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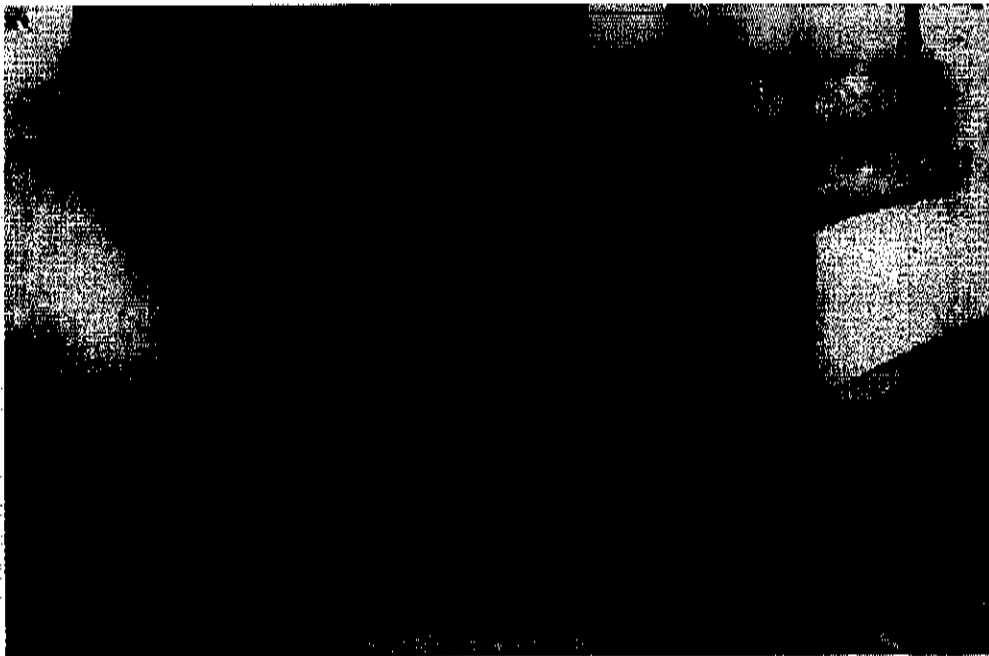
03/04

eThekweni Municipality

Two case studies:

I Durban CBD with special emphasis on
Warwick Junction, and

II Inanda



Case studies for the 10 year review

May 2003

Review by David Hemson, HSRC (IRRD)

INTRODUCTION

The eThekweni Metro Although Durban is proudly presented as having an exceptionally good public administration and stable and considerable municipal reserves in contrast to other cities in South Africa. Recent reports, however, have presented a picture of economic stagnation and observers remark on evidence of urban decay and raised the urgency of new planning initiatives. A well researched report (Monitor, 2000) on the city has drawn the following conclusions:

- The economy of the eThekweni municipality has been in decline over the past decade and there is a low per capita income of R19 900 per annum
- Output in the Durban economy has only grown by 1,8% over the last decade and jobs in the formal sector by only 0,7% over the past decade
- Only 1 in 3 economically active persons are employed in the formal sector
- About 50% of manufacturing jobs are in declining industries

These are not the statistics of steady advance and development, and increasingly there is concern that the economic foundation will not automatically provide the financial resources for the extension, maintenance, and rehabilitation of good municipal services. Good governance depends on a good rates base resting on economic growth.

Two critical areas have been identified for intervention. Firstly the inner city shows increasing signs of stagnation and decay. Although there is a magnificent beachfront attracting international tourists, close by there are a number of districts with gatherings of street children, dilapidated buildings, and a pervasive atmosphere of decline. Along with an increase in population density in the inner city there has been a rise in the proportion of the population living in poverty. There are other signs of stagnation. A number of office buildings have been abandoned for business and taken over for residential purposes by poor people. In a number of blocks of flats the levies are not being paid by many residents and maintenance and renovation is not taking place.

These are the most graphic representations of urban decay. Warwick Junction which operates as the transport and trading hub of the city for the urban poor and workers has also been identified in the past as problematic as thousands of informal traders have taken over the streets and been associated with open fires on the pavements and piles of rubbish. The ITRUMP (Inner Thekwini Renewal and Urban Management Program) planning initiative is working to turn around the direction of inner city developments through encouraging investment, local government resourcefulness, and social projects.

The Warwick Junction Renewal Project will be reported on in depth to gauge the impact of public delivery on the lives of the working poor.

Secondly the extension of the boundaries of the Metro throughout the Durban functional area has brought hundreds of thousands of residents without basic services into the direct responsibility of the city. Research leading up to the IDP has identified the urban periphery—the poorly developed townships and adjoining dense informal settlements—as the focus for extending services. Much of the existing infrastructure in these areas has not been well maintained and has not been extended to the impoverished informal settlements surrounding the outer limits of formal settlement.

The second report is on the impact of service delivery through INK (the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu project).

TRANSFORMATION, PLANNING AND THE IDP

There has been a fairly extended period of discussion, documentation, drafting, and political approval before the publication of the IDP in December 2002. During the period since 1994 there has been a continual extension of the boundaries of the Durban and now eThekweni municipality. In 1996 the municipal boundaries were extended to the major areas of settlement around Durban and a little beyond and the responsibility for these impoverished areas has at last been made that of city planners and

service departments. This is, however, not an exclusive mandate. Planning and provision is complex as important functions, such as some clinics, are still the responsibility of the province and there is a dual system of funding and reporting in housing and probably in other departments as well.¹

At times there have been debates about the emphasis between economic and physical planning within the post-apartheid planning processes. A paper (Goga, 2000) has argued that there has been an economic but not a city strategy which could draw each department into deciding how they could contribute towards the city's overall goals. Instead there was a 'free-market' approach, allowing competition for resources. Although there has been a changed spatial distribution of spending, the resource allocation to different departments has not been changed. All this resulted, it was argued, in 'more of the same instead of new needs being satisfied'.

The Unicity Strategy Review had, however, given an opportunity at looking to a Council wide strategy, to Outcomes Based Planning with two priorities: economic and social. This was the first time that these issues (rather than spatial planning alone) were formally addressed, and this has also been a first in pulling together an overarching Metro plan, rather than a series of plans linked to the councils making up the Metro.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN OFFICIALS AND POLITICIANS

These views give some indication of differing tendencies or tensions around the direction to be taken by the Metro as the dispossessed felt in overall control of the city for the first time. In addition to these challenges and realignments there has also been a contestation of policy and priorities. Councillors have been under real pressure to see to the upgrading of services to their constituencies and have, at times, complained that officials have been unresponsive. Those who have not carried their voters have suffered even in areas where one party has been dominant; many councillors have been replaced in elections not by opposition party candidates but by internal party rivals. In turn officials have pointed out in alarm the decline budgets on rehabilitation of infrastructure, a concern not closely aligned to communities where there has been precious little infrastructure up until recently.

It has taken time to turn around departments and officials from running the existing services to accepting as a priority expanding service delivery into new areas. This has been a time for political direction as well as for officials committed to the city (and expensive consultants) to put forward visionary positions as well. It has also been a time for consultation and drawing the people into participation.

Standing back from the process there appears to have been a prolonged delay in gathering all opinions, commissioning research, assessing alternatives, and making decisions. This has been shown in

- the fairly lengthy gap between the local government elections of 1996 and the finalisation of a planning framework, and
- during this interregnum there was no strong and commonly held vision and decisions were made on an ad hoc basis (Todes, 2001:92).

Although there have been intermediary IDPs (such as the document of 1997²) these have been general statements of principle rather than explicit planning documents or for municipalities within the Metro, and it has taken until 2002 for the framework to be concluded. In addition much of the spatial planning conducted through the 1990s tended to reinforce the existing unintegrated form of development dependent on access by cars and recreated "a new form of divided city" (Todes, 2001:92).

It could be argued that the planning initiatives of the early 1990s, in particular the emphasis on northward development, has drawn capital away from the inner city and broadened social divisions. The growing sense of inequality and new forms of segregated growth on the one hand and underdevelopment on the other created political tensions. According to a senior official there have zig-zag courses between different strategies at different times until the process has culminated in the

¹ Requests for health statistics about Inanda in recent years has often got the response: "It is a rural area and not our responsibility."

² Durban Metro Council. April 1997. Integrated Development Plan.

current IDP 2002. There have undoubtedly been tensions between the various components of planning: equity, rural development, urban renewal, rehabilitation of infrastructure, and democratic participation. At various moments, one or another of the essential ingredients of democratic and equitable planning has been dominant.

SWINGS IN POLICY?

As in the experience of other bureaucracies, it has been argued, there have been swings between planning frameworks and personnel in which strategies rise and fall and then rise again in a fresh presentation. The city has had various moments during which one side of the development formula has been ascendant, tending to crush contending positions for a time. Each moment came with associated consultants and key phrases. Changes in leadership have tended to disparage the old formulae and introduce new ones without entirely displacing the established facts. According to a senior official, "Every time someone came in at the top everything was thrown out and new strategies had to be made and the wheel was invented and reinvented although it was still round. This has been so destructive."

These vigorous debates have not appeared to the public, but they could help to explain some of the lags in the post-1996 period until the present in which a single unified framework does not appear to have been present in planning. The current IDP which presents and attempts to meet the hierarchies of needs from well-off to poor communities, examines the case for rural bias against the statistics on costs of delivery and areas of greatest poverty and need, and which projects targets over the long term has clearly been constructed to balance the various contending strategies. But it is evident that something has been lost over time.

Clearly during the extended discussion and preparation of the IDP there have been debates about a strategy for development, taking together a commitment to extend services to the rural and peri-urban areas together with concern with rehabilitating the existing infrastructure. The IDP planners identify four 'building blocks' or socio-economic areas within the Metro; the urban core, the urban periphery or edge, peri-urban, and rural areas. Most significantly the urban edge is identified as including 56% of the population, most of the high density informal settlements, and having access to sewer main lines (IDP 2002:11). It is prioritised as the area for concentrated delivery, even though the rural and peri-urban areas are acknowledged as worse served. Choices were made.

The IDP strategy includes focus areas, such as:

- concentrating delivery to maximise the impact on poverty reduction and job creation
- maximising impact on crime and HIV/AIDS
- regenerating existing residential and business areas
- balancing development with a strategy of growing income, and
- providing a local government which is more accessible and accountable

Meeting basic needs within this strategy includes 'packages': renewing existing communities (such as the INK plan), coordinated action on crime and HIV/AIDS, and addressing the needs of rural areas. Instead of the 'silo' based delivery of the past involving the vertical departmental approach, the IDP proposes integrated service delivery through the development of strong clusters which reflect the priority action areas of the city. This is combined with an area based management approach to focus and improve delivery.

This is the policy and planning environment underlying the initiatives undertaken in both the Warwick Junction Project and INK.

MONITORING, EVALUATION AND STATISTICS

It has been extremely difficult to get baseline and up-to-date statistics on delivery in various sectors. The GIS databases are updated but there are no dates associated with the data, apart from current statistics. In short, it is extremely difficult to get a baseline from which to measure change, or to get the current statistics even though these are regularly updated. Annual reports of departments are often not

compiled or not comparable over years and are produced considerably after the dates to which they refer.

All manner of statistics are regarded as 'strategically important' because they form the basis for planning and are not accessible to researchers, far less to the public. In a number of departments no information is allowed to pass to the public or authorised researchers without the specific authorisation of a single official or the head of department. Often a specific letter of authorisation may be required, and if the senior official is not available to give authorisation then no information can be made available. These internal regulations make research an often unrewarding and frustrating experience. It also makes the monitoring and evaluation, either internally or externally, of municipal programs extremely difficult.

Unfortunately even in the information age there are the problems of accessing information from the appropriate city website and well established policy documents often have the result 'this page is not available'. Particularly during the Easter holidays public officials are not available for extended periods.

