the front door. There is also a side door that serves as a direct entrance to the kitchen. Each house is completely finished inside, with insulated walls and finished ceilings and floors. In addition, there are two taps for running water, one in the kitchen and the other in the bathroom. There is a tub for bathing in the bathroom.

Figure 14: A View of Wells Estate Houses

When visitors first walk into Wells Estate, one of the first things they notice is how wide

the streets are compared to other townships. The distance between each house is approximately

10 feet, creating enough space between houses for fencing. On each side of the street are wide

sidewalks that are also handicap accessible (see Figure 14). Each house is about the same size,

though some people built extensions that they attached to their homes or separate extensions, as

shown in Figure 15, located on the side of their homes for the men in their families.[56]

Figure 15. Separate Extension Building in Wells Estate

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[56] As stated in Chapter 5, in most Xhosa communities the men live in room extensions that are separate
from the main houses, until they are married or find their own homes.

Also each house has a decent size front and back yard space in which most people have put in vegetable gardens.

Residents of Wells Estate share tenure of the houses with the CDC, but no family I spoke to in the township possessed a title deed for their home or had direct knowledge of their tenure status. During initial interviews, CDC representatives did not provide any information in regard to tenure and ownership of the houses in Wells Estate.

A noticeable missing component in Wells Estate is the absence of permanent structures other than the houses. Contractors were able to build a permanent clinic and school, but these are the only buildings besides houses that were planned in the early stages of project implementation. All other places such as stores, markets, spaza shops, cell phone distributors, etc., that are currently located in Wells Estate were built informally by the residents. These residents recognized niches that needed to be met in the community that Coega and municipal developers overlooked or did not plan.

Almost all the residents of Wells Estate were content with their new housing. However, a large percentage of people were not happy with how things were progressing in Wells Estate. I contextualized living environment as the combination of people's overall feeling about their houses, township and housing community, services and amenities, and proximity to other places. Several individuals were not pleased with the overall structure of the township, its proximity to air-polluting industries such as Markham Industrial,[57] and broken promises of Coega to provide employment for Wells Estate residents. Most of the discontent with Wells Estate was primarily due to dissatisfaction with how Coega officials had overseen the community. Residents felt that

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[57] Markham Industrial is a meat-processing and packing company. They are not associated with the Coega project. They have been at this location, across the street from Wells Estate, for many decades. Because of the type of industry, a constant odor coming from Markham made its way over to Wells Estate. The bad smell was constant and it made living in Wells Estate harder for residents. One of the first things I noticed when first setting foot into Wells Estate was the terrible odor coming from Markham.

Coega officials had not done enough to inform them what Coega was planning and constructing in the future, yet, on the other hand, there was ambivalence among the residents about trying to find out what Coega was planning or about the lack of employment for residents. There was a lack of communication between the two parties.

Table 7. Research Site Group Living Environment Crosstabulation (number/percentage within research group)

How do Beneficiaries Feel about their Living Environment?	Very Unsatisfied	Unsatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Total
Sakhasonke	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	10 (50%)	9 (45%)	20
Wells Estate	2 (10%)	8 (40%)	9 (45%)	1 (5%)	20
Group 3	2 (10%)	5 (25%)	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	20
Total	4 (7%)	14 (23%)	24 (40%)	18 (30%)	60

Similar to the results in Sakhasonke, most of the Wells Estate residents I talked with were pleased with getting their houses. However, there were a few complaints about the interior and exterior structure of the houses in Wells Estate,[58] and many residents were extremely dissatisfied with the level of completion of the entire township. They felt that there were more things to be built, such as permanent stores, a medical clinic, schools, playgrounds, and taxi ramps, compared to the makeshift, temporary buildings that have been erected. It was their hope that Coega and Port Elizabeth officials will finish what they planned, as well as keep communication open with the residents. All of these issues were causing dissatisfaction with residents' overall living environment and quality of life in Wells Estate (see Table 7).

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[58] This dissatisfaction with the interior/exterior of the houses was interesting, but not too surprising, given that the houses of Wells Estate were similar in structure of the RDP conventional houses found in most other townships.

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Case Study: The Effects of Relocation on the People of Wells Estate

The removal or relocation of residents living in informal settlements affected by the Coega development project had a lasting effect on the people of Wells Estate that was visible through their interactions with one another, as well as in their communication with outsiders. Chapter 3 touched on the resettlement plans of the Coega Development Corporation for the people who were living in areas to be developed for their economic project.

I noticed similarities between the resettlement policies of the Coega Project and the apartheid forced removal practices of thirty years ago. Current removal policies, like the one used by the CDC, are under the guise of economic development and local economic growth. Developers of Wells Estate said that they pointed out during meetings with the people targeted for relocation that they would have access to better housing and services compared to what they had before and that their quality of life would also improve.[59] Some residents agreed wholeheartedly with this sentiment. One lady I spoke with, "Tombi," discussed how her shack in the Neptune informal settlement was on the verge of collapse and she was unable to afford repairs to it. Tombi, a 34-year-old with two children, was worried about what she was going to do about her house and providing shelter for her kids. She felt that the opportunity to move to Wells Estate came "right on time." She mentioned how her "home [in the informal settlement] was in bad shape. I didn't have a proper toilet and electricity for heating and cooking were hard to come by. These new houses are a great improvement from what I had a few years ago." Most residents were pleased with getting new housing, but many others were upset about the failed promises of jobs and permanent stores and clinics in the township that the resettlement package

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[59] No person to whom I spoke in Wells Estate was present at these initial meetings with Coega officials and housing developers.

offered. They believed that they would have access to job opportunities with Coega, but that was only realized by a few residents who had skills needed by Coega.

During my research with the people of Wells Estate, they seldom discussed their experiences living in the informal settlements before moving to the new township. However, a majority of the people believed that their relocation came at a costly price—residents were told that they would receive jobs and they did not, despite receiving brand-new housing. The resettlement procedure and the unfulfilled promises have created a community that is hesitant and skeptical of Coega officials or any developer coming into Wells Estate with talk of new community buildings, schools, or clinics. Though many people, as stated throughout this research, are pleased and satisfied with their new homes, some felt they have lost a sense of control compared to what they had in their former shacks.

Type of Housing
for the Non-Participant Group

The non-participant group's housing situation was different from the beneficiaries in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate, given that they were not recipients of government housing. The majority of the non-participant group lived in apartments within the downtown area of Port Elizabeth. Most were satisfied with their housing and appreciated the circumstances that led up to their getting their places, and because they were overall satisfied with their housing situation, they were able to look at other issues that affected their quality of life, such as their safety and community involvement.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, people of the non-participant group lived primarily within the city of Port Elizabeth either in rentals or as roommates in a shared housing scheme. A couple of people I spoke with actually owned their homes outright. Seti lived in a next-door flat in the same apartment building where I lived in the downtown area of city. As college-educated

black women, we immediately became good friends and discovered similarities between us. Originally from Botswana, her family was able to help her with living expenses, including the rent for her flat, while she stayed in Port Elizabeth. Over 65 percent of rental flats and properties in Port Elizabeth are privately-owned by individual landlords, and many of these landlords own multiple properties. Seti's landlord owned more than ten other individual apartments within condo buildings in Port Elizabeth.

Seti's apartment, similar to others like Refy and her husband's, was small, yet it was enough space for her. It was a studio, which is mainly a one-room apartment with an open floor plan and no separate rooms for the bedroom and kitchen. Many of the apartments in downtown Port Elizabeth are small studio apartments primarily occupied by single non-married individuals, which is not the case in other large cities. As major urban centers, Johannesburg and Pretoria have many apartments that are large enough for entire families. For example, developers in Johannesburg try to attract families and young professionals to the central business district with promises of city life that are close to amenities, shops, nightlife, and good schools (Lemon 1991). Though this is happening on a smaller scale in Port Elizabeth, city officials and housing developers do not advertise to families to live in apartments or condos in the city as much as their counterparts in Johannesburg. Instead the residential housing market is geared towards single family structures, primarily in the inner-city suburbs. Realtors direct families looking for homes towards the suburbs of Summerstrand and Walmer. The downtown area is seen by most Port Elizabethans that I came across as "for the young and single folks."

Downtown Port Elizabeth is also seen as a transient location, because of the number of people coming from other areas of the country and people leaving the townships to try to make it

on their own, apart from their families. Refy and her husband fall into that category of transient, as does Seti.

I came across several individuals who were trying to relocate back to the township of Motherwell to be closer to their extended families. One of these was Mzui, a 37-year-old caretaker and the father of two, who initially moved from Motherwell to the city because it was closer to his job; he was a caretaker of the apartment building I was living in, and he wanted to save on the transportation cost of commuting back and forth from the township. So Mzui moved his wife and two children to an apartment inside the building, which he was able to get at a discounted rate from his landlord. After living in the apartment for only one year, he was ready to move back to Motherwell, since his children and wife had already moved back to the township and resided with her sister. One of the reasons that he was ready to relocate back to Motherwell was because he did not feel that downtown was a family-friendly area, a sentiment that others in the non-participant group felt. In an interview with him on March 3, 2006, he mentioned how,

> Central[60] is not a place for young children and families; there are too many distractions and ways for kids to get into trouble. There are so many crime-ridden neighborhoods here that are just not safe for families. I have to be with my kids all time; I don't allow them to go outside or walk to the spaza shop up the street. There are so many drug dealers and prostitutes in Central that it is just not safe at all. Motherwell is much more family-orientated than here, and everyone there is Xhosa. There are too many different Africans living in Central. I think it makes the area not safe.

In addition, the majority of people in the non-participant group felt that their housing and quality of life were better than if they were to obtain housing through a government subsidy program. Most people felt they had greater control over their lives and income than if they had to qualify to become a beneficiary of government housing. Despite a few of them having the same income levels as those in Wells Estate and Sakhasonke, they saw themselves as different from those who received government housing in the townships. There was only one person,

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[60] Central is another name for the downtown area of Port Elizabeth.

Mzui, who wanted to obtain housing through a subsidy or some other government housing program. He believed that receiving government housing or becoming a beneficiary of a housing program, like the people of Sakhasonke, would relieve the burden and stress of having to pay for rent, utilities, food, building maintenance, and other expenses.

<div align="center">

Cross-Comparison of Housing and
Services between Research Groups

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In the comparison of quality of housing and infrastructural services, the residents of Wells Estate had more sufficient housing and infrastructural services compared to their counterparts in Sakhasonke. The size of the houses in Wells Estate as well as the plot size surrounding each house was larger than the houses in Sakhasonke. The plot size for the Sakhasonke houses was 46 square meters compared to 216 square meters in Wells Estate. There was enough room on the sides of each house in Wells Estate to add an extension building compared to Sakhasonke where two houses were attached to one another. Several residents of Sakhasonke complained that this created no privacy between them and their next-door neighbor. Wells Estate residents did not have this problem as the houses were more spaced out and not attached to one another.

In addition, the houses in Wells Estate were more complete inside in terms of infrastructure than Sakhasonke. Wells Estate houses were insulated and had finished ceilings and walls that did not expose wood beams or cement blocks. The houses were also wired for electricity throughout. Wells Estate houses also had the kitchen in a separate room, not just a section, and counters and cabinets were already installed.

Sakhasonke houses were not as complete. Given that the housing project was a People's Housing Process development, residents were expected to "finish" the interior of their houses in

order to keep overall development cost down. Residents were expected to install insulation,

electrical wiring, and kitchen cabinets and countertops on their own.

All the houses in Wells Estate were ranch-style (single level), while the houses in

Sakhasonke were two-storied.   The upstairs sleeping loft in Sakhasonke was only accessible by

stairs. This would prove difficult for disabled or handicapped individuals, and there were no

houses built in the development that were single-level. Dealing with stairs was not a problem for

the residents in Wells Estate. Since the residents of Wells Estate were 10 years older than the

people of Sakhasonke, most of them appreciated their single-level homes.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

This chapter described the creation and structure of the two housing areas of Sakhasonke

and Wells Estate. Both projects achieved the Department of Housing goal to establish affordable

and sustainable housing for the poor. There were major differences between the two similarly-

sized projects. Sakhasonke houses were two-story duplexes on smaller plots of land; the houses

had basic utilities but required interior finishing. In contrast, Wells Estate houses were one-story,

single-family homes with ample room on each plot; they were finished to a higher degree than

those in Sakhasonke.

Residents felt their participation in planning was minimal. Even in Sakhasonke, where

residents formed committees to interface with the developers, there was reluctance to initiate

communication or to criticize the house design for fear of being removed from the project. While

access to services (e.g., water, trash removal) was greatly improved, access to facilities such as

schools was often less than they enjoyed formerly. A major disappointment of residents of both

projects was the developers' failure to live up to promises of jobs and training, which will also be

discussed in the next chapter. On the positive side, both groups liked their new homes and felt

more secure than in their former dwellings.

CHAPTER 7

RESIDENTS' ACCESS TO JOBS/INCOME, COMMUNITY AND

NON-INFRASTRUCTURAL SERVICES

Most of the people talked about how having sustainable income and employment would

help them maintain a decent standard of living. This chapter will look into why having

employment or steady income and access to services and community have such significant

impact on their lives. Using the indicators addressed in the methodology chapter, the sections in

this chapter are divided by the research site group and the findings and discussions that emerged

from analyzing issues of access to services and amenities and jobs and community in the

research areas.

<u>Access to Jobs and Income</u>
<u>for the Research Groups</u>

This section will examine how the people access jobs and income in and outside their

housing communities by using the measurements in the methodology chapter that indicated job

and income needs.

Sakhasonke: Access to Jobs

Most residents in Sakhasonke agree that having a job or some type of income-generating

opportunity is primary in establishing a sense of well-being and balance, compared to having a

house and food. Richards et al. (2007), Higgs (2007), and Moeller (1998) described how the key

quality of life indicators of employment and income, access to basic amenities and access to

proper housing are needed to maintain or achieve quality of life. For residents, having the ability

to work and bring income into their households establishes a foundation to have other necessities

such as food and clothing.

The most important service for residents in Sakhasonke to maintain a sustainable quality of life is job placement or recruitment. In order for them to maintain a sense of well-being, the services that they would like to see offered in Sakhasonke are job placement and recruitment. This demonstrates an interesting perspective of how residents view their own capability to get a job, similar to Sen's (1985) discussion on capabilities and functionality. He argued that people possessing the capability to access services can help alleviate their poverty situation.

Most residents in Sakhasonke believe that job placement/recruitment services are more important than education in securing a job. One of the reasons behind this belief is that the people believed job placement services could provide quicker employment opportunities than going through the traditional road of schooling and finding a job that matches educational skills and credentials. Though many residents in Sakhasonke finished high school and some had college education, most believed job placement services would be a surer way to find a job, regardless of the type. Their number one concern was obtaining formal income.

Given the relative importance of securing employment, some of the questions I asked were in reference to what residents would need to obtain sustainable employment (Table 8). A majority of residents felt that job placement and matching skills to a job are important to obtain employment.

Table 8. What is Needed to Find Employment: Research Site Group Crosstabulation (number of people/percentage of people within research group)

What the Informant Needs to Find Employment	Sakhasonke	Wells Estate	Group 3	Total
Job Training	4 (20%)	5 (25%)	4 (20%)	13 (22%)
Education Through School	3 (15%)	5 (25%)	3 (15%)	11 (18%)
Skills Training	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	8 (13%)
Proximity to Job	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	6 (10%)
Transportation	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	0	3 (5%)
Quality of job matches with skills	5 (25%)	0	9 (45%)	14 (23%)
No comment	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	0	5 (8%)
Total	20	20	20	60

A small minority of residents believe that the ANC or government agencies are responsible for helping them obtain a job. They indicate that the PHP project did not directly impact their income status and feel that the PHP is not different than any other current managed housing program in South Africa that provides adequate shelter for beneficiaries.

Case Study: The Ins and Outs of Finding a Job

For residents in Sakhasonke, securing employment is a high priority, among several other important priorities. One evening, Babso and "Murtha" sat down with me as we discussed job security, employment needs, and their approaches to finding employment. Murtha, a 22-year old single mother of two, discussed how finding a job was tough but possible, and as long as job seekers have some education, job training, and lots of patience, there is hope for them. She was fairly optimistic about her chances of finding employment, "I finished matric, I have accounting skills, plus I can speak four languages. I think my chances of finding formal employment are

very good." Murtha currently sells produce, toiletries, and other items from her home. She also runs an informal daycare center in her house where she watches some of her friends' children from nearby Walmer Township. She believes that employment is not too hard to find within the township and in Port Elizabeth as long as people have confidence in themselves and are not waiting for someone to hand a job to them.

Murtha's job dilemma is common for many Sakhasonke residents. Most of them have completed some formal schooling, and even tertiary education, but they are unable to secure formal employment in the city. As discussed in chapter 3, the unemployment rate in Port Elizabeth is among the highest in the country at 40 percent, and the majority of those unemployed are black Africans living in the townships. Most of these individuals, like Murtha, rely on the informal sector to bring money into their households. Since one of the requirements of qualifying to live in Sakhasonke is having dependents, some of the residents have applied for government welfare that helps individuals with dependents.[61]

Most residents would prefer to have formal employment. First, formal employment means having a steady, reliable flow of income without the volatility of the informal sector. Formal employment can have the same sort of unpredictability, but monthly income flow, either from the government or a job, as Kingdon and Knight (2009) pointed out, is more dependable and fixed compared to reliance upon informal work. Second, there is a lack of legal protection for people who work in the informal sector compared to those with formal employment. This means informal transactions between consumers and sellers are not regulated and can be subject to corruption and price manipulation. Selling goods becomes a negotiation between the seller

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[61] There are several grant, welfare, and assistance programs provided by various departments of the South African government, such as the Disability Grant, Retirement/Pension or Older Persons Grant, and the Child Support Grant. The Retirement Pension grant is for persons over the age of 60, and the amount is R1,080 per month ($182). The Child Support Grant pays out R250 per month per child (Pauw and Mncube 2007).

and buyer without a set price. Third, formal employment facilitates access to other formal

institutions and services, such as bank loans, credit, schools, and medical services. Most

organizations require income information or some sort of official documentation of employment

to receive benefits and services. As Yeboah (2005) pointed out, working informally can

marginalize people by impeding their access to formal institutions, leading them to remain on the

social and economic margins of the country. He also mentions how this informality can cause

individuals to stay poor because they lack the mobility or capital to move themselves out of the

informal sector (Yeboah 2005).

On the main road leading up to Sakhasonke from Walmer Township, a number of small

informal booths and vendors sell a variety of fruits, vegetables, and other perishable and non-

perishable items to people living in Sakhasonke. "Antile," a 25-year-old male, talked in an

interview about how he helps one of his aunts who owns a booth on the road leading up to

Sakhasonke. "My auntie is barely making enough money to feed her family, but at least she is

working and not begging like others. I only hope that I can set up a booth in Sakhasonke to

make some money too, but *they* do not allow."

The "they" Antile is referring to are the individuals and organizations that make up the

Walmer Housing Development Trust. One of the existing community policies that the Trust

established is that no small businesses can be created within Sakhasonke, which means that

residents interested in getting licenses to start businesses will not be allowed to do so inside the

community. This has led to many residents like Murtha and Antile starting up informal

businesses from their homes to earn income. If one of the members of the Walmer Trust catches

residents running businesses from their homes, they would be fined, or worse, kicked out of

Sakhasonke.

Murtha discussed her predicament with me one hot day as she braided her daughter's hair. She had her front door open which allowed a cool breeze to flow into the house. She knew if she got caught selling goods from her house by the management, she would probably be cited or fined. The fear of being exposed for running an informal business from a house causes residents to befriend their neighbors and make sure that their community is close-knit. The various housing committees made up of Sakhasonke residents have tried to speak on behalf of all the residents to the Walmer Trust about their right to establish businesses within the community, but no changes have been made. There were no plans for small business expansion in the works for the Sakhasonke; instead, the Housing Trust was in the process of creating a garden project in a vacant plot inside the community.

After talking about this issue of the lack of business development with Murtha, Antile and others, I spoke with some of the members of the Trust about it. Most members, especially workers from the Urban Service Group were sympathetic to the residents' concerns about starting up businesses. However, they pointed out how Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality regulations prevent government-subsidized PHP housing areas from allowing in-community start-up businesses. The same is true for other PHP housing sites such as Bethlesdorp and Missionvale just north of Port Elizabeth.

Murtha and Antile wanted to see this change eventually because they do not see themselves working in the informal sector for their entire lives. Like most residents in Sakhasonke, both have finished matric. Over 90 percent of the people in Sakhasonke have finished matric, so this group is well-educated and possesses basic tools and learning skills to acquire jobs that they want. In South Africa, the unemployment rate is high and includes those working in the informal sector. According to Kingdon and Knight (2009), informal employment

often disguises unemployment figures and the lack of formal employment for a large unskilled labor force has forced the unemployed into the informal sector. This massive migration to informality is a sign of national economic failure. They argue that the apartheid legacy has made it difficult for black Africans to become self-employed through restrictive legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, as well as through harsh licensing, strict zoning regulations, and detentions of alleged offenders (Kingdon and Knight 2009:310). Though most of these restrictions have been lifted, the pathway to formal employment for African entrepreneurs is still difficult because of lingering license controls and measures that impede self-starters from establishing their own small businesses.

Antile was able to attend a three-month steel training course offered by Volkswagen while he was attending high school. He talked about using the training that he received there to become a steelworker or to find some sort of employment working in heavy industry or manufacturing. I joked with him about his desire to get into industrial work, "But you are such a little guy!" He responded, "But I'm a strong little guy."

Trying to find employment, either informal or formal, has been a major concern and challenge for the residents of Sakhasonke, and many would like to see small business opportunities open up for them within the community. Yet, residents are upset that formal jobs are close to them, but not within their reach. Immediately to the west of Sakhasonke is a privately-owned industrial job park, managed by Randpave and Randcivils, a Port Elizabeth civil engineering firm. They specialize in an array of civil works including pavement projects, laying brick, concrete and asphalt for roads and walkways, site clearing, and stormwater and sewer systems. Most of the jobs at Randpave and Randcivils require specialized skills and training in civil engineering or commercial construction. No residents from Sakhasonke, and only a few

from Walmer Township, work at Randpave and Randcivils. Most of their employees live in other parts of Port Elizabeth. Having an industrial park so close to Sakhasonke, with so many residents working informally or unemployed altogether, has been taxing for those looking for jobs. I asked Babso about her feelings on the proximity of this firm to Sakhasonke, and she chuckled, "Tiwanna, they don't want to hire us. When we go there to try to find jobs, they tell us that there are no jobs available."

One individual that I spoke to, Siko, talked about his attempt and eventual disappointment in trying to obtain employment at Randpave and Randcivils:

> I thought I could at least try to get some work at the job park next door. I have finished matric and I have experience in construction, plumbing, and building. Plus I helped with construction of the houses in Sakhasonke. But it wasn't enough, they wanted certification, referrals, and also Technicon experience. I didn't go to the Technicon, but I have been doing this [construction] for a very long time, since I was a boy. I don't know anyone who works next door, but there they are—right next door. I can keep trying to find work where it is needed with people in the location, but working next door would be great.

Many residents of Sakhasonke learned their trade or construction skills informally, not through school or formal training institutions. Randpave and Randcivils, for liability and safety reasons, wanted workers with formal training to work at the job park. This type of reasoning places many poor black Africans at a disadvantage with getting formal work.

Wells Estate: Access to Jobs
and Income

Most in Wells Estate believed that having some sort of employment was the most important aspect of maintaining a sense of well-being. They viewed employment as the foundation for other things. Similar to Sakhasonke results, residents in Wells Estate believed that shelter/home was the second most important aspect in achieving a greater standard of living.

Residents did not go fully into detail about other factors that would give them a sense of well-being; according to them, having employment or some type of income was the primary vehicle to have a good quality of life. When I asked "Nontobekia" one day why it seems like employment or income was always the first aspect in maintaining of good standard of living, she turned the question around on me in her lovely, patient way, "Well, isn't it the same for you? How about for other Americans? For you to have a nice life, don't you first have to have money? Because once you have it, then everything else falls into place. We are not so different, you know."

Over 75 percent of the people I talked to indicated that the most important service for them is having a job placement agency/service to help them secure employment. Working and talking with the residents over the course of several months, I came to fully understand that obtaining income was the highest priority in achieving a good quality of life. The majority of residents felt that job training facilities were too far to access from Wells Estate. Residents felt that there should be more on-site job training in the township, in which contracting firms would come into the township and provide job services for interested people. This would, in the long run, be more convenient and less expensive for residents. However, this type of job training is not seen in many black townships across the country.

As was the case in Sakhasonke, Wells Estate residents believe that having the ability to earn some sort of income would create other future opportunities for them, and having a stable source of income would help them make good decisions on the sustainability of their lives. Though both research groups believed employment services were important, many in Wells Estate were interested in obtaining *any* type of income, whether it came from an informal/formal job, family remittances, or the government. Given that many residents were recipients of

government aid or welfare, some of the older residents were not interested in employment, but concerned with obtaining any government welfare benefits.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the education level of residents in Wells Estate was low compared to their counterparts in Sakhasonke, so most felt they would not benefit from employment services because of their education level. A small minority actually finished high school. No one I spoke to went further in their education. Despite this deficiency, residents rank educational or training services as the lowest service important to them, ranking it beneath security, family, and housing services. I found this of considerable interest while conducting interviews and wanted to talk more about it with some of the people. "Nobulali," who resides in Wells Estate with her four children, told me that because of her age and education level (she only finished standard/grade 6), the likelihood of obtaining education or training, let alone employment, was very low, so she depends on government grants and unemployment benefits from her deceased brother. Because of the Bantu education system during apartheid, many older black Africans did not receive adequate education and cannot compete for jobs with younger blacks in the current job market. Most women I talked to were in similar situations and felt that their ability to obtain employment or training was not good. This begs a further question on the progression of the country as a whole after the end of apartheid, especially in regard to education reform and training, and who is actually benefiting from apartheid's dismantling (May 2000).

As mentioned, over 90 percent of residents I spoke with emphasized the importance of having a job or some sort of income-generating opportunity. Most residents wanted steady employment and work to utilize skills or training they acquired previously. I spoke to only a few people who actually had a steady job; a large number of residents were unemployed and

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receiving government grants. Within this group, some were not interested in seeking job training

or getting formal employment, but were content with the money they received from the

government. Others had found alternative sources of income. Many residents felt that their time

for job training and education had passed; they felt too old, or as Nomazuli put it one day, too

"unsophisticated," to go back to school and earn a certificate or diploma. Consequently, most

residents concentrate their efforts on obtaining income through other sources, such as

remittances from relatives, informal work, charity, or welfare benefits.

Case Study: "Just Trying to Get By with What We Have"

This was the response I received from some when I asked them about jobs, employment,

and income needs. It is a constant struggle every day for the residents of Wells Estate to find

ways to put food on the table and maintain a decent level of quality of life. A small number of

residents have regular jobs, but the overwhelming majority were unemployed. If visitors were to

walk through Wells Estate during the day, they would notice more women than men going in and

out of the townships, and they would not see many middle-age men around the township. I

would assign this phenomenon to the Xhosa division of labor and gender differences.[62]

"Noma" and I discussed this problem in depth numerous times in her home. Noma was

unemployed, but received money through a government welfare grant as well as from whatever

her 19-year-old son was able to bring in from various low-wage jobs. She talked mostly about

how hard it was for her and other residents to secure formal employment and bring reputable

income to their households. "We spend most of our day just trying to get by with what we have,

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[62] Among the various African ethnic groups in the country, there are many people within the isiXhosa group who have tried to maintain their cultural traditions through the generations, which includes gender roles and division of labor, kinship ties, marriage practices, clothing and attire (especially for married women), as well as rites of passage. The Xhosa men and women, young and old, that I met in the Eastern Cape upheld and followed these cultural practices, even in these contemporary times.   For more discussion on the ethnic groups of South Africa and their cultural customs, see Funso Afolayan's (2004) *Culture and Customs of South Africa*.

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it is very hard to find money to put food in our bellies, and nobody seems to care." The

"nobody" she mentioned is a combination of municipality officials and Coega representatives.

She believed that Coega needed to do more for the residents to help them secure jobs, instead of

pouring most of their funding into the expansion of the project. Noma also mentioned how she

would like to see Coega create more job opportunities for Wells Estate residents.

The CDC concentrated specifically on hiring highly-skilled workers, primarily mid- to

upper-level positions, to handle the business of attracting foreign firms to the Coega site. Over

half of the hires were people from other provinces and countries. Less and less of Coega's

strategy has been to hire people from Port Elizabeth, let alone Wells Estate, despite some of the

promises Coega officials made to residents and municipal officials. One of the main reasons for

this shortfall of providing jobs to the residents was the CDC's reluctance to use part of their

budget to train for low-skilled positions (Bond 2003). A large portion of this budget was

reserved for marketing and trying to bring foreign firms into the Coega IDZ. In addition, low-

level and low-skilled construction jobs were used mainly towards the beginning of the project

when it was still in its construction and development stage; those early jobs would have gone to

Well Estate residents. This is no longer the case as Coega has built up its infrastructure.

Noma was afraid that the constant unemployment in Wells Estate, the inability of men to

find jobs to support their families or pay bridewealth, and the lack of permanent services and

facilities in the township, would lead to more crime and violence. As we sat in her home, female

relatives and neighbors stopped by to check up on her; most of these women had stories to tell

about their attempts to find work or some sort of job security. From these fruitful conversations,

I became more aware of a definitive shift in Xhosa gender division of labor and how it is now

left up to the women of a household to find ways to bring in money. From the ways in which these women talked, this sort of cultural change is something that they could have done without.