It is proposed that the planning data used at the inception of a planning period should be saved, stored and made readily accessible for research. If this is not undertaken, the evaluation of service delivery will always be superficial and open to challenge. The local residents also deserve this information.

NOMKHUBULWANA MURAL MARKET STREET DURBAN

Nomkhubulwana: an Icon for our times?

On the cover page of the report is a photograph of the mural which has been widely used as a symbol of the new society emerging from the rubble of apartheid and oppression. The image is one of strength, well-being, history, confidence and of urban resurgence; it is graphically African and female.

The Nomkhubulwana mural pays tribute to the local people acclaiming the place of, the marketers, the barrow boys, the taxi drivers, the casual on-lookers, beer drinkers and the sangomas

Adapted from Zulu folklore, the main figure personifies the **Rain Queen, the Mother Provider, Mother Protector**. She is said to bring the rain, so that the crops can grow and the land is plentiful. In this depiction she holds in her right hand a small shield, as a symbol of protection.

To position the mural and give a **sense of location**, she is composed with the Ridge of the Berea on her left side with views of the sea and Durban harbour with the Bluff on her right hand side

The centre left hand side of the painting is about **the beginning** on Durban city. Where did the people originally come from? The mural illustrates people moving from the rural situation, the huts and the cattle in the 'isibhaya' Kraal, to the 'mjondolas' tin houses, on the outskirts of the city.

A rural Zulu man and his shield, an older woman collecting the water from an outdoor tap, *Painted by Simphiwe.*

A large **potbellied man** dressed traditional skins, drinks beer from the 'ukhamba' Zulu Beer pot *Painted by Mandla.* Looking over his shoulders is a stylish young modern woman. This young woman marks the change in the imagery to urbanisation while a youth lounges against the palm tree observing both the women, the **sophisticated 'city girl'** both *Painted by Mondli* and more traditional Rain Queen **Nomkhubulwana.**

Painted by Nicholas on the upper left hand corner is a description of an **elephant**, this is to pay tribute to the last elephant shot in Durban in 1893 in the Warwick Triangle area.

The artwork was coordinated by Terry-Anne Stevenson of Community Mural Projects and provided employment for rising young artists. The other artists are Ilse Mikula Thomas Barry, Sithembiso Shongwe Simon Manana, assisted by Nkosinathi Jali and Clinton de Menezes, with participation from Mandla Gasa, Simphiwe Belle, Clifford Smouse, Senzo Shinga, Mondli Ntsele, Nicholas Zuma, and Zwelethu Rodgers Celc.

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I

CBD Durban with special emphasis on Warwick Junction

Trends come and go so fast that we are always on the back foot trying to understand; but how can we manage without being destructive?

Health official

The ghetto grew as the poor and illiterate from the African and Indian countryside poured into the city and began to live cheek by jowl with Bombay merchants. Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, the city and its new ghettos lay awake, ill prepared and stubborn in its dealing with the newly arrived peasant, the economic and political refugees from the African countryside. Each create their own narratives of their journeys, hopefully throwing up their own bards and foot soldiers to champion the cause of the underdogs and heal the faultlines of race, ignorance and poverty.

Omar Badsha

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INTRODUCTION

This study examines the CBD area with special emphasis on the Warwick Avenue Junction, the site of most informal trading in the eThekweni municipality. Following the success of the Warwick Junction Project, the city has launched the iTRUMP (Inner Thekweni Renewal and Urban Management Program) which includes the Point, Victoria Embankment, Albert Part, the Core CBD, the North Eastern CBD, the Beachfront, Warwick Junction, Umgeni Corridor, the Greater Kings Park area and the Umgeni Estuary. ITRUMP has arisen out of the Warwick Junction Project, and is still based at its premises and on its personnel.

The Warwick Junction provides an interface between rural communities, the urban fringe and the inner city and has become established as one of the sites of the most innovative Urban Renewal Projects within the country. It has been described as successfully managing relationships between the city bureaucracy and a growing informal sector and bringing informality into the ambit of municipal policy. This can be compared to those in other major cities where there has been a policy of bringing the informal sector rigorously under control without modifying policy or policing of street trading.

The setting is crucial to understanding the nature of the Warwick Junction Project. Warwick Avenue has historically been the outer limit of the old city of the 19th century up to the 1930s, and became a transport hub because black owned buses were not allowed any further. The inner city is now accessed by about 500 000 people a day as users and residents. There has been rapid growth in population without an increase in housing stock, which implies an increase in population density from 32.5 to 36.7 people per hectare. The ITRUMP Gross Geographic Product (GGP) has increased sluggishly, by a mere 1.8% per annum between 1996 and 2001. Despite this the Durban Metropolitan Area provides for almost 60% of the GGP of KwaZulu-Natal, which amounts to 15% of South Africa's GDP.

The iTRUMP area is visibly the site of stagnation and decay of much of the central city. In a number of districts there are gatherings of street children, dilapidated buildings, and a pervasive atmosphere of decline. Along with an increase in population density has come a considerable proportion of the population living in poverty. A number of office buildings have been abandoned for business and taken over for residential purposes by poor people. In a number of blocks of flats the levies are not paid by many residents and maintenance and renovation is not taking place. The decline is most noticeable in areas such as the Point in which there has been the proliferation of escort agencies and visible decay in a number of flats. Street children have recently taken over an abandoned building, stimulating a debate about what response to make (Jubasi, May 2003). The nearby Wheel commercial centre is in sharp decline.

This is one of the trends which has been taking place over the past two decades. The other trend is the response of urban reconstruction which has focused initially on the International Conference Centre and later on the much delayed investment in projects which are now under construction or nearing completion: the Sun Coast Casino, ICC Extension, Wilsons Wharf and Point District Development. These are projects largely aiming to attract tourists and the middle class of all races back to the city. The question is whether this rising tide of investment in the recreational and commercial sector will also raise the character of districts, the quality of housing, and incomes of the people of the inner city.

Within the ITRUMP area there has been an increase in micro-enterprises from an estimated 7 500 in 1996 to 12 000 in 2001 accompanying sluggish economic growth. Although there has been an increase in unemployment and micro-enterprises there has also been an increase in actual employment to 123 000 despite the general economic conditions with formal employment rising about 10 000 between 1996-2001.

The informal sector is, however, the main generator of jobs, but is largely 'survivalist' in nature. Most individuals are pushed into this activity as they find themselves unable to get formal employment rather than pulled by its attractions. These trends have been associated with urban decay leading to negative perceptions of the city and the exodus of large-scale commerce to the suburbs.

The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, which has officially been in existence since July 1997, has located itself within the area in a renovated warehouse which was previously near derelict. The building serves as a project office, community hall, and the backbone of the consultation process with a number of stakeholders. The Project serves three districts: the residential Warwick Triangle, the Trade and Transport, and the Grey Street areas.

Although the Project has fairly modest objectives in improving public transport, economic opportunities, upgrading the environment, etc, and works to realise these, it operates as a hybrid organisation combining planning with a perpetual interaction with the informal traders. The Project has had some notable successes, including the cleaning up of the streets with the cooperation of street traders, good consultation with trading stakeholders, an extension of market facilities. Its relationship with local residents in the Warwick Triangle is, however, not warm.

Its greatest success has been to replace the images of urban blight, with smouldering fires and shebeens on the streets, with that of the street mural of Nomkhubulwane, the open handed Big Mama, which has become an important icon of the Durban as an African city working in peace to reconstruct the inequities of the past.

Another notable success has been that of creating an atmosphere conducive to forms of community safety oversight and crime prevention which has had an appreciable effect on the incidence of serious crime. In 1997 there were about 50 violent deaths within Warwick Junction, mostly as a result of economic tension, over the fight for space. In 2002, however, there were only about six, largely, it is argued because the previously mentioned tensions had been sorted out.

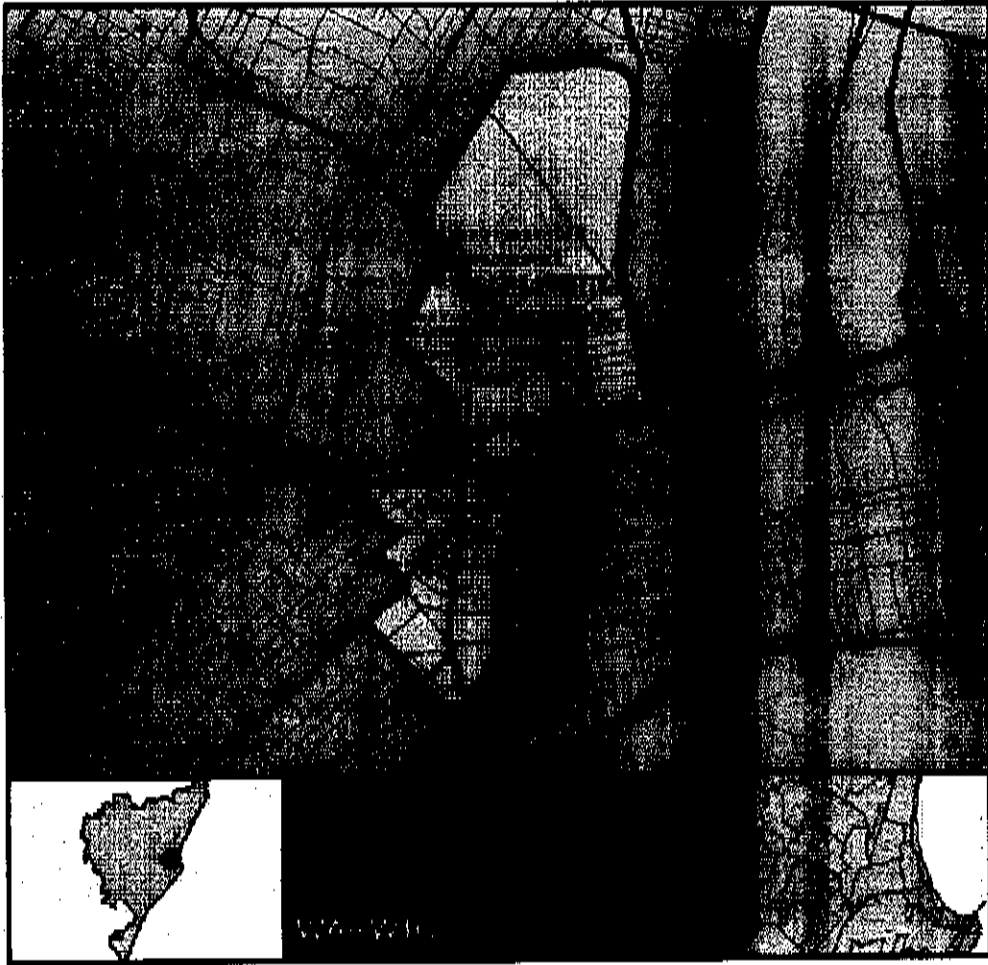
This study is one of a series of case studies of service delivery over the past ten years and focuses on the conversion of relations between the city administration and informal traders from one of antagonism to one of negotiated citizenship in a centre of exchange. Its orientation is towards the marketplace and to the forms of 'delivery' which have made a better life possible for thousands of informal traders while stabilising land use and renewing marketplaces and the market environment.

But the Warwick Junction is not only a place of trade, it is also a residential area. The needs and aspirations of residents have also been surveyed and recorded and, hopefully, there is some balance between trade and residence in the analysis.

GLOSSARY

iTRUMP	Inner Thekwini Renewal and Urban Management Project
DIT	Durban Institute of Technology
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ITMB	Informal Traders Management Board
SEWU	Self Employed Women's Union

THE WARWICK JUNCTION AREA



Source: eThekweni Metro

1 AREA DESCRIPTION

Warwick Avenue is the entrepot for commuters to the city centre and for traders wanting to meet their needs. Every day hundreds of buses, taxis, and trains enter and leave the area bringing and taking many workers to the centre, as well as thousands of visitors, shoppers, and informal traders. It serves a particular segment of commuters; those living in the rural areas, the townships, and informal settlements. In its environs there are types of fast food outlets rather different to those in the commercial sector; bovine head sellers, mealie cookers, and vendors of thick sandwiches with meat or fish available as packaged snacks from stalls. The place is very noisy with music outlets blasting the latest competing hits, the blare of taxi horns, the piercing whistles of barrow boys and the roar of buses accelerating past the markets.