<div align="center">The Importance of Having a Job
for the Non-Participant Group</div>

Every person (except for Refy) in the non-participant group had some sort of employment and did not experience significant problems with getting work, and they all believed that their quality of life would deteriorate if they lost their jobs. The main reason Seti moved to Port Elizabeth was to obtain a business degree and pursue a career either in accounting or marketing back in Botswana or somewhere in South Africa. Seti worked part-time at a black-owned accounting firm in the city while she studied at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.[63] Her boyfriend was able to bring in seasonal income from his work and her father sent living expense money to help her, so Seti did not worry so much about her money situation, but she was still very aware of how precarious it was. In an informal conversation with her in May 2006, she mentioned "what if things don't work out with [my boyfriend]? I would be unable to pay the rent and would have to consider moving back to Botswana." Though many in the non-participant group did not share the same income struggle as those in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate, they still understood the importance of working and what would happen to their quality of life if they were to lose that income. Being closer to his job was the main reason why Mzui moved his family to a small apartment in the building where he worked. However, almost everyone in the non-participant group did not believe in receiving financial government assistance as a substitute for employment. I asked if they would take government housing or government assistance, if they qualified for it, and over 90 percent said they would not. Most did not mind the idea of receiving government housing, but they did not want to receive government

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[63] Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University was formerly known as the University of Port Elizabeth.

financial assistance until they were retired and could qualify for a pension, as "Chris" answered in an interview. The non-participant group had this in common more with the residents of Sakhasonke than Wells Estate, where government assistance was expected and justified from their experience of forced removal and resettlement.

Case Study: To Stay or To Leave

It was a hard decision for Mzui to relocate his wife and children, ages 14 and 7, from their home in Motherwell, the largest township in Port Elizabeth, to the cramped, multi-ethnic area of Central. He was offered the position of chief caretaker of one of the apartment buildings in Port Elizabeth's central business area, which offered a panoramic view of the Indian Ocean and was in walking distance from the beaches. The company that owned the building provided him not only a salary, but a flat in the building into which he could move his family Before taking this position, Mzui worked informally as a caretaker in and around Motherwell, picking up day work wherever it was available. He also commuted from the township to Port Elizabeth to various venues, including the apartment building where I resided, to do informal caretaking work. The family had rented a site and services, four-room house in Motherwell, similar in size and shape to the ones in Wells Estate, in which they lived for over ten years.

When he was offered the formal position as chief caretaker, he thought about the economic security and stability he could now give to his family. At over six-feet tall (I did not do an exact measurement but I was constantly craning my head to look up at him) and possessing a soft-spoken demeanor, he was proud that he could take care of his family in this way. So he accepted the position and the new flat and moved his family into Central in 2004. However, this arrangement proved to be not so easy for the family to handle. The children were unable to get into the schools located in the Central neighborhood. There are more private primary and

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secondary schools in the area than public; the tuition fees are expensive, more than R20,000 ($3,333) per academic year for some. The expense was the reason that Mzui's children did not attend. Mzui was forced to keep his children in Motherwell with his sister-in-law so they could attend school, while he and his wife stayed in the studio flat in Central. Those months proved hard for Mzui and his wife because they were away from their children, and they soon began to argue about whether to move back to Motherwell for good, letting Mzui travel back and forth for work. He did not want to give up the opportunity to live where he worked and to save the amount of time and money on transportation. He said during an interview,

> When I lived in Motherwell, I used to have to wake up at two or three in the morning just to get to a taxi that would take me to Central, and I then had to catch another taxi just to get me to my job that I started at 5:00 A.M. Motherwell is so far from Central. Many who are able to commute to and from have cars; I do not. I like the time I save living here, but it is not worth it to be far from my family.

Mzui's situation is common among many men and women in Port Elizabeth who have to travel great distances from their homes to find employment or some sort of income-generating opportunity. Babso from Sakhasonke explained to me how her mother would travel from Walmer Township to her job as a domestic worker in Central everyday. She went on to point out that this type of commuting, which brought black Africans into the white areas of the city to work as caretakers, domestics, landscapers, or other low-skilled positions, has been ingrained into the fabric of South African society. Authors such as Morris (1971) and Richard Tomlinson (2003) pointed out this labor arrangement in their work. Finding formal jobs close-by or within their township was hard. Most of the people I talked with in Sakhasonke, Wells Estate, and the non-participant group believed that having employment options close to their homes would improve their quality of life significantly and cut back on expenses such as transportation cost and time.

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Mzui's wife ended up moving back to Motherwell to live with her sister and, when I initially met Mzui, he was in the process of trying to find a house in Motherwell. Besides his dissatisfaction with being apart from his family, he was also unhappy with the lack of community downtown. As stated previously, the townships in Port Elizabeth are primarily made up of Xhosa-speakers, and Motherwell, the largest in the area, has the most Xhosas. Mzui missed the homogeneity and comfort of being in an area where everyone was from the same ethnic group. His feelings were similar to what I experienced becoming acquainted with the residents of Wells Estate. They were suspicious and uneasy around people who were not Xhosa or from Wells Estate and placed the blame for the rise of crime on non-Xhosa Africans. Mzui's feelings about the diversity of Port Elizabeth outside of the township, plus being away from his children and wife, eventually helped him with the decision to move back to Motherwell and to deal with the long, costly commute to work everyday.

Others in the non-participant group were satisfied with their non-governmental housing. Ironically, no one in the non-participant group, including Mzui, believed that either housing or a job was the most important issue concerning their quality of life. They ranked and discussed other concerns, such as safety, religion, political affiliation, and community as important factors concerning their quality of life. I determined that for them, having a home was greatly interrelated to whether they had income or a job to pay the rent or mortgage; neither was more important than the other. Comparatively, residents in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate believed that income was the most important aspect in achieving a quality of life, in light of the high percentage of them that were unemployed or receiving government financial assistance.

Comparative Analysis and Discussion
on Jobs Across Research Groups

In a cross-comparison between the research groups, more Sakhasonke residents had some type of job or income-generating opportunity compared to the residents of Wells Estate but the people of the non-participant group were the most employed among the research groups. It seems that the people of the non-participant group moved from their previous residence to Port Elizabeth with the prospect of employment or training, such as was the case for Mzui and Seti. The security of employment was a major reason for their relocation, and without such job security, non-participant group members would probably not have moved to Port Elizabeth. Most of the residents of Wells Estate were unemployed and relied on government financial assistance or remittances (Table 9).

Table 9. Type of Income Source for Research Groups (number of people/percentage of people within research group)

	Sakhasonke	Wells Estate	Group 3	Total
Formal Employment	10 (50%)	3 (15%)	15 (75%)	28 (47%)
Informal Employment	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	4 (7%)
Government Child Welfare	2 (10%)	6 (30%)	0 (0%)	8 (13%)
Government Disability/Pension	0 (0%)	5 (25%)	0 (0%)	5 (8%)
Other	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	3 (5%)
No Income	5 (25%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	12 (20%)
Total	20	20	20	60

The source of income disparity was a major difference between the groups and begs the question whether receiving free housing and government assistance can have a detrimental impact on people's ability to be proactive in trying to find employment. When I spoke with

residents of Wells Estate, most mentioned that they were still waiting for Coega officials to offer them the jobs that they promised in the resettlement package. The majority of people I spoke with did not mention they were actively seeking out other means of employment. On the other hand, Sakhasonke residents were more active in trying to acquire income or a job in order to finish the interiors of their houses.

Group 3 was the most educated of the research groups, with a large majority finishing high school as well as going further in higher education, either attending university or college, or receiving vocational training. The unemployment rate among the non-participant group was the lowest of all the research groups. Given that most had to pay rent and were not beneficiaries of housing programs, most people in the non-participant group had jobs or were able to bring home steady incomes.

 However, all three research groups had concerns about the accessibility of jobs. They all worried about the scarcity of jobs in their area and not being able to find formal employment. As discussed earlier, many residents were working informally either as hairdressers, spaza shop sellers, or contractors, but they argued these jobs did not provide the job security and steady income they could get from a formal job. However, the residents of Sakhasonke and the non-participant group knew they had to rely on their own education, training, and job skills to find stable and steady income compared to the people of Wells Estate. Some of the residents there relied upon obtaining income from the government and were not proactively seeking jobs, either informal or formal.

The distinction between the understanding of Sakhasonke residents about what it takes to obtain employment and actively pursuing their goals versus the greater reliance of Well Estate residents on government assistance can be tied to their housing projects. The structure of the

PHP housing project with the beneficiaries helping in the construction of their own home may have served as a motivational tool for the people to be more proactive in seeking work. In addition, because of the forced resettlement of the people affected by the Coega project, Wells Estate residents may have felt a sense of helplessness in trying to find employment. This is tied to the fact that they did not have control over keeping their homes in their prior informal settlements since Coega officials demanded that the people destroy their shacks before they relocated. The process of resettlement and being forced to leave their homes seems to have made the people of Wells Estate look towards Coega and government officials to provide them also with jobs and income.

<div align="center">

Access to Non-Infrastructure Services
and Amenities

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Applying the indicators from the methodology chapter, this section will look at the access to non-infrastructure services such as food markets, health care clinics, educational facilities, stores, and transportation for each research group.

<div align="center">

Sakhasonke: Access to Services
and Amenities

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As stated previously, most of Sakhasonke's residents are from nearby Walmer Township, yet despite the poor conditions in the township, one of the questions I wanted to know was whether moving to the housing site affected their ability to access educational and recreational facilities, health care services, transportation, and grocery stores. In terms of accessing educational facilities such as schools, colleges, universities, and other learning or training institutions, more than half of residents felt that living in Sakhasonke had not greatly affected their ability to access them. Most of the residents did not have school-aged children, so many of them did not comment on their dependents' ability to get to school in Walmer, or other areas in

Port Elizabeth, from Sakhasonke. Similarly, the majority of residents believed moving to Sakhasonke did not hamper their ability to access health care facilities such as hospitals and clinics. Some commented how the Walmer area in general has been an ideal location to access nearby clinics and hospitals, which they believed was one of the benefits of living in a housing community within the city limits of Port Elizabeth, and not in the outlying areas where other townships are located.

However, residents believed that other services and facilities were lacking in Sakhasonke. Most of this discontent centered on transportation and the inability to access facilities they originally had nearby when they lived in Walmer Township. For example, recreational and sport facilities such as soccer fields, basketball courts, or playgrounds for young children are in abundance in Walmer Township. These facilities were not present in Sakhasonke, which made it harder for residents to have sport activities in their own area. They would have to travel back into Walmer Township to play soccer and cricket on the larger, open fields there.

Antile, a father of two young children, was concerned about the long-term impact of not having recreational facilities for children in Sakhasonke. He worried that the lack of playgrounds and open spaces for young children to play and be creative could cause them to feel closed-in and unable to express their creativity. He also worried that not having recreational areas would damage his children's ability to make friends at a young age. Antile has two young boys, ages four and three, and wants them to get to know their surroundings and the people in the housing community a bit more. He believed that having play areas would increase the likelihood of meeting their neighbors. In an interview, Antile talked about his sentiments on the lack of recreational areas in Sakhasonke:

I already take my oldest boy into Walmer for school, but I have to take them both into the location to play soccer and cricket. There are so many open spaces and grass fields in Walmer and it is easier to make friends when there are areas like that. Here, well, we don't get that at all. Kids stay inside or they run around the village getting into trouble with the adults because they are disrupting their space or getting in their way.

Most residents agree that some type of recreational facilities, or even just enough open grass space to play soccer, is needed in Sakhasonke. Some of the members of the Residents' Committee have brought up this matter with the Trust, but nothing has been done so far to create playgrounds or open fields.

I spoke with "Mary", a middle-aged Afrikaner woman about this issue of the lack of recreational facilities in the community. Mary was one of the original developers of the housing project and still occupies a house within Sakhasonke.[64] She was hesitant about creating any sort of facilities because she felt it would not help with the growth of Sakhasonke. Although an Afrikaner, Mary expressed sentiments similar to what I heard from some black Africans:

I just don't see what good it would do. People are not motivated to work and take advantage of the hospitality given to them. It seems that the beneficiaries are happy with their houses, but they still want more. People have to find work first and then create a better living situation inside their house next. They should concentrate primarily on finding a job than trying to find a place to play soccer.

At the time of research, postal service had not been established for each house. Municipal postal delivery for the entire Sakhasonke community was directed to the crèche, where residents picked through the mail to locate their own. In order for residents to obtain their mail, they had to go to the crèche and sort out their parcels there. The majority of residents were not pleased with this arrangement because in their previous residences, their mail was delivered straight to their homes. For obvious security and privacy reasons, residents would prefer the same arrangement in Sakhasonke, yet the houses in the community were not built with

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[64] Mary was living in her house within the area before it became the location for Sakhasonke. Across the country, a small minority of whites reside in black townships.

mailboxes or mail slots in the front doors. If residents wanted mail delivered to their Sakhasonke residences, they would have to build their own mailboxes or have their mail redirected to another place.

Another concern for residents of Sakhasonke was being unable to access grocery stores and food markets with the ease they experienced in Walmer Township. Most people in the township have easy access to small spaza shops that sell convenience items such as milk, sugar, bread, eggs, potatoes, and snacks. These shops can be found on most street corners and along walkways. Living in the housing community has made it less convenient for residents. Major supermarkets are located in Walmer proper, so people that prefer the formality of these stores versus the informality of spaza shops would take minibuses into town. It should be pointed out that the majority of Sakhasonke residents did not think access to services and grocery stores since moving to their new homes was unsatisfactory; however, they merely pointed out that living in Sakhasonke removed the convenience they had before.

Given the newness of Sakhasonke, the closest legal spaza shop to the village is about a mile south in Walmer Township. A few residents have established unofficial spaza shops in their houses to service the people in Sakhasonke, despite the Walmer Housing Trust ban on granting business permits to residents that want to start up small businesses. Residents of Sakhasonke see and feel this discrimination on a constant basis. As an example, "Busi", a 24-year-old resident and mother of one child, wanted to start up her own spaza shop in Sakhasonke, but was denied a business permit because of the Walmer Housing Trust's restrictions. She argued that the Trust did not see her as an individual with a good, workable plan to start a business, but just another person who wanted to bring informality to Sakhasonke. Busi went on to explain her concern:

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I've taken business courses, I finished matric. I am not a dumb woman who doesn't understand the economy; most people working informally are the best business managers. However, they only need the assistance from developers to get into working a normal business and to be taken seriously.

A final question I asked was whether the PHP project directly increased their ability to access non-infrastructural services and other opportunities. Half felt that the project did directly increase their ability, and half indicated that it had no effect (Table 10).

Table 10. PHP beneficiary Access to Services in Sakhasonke

Has the PHP project increased the Informant's Access to Services and Other Opportunities?	Number of Sakhasonke Residents (Total 20)	Percentage of People within Sakhasonke
Yes	10	50%
No	3	15%
No change	7	35%

Access to Services and Facilities
for Wells Estate Residents

When I started research in Wells Estate towards the end of winter in 2006, most individuals were already settled into their houses, trying to incorporate their resettled lives into their new homes. For many, this was difficult because the process of systematic relocation from their previous location, not by choice, made the social adjustment to their new area harder than otherwise. This section will go into detail about the people of Wells Estate and their access to non-infrastructure services and amenities.

One of the most important non-infrastructural features for them, beside job services, was having access to health-care facilities. Residents talked about how they disliked that the only medical clinic in the township was not fully staffed throughout the week and did not offer routine medical services for them. "Nosithembisia," a 25-year-old woman, indicated how "the clinic is

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always low on medicine, it only has one doctor once a week, and it is always somebody different." A couple of people I met had chronic illnesses and required more attention than the average resident. "Nontobekia," a 48-year-old woman on a disability grant, is HIV positive and depended on the clinic's nurses to her help her with her condition and supply her with the medication she needs to survive.

What was also noticed was a lack of community space in Wells Estate. Similar to Sakhasonke, there were no playgrounds, soccer fields, or planned open space for various activities by the residents. Children were forced to play in the streets, which can be highly unsafe and unpredictable. The only open spaces present were unplanned, unkempt grassy areas dotted around the township; according to the CDC, these were future areas of development. Ironically, one of the only planned places in Wells Estate where people gathered for community meetings was an area for general ANC meetings, located in the center of town. It was a wooden, covered structure with several chairs and a small podium for a single speaker.

Another service or issue that was important to residents was security. Almost all the women were concerned with the level of security and the measures taken to protect them. Many felt that developers did not take this matter seriously enough. One of the biggest complaints brought up by residents was their fear that outsiders from other townships were coming into Wells Estate and committing serious crimes such as break-ins, robberies, and rape. They felt that better security measures should have been considered at the beginning stages of construction.

Some of the other service facilities, such as recreational facilities, grocery stores, and markets, were also farther for residents to get to than before. However, residents felt that moving to Wells Estate made their access to taxis and other means of transportation better.

Despite having a long distance to travel to points outside Wells Estate, most felt that the minibus taxis and bus services ran regularly and were easy to access.

When I traveled to Wells Estate, I would take a minibus taxi from my apartment in Central.   In order to get to the main terminal located about three miles from my apartment I would have to catch a minibus that made local stops within Central. Once at the main terminal, it would take a minibus about 50 minutes to travel from the main minibus terminal in downtown Port Elizabeth to Wells Estate, compared to about 30 minutes to Sakhasonke. Because the minibus would stop at townships along the N2 highway on the way to Wells Estate, the minibus was crowded most of the time. Most typical minibuses could carry about 15-17 passengers, depending on their size. Though minibus taxis would run on time and get people to their destinations, passengers had to deal with the cramped space inside (not to mention if they were carrying bags and groceries) and long travel times. However, the residents I spoke with in Wells Estate were satisfied with the minibuses. Minibus taxis are a primary mode of transportation for many poor South Africans, so the people are accustomed to travel times and seating space inside them. Residents of Wells Estate did not complain about the type of transportation, but one of their primary issues was how far away services and amenities were.

<center>Non-Participant Group: Non-Infrastructural
Service and Amenities Access in the City</center>

This section will cover the access to non-infrastructural services and amenities of the non-participant group and the impact it had on their quality of life. As stated earlier, one of the main reasons of having a non-participant group in looking at the impact of housing programs on the quality of life of beneficiaries was to fully understand what receiving government housing was like—and what it was not like as well. Working with the non-participant group and having

them share their lives with me helped me understand what it was like not to be a participant in a government housing program.

The services and amenities which were important to the group were access to health care, schools, and adequate municipal services, such as garbage pick-up and postal service. They all felt that these services were accessible and very good in the location where they were. Postal service was not a problem for this group as they were able to receive mail at their homes every day except Sundays. With two private hospitals in the vicinity, access to health care was not a problem. They also felt that the municipal services such as purchasing electricity and postal delivery and drop-off were all good compared to the services in the townships.

Most of the non-participant group was satisfied that where they lived had accessible stores and shops. They also believed that access to transportation was good, and they did not have a problem with catching taxis, minibuses, or city buses. Most transportation was in easy walking distance for them. In addition, most of them were satisfied that the downtown and other neighborhoods within Port Elizabeth had more options for entertainment and leisure activities compared to the townships. Beaches such as King's Beach and Humewood were in walking distance or a short ride away by mini-bus or taxi. Also, the Port Elizabeth flea market, which stretched a mile along the boardwalk of King's Beach, took place every Sunday.

However, some people of the non-participant group mentioned that despite the abundance of recreational facilities to access, they did not feel comfortable enjoying the city as much because of the lingering effects of racism and apartheid that they believed were still apparent in Port Elizabeth. The city still has the landscape of an apartheid city, in which most of the whites live in the inner-neighborhoods of Summerstrand and Humewood, and black Africans live in the peripheral townships. It was not until the late 1980s that Africans started to move into the

central business district. Despite the eradication of apartheid laws that restricted the movement of blacks into these white-only neighborhoods, most blacks still restrict themselves from going to these areas. Even though most of the businesses were operated by white South Africans, it was not apparent at the time of research that they were actively trying to keep away blacks. Still, as Seti put it one day as we walked in Central on May 17, 2006 to grab lunch, "You can tell the Boer-only places when you see only Afrikaans as the language in the advertisement. There are 11 official languages in this country, and one way to keep out people you don't want is to advertise in the language you prefer." Though most billboards were in English, some businesses would advertise in two languages—English and whatever language group they are targeting. Some of the shops, medical clinics, and grocery stores in Summerstrand and certain places within Port Elizabeth advertised only in Afrikaans, which led many black Africans, like the people in the non-participant group, to feel like they were not welcome despite their proficiency in Afrikaans.

Comparative Analysis on Access to Non-Infrastructural Services Across the Research Groups

Among the research groups, the people of Sakhasonke and the non-participant group had better access to non-infrastructural services and amenities than the residents of Wells Estate. Given the proximity of Sakhasonke to Central Port Elizabeth, the residents had greater access to grocery stores, malls, schools, and health clinics compared to Wells Estate.

All groups had adequate access to private and public transportation, especially the non-participant group and the residents of Sakhasonke. However, despite the people of Wells Estate having greater access to public transportation than they had prior to their resettlement, the township was still a distance away from the nearest markets and stores and miles away from

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downtown Port Elizabeth and it was not a drastic change from what they experienced before in the informal settlements.

The proximity of the city of Port Elizabeth and all its amenities helped the people of Sakhasonke and the non-participant group to maintain and improve their quality of life. The options of going to a health clinic in Walmer Township or in the nearby neighborhoods of Port Elizabeth made their lives easier. The same case can be made for the several grocery stores, food markets, and even the primary schools located within the township of Walmer to which the people of Sakhasonke had easy access. The people of the non-participant group did not have an issue with their ability to access services and amenities, which allowed them to concentrate more on employment and income generation.

In Wells Estate, where there was a lack of markets and stores, the residents depended much more heavily on transportation than the other research groups. Paying the fares to ride a minibus to and from downtown Port Elizabeth to go shopping, to attend school, or to visit health clinics added up and became a tremendous burden. When I rode on a minibus taxi from downtown Port Elizabeth to Wells Estate, it cost about R5 ($0.83) one-way. Paying a R10 ($1.66) fare almost everyday for those living in Wells Estate was costly, unsustainable—and stressful.

From an analytical perspective, if the people of Wells Estate were able to have ready access to stores and markets within the township like the people of Sakhasonke, who had Walmer Township so close by, then they could worry less about transportation cost and spend more time concentrating on pursuing employment opportunities.

<center>Community and Social Trust</center>

This section will discuss notions of community in the research groups, using the indicators for community and trust from the methodology chapter. The indicators used to measure community and social trust were the creation of community organizations, the amount of communication between neighbors, and the amount of sharing and reciprocity between residents.

<center>Sakhasonke and Community</center>

By the beginning of 2006, most of the people had relocated from their previous residence to their new homes in Sakhasonke. One of the first changes most residents came to appreciate was the seclusion and safer living in Sakhasonke compared to the rest of Walmer area, despite the fact that most of the residents were from Walmer. As stated previously, there is only one entrance into Sakhasonke and people can get there by either walking south about a mile and half from Walmer's main business street (Fountain Street), taking one of the *jikeleza* cars,[65] or using the only major road that leads to the entrance, Victoria Street. Because of this seclusion, residents felt able to sustain a separate living environment and thus identity, from the larger Walmer Township, as well as to control the security of the area from outsiders.

Due to its smaller size compared to larger established townships, Sakhasonke is primarily a pedestrian community, with few access and service roads and parking lots. More than 90 percent of residents were pleased with the motor-limited community that Sakhasonke provides. Many felt that it limited crime and violence that people from the outside would bring into the community.

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[65] J*ikelezas* are privately-owned cars that serve as smaller taxis for residents within black townships. Normally, the 16-person drop township residents at centrally located areas of a township; Jikelezas transport people from typically the main central area in the township to their final destination. Jikelezas help residents save time and energy by providing them a means of transportation that minibuses do not offer.

Sakhasonke is also a relatively new housing community compared to some of the historically black townships in the Port Elizabeth area, so residents are still building and creating a sustainable living environment that entails establishing community and neighborly relationships with each other. As indicated in the previous chapter, a *crèche* serves as the venue for community activities. During the day it is a day care/kindergarten for children not old enough to attend primary school, and on the weekend it is used for church services. Though day care is free for residents, many men and women are unemployed or work sporadic hours informally so at least one parent is home to look after their young children. Unpaid volunteers of the *crèche* created an educational curriculum for the pre-school children that involved systematic lesson plans and classroom time.

The crèche also serves as the place for the Residents' Committee meetings. The Residents' Committee is a neighborhood community organization of elected members that addresses issues in the community, such as livelihood-sustainability, home-ownership responsibilities, neighborhood watch and security, maintenance of communal areas, and other programs meant to benefit the entire community. Also, if residents had complaints or concerns, the Residents' Committee was the primary contact for such matters, as it also served as the main liaison between the community and the Walmer Housing Development Trust.[66] The Residents' Committee was started by a few residents of Sakhasonke who felt they needed a representative body that would speak on the behalf of the entire community to housing developers, as well as provide a unified voice.

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[66] Along with the Residents' Committee, there are several other community committees that have their own agenda and policy, such as the Women's Forum Committee, the Men's Forum Committee, and the Garden Committee.

**Figure 16. Open Space Areas and Walking Paths
in Sakhasonke**

When I asked the people of Sakhasonke about their concepts of community, I also raised

questions about their relationships with neighbors within the housing development. Because of

the spatial proximity of houses to one another, residents are in constant communication or

contact with each other. As displayed in Figure 16, the housing community does not have

secluded or separated areas, or any separate houses. Houses are attached to each other and

walkways are built so that people have to walk past their neighbors. This, inadvertently or

purposely, caused neighbors to acknowledge each other—thus it was extremely difficult for

residents to live in complete seclusion. Residents prefer this set-up; as Siko said, "Nobody is a

stranger; we know everybody."

When I asked how they felt about their community overall, more than half the people

responded they were either very satisfied or satisfied with their fellow neighbors and with the

amount of community that currently exists in Sakhasonke (Table 11). Only five people were

dissatisfied with the community and people in Sakhasonke.

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Table 11. Sakhasonke Overall Community Sentiment Crosstabulation

How the Informant Feel about their Community, Overall	Number of Sakhasonke Residents (Total 20)	Percentage of People within Sakhasonke
Very Satisfied	9	45%
Satisfied	6	30%
Neutral	0	0%
Unsatisfied	4	20%
Very Unsatisfied	1	5%

In terms of community, ideas such as communicating with their fellow neighbors, practicing reciprocity, feeling safe and secure among others in the area, and general well-being/goodwill were all important community elements for the people of Sakhasonke. Being able to go next door and borrow milk or bread was important among residents in establishing a cohesive community. In addition to being comfortable enough with their neighbors to borrow items, residents appreciated the crèche building, which hosted community activities besides church services and the day care center.

On April 18, 2006, the people of Sakhasonke had a community-wide *braai*.[67] Residents chipped in with *braaing* an assortment of meats and vegetables as adults and children went from house to house having fun and consorting with their neighbors. Throughout the housing community, most people had their front doors open—a gesture so others knew that they were welcome into their homes that day. As I walked through Sakhasonke that day, I noticed how open people were with one another, despite the fact that Sakhasonke was a new village and some residents had been living together for less than a year. Such was the sense of community for them.

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[67] *Braai* is a general South African term for barbeque.

This case study will cover a community development project that was implemented in Sakhasonke during the time of research as an example of the differences between residents' ideas of community versus the Walmer Housing Trust's notion of community. There were many community development projects planned by the Walmer Housing Development Trust for Sakhasonke. The first one implemented was the Sakhasonke Vegetable Garden, a project created in partnership with the Maranatha Mission of Port Elizabeth, a locally-based outreach organization that promoted the creation of food gardens. As stated earlier, the vision behind the garden project was to establish a community-wide activity that residents could manage, which would eventually generate semiannual income and social capital for all Sakhasonke residents. The primary organization responsible for implementing and coordinating the vegetable garden project and other community-wide projects within Sakhasonke was the Urban Service Group.

When the Walmer Housing Development Trust, including the Urban Service Group, collaborated to create Sakhasonke, one of the agendas was to create projects that would enhance community development for the residents as means to address the overall project vision of creating a sustainable living environment. In 2005, the Urban Service Group teamed up with the Maranatha Mission, a non-profit organization that assists communities in creating and running urban vegetable gardens, to purchase seeds, plants, soil, farming tools, and other material to start up the garden plot. To manage the vegetable garden, the Urban Service Group and the Maranatha Mission representatives instructed volunteers from Sakhasonke how to plant,

cultivate, harvest, and manage it. After harvesting the eventual produce, the Maranatha Mission would then assist residents in selling their produce to local farmers' markets in Port Elizabeth.[68]

Urban Service Group representatives notified the Residents' Committee, which was the main representative body of Sakhasonke residents, of their implementation plans for the vegetable garden project by early 2006, after the land had already been set aside for the garden and the farming equipment had been purchased. At first, many people were on board with the project, as they appreciated the overall goal of the project to generate income with future produce sales. However, cooperation between Sakhasonke residents and the Urban Service Group soon began to deteriorate. Even though at the onset of the garden project, more than 80 percent of residents were in favor of construction, by mid-2006, over 90 percent of residents interviewed were against the project. Some residents became upset when the total cost of the project was disclosed; they felt that this amount should have been redirected towards other amenities for the community.

Many were also upset with the idea of not having complete ownership of the project. They were told what to plant and how to plant it. They were not asked what vegetables and other crops they would like to see planted in the field. In essence, resident ownership and management of the garden was in name only; actual authority was vested in the Walmer Housing Trust.

Another problem for residents was the Walmer Housing Development Trust's existing policy that residents could not establish businesses within the community. Though part of the Trust's initiative was to establish a sense of community and overall capital growth for everyone, individual entrepreneurs were denied business permits. As discussed in earlier in this chapter,

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[68] At the time of research in 2006, about five people from Sakhasonke were working on the vegetable garden. Future profit from sales would be divided between workers of the garden and a future community fund for the entire Sakhasonke Village, which would be managed by the Housing Trust.

this was a major setback for people in the community who wanted to set up businesses such as spaza shops, salons, phone stalls, etc., to provide services that were not present in Sakhasonke. In order to obtain these services, residents had to travel into neighboring Walmer Township or Walmer city proper. Some residents could not understand why the Walmer Housing Trust would approve a vegetable-garden project that would supposedly benefit the entire community, but would not let individuals start up businesses that would ultimately do the same thing.

The garden project soon became a source of conflict among residents in the community. Individuals who volunteered to work the garden project were considered "sell-outs" by other residents who were against the garden. The garden became a symbol of the divide within the community between those who supported the rules and mission of the Walmer Housing Trust and those who believed the Trust was hindering entrepreneurialism and individualism. Most of the people who were for the vegetable garden appreciated the crops and produce that would be generated and the prospect of selling the produce to local farmers markets. Those that were against the vegetable garden sided with the Resident's Committee and were for the allocation of funding for other services in the community, such as small businesses and more street lighting.