From the nearby flyover the Warwick Junction looks like a patchwork of unrelated adjoining structures: the Berea Road Station, disparate markets, unfinished flyovers, ad hoc bridges, and bus shelters; but when walking through the area there are a series of raised walkways and open concourses which provide shelter and a variety of approaches to informal trading areas. This is the place of trades and occupations not found elsewhere in the city. Here are gold 'tooth fairies', cigarette sellers, traditional herbalists, isangoma, children's pinafore sellers, lime and mphempe traders. Live chickens, fruit, vegetables and other items for sale. There is a buzz but also quieter spots where people can meet and talk.

Most of these traders come from outside the city, trading and maintaining links to the countryside in a circulation of people and commodities which makes the survival of the rural and urban poor possible. New trading activities have sprung up, served the immediate needs of commuters and traders, and challenged the previous use of space. Warwick Junction itself has become the site of urban reconstruction with many unusual developments; the creation in one sense of the African bazaar.

The area has another side; a picture of inner city residence and urban decay. In the Warwick Avenue Triangle there are buildings which have become utterly derelict and houses and flats in reasonable condition. The existing residents, just a small block away from the teeming streets, have a contradictory attitude to the progress towards the huge urban market. There is some resentment that their community needs are not being met and expressions of conflict over the project facilities, but most of all a feeling of being politically abandoned. Some of these residents, however, also own shops which have a very active wholesale trade and shebeens which serve hundreds of men who stop over during their travel in and out of the city. But there is a social distance, at times a gulf, between the two social settings often only a few metres away from each other.

The area is well served with health facilities and educational institutions. The Lancers Road clinics, the Prince Zulu Communicable Disease Centre and TB clinic, with dedicated STI and TB diagnostic facilities serves a large number of patients. Adjacent to it is the ambulance depot. Just across the freeway is the sprawling DIT (Durban Institute of Technology) which has assembled the previous two Technical Colleges, and students seek accommodation within the Warwick Junction area. There are a number of schools and churches nearby.

1.1 POPULATION PROFILE

It is extremely difficult to give a clear picture of the exceedingly mobile population passing through the area daily. There are estimated to be 12 000 informal traders within the ITRUMP area and probably the largest proportion is within the Warwick Junction precinct. In addition to these fairly permanent occupants, many of whom sleep over in the area, there are hundreds of thousands who use the public transport facilities of the railway and bus stations, and the taxi ranks. It is

difficult to estimate what precise proportion of the half a million users of the ITRUMP area make use of Warwick Junction but it is likely to be in the range of 70-80 per cent as the nodes of the mass forms of public transport, as opposed to cars and other forms of public transport, is concentrated here. There is a huge press of people on the streets, at times shuffling between the spread of pavement traders' displays.

The permanent residents of the area have a somewhat different profile to the traders and commuters. There have been decided changes over the past two decades: the Black population has more than doubled, the Coloured population increased, Indian population decreased, and the White population declined drastically.

POPULATION STATISTICS: WARWICK AVENUE

	Pop 1996	% change 1985-96
Black	2563	116.1
Coloured	359	23.8
Indian	1932	-22.5
White	108	-66.0
	4962	

Sources: 1985 and 1996 censuses.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF RECENT HISTORY

In the late 1800s the area is reported by municipal officials to be beyond its control and a source of 'nuisances'; this appears to be a reference to the colonial responses to the growth of inter-racial commerce and housing. It has been the market centre for the city; the English market, was followed by the Early Morning Market in 1934 to provide a place for Indian market gardeners to sell their produce. The Victoria Street Market near to the Roman Catholic Cathedral provides a range of spices, foodstuffs, curios, and an adjacent fish and meat market has fresh supplies of both. The English and Early Morning Market have changed substantially over the past two decades with the majority of traders in both being Black although the fresh produce offered is similar.

The Warwick Triangle has been the site of an important contestation against the Group Areas Act and some of the explanation for the problems of urban renewal relate to a number of claims which still have to be settled. It has been home to a number of political activists, including the late George Poonan, M.D. Naidoo, and Cassim Amrah. Judge Hassan Moll was born here and lived in Alfred Avenue; the renowned artist Dumile Feni stayed here, and the well-known photographer Omar Badsha had a family residence. Many a Congress activist made use of the flats in and around the Triangle as hiding places during apartheid repression. The history and life of the nearby Grey Street has been chronicled in a number of books, one of the most recent being "Imperial Ghetto" by Omar Badsha. Another photographer, Rafiq Mayet has chronicled the history and moods of the Warwick Triangle itself.¹

The development of the area as a transport hub for the working poor became established as, during the period of segregation and apartheid, Indian and African-owned buses were denied access to the inner city. Warwick Avenue thus developed on the early fringe of the city and a wide range of otherwise unauthorised trading opportunities has proliferated around the junction.

¹ At the time of writing he had an exhibition running entitled 'Chillaxing in the Districts'.

2. DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING OBJECTIVES

The area falls within the general planning strategy of the IDP 2002 which has been discussed above and the ITRUMP strategy for urban renewal which is discussed below. The latter provides the general context for the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project. The Project itself is described in the following terms:

The aim of the project is holistic and integrated redevelopment of the area in order to improve the overall quality of the urban environment in terms of safety, security, cleanliness, functionality, efficient public transport usage and facilitation of economic and housing opportunities (Project: Contextual Analysis).

2.1 RECENT CONTEXT OF DELIVERY

The most important question in delivery here has been defined not so much in terms of the residential beneficiaries but the provision of services and facilities applicable to a major marketplace and the support for trading livelihoods. This has caused some resentment among the local residents but it is anticipated that these concerns should be solved when the plans for housing development come into operation.

The Warwick Junction has moved beyond being a centre of health hazards and difficult problems of social control to being a positive feature on the inner city landscape, providing livelihoods to many of the poorest (particularly women) of society who often have rural homes, a source of cheap food and other products, and a tourist attraction.

The focus on delivery in this context is wider than that of an assessment of services to residential areas and includes the conditions for livelihoods, innovations with different trading groups and their regulation and self-regulation, and the improvements made to public facilities insofar as these relate to the living conditions of traders and commuters.

In addition to this there are plans for the regeneration of the residential Warwick Triangle which have been approved and which are reportedly only delayed by difficulties in the council securing parts of the land. There are high expectations for improved accommodation and currently real disappointment that there has been nothing achieved to date. The residents complain that they suffered under apartheid, particularly from the Group Areas Act, and have yet to see any tangible benefits from the new South Africa.

2.2 FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT

The Warwick Junction Project has had to start on the basis of working to help direct the existing line departments towards the Projects' specific objectives. It has only been considerably after its launch, in the 2001/2 financial year, that there has been a relatively modest capital budget dedicated to the Project which has been followed by a larger budget of R16m for overheads and capital expenditure in 2003/4. It is anticipated that there will be some R12-15m available in 2003/4.

The Project has been fortunate in winning support from the EU for capital expenditure on the basis of an 80/20 funding formula with the EU providing the lesser part. This will, however, encourage the council to provide increasing capital funds. In the municipality, as probably all municipalities undergoing rapid social change under financial constraints, there is keen competition for funds and arguments that resources should not be skewed to the central areas, and this assistance will certainly encourage continued financial support for the Project.

2.3 DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES REPORTED FROM STUDY AREA

The Warwick Junction functions within the general context of urban renewal project, but its antecedents are claimed to have formed prior to its formal launch. The project has arisen in its early stages from the initiative of individuals in the Health Department and in Planning responding to the rapidly changing conditions on the roads and streets of the area; both the sharp increase in taxis and in informal trading. Operation Jumpstart, a private sector initiative largely led by the Tongaat-Hulett's group, gave an additional impetus for its creation, and a report was prepared on the Triangle in 1993.

The early undertakings by leading individual officials in health and other line departments involved strategies around practical questions:

- to relocate squatter communities (in Brooke Street)
- to improve the conditions around mealie cooking, and
- to protect the market area from 'invasion' by taxis by placing bollards on pavements.

From these immediate responses the Project was launched and an Operations Team was formed as an inter-departmental, multi-disciplinary group to coordinate area management, maintenance, service delivery and enforcement.

Much of the original initiative rested on individuals, 'working friendships', and internal alliances among officials within the Council, as a leading official put it: "iTRUMP works purely by characters". Over time this has become more formalised, particularly with dedicated funding and the growth of Area Based Management strategies which set out routines and lines of authority. Its origins and present modus operandi still rest on the successful and willing coordination of key officials, the ordering of line department funds to Project priorities, and a sense of common purpose.

THE TASKS OF URBAN REGENERATION

The immediate impulse came from key individual officials, but the ITRUMP project resulted from a realisation of the transitional council in 1995 that the city centre was approaching a look of decay.

The real push started as a major scrub up. Durban Solid Waste took over for the first three months, sweeping, cleaning, and removing illegal posters. This snowballed, for example, after removing posters poles needed fixing then painting etc. To start with, this was all operations-driven, but iTRUMP is now strategic. We are given funds that are allocated specifically.

The initiatives towards urban regeneration have been taken directly by council rather than an agency.

We are in-house rather than an agency like Johannesburg, which we feel improves the way council delivers. Accountability and responsibility lies with ITRUMP, an 18-person team.

The Operations Team of the Warwick Project now involves a very wide range of departments including the obvious City Health, Informal Trade, Durban Solid Waste, as well as Urban Design, Architectural Services, Real Estate and Licensing. There are some 32 task teams which involve the vital activities and concerns, the crucial which are listed here:

- Cardboard collectors
- Mealie cookers
- Taxi washing
- Fencing of reserves
- Underground services
- Kerb-side wash-ups
- Repairs and maintenance
- Pavement sleeping
- Hairdressers
- Bovine head cooking
- Formalising shebeens
- Driving schools
- City police satellite station
- "Big blitz" operations

These Task Teams and the Project as a whole interact closely with organised informal trading which include the Informal Traders Management Board (ITMB), which represents the overwhelming majority of informal traders within the city, Traders Against Crime, and the Traditional Healers Umbrella Body among others.

The interface with organised groupings is facilitated most actively and enthusiastically by Patrick Mncube from the Metro Informal Trade Department. Here is a person who walks briskly through the precinct being warmly greeted and offering light banter in return, humourously admonishing the street children who have established a camp on the island on the freeway between decorative succulent plants, and warmly engaging with an old isangoma who complains of thick potato bag paper being used and blocking the toilets.

Through this interface the Project identifies increasing evidence of 'bottom up momentum' in which the traders themselves are involved in decision making about their lives.

The Project encourages traders to make use of its facilities for meetings among themselves and to access officials.

2.4 ACHIEVEMENTS AND OUTLOOK

The Project started from a series of ad hoc engagements with transport and trading issues as described above and many of these have been carried over as solutions into the launch in 1997 and beyond. The first issues had to do with the maintenance of elementary health standards through a kind of negotiated enforcement of these standards in relation to informal urban settlements within the area and in mealie cooking. Later the Project has taken on a range of issues from driving schools to pavement sleeping, again through consulting and arriving at negotiated conclusions.

The explorative period of the Project was in 1992/3, the formative period in 1995/7 when projects took shape, and the Project was effectively launched in 1997 when the Project Building was opened.