Though this social capital scheme pitted the majority against a few in the community, most Sakhasonke residents were upset at the controlling interest the Walmer Housing Trust still maintained over the community. This is not to say they were displeased with their housing or Sakhasonke as a whole, but residents were bewildered about what their stake in the community actually meant, and whether developers ever intended for the housing community residents to be autonomous and without constant supervision.

On the other side, representatives from the Urban Service Group and the Walmer Housing Trust did not entirely understand the reasons why people from Sakhasonke were upset

with the project. Relations between the Walmer Housing Trust and the residents became strained and talks between the groups almost reached a stand-still in early 2006. The Urban Service Group and other Walmer Trust organizations believed that only a few disruptive and opportunistic individuals within the community and the Residents' Committee were standing in the way of the garden project's goals; the Trust argued that the dissidents only had their own interests, and not the community's, in mind. Overall, the Housing Trust concluded that residents would benefit greatly from the community participation and revenue from the community project, and thus they did not waver despite the growing opposition in the community.

I interviewed residents, some of whom were not members of the Residents' Committee, who felt the garden project was not in their best interest. They were satisfied with the amount of community that already existed in Sakhasonke. When asked what could enhance their quality of life in terms of communal activities, the majority of respondents wanted to see more recreational facilities and playgrounds. The residents felt that having recreational facilities would make living in Sakhasonke more pleasant and enjoyable as well as help generate more community bonding and building. For example, some of the residents mentioned that they wished they had more open land so they could start a Sakhasonke soccer team that could play against some of neighborhood soccer teams in Walmer Township.

Another point to be made about Sakhasonke residents and their community structure is their diverse political affiliations. Most Africans in the Eastern Cape are affiliated with and support the African National Congress (ANC),[69] since the province is the birthplace of the ANC

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[69] The ANC supporters I came across took pride in saying, "The party of the *Madiba*," which is an affectionate term used to describe Nelson Mandela as the father of the country and the leader of the ANC.

movement, and it serves as home to Nelson Mandela and other prominent ANC leaders. This connection between the ANC and Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape is well documented.[70]

Despite this political tie to the land, some residents in Sakhasonke support other political parties, such as the South African Communist Party (SACP) or the United Democratic Movement (UDM). When residents come together for community activities or residential meetings, there are many enlightening political debates among the different supporters. I found this apparent diversity and acceptance of other political parties in the housing community lacking in other areas visited in the Eastern Cape. There were staunch ANC supporters in Wells Estate and other areas in Port Elizabeth who looked at the other political parties as disruptive and not taking a firmer stance against apartheid than the ANC did. Some would argue that the diversity of political party affiliation in Sakhasonke proves that the anti-apartheid and the pro-democracy movement actually worked (Switzer 1993).

<div align="center">Community and Wells Estate</div>

When I started my research in Wells Estate in 2006, one of the first things I noticed was a large contrast between Sakhasonke and this new township. People in Wells Estate were genuinely suspicious of me and my motives for conducting research. I first heard about Wells Estate from Urban Service Group representatives when I met with them to obtain information on Coega, and subsequently they agreed to take me to Wells Estate to see if I would be able to meet people who might be willing to work and talk with me. Figure 17 is a picture of the main entrance road into Wells Estate that I walked down on my first day of fieldwork in the township.

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[70] For more information on the history of the ANC and Xhosas in the Eastern Cape, see *The Struggle for a Place Called Home: The ANC versus the UDM in the Eastern Cape* by Roger Southall (1999), and *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* by Les Switzer (1993).

Figure 17. Wells Estate Main Entrance Road and Houses

The first day I arrived in Wells Estate, I met my first interviewee and ethnographic informant, "Makinana," at her home and discussed my research and what I hoped to obtain from her and others in the community. What I did not know was that she was a major ANC representative. She said that before I could begin interviewing others in Wells Estate, I had to gain permission from the ANC councilperson for the area, as well as the people in the community.

Thirty minutes later, I found myself in the middle of the township in a makeshift meeting area discussing my research with over a hundred residents and three local ANC representatives. To my great relief, it went surprisingly well and the majority of people were willing to talk with me and agreed to let me observe portions of their lives.

What makes this different from what I experienced in Sakhasonke was that I did not encounter such a process to obtain the approval of the residents there. My key informant in Sakhasonke, Babso, helped greatly with securing people who would agree to interview with me and allow me into their homes. I met with prospective informants individually in Sakhasonke to obtain their cooperation and agreement to conduct participant observation. At that stage of the

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research, it seemed to me that the people of Wells Estate were more comfortable talking and working as a homogenous group versus being addressed individually. Months after that first community gathering, I brought up that meeting with several people in the township to understand why residents preferred meeting in a group compared to meeting individually. Nomazuli, who turned out to be my primary informant in Wells Estate, informed me that, "This is the South African way; united we stand as one people. We are stronger that way—as a group. So to talk about the people of Wells Estate, you have to talk *with* the people of Wells Estate, and that means all of us, or as many who are able to show up."

These events made me reflect upon the difference between the meaning of quality of life and notions of individuality, expectations, and community. Whereas the people in Sakhasonke talked primarily about how the housing program impacted their quality of life, residents of Wells Estate, and those few individuals who were able to work directly for Coega, talked more in the plurality. Unfortunately, the residents only came together and worked as a community when issues of politics were at hand; community-building between residents through other means was extremely scarce.

Some of the suspicion that individuals in Wells Estate felt towards me in the beginning was due in part to the controversy surrounding the resettlement process. The Mandela Metropolitan Sustainable Coalition lodged a complaint against Coega Development Corporation (CDC) with the South African Human Rights Commission in 1999 on behalf of the Coega community on the grounds that the CDC had violated the human rights of the beneficiaries by forcing them out of their original homes. The Mandela Metropolitan Sustainable Coalition viewed the resettlement as forced removal without giving the community better options. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) is currently investigating these charges.

Due to some of the larger controversies and conflicts surrounding Wells Estate, individuals may have been distrustful and skeptical of outsiders trying to obtain information about their community.

The health and identity of Wells Estate as a whole influenced how residents viewed themselves, both positively and negatively. In addition, I noticed that Wells Estate felt more like a traditional black township, such as the historic New Brighton or Motherwell, compared to Sakhasonke. It seemed as if there were more political uniformity, greater consensuses, and less deviance in opinion in Wells Estate among individuals than in Sakhasonke. One of the reasons I think this occurred was most residents' affiliation with the ANC and standing united with the party of Nelson Mandela has transferred to how they rally together against external threats.

The residents of Wells Estate had mixed feelings about notions of community and the amount of community that existed in their area. Over 60 percent of people felt that there was not a strong sense of community in Wells Estate. Given that the area is a new development compared to the older townships in the city, relationship and neighborhood ties were still new and have not been cemented. This was in spite of most residents coming from the same informal settlement areas affected by the Coega project and some knowing each other before moving to Wells Estate. There was a general sense of distrust among the residents, especially with neighbors that did not participate in ANC meetings and rallies on a regular basis. The individuals who kept to themselves were considered suspicious by several people. Most residents I spoke with believed that if they needed something, such as bread, meat, and sugar, their neighbors would not help them. They were afraid of rejection, making them uncomfortable going to their neighbors for help. In Sakhasonke, on the other hand, there was plenty of

community sentiment and a general sense of rapport among its residents, despite the fact that Sakhasonke is newer than Wells Estate.

The beginning of the section discussed how the residents came together when I originally met with them to discuss the research. I made the mistake of thinking that that particular gathering was an example of a tight-knit community where everyone knew each other and a general sense of community concern existed among the residents. This was not the case. Instead, I came to realize that what really occurred at that initial meeting was a display of political assembly; no other gathering or community meeting occurred again (while I was there) after that meeting. This led me to understand clearly what defines a community and what it means to be part of a community. Is it only when an outsider is seeking entry that residents of a shared area come together? The community united when an apparent threat was imminent, but unity was not evident on matters of bringing the residents closer in the form of joint activities, such as sharing household resources, holding a communal *braai*, or building new relationships among each other. It seems that moving to a new housing community had a detrimental impact on the residents' ability to establish new community, despite the fact that they shared in the informal settlements, where they had to share resources in order to survive.

Table 12. Research site groups and Community Concerns and Issues

If there are Problems in the Community, What is the Major One?	Sakhasonke	Wells Estate	Group 3	Total
No proper Community Representation	6 (30%)	0 (0%)	1(5%)	7 (12%)
Break-ins, robberies	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	4 (20%)	11 (18%)
Rape/Assault	0 (0%)	3 (15%)	5 (25%)	8 (13%)
Gang or Organized Crime Activity	2 (10%)	8 (40%)	0 (0%)	10 (17%)
Bad Outdoor Lighting	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
No answer/No comment	6 (30%)	7 (35%)	10 (50%)	23 (38%)
Total	20	20	20	60

People's capacity to organize community organizations or activities was not present in Wells Estate. There were no buildings to hold community activities, like the crèche in Sakhasonke. Residents were not interested in holding a braai or community-wide event as a means of getting to know one another.

Other community measures many residents would like to see were more street lights and bars on the windows. A CDC representative I interviewed in March 2006 believed that home security modifications were the responsibility of the homeowner, although the ANC was working to set up more street lights around the community. Despite a sizable proportion of residents who were angry with the level of crime being committed and the lack of security, several people I talked to felt safe in Wells Estate and did not think there were any significant crime issues (Table 12).

As I was walking one hot and dry day around Wells Estate with "Khulukano", a 19-year-old young man with a small infant baby, we started talking about crime in the area. Khulukano mentioned that since he had been living in Wells Estate with his mother and his son, he noticed how the crime rate had steadily increased. He indicated, "When I lived in an area close to Kwazakhele, crime was always an issue, and I just didn't think it would happen so near to Coega." He observed that there had been an influx of different people coming in and out of Wells Estate from different townships, which, according to him, was the cause of the conflict and criminal activity in the township. Khulukano's sentiments were similar to others in the area; most see outsiders or people not from Wells Estate as the reason for crime in the township, and they blame outsiders for any problems that occurred. In addition, it was not just people from nearby townships that they blamed; mostly non-South Africans got the brunt of the criticism.

Xenophobic beliefs are widespread throughout the country and are an enormous concern facing this new democratic society. Since the end of apartheid, cases of extreme violence against people from other African countries have risen to alarming rates.[71] Most of these people migrated to South Africa to escape economic hardship, violence, and poverty in their home countries. However, when these Africans came to South Africa, they faced xenophobia, racism, and even de facto segregation as they tried to make a living. Xenophobia has tended to be at its greatest when accusations of serious crimes were reported. It almost seems as if South Africans do not want to believe that their own can commit crimes such as drug-dealing, murder, and rape.

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[71] Between 2000 and 2008 there were about 70 reported cases of xenophobic violence. In May 2008, xenophobic riots across the country left 62 people dead (The Zimbabwean 2010). For more information and discussion on the rise of xenophobia and attacks against foreigners, see Bronwyn Harris' (2002) *Xenophobia: A New Pathology for a New South Africa?* and Jonathan Crush's (2002) *The Dark Side of Democracy: Migration, Xenophobia, and Human Rights in South Africa*.

The people of Wells Estate are no different in their xenophobic beliefs than other South Africans. They also attribute the rise of crime to the taverns or *shabeens* that have emerged in the area. These *shabeens* are locally-owned establishments that sell liquor and other spirits, typically in township areas.[72] They are also gathering places for individuals to socialize and catch up with friends.

A couple of months after my conversation with Khulukano, I wanted to go to a s*habeen* in Walmer Township to get a glimpse of the atmosphere of these venues, much to the dismay of my friends from Sakhasonke. They warned me what could happen at these places and did not think it would be a good idea for me to go alone, considering that most people in the area knew that I was an American conducting research. They would try to get the better of me in a compromising moment. Despite their arguments, I decided to go, accompanied by my main informant Babso and another good friend. When I got there and purchased some spirits from the seller, I observed that the social atmosphere outside of the *shabeen* was much like a bar in the United States after closing time or last call, but nothing out of the ordinary or anything I was not used to.

Then the gun shots rang out. Immediately, I crouched low to the ground, became more aware of my surrounding, and started moving in the opposite direction from where I heard the gun shots. My friends were doing the same thing. As we were moving away from the *shabeen*, I noticed no one else in the vicinity doing what we were doing; most of the folks kept on with their merry-making.

This experience, brief as it was, showed me that some of what the people said in Wells Estate and Sakhasonke about the relationship between violence and taverns was true. However,

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[72] Some of the South African taverns are owned by foreigners from other African countries. In the past five years, there were cases of violence and discrimination against tavern owners across the country.

their sentiment can be considered misplaced in assigning the blame on non-South Africans as the sole reason for the uptake in violence. My acquaintances and I did not notice foreigners or people from other nearby townships hanging around the tavern that day; from my observations, it seemed that they were all from Walmer Township. The idea of placing responsibility for the escalation of violent crime on "outsiders" or foreigners, whether from other townships or other countries, prevents citizens from examining the root causes of violent crimes within their own country. Several authors examining xenophobia in South Africa have argued that this lies at the heart of xenophobia— sometimes it is easier to lay blame on others than to examine oneself (B. Harris 2002; Crush 2002).

Similar to many other Africans in the area, most residents of Wells Estate are staunch ANC supporters and this support has helped shape their community and social interactions within the township. They have also been active participants in the political party. Southall (1999) argued that South Africans who have persistently supported the ANC over the years see it as the party that led the way in the struggled against apartheid and brought justice and equality for all Africans.

Once the ANC took control of the government, it started implementing socio-economic programs and services to rectify the damage apartheid had done to disadvantaged groups. Services and amenities such as better education (e.g., eradicating the Bantu education system), housing, running water, toilets, and trash pick-ups were just a few of the policies and programs that were top priorities of the ANC-led government to help its citizens live healthier, sustainable lives. Some of the programs did provide these services to millions of disadvantaged people. These development programs, the anti-apartheid movements of the 1970s and 1980s, and the worldwide admiration of Nelson Mandela helped established the ANC as the leading party of

South Africa, and to many in the Eastern Cape, it was the party that brought apartheid to an end. Many South Africans have long memories and are grateful for what the ANC has done for them.

The people of Wells Estate are no exception. One of the reasons residents initially supported the Coega project was because of their overwhelming trust in the local ANC representatives to work with CDC officials to create a sustainable community in Wells Estate. It was the ANC Ward representatives, accompanied by Coega officials, who made efforts to reach out to residents of displaced settlements before the construction, letting them know the benefits of moving to Wells Estate. As the ANC showed support for Coega, Wells Estate residents followed suit because of their constant backing of the ANC, despite not understanding the extent or purpose of Coega.

<div align="center">

Ideas on Community for the
Non-Participant Group

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As mentioned in earlier chapters, most of the non-participant group felt that there was a lack of community structure and involvement where they lived. They felt that there was more community involvement in the black townships than in the downtown or inner-city neighborhoods. When I asked them what they meant by community involvement, they saw neighbors talking with each other more, communal activities and engagement, and cookouts as the primary indicators of what determines a community. They believed the main reason for the lack of community in their area was the diversity and heterogeneity of the area, which they felt made it difficult for people to interact and talk with one another because of racial differences.

Mzui and Chris were the most vocal about the lack of community involvement in the city, yet Chris saw this as a tradeoff for living in the city versus moving to the township. "I could try to find a home in the township for me and my wife so we can be closer to my family and friends I grew up with, but I like having some separation from my family and Walmer location," he said.

<div align="center">221</div>

Despite dealing with crime in Central, Refy and Chris enjoyed the shops and stores that were close by and the scenic views of the Indian Ocean from their flat. Figure 18 below shows the beach and the Indian Ocean in Port Elizabeth.

Figure 18. Flea Market at King's Beach, Port Elizabeth, South Africa

He mentioned, "If we lived in Walmer [location], we wouldn't be close to the beach or our favorite stores." So Refy and Chris traveled into Walmer Township to visit his family every week, and it was when they were in the township that they encountered communal and family activities. This is similar to the people of Sakhasonke and their experiences with going back into Walmer Township to visit relatives.

Some of people of the non-participant group enjoyed having a separate identity or an identity that they created for themselves, which was distinctive from a larger township identity. Afolayan (2004) and Bank (2011) showed how the importance of kin relationships and of belonging to a shared communal and cultural identity are inculcated and highly valued from childhood. Chris definitely understood this concept of family relationships, yet he still

appreciated the distance and separation from them by living in the city with his wife, because he and his wife could still maintain some sort of privacy and individuality away from his family.

Mzui, on the other hand, prefers the community feeling that he experienced while in Motherwell compared to living in Central. He also prefers the homogeneity of a single ethnic group, isiXhosa, than the multi-ethnicity that exists in neighborhoods outside of the townships. I asked him if given the opportunity to discover more of downtown Port Elizabeth to see if there exists a "community" similar to what he had back in Motherwell, would he take it? He flatly said no. "I stay in my flat, and I don't like going out if I don't have to. I look forward to being with my children and wife back in Motherwell because that is my home."

However, the majority of the people of the non-participant group appreciated their experience living in their areas within the city and do not mind the lack of community or communication between neighbors that was more apparent in Sakhasonke, and on some level, Wells Estate. Seti, for example, mentioned how she enjoyed visiting the township to purchase items and to get her hair braided on occasion, but she could not see herself living in a housing development in one of the townships:

> First off, though I can speak Xhosa, I am not Xhosa and I will stick out like a sore thumb in the townships. They would probably see me as an outsider and blame me for the bad things that happen there. I am so much more comfortable here in the city than in these townships because I feel like I can be myself.

The multi-diversity of the city helped Seti's quality of life compared to Mzui, whose quality of life suffered because he preferred the homogeneity of the township to the diversity of the city.

A common thread with this group that I observed was their understanding of how life was living within the city's neighborhoods compared to the townships. Most of them felt that community unity was not present in the city, and that there was more sense of community and support in the township. The lack of community, as Refy sees it, is because of the

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multiculturalism and diversity that is present in the inner-city areas. As stated earlier, Xhosa is the dominant culture in the Port Elizabeth area, where most of the people living in the townships are from this one ethnic group. Yet in the non-township areas, it is more mixed, with other ethnic groups, plus whites, Coloureds and Asians. Most of this can be attributed to the apartheid city landscape; ethnic groups, such as the Xhosa living in the townships, chose to stay in these formerly controlled areas rather than relocate to other neighborhoods within the city. Some of the reasons that many Xhosas stay in black townships versus moving into the city is because finding affordable places in the city can be hard, and most Xhosas, such as Mzui, prefer the community experience of living in these black townships compared to the multiculturalism of the city.

Despite the proximity of the beaches, stores and shops that the city has to offer, some of the people of the non-participant group did not feel comfortable walking around and enjoying the city at night. They felt that it was unsafe to walk around Port Elizabeth because of robberies and muggings that occur in Central and along the beach. Refy mentioned, "I never walk around Port Elizabeth by myself at night, or even during the day for that much! They would mistake me for a streetwalker or try to rob me." All of the people of the group felt that crime, overall, was a concern while living in the city. Mzui and Refy were the most vocal about their dislike of crime in Port Elizabeth and felt that authorities were not doing enough to reduce it. Refy's husband Chris was mugged along the beach a few months after they moved from Johannesburg. That experience left the couple with an unpleasant feeling about the city and since then they have been actively trying to find safer accommodations in the northern suburbs of Port Elizabeth.

Comparative Analysis and Discussion on Community
Sentiment Across Research Groups

In regard to community, the people of Sakhasonke experienced more community

sentiment and social trust compared to the other research groups (Table 13).

Table 13. Research Site Groups Overall Community Sentiment Crosstabulation (Number of
people/percentage of people within research group)

How the Informants Feel About their Community, Overall	Sakhasonke	Wells Estate	Group 3	Total
Very Satisfied	10 (50%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	15 (25%)
Satisfied	5 (25%)	11 (55%)	2 (10%)	18 (30%)
Neutral	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	9 (45%)[73]	11 (18%)
Unsatisfied	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	6 (30%)	14 (23%)
Very Unsatisfied	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	2 (3%)
Total	20	20	20	60

Sakhasonke residents communicated and spoke with each other more frequently than their

counterparts in Wells Estate. Sakhasonke residents also participated in group activities and

shared community resources such as the crèche building for community activities. The crèche

also served as a place where preschool-aged children could go and residents in Sakhasonke

would take turns watching them. This sort of community mobilization was not present in Wells

Estate or in the non-participant group. Instead the residents of Wells Estate exhibited a greater

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[73] A main reason for the large percentage of neutrals in the non-participant group is due to the lack of
community sentiment within the city Port Elizabeth. Most people within this group do not feel that there is a sense
within the city compared to the black townships, so they are indifferent to community involvement.

sense of suspicion and mistrust between the residents. This was evident with the presence of security bars on most of the windows of their houses. In comparison with Sakhasonke where there was a wall that surrounded the perimeter of the housing area, the people of Wells Estate seemed to value security of their households more than for the entire township or their neighbors.

In addition, no community associations or activities were created for the people of Wells Estate. Nor did the people of Wells Estate actively create community groups or associations to build social relationships with their neighbors, despite the fact that the people of Wells Estate had lived together in the township for years longer than the people of Sakhasonke.

The primary reason for the lack of community or community-building for the people of the non-participant group was due to their location in the city of Port Elizabeth. As mentioned earlier, the central area of Port Elizabeth is considered a transit location where different nationalities and ethnicities coexist together, and this multiculturalism for many people of the non-participant group, has made it harder for them to form a residential community with one another.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter covered how each housing project's development structure directly affected the quality of life of the beneficiaries as well as looked at resident's ideas on community in relation to their living situation. This chapter also covered and analyzed the responses of the non-participant group to ideas of jobs and access to services. The previous chapter looked at how housing and participation in development programs impacted the quality of life of the people, while this chapter focused on the other aspects of quality of life. All research groups found employment and jobs to be a primary factor in achieving a greater quality of life; however the people of Sakhasonke and the non-participant group had more access to jobs compared to the

people of Wells Estate. All groups had adequate access to services; however the people of

Sakhasonke and the non-participant group had greater access to services because of their close

proximity to the city of Port Elizabeth. More residents of Wells Estate were unemployed and

receiving government assistance compared to the people of Sakhasonke and the non-participant

group. In terms of community, the people of Sakhasonke felt more community sentiment and

participated in more community issues than the people of Wells Estate and the non-participant

group.

CHAPTER 8

THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS

AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation's main focus was to examine how South African housing development programs impact the quality of life of the poor by measuring the benefits and drawbacks of these programs in meeting their needs. This final chapter will summarize some of the main findings of the research and discuss the theoretical arguments that have emerged from the research study. The final section will provide recommendations and concluding remarks on the research in general.

<u>Main Findings</u>

Some of the main issues and concerns raised in Sakhasonke and Wells Estate while conducting ethnographic research were: 1) the appropriate level of beneficiary involvement and the structure of development projects; 2) the provision of quality housing and infrastructure; 3) community involvement and social trust; 4) adequate access to services and amenities; and 5) employment and income needs as the primary drivers in achieving quality of life. The following paragraphs are the main findings from my analyses.

Beneficiary Involvement and Participation. Sakhasonke residents had greater participation and project involvement with the project developers than the people of Wells Estate. Sakhasonke residents and developers communicated with one another about different aspects of the housing project, and the structure of the project itself was created more than with the people of Wells Estate. In the beginning of the construction process in Sakhasonke, developers worked with potential applicants with the type of structure the houses would take and gained applicants' perspectives on how the houses would be built. Though there was

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disagreement with the Walmer Housing Trust over the creation of a vegetable garden in Sakhasonke and some residents felt they should not raise concern over the house shown to them in the initial meetings, the ability and means to communicate and voice their dissatisfaction was provided for residents. The people of Wells Estate, on the other hand, did not feel they had the means to voice their concerns to Coega officials and housing developers. After receiving their new homes, they no longer experienced direct participation or communication with housing developers. The non-participation group did not participate with either of the housing development projects.

Two out of the four research questions for this dissertation looked at how the structure of housing projects impacted the quality of life of poor beneficiaries and what would help them achieve a greater quality of life. As discussed in the literature review, beneficiary participation in development projects can have a beneficial effect on the quality of life of the people. Their direct involvement can help ensure that developers take their needs and demands seriously. Having open communication and transparency, as development researchers have argued (Chambers 1983; 1997), can lead to greater levels of quality of life and sustainable development. When poor beneficiaries have greater communication and participate in development projects, it can help alleviate their poverty situation by giving them greater access to information about the development project with impact on their lives. In addition, more communication with developers can help shape development projects to make sure that the project is addressing needs of the beneficiaries to assist them out of poverty.

Quality of Housing and Infrastructure. In terms of housing in Sakhasonke, Wells Estate and the non-participant group, people were pleased with the quality of housing they received, compared to what they had previously. Though some in Sakhasonke did have complaints about

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the interior structure of the houses and the sweat equity that they had to put into finishing the inside (e.g., insulation, piping, cabinets, etc.), most were pleased with being given the opportunity to live in their new homes. On the other hand, the people of Wells Estate that I spoke to did not have to put in any sweat equity and their homes were completely finished by the time they relocated. Having a house already finished means less time and money spent on hiring contractors to complete the interior of the house. So in this sense, the type of housing Wells Estate residents were given was more satisfactory compared to the houses in Sakhasonke. The non-participant group was very pleased with the quality of housing of their homes in Port Elizabeth and did not have any negative concerns about the quality of the infrastructure of their homes.

Quality of housing was an important aspect in determining the quality of life of beneficiaries. Quality housing can provide adequate shelter for residents and protect them from outside elements, which can improve their health. As housing researchers have pointed out (Gear 1999; Zack and Charlton 2003), permanent housing provides better security and stability for sustainable livelihoods compared to non-permanent structures such as squatter shacks. For example, a house built with cement walls and insulation will stand up to the elements better compared to a shack that was built with corrugated iron sheets. Cement walls with insulation will be able to keep the inside at a moderate, stable temperature better than a house with no insulation. Housing researchers agree (Gear 1999; May et al. 2000; Tomlinson 1999a; 2006) that if the poor have access to housing that meets these standards, including running water and sewage access inside the home, it can help improve their living situation.

One of the research questions was to determine whether the structure of the housing programs helped improved the quality of life of the residents, and for the most part the housing

programs succeeded in this part. The provision of quality housing did help the residents of Sakhasonke, Wells Estate and Group 3 with a foundation to pursue other needs, such as employment opportunities and community involvement. The residents having access to quality housing helped ease their poverty situation because it lessened their struggle to find adequate housing and opened up greater opportunities to seek other important factors that would improve their standard of living.

Community and Social Trust. The people of Sakhasonke experienced a greater sense of community than the non-participant group and Wells Estate. There were more communication and sharing between neighbors and community-wide activities, such as the establishment of residents' committees, in Sakhasonke than in Wells Estate, despite the fact that Wells Estate Township was an older community. Wells Estate residents did not create residents' committees or have community-wide events as a means to get to know each other. Instead, there was more social distrust and fear of crime in Wells Estate than in Sakhasonke. Some of the people of the non-participant group did not like the amount of community in their area of Port Elizabeth. They believed that they would have more of a community experience in the black townships because they felt that central areas of Port Elizabeth were too multiethnic and diverse to form a cohesive community.

One of the primary research questions that this dissertation explored was determining the important factors that contribute to the quality of life of the residents, and through discussions and interviews with the people, it was determined that community involvement and communication with neighbors contributed to a better of quality of life for them. Community involvement and participation are important factors in improving the quality of life for the poor. Spicker (2007) argued that community involvement can help the poor establish social networks

and neighborhood associations. Community development can also help the poor communicate better and build trust with each other. Once these community ties have been established, Putnam (1995) argued that social capital can be created. At a minimum, acts of redistribution and reciprocity can happen when community development and involvement is present (Spicker 2007). This means neighbors will feel comfortable to borrow items and ask for help from each other.

Access to Non-Infrastructure Services and Amenities. In terms of services, Sakhasonke residents and the non-participant group had greater access to services and amenities such as stores, markets, clinics, schools, and recreational facilities than the people of Wells Estate. This was due to the proximity to the city of Port Elizabeth that the residents of Sakhasonke and the non-participant group had in common. Wells Estate residents were pleased with their ability to access services compared to what they experienced while living in informal settlements, yet they still had to rely heavily on transportation to get them to these services and amenities. They had hoped to have these services and amenities near their new homes. Though the Well Estate residents were satisfied with their access to transportation, they argued that having nearby grocery stores and markets, schools, and other services within the township would save them money and time.

The literature review touched on how having access to services and amenities can help the poor achieve a greater quality of life. Poverty researchers have argued that when the poor live far away from reliable transportation and good roads, grocery stores and markets, their chances of improving their standard of living decrease because of the time and money it takes for them to access these services. As stated in the literature review, Turner (1967) argued that inhabitants of low-income housing considered the proximity to basic services and amenities to be

more important than the quality of their houses because without access to these services, most inhabitants would not be able to sustain their livelihoods. The poor have limited resources and money (Moolla et. al 2001), so having services in close proximity will cut down on the time and expenses that it would take to get to these places.

Jobs and Income. The main concerns of the majority of the people in all three research groups were access to employment and steady reliable income. Sakhasonke residents and the non-participant group were more active in trying to find stable employment compared to the people of Wells Estate. However, the residents of both Sakhasonke and Wells Estate believed that their housing development project should have included an element of stable, long-term employment. The non-participant group had by far greater access to employment opportunities than the people of Sakhasonke and Wells Estate, partly due to their need to pay rent to live within the city, whereas having a job was not a prerequisite to live in the other housing development areas.

Poverty researchers have discussed how access to employment opportunities can help the poor achieve a greater quality of life, and most agree that unemployment and lack of income are the main causes of poverty (Drobnic et al. 2010). As noted in the literature review, Sen (1985) argued that if an individual has a job, then he or she has the capability to obtain the resources and services to enhance their quality of life far more easily than a person without a job. Without some type of income, individuals can face constant struggles to obtain the things they need in life (Sen 1985). Poverty researchers also point out that without income, the poor are unable to purchase the items they need to make their home livable and sustainable (Drobnic et al. 2010). Exploring how important employment and access to income were to the people's quality of life

was an initial research question for this dissertation, and most respondents agreed that not having access to income was the greatest challenge to their quality of life.