- As with the Cato Manor Development Association there was a relatively long lead-in phase and then an implementation push. This is now moving to on-going programs and an injection of capital projects.
- The success of the Warwick Junction Project has led on to the inclusion of the five other districts of the CBD with the launch of ITRUMP on 22 October 2001. The regeneration of the Southern Basin has also become associated with ITRUMP although this is more an economic regeneration project.

Over time the traders have moved from being relatively passive in the consultation process to taking a more active part in putting forward traders' grievances and proposals.

- Through consultation the Project has undoubtedly stimulated a higher level of organisation among the traders and greater experience and ability in policy matters.

- The leadership of informal traders is now increasingly committed to the Project and sees partly as a platform and even more as an agency which will help them secure solutions in their interests.
- As Emmanuel Dlamini, leader of the largest traders organisation, the ITMB (Informal Traders Management Board) has enthusiastically observed:

"ITRUMP is the vehicle for development and building and will give the people what they want in this area. This is their parliament; whatever is the problem, whether it is water or light, this must be reported here. The traders accept this will deliver but communication can still be a problem."

With only the latter slight reservation, the traders leadership sees the Project as a problem-solving enterprise which is helping to build a better future. The ITMB has even developed its own planning committee to work in direct coordination with the Project planning committee and increasingly to take up its own initiatives.

2.5 OBSTACLES AND PROBLEMS

There are a number of key policy areas which are being keenly debated. Foremost among these is the policy towards informal trading, to the implementation of existing by-laws, and to the maintenance of essential public health standards. All of these issues come together in the discussion of the appropriate form of regulation of informal trading and a new policy, which is keenly anticipated, will be presented mid-year.

There are a number of dilemmas:

- Under apartheid there was no real provision for African businesses in the CBD, let alone tolerance of informal trading. The basket and beadwork sellers on the beachfront were regularly attacked by the police, and although they returned, the council made it clear that this was an illegal activity.
- The city by-laws prohibit trading in a street or public place within a 'Prohibited Area' which includes the core and peripheral areas of the CBD.
- Although informal trading has now spread throughout the city centre it is still not legal in terms of the by-laws and actual policy has moved from rigorous enforcement of the law, to tolerance, to the extension of facilities on the high streets.

There is still no clear idea of a strategy towards the large scale informal trading which has moved from gradual extension through the city centre to entrenched rights. The legal vacuum is being filled by new thinking and policy making largely by city officials rather than politicians. A city health official expresses his perspective on the dilemma:

We look at the standards and development. We accept that street trading is here to stay. We try to make it attractive to tourists but keep health standards to protect the consumer.

The policy is now one of engagement with the traders to get cooperation for better outcomes rather than enforcement.

We run free weekly lectures, for example today we had a traditional healer here to show how street traders should be doing things.

The strategy is to build a cooperative attitude between officials and traders to improve conditions on the street, "Although it is tedious, we need consultation."

2.6 DEVELOPMENT ACTORS

The development actors include a wide range of highly organised stakeholders such as ITMB (the Informal Traders Management Board) which represents the majority of the informal traders and stall marketers in the city centre. Every activity in informal trading in the city is organised, partly to provide access as nobody feels they can just arrive and trade without 'permission' from the existing traders and to improve the existing conditions of trade. Ultimately being part of an organisation provides protection against any change in council policy which could jeopardize their activities.

On the side of the residents there is the Warwick Avenue Triangle Ratepayers' Association (WATRA) which is closely linked to the local councillor and which is in a state of decay.

2.7 INTERVIEWS AND SURVEY

In this section there are two aspects; firstly an examination of the lives and livelihoods of the traders and their attitude towards the provision of services, and secondly a reflection on the lives and attitudes of local residents. There is a fairly definite divide between the two groups of people living and working in the same area.

There are signs of increasing prosperity among a section of the traders and there a segment (some 20 per cent of the traders as estimated by a leader among the traders)² also owning taxis which involves a considerable investment. But the overwhelming majority of the traders are engaged in survivalist activities and there does not appear to be any definite prospect of progression from their current activities to higher levels of income.

Many of the segments of the markets they provide for are well supplied and even over-supplied and the margins of surplus over costs very narrow. Many of the traders are migrants from distant rural areas, and it appears that those who live within the Metro have homes in the informal settlements. This is overwhelmingly a community of the poor, with the poorest sleeping next to their stock and their youngest children beside them. In these conditions there is an elementary solidarity: "There are no misgivings or jealousy amongst us", is the way it was put by one of the women traders.

In the somewhat unusual official interaction with the informal traders, municipal service delivery needs to be set within context. An examination has been made of the following trading activities:

1 Mpembo selling

This plant is used extensively in umsebenzi and other traditional ceremonies; it is an incense which burns slowly giving off a pungent aroma and is regarded as essential aspect of traditional practices. There are two varieties; one which smoulders and the other which is regarded as inferior, which starts to burn brightly after being lit and which has to be dampened down.

The mpembo sellers, all women, come almost exclusively from Lusikisiki, a deeply rural area in the Eastern Cape. The economics of the trade bear examination. The women pay R20 to the chief (others say to a white farmer) to collect as much as required within two to three days. Some 200 small bundles are accumulated in a bag and brought into town and sold at R2 each. A typical trip to town involves two bags and the return should be R800.

The bus ticket costs R150 and the costs of collection are estimated by one trader at R50, but an allowance has also to be made for living expenses in town. A number of the women bring their

² This appears something of an over-estimation but the subject has yet to be researched.

young children with them. The stock could be sold after 3 weeks but occasionally the seller is lucky and goes home to fetch more mpempe. The proceeds from each cycle of activity would appear to be about R3-400 (possibly R500 a month) which are sent to the children at home.

There is a high level of trust both amongst the women and the people with whom they network.

We have no banking facilities. Whenever we need to send money home we write a letter and enclose the money and give it to whoever is going home or to the driver who will drop it off with the children. We telephone our neighbours and ask them to tell the children to go and wait for the bus to collect the letter.

In their home area the women grow mealies, potatoes and beans. The seller who provided this information said: "It is hard to earn a living this way, but we are forced to because we have our families to look after."

The conditions of life in the passage which is part of an unfinished aspect of the road system are daunting. It is a place to work but not shelter as it is open to the sky.

We stay in the dark, there is no electricity, there used to be lights but suddenly they were switched off. The gates are locked after 5pm and we are safe. But they are short and thugs jump over them when they run from the police and terrify us. The Metro promised to put razor wire over the gates but it has not been done.

When it rains the manhole overflows, floods the area and damages our stock. We do our own cleaning and disposing of refuse. The Metro has done nothing for us, maybe because we do not pay anything.

The women are also asking for cubicles from which to trade. This is a tightknit community which has to share everything as they trade, eat and sleep together.

2 Lime sellers

In the same passage as the mpempe sellers are those who sell lime. There are two types of earthen product; the lime itself (an alkaline earth derived from calcium) and reddish soil (which in other countries would be termed ochre). The former is used especially by isangomas and their trainees, women eat it (and taste it before buying). The ochre (the two colours, red and yellow, are result from impure forms of iron ore in the soil) is used by boys for circumcision and more popularly now by women as protection for the skin against the sun (possibly now that skin lighteners have been banned for damaging facial skin). Apart from colour the main quality of both is whether it adheres to the skin.

Mrs Msomi, a member of the development committee of the lime sellers, comes from Ndwedwe where she and the fellow traders dig for lime and ochre. Conditions are apparently highly dangerous during the rainy season as pits collapse and fall in on the diggers. Mrs Msomi spends one week here on Warwick Avenue and at night she sleeps under the bridge with her fellow lime and mpempe sellers.

They had decided to trade under the bridge to avoid the rain but they still get wet (with conditions described above) which is disastrous for the sellers as the cannonball-like spheres break up into and the mess has to be carried home to be remoulded.

The Ndwedwe sellers have a high level of internal cooperation and because there is not enough space to work in because there are a number of them, they take turns, and every week another group of traders occupies the space.

We have a good working relationship with our fellow sellers, we are like sisters.

They state they do not have access to toilets and clean water, but are not required to pay a monthly rental. The returns are not great.

We do make a little bit of profit even though we are only charging R2 per lime ball but the bus fares are a killer.

They conditions they are trading under are unhygienic and there are large rats about (which were noticed by this researcher).

3 Herbalists

During the field work Mrs Zodwa Khumalo Chairperson of the herbalist's development committee was interviewed. She lives in the KwaMakhutha informal settlement after staying in Malukazi. As many in these settlements she had to flee from her original residence because of political violence and she feels very strong she should be compensated for her loss. She is not happy with the condition of her current accommodation.

Unusually she is a female leader among a profession which is largely male and has been re-elected twice and has been serving as the chair of the herbalists' organisation for the past three years. She is a leading member of SEWU, the Self Employed Women's Union. The herbalists are happy with the location for their trading as it is close to the city centre and customers from other countries can visit them without difficulty. She feels that conditions are gradually improving:

There has been a little progress in the trading area because now there are flushing toilets as well as clean water.

Security has improved with the introduction of security guards ('police' which are not distinguished from the SAPS).

Accommodation, however, is a key issue for the traders as most are not from around Durban and need a place to stay in Durban. As their leader she has voiced their concerns to the council and she was told that because of budgetary constraints their grievances will not be addressed soon.

Mrs Khumalo is one of a number of traders who were located on an access road to the freeway which, like the one in Cape Town, never had a purpose. But she is not impressed with the shelter which has been provided to them for trading because her stock gets damaged by rain and the heat, and it is even worse for traders opposite them (on the northern side of the bridge) because they do not even have shelter. There are other traders which remain along Russel Street (at the entrance to the Warwick market area) as they do not have toilets or access to clean water.

There are also no lockers available to the traditional healers which compels them to sleep on their trading plots to guard their stock.

Since they are enduring these unsatisfactory conditions they are not happy with the R30 monthly rental they pay to the Metro. She acknowledges that the council has responded to their request by allocating a building in which they could be accommodated but due to lack of furniture they have been told not to move into the building.

But that is not a problem for us, we can organize sponges to sleep on ourselves.

Although they are happy to see the security guards they do have security issues on their minds. She complains that some plastic bag sellers are always on the look out for their customers who spend a lot of money and follow them as if to offer assistance and then rob them.

For her life is improving gradually although she is not prepared to say how much she earns, "There are good days and bad days." The real problem, which is faced by all traders, is that they cannot open bank accounts because they do not have a physical address for their businesses, "I suppose that's why we are called informal traders".

She hopes that eventually their issues will be sorted out by the government increasing its budget to accommodate their needs.

4 Gold tooth fitters

The 'tooth fairies' fix gold to customers' teeth and fit earnings. A representative of the group was extremely reluctant to say anything about their earnings; they regard themselves as doing a 'doctor's job' and charge their customers R150 a full golden tooth while the dentist charges R2000. This individual started trading in the area from 1986-7 and the demand for the golden tooth is now declining "not like the olden days when we used to make a lot of money". At times when they don't make much money they sleep under the bridge.

They are enthusiastic about the Working Forum which works to solve disputes between hawkers.

You cannot just come in and sell anyhow, you have to be known by the Forum to sell in this place. If you don't you will be confronted and chased away.

There is suspicion and misunderstandings between the fitters, particularly about passing on information to outsiders. The fitters feel their life would be much improved if they had rooms to work from and an electricity socket, but they feel the Metro has turned a deaf ear to their cause.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES RAISED BY TRADERS

The traders interviewed raise the following points:

- Need access banks for financial security and transmission of funds but bank fees are too high
- Shelter at night and where they can look after their products
- Trading facilities which would provide shelter for themselves and their goods from sun and rain
- Water for personal use and toilets close to the trading areas
- Lighting to allow trading to continue into the night
- Secure facilities with good policing
- Access to electricity

3 DELIVERY FOCUS SECTORS

As has been mentioned above, the focus on delivery for traders is in relation to in the markets as well as their personal security and the security of their goods. Under each heading there will also be reports on the setting for the local residents.

Although a number of issues in connection with informal trading are general (such as policing, access, storage of goods, etc) most of the issues are local and specific. The three case studies of intervention below give some idea of the notion of delivery in municipal responses to perceived health and 'urban decay' issues.

MEALIE COOKERS

A prominent traditional 'fast food' activity within the Warwick Junction is that of mealie cooking. The most popular preparation is that of boiled mealies with the outer sheath providing some hygienic wrapping and eventually a handle with which to grasp a hot meal.

The spread of mealie cooking has been viewed with alarm by health and other officials; here is an activity which generates some 26-28 tonnes of wet and dry waste a day which is both a challenge to the municipal waste disposal teams and a problem to nearby shop keepers who find rubbish piling up on the streets. The fierce fires need to boil water in large drums has generated smoke could potentially spread in an area of concentrated population.

The matter was researched; it was found that the fires generated a temperature of 140 degrees centigrade, and that alternative gas stoves could not approach the same capacity and had to be abandoned.

Eventually, again after extensive negotiations both with the cookers and among council officials, it was agreed to set up a dedicated facility for cooking away from the shops and throngs of people. The officials compromised on the matter of the fires (the women make ample use of the dunnage and pallets from the harbour), prohibited the burning of car tyres, and spent R60 000 on a new facility which meant there were no longer fires on the pavements and a threat to local businesses.

The number of mealie cookers expanded from an original 40 to 140 and the success of the operation provided an entry point for other interventions by the Project.

CARDBOARD COLLECTORS

One of the most visible informal economic activity in Durban is that of cardboard collectors, often mature women, carrying large bundles of used cardboard on their heads while heading towards the recycling depot. In the Warwick Junction there have been spreading piles of cardboard, with the lovers of the women collectors gathered nearby drinking beer and making fires. This scene was regarded as unsightly and unsanitary and providing an image of urban decay.

The Warwick Junction Project managers regarded this as an essential survivalist activity with potential for improving livelihoods for some 450 collectors if there was beneficial intervention. With the agreement of the women, the Project has provided a buy-back service which eliminates a 'middle-man' and accepts cardboard bundles directly from the women within the precinct. There has also been pressure on the men not to hang around on the pavements.

The women were receiving between 16-20 cents a kilogram on the previous system and now get 40 cents a kilogram with an average income of R32 a day. They and the Project feel they were previously exploited and are happy with the new arrangement.

The Project managers feel there is a huge potential to further formalise arrangements between retailers which are generating a large volume of cardboard and the collectors and want to organise shifts to minimise the impact of their activity on the streets and maximize the possibilities of security networks operating at night within the inner city.

BOVINE HEADS

A traditional delicacy has been provided by bovine head cookers to commuters within the area, but with open fires, large drums, and much rotting wastage this activity has been widely regarded as unhygienic and dangerous. The officials within the Warwick Junction Project acknowledge that this is an essential livelihood for the women who undertake the activity and through negotiations

have developed a sheltered area with basic facilities near the Early Morning Market and relocated them.

There is now a sheltered facility with drainage and regular refuse removal where it is possible for customers to sit and eat. The open fires are more controlled. The scene is not entirely pleasant though; a sewer runs through the premises.

Richard Dobson of the Project says that with the provision of facilities there has been an increase in the number of bovine head cookers, although without rising conflict among the cookers. Better facilities have certainly improved livelihoods and there is a regular flow of customers throughout the day not only for the meat of the famed heads, but also for other meats and dishes.

3.1 SOCIAL SECURITY

No social security facilities are located in the area, but the facilities are available in the inner city a taxi drive away. A fairly high proportion of members of the families of women street traders are accessing the child support grant (over 70% in the small survey), old age pensions (66%) or disability grants (33%).

Among the Warwick Triangle residents there are much the same access of old age pensions, lower levels of access to child support grants, and the same level of access to disability grants.

3.2 WATER

Previously traders accessed water from the toilets and were reported to have damaged the facilities, now there are locked taps and the traders pay for the use of water.

Among the Warwick Triangle residents water and sanitation provision is not a significant problem except for those who occupy an abandoned block of flats.

3.3 ELECTRICITY

A number of the traders complain that their area is not illuminated at night. They have two matters of interest; firstly to extend the hours of operation (at present the markets are closed at 5pm) and secondly to have a greater sense of security where they sleep.

Among the Warwick Triangle residents there is a high level of electricity connections and extensive use of appliances. Again the occupants of abandoned flats report a lack of service.

3.4 SANITATION

There has been an substantial increase in the number public toilets in the trading area. There are problems as, for instance, some commuters use heavy duty paper as toilet paper and there are frequent blockages. The Project team is proposing that toilets be allocated to agents in trading groups to control use and maintain them in good working order.

3.5 HOUSING

The shelter for traders who are visiting the city for a period, often with children, is a burning question. There are facilities where people can wash and sleep, but the women report these cost R10 and that they cannot afford this. There are still considerable numbers of people sleeping in the

protected trading areas and the numbers sleeping directly on the streets have declined considerably from that experienced some years ago.

3.5 EDUCATION

As mentioned, the area is well served with schools and institutions of higher education. These are accessed to some extent by the Warwick Triangle residents, but are remote to the traders and the young children who often are with their mothers. The trade union of women traders, SEWU, provides forms of education for their members and is taking up the question of day care for young children (Morgenrath, n.d.).

There is a surprisingly high interest among the traders in public education and training and the Project premises are used for these purposes. Much more should be possible, particularly for the younger traders.

Among the Triangle residents there is a sense that the education of their children has worsened, although some acknowledge renovation in the local schools.

3.6 HEALTH

The Prince Zulu Communicable Disease Centre operates from University Road and provides comprehensive health services from trauma to sexually transmitted infections. The existing clinic facilities have been considerably improved and the new name adopted for the clinic. The Health Department has set a target of reducing the incidence of tuberculosis to less than 300 cases per 100 000 in three years in response to the steady increase which is attributable to the high levels of HIV infection in the area. There is some stigma attached to attendance at the clinic with youths in the street making remarks about women attending as it has a dedicated sexually transmitted infections centre and this is probably one of the reasons for the name change.

The clinic is available to people from any part of the metropolitan area as it was found that people give false information about their residence if asked. Despite this local residents still feel that they are not allowed to access services here and attend Addington Hospital out-patient facility.

Despite this the staff report very high levels of attendance, and the clinics in the area are widely used by commuters:

	Headcount	Antenatal	Diarrhoea<5Yrs	STDs
1998	54000	7400	70	33000
1999	57725	7637	75	35700
2000	64000	7100	105	39200
2001	58000	7200	125	41100
2002	64000	8000	90	42300

The statistics indicate a sharp increase in treatment of STDs between 1999-2000 (of about 10%) and since then an increasing high use of the facility.

The TB clinic in the same complex is regarded as having excellent diagnostic facilities and is well used.

3.7 TELECOMMUNICATIONS

The informal traders within the area make extensive use of the street vendor telephone services which operate throughout the trading area. The mphempho trader who rang a neighbour to tell her children to expect a remittance by bus provides such an example, these are crucial communications in the survival of rural households. A small proportion of traders have cellphones.

As in the case of Inanda residents there is a higher proportion of Triangle residents with cellphones than Telkom connections and in roughly the same proportion, here 50/50.

There are no fax and internet centres within the area.

3.8 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The development of facilities for traders is closely linked to the articulation of a local economic development strategy within the area. The Project has at any one time more than 100 projects on its book, although these are not all directly managed by its personnel, and all have some contribution to make towards the social and economic development of the area.

3.9 COMMUNITY SAFETY

According to Richard Dobson, Project leader, there is reported to have been a rapid decline in crime since the mid-1990s. In 1997 there were about 50 violent deaths within Warwick Junction, mostly as a result of economic tension, over the fight for space. In 2002, however, there were only about six, largely, he reasons, because the previously mentioned tensions had been sorted out.

This substantial improvement in the crime situation, which is partially reflected in the figures below, is widely agreed to be the achievement of the traders who have formed an organisation, Traders Against Crime, which is a frontline organisation in conflict resolution. At the time of research (just before the Easter weekend) one of its leaders, however, was shot dead during one of these interventions and leading traders were in a state of shock as this incident went against the general trend and directly affected one of their own. A memorial service was held at the Project hall and tributes were paid to the deceased.

There are widespread complaints among officials and the traders ITMB about the level of policing. A leading official states:

The police stations are a problem. Although there is decades there is over R2-3m a day being turned over in the markets what kind of service is here? There are 12 members in the station but they are not all here at one time; actually usually there 3-4. There is no police visibility.

There is a satellite station in Wills Road near the Project centre and another in the centre of the Warwick Junction; both come under the direction of C.R. Swart station, now termed Durban Central. One is regarded as accessible, the other in the bus station complex no physical accessibility at all (although there is a large sign denoting the place as a police station).

There are also complaints that the Metro police also do not have a significant presence as only two policemen in a centre in which there is multiple lane parking and considerable congestion are involved in traffic control. Neither were visible during the period of field work, although subsequently an official from the Corporate Communications division visited the researcher and provided information on the difficulties of policing the Warwick Junction.

CRIME IN THE DURBAN CBD, JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1996 TO 2002

Crime Category	January to December					
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Murder	122	123	106	79	95	80
Attempted murder	117	85	94	92	96	94
Culpable homicide	43	64	37	59	61	61
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	969	809	1,212	1,261	1,431	1,655
Other robbery	1,098	930	961	1,205	1,452	1,488
Public violence	8	8	5	7	5	8
Rape	173	139	168	156	156	165
Indecent assault	37	33	32	27	52	46
Crimen Injuria	147	146	146	179	183	183
Child abuse	3	8	4	3	3	9
Kidnapping	25	38	44	34	51	43
Abduction	10	9	16	17	22	14
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	502	385	397	447	511	510
Common assault	1,022	1,062	965	983	1,058	973
Burglary at non-residential premises	1,186	1,178	1,292	1,145	1,009	1,105
Burglary at residential premises	302	216	369	361	342	347
Stock theft	0	0	1	0	0	0
Shoplifting	2,327	2,623	2,672	2,469	2,469	2,383
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	1,888	1,816	1,782	1,756	1,822	2,123
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	4,116	2,633	2,635	2,532	2,433	2,382
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	3,684	4,611	5,625	7,090	8,422	8,056
Arson	9	7	8	11	13	9
Malicious damage to property	738	642	832	824	896	830
Fraud	1,525	1,800	2,156	2,140	2,784	2,110
Drug related crime	305	466	234	219	273	214
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	96	232	175	331	311	278
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	75	71	75	71	72	63
These crimes have already been accounted for under robbery with aggravating circumstances						
Carjacking	114	87	79	63	68	71
Truck hijacking	17	31	31	38	33	25
Robbery of cash in transit	0	1	0	3	2	2
Bank robbery	3	6	4	3	6	2

The Warwick Triangle residents widely support the view that there is an exceptionally low level of personal safety in the neighbourhood and most supported the view that the crime situation is 'very bad' and people can be easily robbed, hurt or killed. Despite the improved statistics, the majority of traders (although a smaller percentage) also support this view.

The residents (who are mostly less than a block away from the satellite station) report a recent call for police assistance, but disagreed that they had been assisted as required and that the police had taken details, even though just under 50% reported the police had come to the scene of the problem. An overwhelming majority feel the level of policing has worsened.

The traders report better policing as details were taken, but the majority reported that they had not had the help needed.

4 COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

Among the residents (who are mostly Coloured and Indian) there is a deep sense of political alienation, they feel abandoned by their councillor, the ratepayers association is in a state of decline, and the long-promised redevelopment project seems as distant as ever. Despite this feeling of dislocation from the world of policy-makers, planners, and representatives there is a keen sense of community.