Further Analysis of the Main Findings

Given that most residents in both housing communities were pleased with obtaining new housing and amenities, their overall quality of living seemed sufficient. From a comparative perspective, the people of Sakhasonke experienced a greater quality of life compared to the people of Wells Estate, for a number of reasons. First, as shown in Chapters 6 and 7, some residents of Sakhasonke were actively involved in the construction of their houses, from beginning to end. Their inputs into the initial construction, the floor plans, and the exterior areas were taken into consideration by housing developers, despite the fact that many residents feared that their opinions would not be valued. In this sense residents' input was accepted to a certain extent, which created better dialogue and communication between beneficiary and developer, though sometimes this dialogue was heated and disagreeable (e.g., Sakhasonke vegetable garden project).

In Wells Estate, the level of communication was far less. Residents in this community did not have an open dialogue with Coega developers and city officials in regards to their community. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 many people that I talked with were unaware of what Coega was developing or what their plans were for economic development. Most of the residents were not involved in the initial development talks with planners; some were not aware of the type of housing they would receive, despite the claim that Coega and municipal officials held meetings with the potential residents. This lack of communication and involvement can have a detrimental impact on quality of life. Wells Estates residents were more prone to suspicion and feared anyone with perceived authority (including myself) that came into their

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township. This also included people from other townships and foreigners. This suspicion and lack of trust can be partly credited to the lack of communication between developer and themselves.

Second, the organizational and mobilization capacities of people in Sakhasonke were much higher compared to those in Wells Estate, which impacted the quality of life for the group as a whole. In Sakhasonke people had the ability to mobilize into community groups and organizations in order to create a unified voice for the residents when airing complaints and concerns to housing developers. Also, this mobilization allowed residents of Sakhasonke to come together as a community, get to know one another, and practice grassroots-level organization. This type of community organizing demonstrated a level of pro-activity among residents; instead of waiting for developers to get things done for the Sakhasonke housing community, people instead became the initiators and were not afraid to voice their concerns. If the developers were making plans for future upgrades or small-scale projects within the area, residents wanted to be privy to that information and to have a level of transparency established between themselves and developers during implementation.

The case of the vegetable garden project was an example of how residents of Sakhasonke came together to voice their concerns (primarily opposition) to the project. Residents felt that the funds allocated towards the construction of the project, all in the name of social capital and community development, should have been redirected to other pressing needs in Sakhasonke, such as creating more playgrounds, more lighting, postal service, or small business development. The Walmer Housing Trust that oversees the community was not pleased with the level of opposition that they faced in constructing the garden. This governing body also thought the residents did not understand what was best for them as a whole. However, the residents felt that

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they knew what type of community development projects would work best for them, and they were not afraid to challenge the Housing Trust on those issues. This ability to challenge authority is a distinct characteristic of individuals having the ability to come together, knowing their democratic rights and expressing them without fear of repercussion from those "running the show."

This level of mobilization and organizing was not evident in Well Estate. Residents instead shifted responsibility into the hands of a few people, most of whom were ANC representatives who spoke "on their behalf" to Coega officials. There was no sense of joining forces among themselves to come together. This is despite the fact that the township of Wells Estate had existed longer than Sakhasonke. Several factors account for the difference in the two places. All of the residents that moved to Sakhasonke were from nearby Walmer Township so they already had formulated community ties and a sense of community before relocating to the new housing development. People knew that active community participation was important in establishing a unified voice to the Walmer Housing Trust. However, despite the fact that most of the resident of Wells Estate lived in informal settlements and relied on reciprocity and sharing of resources prior to their forced resettlement, their need for establishing community bonds lessened when they moved because the need to share resources in order to survive was reduced.

Third, the combination of open dialogue and community involvement/mobilization led to greater access to information and potential employment ventures for the people of Sakhasonke than for those in Wells Estate. Sakhasonke residents, with the increased amount of dialogue and transparency that they established, had the ability to obtain information regarding how the housing project was to be implemented and how the money was being spent. This helped the residents to make better-informed decisions for the community; at the same time it gave them a

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sense of individual empowerment in their dealings with developers. With the continuous dialogue between those who would like to see small business development in Sakhasonke and the Walmer Housing Trust, residents believed that changes could eventually be made that would allow for the establishment of these income-producing ventures in the community.

Revisiting the Issue of Poverty, Development and Housing

Most of the dissertation has examined how governments attempt to combat poverty and bring economic and social sustainability to millions of disadvantaged poor people in light of historical discrimination. Some of these people are living in extreme conditions, with no adequate shelter, no income source, and limited access to water, food, and health care. In order to answer these pressing needs, various donor organizations and developing governments have tried to develop strategies to battle poverty (Chambers 1997). Trying to combat all the factors that led to poverty in one development program can be daunting; this is one of the reasons why international donor organizations and governments have to choose which development issue on which to work. As shown by the array of Request for Proposals and Request for Applications, several areas of development need assistance. Some developers concentrate on providing HIV/AIDS education and health service to the poor, while others provide agricultural development and food security to populations in need.

The most important aspect in these attempts at poverty alleviation by governments of developing countries is their ability to face the needs and challenges of disadvantaged people as they strive to create development programs or individual projects designed to combat poverty From what past macroeconomic development programs have shown, such as South Africa's RDP macroeconomic program, there is no "one size fits all" solution to poverty alleviation. Chambers (1997) noted how it is important to know what local populations need; this takes

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conducting preliminary surveys and evaluations, talking with targeted populations and communities, and getting their input on what they deem important. He argued that this takes time to do, but the results would be a specifically-targeted program that would achieve the best type of development for a population. International donors such as the United States Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme work with developing countries and their governments to help create programs that can provide sustainable development for their populations in need, which can then enable them to achieve a greater quality of life and become active participants in the national economy and society. Given this, the main focus of development for the past decade has been moving towards locally-based programs that can provide local communities with direct assistance, such as housing and community development.

As stated in the introduction chapter, South Africa is one of a handful of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa that does not rely fully on development aid from outside organizations. So within this context, the national government wanted to create a domestic development system of governance that would best achieve sustainable development for the country and for the citizens. Since 1994, the national government has laid out extensive policies, legislation, and strategies for poverty alleviation. These policies have broad guidelines and implementation strategies, as well as different projected paths for helping the poor. Their poverty-alleviation strategies as well as their approach to development for the past decade can be summarized as follows:
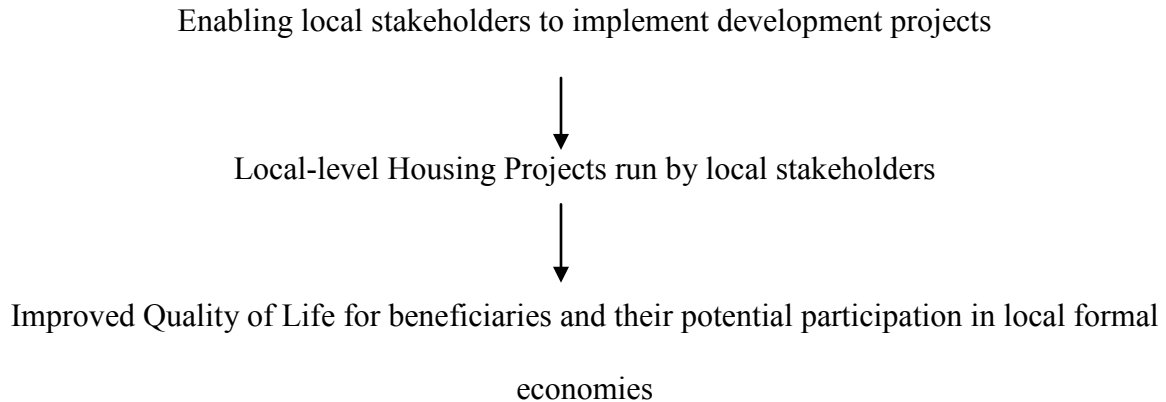
Development Goals from the National Government (e.g., Urban Development Framework, "Breaking New Ground", etc.)

$\downarrow$

Local Government Development Plans (i.e., municipal and city development)

$\downarrow$

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Enabling local stakeholders to implement development projects

$\downarrow$

Local-level Housing Projects run by local stakeholders

$\downarrow$

Improved Quality of Life for beneficiaries and their potential participation in local formal

economies

This is, in simplified terms, a logical framework of the overall development design and goal of the South African government as it constructs and designs projects to answer the needs of the poor while also supporting and creating an enabling environment for local governments to pursue economic investment opportunities. Consequently, the South African government is walking a thin line because officials want their local governments to be economically viable and sustainable and to provide services for the poor at the same time. This can prove difficult when city officials are trying to bring foreign investment and capital into their cities to stimulate economic growth, as was the case with the Coega development project.

As the government moves towards more transparent and liberal development strategies, many people will be still left unaware of their government housing strategies. Because the political system in South Africa is a proportional-representative government, the African National Congress (ANC) is the leading party in most municipalities. This leads many people to believe that the ANC is directly responsible for the delivery of services. People are unaware of their municipal or city governing structure, and who is responsible for what. For example, when some contact their local ANC ward representatives, they encounter overwhelming bureaucracy

and are misdirected to other agencies or officials.[74] Development processes and technical

language are not explained clearly to locals in a manner that is familiar to them. In these

circumstances, people are left with their local ANC representative interpreting policy and

promising service delivery in the same rhetoric used during election years. Thus, the poor are

left at the bottom of a top-down economic/political system.

<u>Theoretical Discussions and Anthropological Analysis</u>

The next sections provide theoretical analysis of the major underlying themes,

highlighted throughout the dissertation, that were evident from the research in Sakhasonke,

Wells Estate, and the non-participant group.

Housing and Development

Looking at how residents' lives were impacted by a government housing program

showcased the abilities and approaches of the South African government to tackle housing

development and delivery. There are several questions about how the residents' situations fit

within larger theoretical and anthropological discussions on housing development. Sakhasonke

is an example of how national housing policy can be implemented and delivered on the local

level. Thus, one of the primary goals of developers of the Sakhasonke project was to highlight

how the gap between policy, planning, and delivery can be bridged. This leads to a further

question on understanding how housing can have direct impact on people's standard of living by

utilizing qualitative indicators and not solely relying on quantitative and empirical data.

Researchers indicate that housing should be measured not only by the number of homes built or

their size and quality, but by the ability of beneficiaries to obtain greater quality of life in terms

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[74] Most local municipalities are separated into wards or districts that consist of political representatives. Most wards in the Eastern Cape Province and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality are ANC-led.

of accessibility to services, employment, and personal satisfaction and happiness (Gear 1999; Morris 1971; Huchzermeyer 2003). This last factor is highly significant and not easily measurable without in-depth ethnography and observation. Most people I spoke with in Sakhasonke were genuinely pleased with their new housing compared to their prior residences; however, the success of the housing development program is in the ability of residents to increase their quality of life and living environment. This leads to the observation that housing projects should be designed not merely to build houses and to provide shelter for people, but to create homes and a foundation for residents to build sustainable lives.

The qualitative data used in this dissertation shows how ethnography and participant observation can lead to a better understanding of the factors affecting their quality of life such as:

1. Observing the daily transactions of the residents and how they manage their daily lives in their attempt to keep their household running with food, electricity and income. When I did my observations, I was able to determine how important obtaining income was to the residents by analyzing what they were able to afford for the new homes, what they bought, how much food they bought and consumed, and whether they had any disposable income left over after taking care of their basic necessities.

2. Conducting participant observation helped me understand and rank what aspects of quality of life were important to the residents. As stated earlier, most people felt that income was the most important factor in achieving a sustainable quality of life. I was able to observe which elements of quality of life (e.g. quality of housing, access to services, community, etc.) were given the most attention by the people compared to only asking them through interviews what they deemed important.

3. Conducting ethnography also helped in observing how new housing can provide a basic foundation for the people to focus on other matters that are important to them. I saw first hand how the people of Wells Estate were no longer worried about electricity, running water or flush toilets that they did not have in their informal shacks. Instead they are more concerned about security, access to markets and income-generating opportunities. In addition, now that the people of Sakhasonke had new housing, they were able to focus on how they could make their community stronger with the addition of small businesses, playgrounds and other recreational activities.

Also addressed in this discussion was how housing beneficiaries are viewed within government housing programs and projects. The larger theoretical discussion should be nuanced to include poor beneficiaries as active members and contributors of overarching housing discussion and theory. Are they simply seen as only beneficiaries and welfare recipients, or should they be seen as proactive, involved stakeholders who are participatory citizens of the country and able to make their own decisions? It is stated in the South African Bill of Rights of 1994 that housing is a fundamental right that should be made available to everyone in the country. Therefore, the primary concern should not be whether the poor should be given affordable housing or whether the government should create more houses, but how the government can provide an enabling environment that encourages agency and autonomy among the beneficiaries of housing projects. As Morris (1971) pointed out, ensuring that beneficiaries feel they have ownership of their dwellings creates stable home environments for their families.

The situation in Sakhasonke is a good example of how problems arise because of the bureaucratic and administrative structure of development programs and institutions in general. The current housing system, as conceptualized by the national government, involves the

government providing the financial capital, the private sector and NGOs furnishing the managerial capital, and the community or beneficiaries providing the sweat equity and social capital. In this scheme, all the groups that have stakes in housing development work together to build a functional housing system that would enhance job creation among the poor and accelerate housing delivery. Khan, however, argued that government should not just direct money to the housing sector, but engage with other sectors that are "related to land release and assembly, bottlenecks in the construction industry, and the building of necessary capabilities and capacities in the public sector…without meaningful reforms in these sectors, more money could actually mean less" (2003:79).

An important factor to note is that the South African government never intended the housing subsidy program to be the final solution to poverty eradication and sustainability, but an investment towards the eventual economic benefits of homeownership. As Ted Baumann pointed out, "the main thrust of the non-subsidy aspect of housing policy has been to reshape the institutional framework of the commercial housing and finance markets, on the assumption that eventually everyone will be able to buy a house without direct government assistance" (2003:86). However, since the inception of the housing subsidy program almost ten years ago, it has been the main tool for delivering housing to the poor—and now the People's Housing Process has become the main focus of government provision of sustainable housing for the poor. This leaves government local officials to provide formal housing to the majority of the country's population, the historically disadvantaged, who are overwhelmingly poor and unable to access formal bank financing options.

Moreover, since the state and private or non-governmental organizations collaborate in public/private partnerships to design and implement development projects, they maintain most of

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the control of the project and the beneficiaries are left out of the development discussions. As seen with the people of Sakhasonke, they were aware and skeptical that the Walmer Housing Trust still retained most of the control of the community, despite the overall project's mission to provide a self-sustaining and sustainable living environment. Within the national housing framework, there still exists a tendency to treat beneficiaries as objects and not as collaborators or partners (Gear 1999). In addition, even though beneficiaries maintain homeownership or free-tenure rights to their houses as part of the People's Housing Process development structure, they do not have, in all circumstances, complete control of their living environment; the Walmer Housing Trust does. This can complicate the drive of the South African government to push homeownership as the final destination for people to achieve economic freedom, security and democratic citizenship as laid out in the Constitution. Residents of the Sakhasonke project are still seen as beneficiaries, not as homeowners with the same economic rights as individuals who do not participate in subsidy programs. When I asked residents of Sakhasonke if they felt like homeowners with all the rights and privileges that come with it, most residents indicated that they did not feel as though they had complete control over their houses. As Murtha indicated, "This is my house, not my home yet."