Despite the feeling of insecurity many homes are not locked during the day and the older men like to take their seats out on the street, discuss among themselves and watch the passing scene. The residents know the families in the area and there is a kind of sociability and often a sense of humour, rough though it may be. The moods and social occasions of the community are richly captured in the photographs of a long established resident, Rafs Mayet.

Among the residents there is currently a relationship of indifference and scepticism towards the Warwick Junction Project, and the management is keenly aware of this side of the situation.

There is a very different attitude from the traders who see, possibly with some exaggerated hope, that the Project is an essential platform from which their interests can be pursued. The list of users of the Project facilities shows that there is good use made of these by a wide variety of trading and professional groups.

PROJECT CENTRE HALL USERS

Regular users:

Informal Traders Management Board Executive members' weekly meeting- every Monday to discuss issues related to their trading.

Traditional Healers Board from all over the country for example the United Traditional Practitioners Organization meet on the monthly basis to discuss new medicines as well as improved ways of healing.

Health Education lectures conducted by City Health department for fruit and vegetables hawkers, prepared foodstuff hawkers and traditional healers. The lectures are conducted every Wednesday for each group.

Street Traders Women's Development Project- women helping and teaching each other to make hand craft.

Street Traders Forum- street committee

Other users:

CSIR- Traders Against Crime training

Centre for Community and Labour Studies- informal economy policy

Self-Employed Women's Union monthly meetings

Standard Bank: walk about

Local Authority: business support

Logi Naidoo: deputy mayor

Informal Trade: business workshop

Ungeni Corridors: monthly meetings

Warwick Junction Project: monthly meetings

Carol Hogh: Arts and Culture (PTA)

Driving school: monthly meetings

Partick Mncube (special operations): clean up

ABET: three times a week

Keep Durban Beautiful (KDB): community developers

Barrow Boys: monthly meetings

iTrump forum and better buildings: meetings twice a month

Tertiary students: monthly walk about and AIDS Awareness campaign from 12-15 and 19-22 May 2003.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The question of delivery in the Warwick Junction area is a complex one; there are essentially two 'communities'—those of the residents of the Triangle and the growing numbers of informal traders who occupy the adjoining markets. The former see their situation worsening and declining and look to delivery in terms of improved policing and the promised 'cottage' housing which seems as a distant dream. The latter are the informal traders operating in a changing regulatory environment in which compromises and ad hoc solutions are wrought to their trading activities and the council's problems.

In the first case delivery can be readily calculated in terms of established government programs, in the latter delivery is concrete, local, and illusive in terms of indicators. How do you measure the delivery involved in the installation of a covered market which provides shade and some facilities for cooking bovine heads? Yet this kind of delivery is crucial to the survival of thousands of households who directly and indirectly are dependent on these markets. The description of the delivery to the residents can be measured in percentages, that in relation to traders can only be described in concrete terms.

Delivery to the Warwick Triangle residents is in a state of suspension, the terrain is one of dereliction with bleak open spaces, buildings in utter decay, and aging flats. The fundamental issue is that of improved housing which has been long promised and seems about to be initiated. Planners admit, however, that this point has been reached on several occasions, only to fade away again. The local residents are cynical about renewed housing and feel abandoned by the politicians representing them.

The Warwick Junction Project appears to be working very successfully in:

- expanding markets and reorganising space to meet the demands of greater numbers and a widening range of trading activities
- being continually open to the traders organisations and
- building an interface between the demands of traders and the objectives of health, security and an orderly appearance to the city
- serving as an incubator for area based management and wider city initiatives.

Presently there is an atmosphere of general deregulation in relation to informal trading and an anticipation among those involved in overseeing health and development issues that the new policy would be very hard put to be markedly different from current experience. There is reluctance among officials to become involved in enforcement of the current bylaws and an expectation that there is unlikely to be a new set of enforceable bylaws.

Despite these very evident contradictions there is a good morale and a sense that there are cutting edge issues germane to a developing city at stake. The solutions which have been arrived at have won respect among their contemporaries, although neither applause nor condemnation from political representatives.

In a number of negotiated compromises important ad hoc resolutions have been found to pressing problems in relation to the mealie cookers, cardboard collectors, and to the thousands of other informal traders living on the edge of survival in the city.

There is an air of dynamism and hope about the place, of meetings between African and Indian traders, of ceremony and occasion, and of calculated planning of outcomes.

The impact of the Project and municipal services on the lives of the traders is appreciable but it has not changed the fundamental conditions of their existence on the margins of a modern economy.

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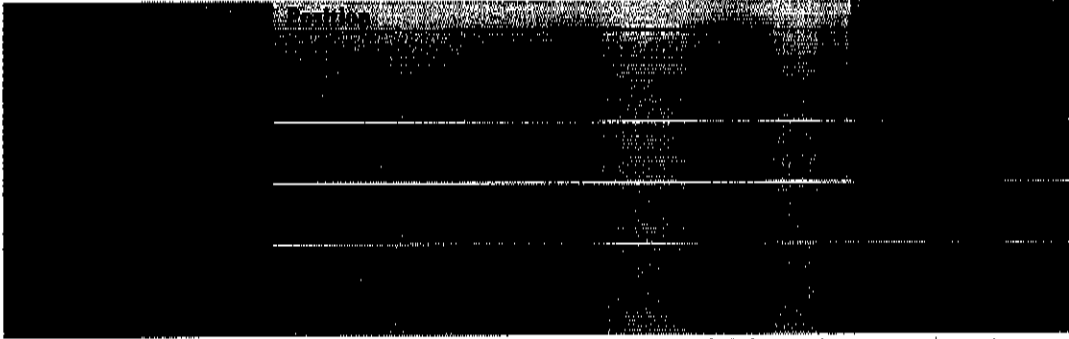
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OFFICIALS, INFORMAL TRADERS, AND OTHER INTERVIEWS

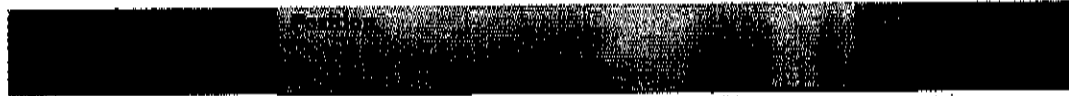
OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED



INFORMAL TRADERS INTERVIEWED



OTHER INTERVIEWS



And also eight (8) *residents* were *interviewed* from Wills Road and surroundings.

II

Inanda

A case study for the 10 year review

May 2003

Review by David Hemson, HSRC (IRRD)

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INTRODUCTION

Inanda is a community being gradually upgraded from informal settlements which clustered on the outskirts of the limits of formal settlement of Kwa Mashu and Ntuzuma in the 1970s to formal housing and services. It has been the site of struggles since its origins to resist incorporation into the KwaZulu Bantustan and to become incorporated into the Ethekewini municipality. There are an identified 25 planning units which correspond more or less to what are locally accepted as communities (although community leaders would add a number more). Initially the development of services took place through the Urban Foundation (an institution of late apartheid to provide housing and other services) and unofficial planning. Although there are still a number of outstanding land claims which are holding back development plans, progress has been made in roads, housing and in the provision of municipal and government services. Despite these advances from zero service provision 20 years ago, the majority of the residents still live in informal settlements and there are complaints of a low level of services and progress. The people in all areas are poor but not uniformly poor, the better-off residing in more developed zones, and those in the most distant and densest informal settlements being the poorest.

The Metro has concentrated its general strategy for the upliftment of poor communities on the outskirts of the city through the development of the INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma, Kwa Mashu) program. It analysed the structural problems of these communities and put forward a vision and spelt out outcomes to substantially reduce levels of unemployment and poverty, to reduce crime and violence, and improve the physical environment.

Inanda and the other areas of the INK project have historically been mislocated as most industrial development has taken place in the South Industrial Basin of Durban, but as business is increasingly locating to the north these historical imbalances may be resolved in a new way.

1 AREA DESCRIPTION

All the communities of INK are located to the north of the city centre with the Umgeni River constituting an important divide in the Metropolitan area. Inanda is the northernmost of the three areas and, compared to KwaMashu which is relatively flat and wet, has an extremely rugged landform and the area rises sharply from the coast. Many of the informal settlements nest on steep slopes with difficult access to roads. Inanda has a major access (the MR93) to the city which is approximately 20km away through the N2 north-south highway. The closest major commercial centre is Verulam (10km away) although again access is difficult and the closest major transport node is Phoenix (some 4km away).

Although the land has historically been largely owned by Indian farmers (with many land issues outstanding) and African landowners, it is now basically a close settlement of the African poor on the margins of the urban economy. It serves in one sense as a labour pool for this economy; but with the exceptionally high unemployment of the community this is something of a misnomer. Most of its residents are engaged in survivalist economic activities rather than in the formal economy.

1.1 POPULATION PROFILE

There are approximately 200 000 people¹ living in Inanda according to the 1996 census and in the table below the distribution of this population is provided by community and ranked by size of population, here entered by planning units which more or less coincide with local notions of community. Given the very steep nature of the area the population densities are extremely high in some areas.

One of the features of the area is that the undeveloped areas furthest from the access roads to the city centre have some of the largest populations, another feature is that informal settlements (such as Emzomusha, Soweto and Inhlungwane) are extremely dense and have high numbers per household (although Newtown A is a partial exception with high household sizes). The areas mentioned have figures of population per hectare ranging from 206 in Emzomusha which is an informal dense settlement on steep slopes adjacent to the MR93 to 83 in Newtown A which is a formal settlement on less steep topography.

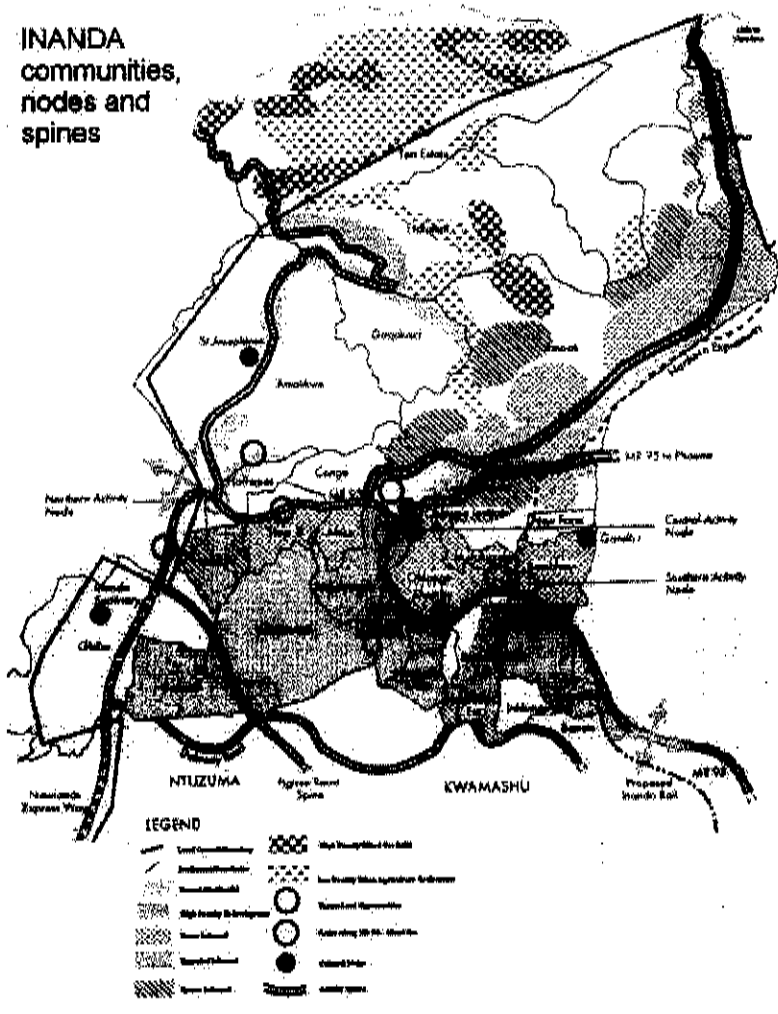
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

	Planning unit	Geog area, km ²	Population	No of hh	Pop/ha	Av no/hh	
1	Amawoti	PU9	7.8	44014	11893	56	3.7
2	Amatlkwe	PU7	5.5	20106	4414	36	4.6
3	Newtown A	PU229	1.9	15667	2828	83	5.5
4	Soweto	PU306	1.1	14346	3878	132	3.7
5	Langalibalele	PU173	2.1	11501	2660	55	4.3
6	Ezimangweni	PU90	1	10480	2726	110	3.8
7	Emzomusha	PU84	0.5	9341	2216	206	4.2
8	Ohlange Mafukuzela	PU256	1.3	8298	2100	66	4.0
9	Stop 8	PU318	0.8	8071	2397	99	3.4
10	Inanda Congo	PU126	0.9	7110	1865	75	3.8
11	Inanda Namibia	PU129	0.9	6287	1599	70	3.9
12	Bhambayi	PU24	0.9	6196	2232	67	2.8
13	Newtown C	PU232	0.9	5944	1125	63	5.3
14	Inanda Glebe	PU128	2.4	5353	1070	22	5.0
15	Amawotana	PU8	1.5	5098	1103	35	4.6
16	Inhlungwane	PU132	0.4	4111	1120	108	3.7
17	Mshayazafe	PU218	0.7	3705	1081	54	3.4
18	Etafuleni	PU88	7.6	2655	550	3	4.8
19	Ohlange Africa	PU255	0.5	1919	496	40	3.9
20	Newtown C Ext	PU233	0.3	1870	448	73	4.2
21	Newtown B	PU230	0.4	1645	326	41	5.0
22	Newtown B Ext	PU231	0.3	1573	337	54	4.7
23	Inanda Farm	PU127	28.1	1025	151	0	6.8
24	Tea Estate	PU324	6	1009	346	2	2.9
25	Gooqokazi	PU106	1.5	451	116	3	3.9
			75.3	197775	49077		

Source: eThekweni Urban Strategy

¹ The INK Business Plan projects a population of 238 098 without specifying which areas are included in the planning cluster (p89). It is not clear whether the dense settlement of Besters and other adjacent areas are included in the category Inanda and Environs.

**INANDA
communities,
nodes and
spines**



Source: M12 Inanda Road Project Study Report, November 2000

The areas listed above are those selected by planners for being part of the planning cluster known as Inanda, but local leaders regard it as a short of at least two communities they regard as part of the area—Besters to the south (which is included by planners in KwaMashu) and Mzimyathi to the north west (which appears to be the cluster of communities in the Qadi Traditional Authority area).

It seems important that community perceptions and planning frameworks coincide so that the people, politicians and planners are talking of the same people and spaces, and the reason for their exclusion needs to be publicly discussed. People (and not only poor people) have a keen appreciation of name and place and these things matter.

Inanda is often spoken of as a settlement through which migrants access the city and the in the table below constructed from the survey undertaken for this study there is evidence that the largest proportion of its inhabitants have been born in a tribal area. This is not unexpected but it is also significant that some 24% of the residents have been born in other urban areas, a possible indication that individuals have moved to Inanda for family reasons or to be in line for new housing.

PLACE OF BIRTH, PERCENTAGES

Born here	17.6
Born elsewhere; tribal area	55.9
Born elsewhere; farm	2.9
Born elsewhere; small town	11.8
Born elsewhere; city or city township	11.8

Source: HSRC Survey

The statistics provide evidence of Inanda being a very poor functioning labour pool with bleak prospects of employment. In the planning cluster there is a high level of unemployment with 76% of the adult population not economically active and the 39 456 active work-seekers almost equal to the 45 435 employed. These are levels of unemployment double those of the national average. Although there are not statistics on the subject it is clearly evident that these workers are in the low wage sectors where contract and temporary employment conditions predominate which could explain why the number of work-seekers is so high. What is likely is that many of the workers are employed on a casual basis and have to seek work on a daily basis, getting work on occasion for a day or two and then having to seek work again.

There are exceptionally levels of poverty with 61% of the households reporting no income or an income lower than R1000 per month which is close to the figure local government accepts as the threshold of indigence or living in poverty.

The ranking of communities generally demonstrates that the informal settlements to the north of Inanda are the poorest and the formal settlements better off. This may indicate:

- that housing improves the prospects of life for beneficiaries or
- that the poorer households move away from housing projects which require more household expenditure to make structures viable.

Hopefully the former point is true although there is evidence that the very poor at times engage in down-scaling: selling a new house to raise money, behaviour which has been condemned as criminal in the recent speech of a government official opening a housing project.

LEVELS OF POVERTY, HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY INCOME, RANKED BY COMMUNITY

	None or <R500	None or <R1000
1 Etafuleni	68	80
2 Bhambayi	65	79
3 Mshayazafe	60	77
4 Tea Estate	61	73
5 Inhlungwane	55	71
6 Inanda Congo	52	71
7 Amawotana	60	71
8 Amawoti	52	70
9 Gqokazi	59	69
10 Stop 8	51	68
11 Inanda Namibia	48	65
12 Ohlange - Mafukuzela	50	65
13 Amatkwe	43	61
14 Newtown B Ext	42	61
15 Inanda Farm	30	60
16 Emzomusha	44	59
17 Newtown B	34	53
18 Langalibalele	35	53
19 Soweto	37	50
20 Ohlange - Africa	39	49
21 Ezmangweni	34	47
22 Newtown A	32	47
23 Newtown C Ext	27	38
24 Newtown C	26	33
25 Inanda Glebe	17	26

Within the context of generalised poverty there are areas which are considerably poorer than the average (such as Etafuleni which is more remote, and the areas of Bhambayi and Mshayazafe which have both experienced enormous violence and disruption over the last decade). Generally the more developed areas such as the Newtown districts with formal housing have lower levels of poverty.

1.2 Overview of Recent History

Inanda has a particular place in the history of the political movements of the oppressed and of the rising African middle class. Two Presidents of the ANC are closely associated with the area; Dr Dube who pioneered African education in the Ohlange Institute was the first President of the ANC, and the area has also been the birthplace of Pixley I. Seme, who later was President of the organisation from 1930. Dr Dube's family residence is in Langalibele and is a historical monument along with the nearby Ohlange High School.

Mahatma Gandhi founded the Phoenix settlement in Inanda with educational institutions and a printing press in the 1900s as a centre for non-violent resistance. Inanda has also been home to A.W.G. Champion, the regional leader of the Industrial and Commercial Union of Africa (ICU) in the 1920s, and also of Alfred Themba Qabula, an activist, writer, and legendary worker-poet who died recently in Amaoti. Inanda is also been the base of the Shembe religious movement and each year there are festivals of dancing and pilgrimages from the area to Nlangakazi where the religious

leader is reputed to have died. The African Congregational Church, one of the first 'independent' African churches has also sprung from this community.

From its origins Inanda has been an area of educational institutions; with the Inanda Seminary (founded in 1869) having the exceptional reputation of being the first school in Natal, and the Ohlange Institute which followed in the 1920s. It has also been known as a place of Indian farming and market gardening. In an outbreak of violence in 1985, however, Indian families were forced to leave the area and to abandon their farms although a few families still remain. The Phoenix settlement which enshrined the tradition of non-violent resistance was destroyed, although it is now being rebuilt as a tourist destination. The land question, which involves both African and Indian landowners, remains complex and vexed.

The political control of the area in the late 1980s and early 1990s was bitterly contested between the IFP and young comrades and eventually the IFP supporters were reduced to the area Mshayazafe ("We all die together"). These political conditions still constitute the political geography of the area which has exclusively ANC ward councillors. It is regarded as a stronghold of Congress and its delegates are regarded as a decisive block in ANC regional conferences.

Interneecine violence between different political factions originally aligned to the ANC has blighted the prospects for development in Bhambayi ('Bombay') an informal settlement which now includes the land of the Phoenix settlement. This has now abated and the difficult task of reconstructing the community is now in hand.

2 DEVELOPMENT & PLANNING OBJECTIVES: SUMMARY I D P

The IDP, which has been discussed extensively in the introduction, sets out the tasks of urban regeneration and renewal of the urban periphery. INK fits within this context, although much of the development activity is 'frontline': upgrading informal settlements and providing services for the first time. Regeneration does not seem to be an apt description of the essential developmental activity of providing formal housing and services for the first time, but it is valid in the sense that many of the communities are well established and have their own political and social history.

In the INK first business plan the authors identify the following main problems:

- spatial marginalisation of the areas
- unemployment
- poor physical environment
- poor quality housing
- fragmented administrative and regulatory frameworks
- low levels of economic activity
- crime
- poor comprehensive living environment
- complex and variable community structures and capacities

These problems, for which appropriate planning outputs are identified, are a mix of spatial, social and economic issues and mark some advance from spatial planning alone. The planning objectives are summarised below.

2.1 Recent context of delivery

The dense settlement of people, outbreaks of cholera, and persistent violence within Inanda had concentrated the minds of planners in late apartheid. The Urban Foundation, itself an attempt to smooth over the planning contradictions within urban areas and peripheries, was involved in the original planning and development of the Newtown areas in an attempt to stabilise social

conditions. Although Inanda has clearly been part of the Durban functional area from the 1950s and possibly even earlier, it has only recently been incorporated into the Metro's planning. Prior to this its administration has largely been a provincial responsibility with additional intervention from the Bantu Affairs Department which related to the role of the traditional areas.

It has taken some time for this peripheral community to become central to the planning of the city despite its considerable numbers and political weight. In part this can be ascribed to the

- slow acceptance of administrative responsibility by the Durban Council from provincial government and to
- the changing local government political framework in the amalgamation of seven councils and new areas from the Metropolitan to the politically integrated Unicity configuration.

Until recently there seems to have been little development within Inanda beyond an extension of water services with varying levels of service.

One of the outstanding features of development in Inanda has been the contradiction between spreading informal settlements and the often private ownership of the occupied land.

Planning for informal settlements on private land is extraordinarily complex and different departments have different views about the responsibility of local government. The alternatives under the current policy are either

- to remove the occupiers through court orders and police to secure the land for private ownership or
- for the Council to buy out the landowners and consolidate the communities on municipal land.

Many cases communities have little notion of private ownership and the landowners are not visible. The land acquisition division of the City Engineering Department is working to consolidate land both for road construction and housing.

The land claims associated with the flight of Indian landowners and the occupation of the plots of African landowners has been a major obstacle to more effective planning and development in some areas.

2.2 Financing of development

INK is financed largely through the reallocation of planned departmental spending to its planning framework over the anticipated seven years life of the project. The figures which follow apply to all planning clusters in INK: the largest item in the budget at approximately R2.2bn is provided for the Housing strategy, followed by bulk infrastructure delivery at approximately R1bn. This is followed by Engineering Local Infrastructure delivery, R705m and Social Facilities, R606m. Economic Development and Community Safety each have a budgeted amount of R500m and R242m respectively.

The total funding requirement is R6.5bn of which R730m has been secured; this is just over 11% of the total. This is evidently just the beginning of the process of attracting funds for the development of the INK area and the business plan is not clear whether there could be special funding of the project or whether funds will be assembled from the budgets of line departments. The total management costs of INK represent 2.1% of the overall budget and is regarded as not excessive.

It was not possible to have an interview with the INK management staff and it is not clear how money is disbursed, but it appears that there is some discretionary funding available to certain specific planning objectives of INK but that most of the authorisation of spending continues through line departments.

2.3 DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES REPORTED FROM STUDY AREA

Reference has been made in the introduction to the antecedents of the various urban renewal frameworks which have attempted to combine the macro-economic principles and development perspectives of the RDP and later that of GEAR with spatial and social planning. These various planning frameworks, and in particular the Urban Development Framework, have gone beyond the specific requirements of land planning (in particular the priorities laid down in the Development Facilitation Act of 1995) to include wider developmental objectives.