Despite current housing trends towards self-help housing and sweat equity—both major tenets within the People's Housing Process—as a means to engage the community and beneficiaries into participating in the housing development process, beneficiaries still do not have complete control over their own housing after the construction phase and are not taken seriously as partners in the development process. For example, only a few of the Sakhasonke residents I interviewed actually participated in the sweat equity part of the subsidy program as general contractors, builders, or painters. Researchers and housing analysts in the country note

that government housing policy has actually served to disempower beneficiaries by stripping away their autonomy and democratic participatory rights (M. Tomlinson 2006; Baumann 2003), and my research tends to confirm this.

<center>Exclusion/Marginality and Development</center>

A serious question about housing development came up in the discussion on housing that was highlighted in the literature review: why does this tendency to leave beneficiaries out of the decision-making process continue to exist, despite the overwhelming research and findings demonstrating that they need to be part of it? Understanding this dilemma means reexamining the root causes of poverty and how the poor are viewed by development institutions and developers. As discussed in the literature review, poverty is multidimensional and interrelated and cannot be solved solely with housing or national GDP growth. Similar to Spicker's (2007) discussion on social exclusion and marginality of the poor in the literature review, the underlying reason for leaving the poor out of the development planning process is due to the social marginality and economic discrimination that surrounds the poor. Many housing developers and government officials are seen as "talking over" the heads of their poor constituents; there is more talking to the poor and less talking with the poor. As seen with the people of Wells Estate in Chapter 6, poor beneficiaries are left out of the development talk and are expected to work with and follow the initiatives set forth by development officials. In these development planning discussions, the poor and their quality of life are dealt with abstractly, not with first-hand knowledge. According to some of the people I spoke with, after the end of apartheid, they were still discriminated against by middle-class and wealthy South Africans, regardless of ethnicity, who saw them hindering the positive progression of the country as a whole. When the poor are

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faced with this type of discrimination, they are less likely to be taken as serious partners in any development project.

In one of my many discussions with members of the Residents' Committee of Sakhasonke, "Bonani" pointed out there was a disagreement between the committee and the Walmer Housing Trust on what was the best development direction for Sakhasonke to follow. He felt that the Walmer Housing Trust did not take the Residents' Committee seriously in discussion of the welfare of the residents and was afraid that the Housing Trust would never recognize the Resident's Committee as the true voice and representative body of Sakhasonke. He was also concerned that the Housing Trust would be unwilling to relinquish control and decision-making to the Resident's Committee. This dilemma highlights the relational struggle between developers and beneficiaries and how the latter are viewed within development.

Community Development, Jobs and the Drive
Towards Individualism

Additional concerns that emerged from the experiences of people in Sakhasonke in relation to housing development were the notions of community development and individualism. Current housing policy and framework in South Africa is geared towards development that helps developers deliver low-cost housing on a large scale in order to reach more poor people—quantity over quality. However, a consequence of this plan is treating or grouping "beneficiaries" into one category without understanding the heterogeneous complexities among them. One explanation of this trend, according to Mary Tomlinson (1999a; 1999b), is that the reason the government only funds subsidy projects for large scale housing projects compared to the other types is due to a historical belief in South Africa that black African cultures place the community over the individual. In the face of current housing development, this belief among government officials and developers can be seen as archaic and not taking into consideration

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changes in cultural norms, globalization, and postmodernity to which beneficiaries have been exposed. This is one of the reasons residents of Sakhasonke placed jobs and employment over housing in a scale of importance, because most of them understood on some level that they must be economically-minded, looking to contribute to the larger formal economy and society and not become entirely dependent on the state to improve their quality of life. This can also be linked to the fact that most of the people of Sakhasonke have more education and went to school longer than the people of Wells Estate, and the people of the Sakhasonke were younger and had greater employment prospects than the people of Wells Estate because of their education. The non-participant group was on par with the people of Sakhasonke in terms of education and age. Most, if not all the residents I spoke with in Sakhasonke, understand that in order to increase their quality life for themselves, they have to work to obtain it.

Several residents of Sakhasonke were upset with the vegetable garden community development project initiated by the Walmer Housing Trust; they felt as if the project was forced upon them without their input or overall acceptance of it. Using the vegetable-garden project as a case study, the Walmer Housing Trust demonstrated a common tendency among developers to homogenize beneficiaries in their community development plans to promote social capital, without fully understanding how social capital can be generated from the bottom up by the beneficiaries themselves. Most residents wanted to enhance their community and the livelihood of their fellow neighbors, but their plans to do so involved establishing their own businesses within Sakhasonke. They were unable to do this because of the restriction the Walmer Housing Trust placed on small business development in Sakhasonke.

This goes to the very heart of the continuous struggle between beneficiary and developer. As Siko pointed out, "We are knowledgeable people; yes, we may be poor and disadvantaged,

but that doesn't make us ignorant. Treat us with respect. Treat us like people and not numbers."

There exists a constant predisposition from developers to treat beneficiaries as dependents, not as autonomous, proactive citizens able to make intelligent choices for their overall betterment and quality of life (Chambers 1997).

Jobs and Housing for Wells
Estate Residents

In recent years, some of the traditional industries that have shaped Port Elizabeth have been declining, such as the automobile, manufacturing, textiles, clothing, and rubber industries. This has forced city officials to try to diversify sectors instead of relying upon only a few key industries. With many large companies downsizing and cutting back, the jobs that have suffered the most cuts have been traditionally labor-intensive and low-skilled positions (Bond 2000). The jobs left for the people of Port Elizabeth were highly-specialized, requiring higher education and international experience; the majority of people cannot meet these requirements, so employment has suffered. Many black Africans in the country have only a high school education, which leaves them with the dilemma of trying to find additional job training or finding the means and funding to return to school.

This national dilemma has been played out in locally in Wells Estate. Apart from receiving new housing and services, the residents have not reaped the full benefits of the Coega project, and it is safe to say that the city of Port Elizabeth at the time of research had not either. The Coega Development Corporation and city officials have spent most of their energy and resources trying to attract foreign investors to Coega, but unfortunately, in the past five years only a few companies have agreed to relocate or build subsidiaries at the Port. The people of Wells Estate did not see these background business transactions between foreign investors and the CDC, so the people have no immediate stake in negotiations with Coega, the municipality, or

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foreign companies. However, it is the residents of Wells Estate that will be the first to feel the

effects of changes to Coega because of their proximity to the project—in fact, the residents

"were the first" to feel the effects of Coega's planned development because of their forced

removal from informal settlements impacted by the economic project.

Despite the failure of Coega officials to include residents in their development plans,

most residents did not seem too bothered by their exclusion from these discussions. What was

striking is the lack of Wells Estate residents wanting or eager to have discussions with Coega

official in order to ensure that their voices were being heard or to understand the goals and

business plans of Coega. One of the research questions looked at in this dissertation was how the

structure of housing development programs can have a direct impact on the quality of life of the

beneficiaries. Residents did not realize that knowing what Coega is planning to do could have

immediate implications and impact on their daily lives and perhaps even shed light on why they

did not receive the jobs they were expecting to get from Coega. If the residents had more

communication with Coega and more participation in the stake of their community, they would

see how this involvement can lead to them finding ways in improving their quality of life.

Forced Removals and the
Resettlement Dilemma

It seems that many developers assume that removing or relocating people from a targeted

development area would spark economic development for the entire city (Robinson 1996; Bond

2000; 2003). As discussed in Chapters 3 and 6, Coega developers and Port Elizabeth officials

believed that greater economic development would eventually "filter" down to the poor. So in

line with these beliefs, developers assured residents, in the form of the resettlement package, that

they would eventually reap the benefits of their move. This is the pitch and promise that Coega

development officials made to Wells Estate residents prior to their relocation.

As stated previously in Chapter 5, residents before moving lived in informal housing, many of them were pleased with the prospect of receiving formal housing with running water, electricity, and other amenities. The resettlement package Coega offered was another inducement for these families to move—receiving money to help with their initial move and knowing that one member of their household would receive a position with Coega were great incentives. However, what residents were unable to move with them was their feeling of ownership and stability that they had while living in informal settlements, despite the problems of informality, such as limited land rights, poor resources, and unsanitary living conditions. Despite the living conditions, squatters have employed various strategies to cope with the persistent poverty in informal settlements; one such coping mechanism is developing intricate social and kin relationships and the fusing of their households with their neighbors (Ross 2005:23). These relationships create systems of trust, reliability, and safety, as well as help stabilize quality of life.

Ross (2005) indicated the difficulty developers have conceptualizing how Africans create a workable living environment in informal settlements. This makes it difficult for planners and developers to negotiate with these residents in their efforts to create planned, orderly housing developments. Most residents were pleased with their new housing compared to what they had before and some did not mind being relocated or removed from their informal area, but resettling into a newly-made township will take some time. It will also take time to reformulate social relations and to regain the sense of community that they had in their former residences. Two way planners could encourage more community and social relations is ensuring that the issue of the community is brought up during initial meetings with the people, and providing facilities

(e.g., playgrounds, soccer field, community recreation center, a crèche, etc.) in the new housing development that would encourage community building and social interaction.

<div align="center">

Fear, the Development Structure and
the Breakdown of Community

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Another issue of concern that came from my analysis was the amount of fear and ambivalence that many Wells Estate residents felt towards Coega and their community. Many residents that I met had an unfavorable opinion about the state of the township, and most of the complaints were against other residents or individuals from outside Wells Estate. They felt that these people were bringing crime into the area. Many complaints were not lodged against specific Coega or city officials, despite a development structure that seems to limit the communication between developers and beneficiaries.

As I described earlier in this chapter, this can be attributed to a development system that systematically impedes the participation of beneficiaries in the implementation and development process. What is left is a sense of exclusion and fear among beneficiaries and an inability and unwillingness for them to voice their concerns to the developers in charge. When developers do not involve beneficiaries in the development process, but instead rely on their assumptions about the targeted community, most of these beliefs will be outdated and not representative of the residents and their actual life experiences.

One of the major concerns in Wells Estate, mentioned in the preceding section, was an increased sense of fear and insecurity among residents. Most people distrusted their neighbors, outsiders, and people with whom they were not familiar. Despite that first initial, impromptu meeting, the lack of community was surprising, given what I experienced less than fifteen miles away in Sakhasonke. As mentioned in Chapter 5, people in Sakhasonke cohesively came together on their own terms, through neighborhood organizations, committee meetings, and

communal activities. In Wells Estate, this sort of self-community organizing was lacking. Wells Estate was constructed before Sakhasonke, so Wells Estate residents would have had more time to develop a greater sense of community. However, what occurred was the opposite; community sentiment decreased steadily as residents relocated to their new homes.

Ross (2005) pointed out in her research on shack settlements in the Western Cape that individuals who were used to pooling their resources would likely have a harder time establishing these same kin and social relations in a new area, especially when this new development is demographically and geographically different from their previous residences. With the creation of Wells Estate, Coega and the other developers wanted to replicate existing black townships, creating orderly and planned-neighborhoods. Some viewed informal settlements as disorderly and unconventional and lacking the infrastructure that could create stable social relations and community (Ross 2005). This notion is shared among many in the development and urban planning fields, who believe that creating stable, organized housing will eventually create community and a better quality of life (Magasela et al. 2007).

From my perspective, the conformity of Wells Estate and the limitations placed upon the people of Wells Estate by the developers negate them from creating a sense of community. They struggle to adapt to their new surroundings, but the failure of Coega and city officials to meet their expectations instead results in their becoming insecure and fearful. Residents are happier with their new homes, but that alone does not measure their quality of life. Having access to employment, access to services and community development are also important in measuring quality of life.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Given the research analyses, my ethnographic observations and discussions, and some of the theoretical debates underlying the topics covered in this study, there are several recommendations and conclusions to the research:

1. Recipients of housing development were pleased to have received housing, but for them to fully achieve a greater quality of life, there must be elements within housing development projects for:

    a. Skills development

    b. Human resource development

    c. Employment/job placement services

2. Development programs should include personal economic advice and counseling, as well as personal money management skills training. Increased sophistication about money matters will help developers recognize beneficiaries as capable, proactive agents instead of as recipients of aid and assistance.

3. Development projects need to be more transparent, and open dialogue between stakeholder and beneficiary needs to be adequate to address the needs of the people. It is essential that projects be designed and planned in order to treat beneficiaries as "stakeholders" and knowledgeable participants, not merely as recipients of aid.

4. Beneficiaries must be given the ability to make their own choices within housing development projects, not just finishing the interior of their homes in sweat equity projects. Beneficiaries must be involved in the beginning planning of housing development projects, not just at the end. Developers must foster this type of bottom-up input and not force programs upon them.

Development is not easy and there is still a large population, even in South Africa, within poor housing communities that appreciate the top-down type of development that was noticed in Wells Estate. However, if overall housing strategies supported by the national government are ever going to achieve their goals and objectives, the government and housing developers need to recognize the diversity and heterogeneity of poor communities and recognize what they can bring to the development process. Since there is a shift towards locally-based development projects that include local people in the implementation, it is important that developers take into consideration the local knowledge that beneficiaries possess. Ultimately, beneficiaries are capable of determining what type of development programs they need. Not trusting the judgment of beneficiaries in regard to their own sustainable development is patronizing and will prove detrimental to these populations achieving self-sustaining development.

In conclusion, part of my research was trying to determine whether the new housing that beneficiaries received in South Africa improved their quality of life. In its most basic form, housing does provide shelter for people. So building a house for a person can at the minimum provide at least that. However creating a *home* means something more. It means finding ways to improve a house in order to make it livable and to improve the standard of living for residents. That means having access to services, amenities and income in order to make the house functional and livable. Having access to water, a flush toilet, electricity as well as access to transportation to get to and from work, access to food markets and stores can help people better their living experience. It also means having a sustainable community and neighbors cooperating with one another. I learned from conducting my research in South Africa that housing is not just about the house, but it is also about maintaining the house in order to make it feel like a home. Housing is about providing a good quality of life for its residents. Electricity,

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running water, access to transportation, community participation as well as the structure of the house itself are all interrelated to provide a good living experience for the resident.

What I hoped to accomplish with this research was to shed light on how housing programs are created to help people, primarily the poor, improve their quality of life and to analyze the different aspects of what quality of life entails for beneficiaries of housing programs, in order to see how housing can and should work for the people. I wanted add to the housing literature research using ethnographic tools, such as participant observation, in order to give an on-the-ground perspective of how housing programs are impacting the people and affecting their quality of life. It is also my hope that this research can add to larger discussions on how sustainable housing programs for the poor should be developed. These programs should ensure that their needs are made a priority, for not only in South Africa, but in other countries as well. Finally, this research desires to raise awareness of beneficiaries' needs in the context of larger housing development policy.

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