Although integrated development has been a strategy variously pursued in government programs it has been particularly difficult to realise in implementation. The RDP itself was, for instance, initially led as a coordinating department, but very rapidly development projects slipped back into the line function rather than cross-departmental mode. The Urban Development Framework has sought to bring together in an integrated form the infrastructural, social, economic and governance aspects of development in urban areas, by setting out four core programmes: spatial integration, housing and infrastructure, economic development linked to urban development, and institutional capacity building.

This new integrative approach has been carried forward in statements and initiatives, however, rather than in explicit policy formulation. Hindson (2003) has identified the following important themes which have emerged in regard to the new approach to urban renewal programs (URP):

- Poverty alleviation is at the centre of development and the URP gives greater centrality to economic development than the RDP, which concentrated on housing, residential infrastructure and services.
- There is more decentralized decision-making and participation at levels below that of municipal government. The new approach attempts to be more responsive to local demands by drawing development initiatives closer to communities within residential nodes.
- Integrated development is central to the urban renewal approach. Integration was a core idea within the RDP, but delivery rapidly moved to line departments. "The integration of infrastructure, housing and service delivery with economic and social development has proved difficult in a period where the pressure for rapid delivery of tangible physical products such as houses and roads took precedence over human and institutional capacity development."
- There is renewed stress in URP on empowerment of poor people and communities. This is identified as one response to the problem of stretching resources to meet greater development needs. "What the URP recognises, and stresses, is that if individuals and communities are to take greater responsibility for development, this requires a strong focus on human social and economic development."
- The URP finally promotes partnerships to pool the resources of different actors capable of promoting social and economic development. This emphasis evidently seeks to draw additional capacities to serve development needs. Partners would include government, the parastatals, non-governmental organization, community based organization, business, labour, religious bodies and donor organizations.

The dominant policy frameworks relating to Inanda's development are those of the IDP and the RDP Urban Renewal Spatial Development Framework, and the INK strategy itself. The perspectives of the IDP have been discussed above, these provide a broad outline and set of priorities and policies.

The Metro Urban Renewal Framework (pp15-21) demonstrates much greater sensitivity to poverty alleviation and to the needs of the poor, and provides a set of detailed strategies.

Primacy is given to a housing strategy which recognises the social realities of the area and proposes small formal plots or multi-storey development in areas denser than 35 persons/ha, to upgrade those high than 20 persons/ha, and to upgrade and densify sparsely settled informal and rural areas to densities of 25 persons/ha. The general strategy is one which proposes utilising vacant land within existing settlements for infill purposes.

These housing proposals are cast within a movement and linkage system to:

- increase access to the city centre, northwards and to the Pinetown (western) areas
- develop primary, secondary and tertiary routes
- rehabilitate open space

This residential strategy is built around activity nodes and spines within the area to provide the main organising principle for structuring economic and community activities. It is anticipated that these nodes and spines will assist in clustering activities at certain points along major routes and generate 'thresholds' for opportunity and greater human activity. A set of proposals are made to:

- reinforce the role of the Inanda MR93 as a mixed use activity corridor,
- develop an emerging central activity node into a 'town centre', and
- develop a range of service, industrial and commercial activities and communal facilities around the Southern Activity Node.

The INK strategy, while builds on previous planning frameworks does not set out a separate set of strategic principles but concentrates on a number of outcomes. INK goes beyond spatial planning to set out the following desired outcomes:

- Reduction of unemployment
- Reduction of crime
- Improvement in the public environment
- Access to social facilities and services
- Improved governance and self reliance
- Strengthened economic relationship between the INK area and the broader municipal area
- Increasing the skill base of INK citizens

These are undoubtedly vital issues for the community and reflect the needs presented in consultation, but they are very ambitious for a local authority project. Virtually all necessitate a high level of cooperation and coordination with national government departments to achieve the goals spelt out.

In addition the operational strategies including the following:

- Communications
- Mobilisation of local capacity
- Monitoring and evaluation
- Procurement
- Employment policies
- Capacity building in the Metro

Appear to be extremely demanding on the management of the project.

2.4 Achievements and outlook

It has been exceptionally difficult to access information about the progress of INK; during time available for research the INK director has been on leave and no information has been available

directly from the project despite considerable communications.² A research method was adopted of interviewing officials involved in line departments associated with INK to gauge the level of service delivery. These officials report that there have been a number of meetings to launch the project, and, to be fair, INK is a recent development. The target date for INK to be set up as a lead project is stated in the IDP to be February 2003. A report in the local municipal organ, Metro Beat, mentions that only KwaMashu was initially identified for Urban Renewal and that Ntuzuma and Inanda were added subsequently as they were in the same area. The article focuses almost exclusively on improvements in KwaMashu: the clearing of open fields, spending on the KwaMashu City Centre, and the relocation of families from an informal settlement.³ There is also reported to be a decline in crime from the recent past when certain areas of the township were notorious for open criminality and gangsterism with roots both in destabilisation tactics of the past regime and the military units of resistance.

These are some signs of progress. The question is raised, however, why it has taken so long for the key urban renewal objectives, clearly set out in the RDP Urban Renewal Report in November 1998, for Inanda and the other areas associated in INK to be carried out.

Although there has been measurable progress in a variety of sectors, such as housing, water and sanitation; there is a feeling expressed particularly among civic organisations that 'nothing' has been achieved. Some of the growing impatience particularly among residents in informal settlements has been shown in destitute communities in Durban who complained strongly of a lack of support in accessing services during the recent visit of Vice President Jacob Zuma.⁴ But this extends further than the destitute. The manager of the tourism project states: "I must say I am not impressed with the pace in which services are being delivered at Inanda".

In discussion with officials, community leaders, and particularly among local residents it is clear that the INK strategy is not yet generally visible.

The board of INK is composed of leading local and regional politicians of the ANC and IFP and this is regarded as cumbersome and unworkable by local community organisations. It appears to have been put together to avoid any party claiming credit for its achievements but, as it is extremely difficult to get all the leadership together at any one time, it is very difficult for the project to gain any momentum.

2.5 OBSTACLES AND PROBLEMS

The barriers to delivery in Inanda are fairly clear: the past history of violence and intercommunal strife, historical land claims and a breakdown of land registration which slows land acquisition, an unclear administrative framework until recently, poor inter-departmental and inter-governmental coordination, and a general lack of social capital. There has certainly been dramatic progress from 20 years ago when Inanda was a collection of scattered informal settlements with a complete lack of services and high levels of insecurity. But expectations are high and local residents and some councillors feel much more could have been achieved.

Councillors identify the old officialdom as obstacles to change, and some officials respond by complaining of a constantly changing frame of reference. Although the continual extension of the municipal boundaries to the frontiers of the original Durban Functional Area has undoubtedly complicated the course of delivery, these developments were not unanticipated and could have been prepared for.

² The INK Business Plan could not be accessed from INK itself or Urban Strategy but was eventually located in the library of eThekweni Water Services.

³ Ka Buthelazi, Khaya. January/February. INK project: breathing life into communities. Metrobeat, 48.

⁴ Masemola, Thabo 23 April 2003. Shack people plead for basic services. The Mercury.

POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND TURNOVER

Representative government should ensure that the people's needs are placed at the appropriate level of power and that solutions are concluded. Councillors themselves are under fierce pressure to deliver, as there are a number of competitors for their position in the community which is, by community standards, quite well paid. There appears to be an extraordinarily high level of political turnover in councillor positions, not because incumbents are displaced by candidates of the opposition party, but because leaders within their own party seek the office for themselves. This internal rivalry is explained by desire for office from among aspiring new leaders. Some of the violence within Inanda communities has been ascribed to competition among political leaders which is stated to have led to the murder of a councillor.

High levels of political competition among the leadership may appear as normal democratic practice but can have the following consequences:

- A decline in people's participation in the development planning and implementation. Given the competition for position, participation by opponents could invite the unseating of the existing leadership. Nobody will openly oppose political participation but it is reported that ward committees are not being implemented and that consultation between councillors and the people is not always good.
- A very rapid turnover in leadership and internal disputes. Although comparisons are difficult because of changes in ward boundaries between 1996-2000, it is clear that very few councillors have survived the re-selection and election process. Of the 10 councillors elected in 1996 (all of whom were members of the ANC) only two were re-selected and elected.
- A loss of civic experience to the community as councillors withdraw from community life. A civic leader reports the following social attitudes about councillors who are not re-selected:

They are totally demoralised and embarrassed and don't remain members of the ANC. People had expectations of a 'better life for all' and blame the individual. Anything going wrong is associated with you as an individual councillor as you have had all the support of the national government, the provincial and local government. There is something wrong with you.

Unfortunately only one of the de-selected councillors is reported to be still active in the community and considerable experience has been lost.

2.6 Development actors

Possibly to a greatest extent than other communities on the urban edge, Inanda has a wide range of forums in the field of policing, tourism, health and in other fields. Through the recent consultative processes bound up with the People's Budget and other issues, there has been a number of opportunities for civic organisations to be involved in the planning process to some extent or other.

Inanda has a reasonably well supported civic umbrella body in the Inanda Development Forum and most other development actors are civic organisations affiliated in one way or another to the Forum.

Compared to the past high level of political participation there has been a considerable decline. This is explained as the inevitable 'normalisation' of society as political mobilisation could not be sustained indefinitely, but there is also a level of scepticism which impedes public participation.

2.7 Interviews and survey

The research has included a survey of local residents from all communities making up Inanda. This survey has concluded that while residents appreciate that over the past decade there have been appreciable improvements in services, a tremendous amount still needs to be done. There are also divergences at times between stated policy and practice and a scepticism about the effectiveness of the current form of representative government in local government. Those who have the capacity to participate actively in planning and implementation, such as community leaders and councillors complain that the INK strategy is not yet bearing fruit and that it is relatively inaccessible to community pressure.

There are difficulties as well about the frame of reference for meeting the needs of the poor. While the Metro, as spelt out in policy and legislation, is increasingly taking responsibility for a full range of services within its area of jurisdiction, a number of services depend very strongly on close coordination between national, provincial and local government. This is shown most graphically in the question of crime, where the interface between the SAPS, local government, and residents is a perennial issue, but also in other sectors.

This study has involved the use of a comprehensive questionnaire which probes a wide range of facts and attitudes, but there has been considerable consultation with local residents. The Metro has undertaken a needs analysis of communities throughout the municipality preliminary to the finalisation of the IDP and use has been made of its conclusions. The table below illustrates the relative hierarchies of needs;

- those in the informal settlements prioritising continued delivery in water services, electricity and housing; and
- those in the formal more recreational, security and health needs.

Undoubtedly those living in the informal settlements have more urgent needs and express the greatest dissatisfaction with the existing political order. There appears to be an increasing contrast in attitudes between those who have relative security in formal housing and those that don't.

On the question of **identified problems**, however, the priorities between the served and unserved are remarkably similar; crime and unemployment head both lists. Yet these are issues which local government finds most difficult to respond to. Although there are not good statistics on crime, in a number of areas successful responses to high levels of violence and theft have been taken by local residents rather than initiated by the police (see the report on Warwick Avenue). A number of respondents in the survey indicate that they have not had a response from the police to their complaints, and violent crimes are still reported to be at a high level.

NEEDS AND PROBLEMS: CONTRASTS WITHIN WARD 55

	FORMAL	INFORMAL
SEGMENT	High Medium Income	Low Services
Ward 55 Households	5	31
Rank 1	Parks/Recreation	Water Supply
2	Sports Facilities	New Housing
3	Police Services	Sanitation
4	Hospital	Electricity Supply
5	Pavements	Road Surfaces
Rank 1	Crime	Crime
2	Unemployment	Unemployment
3	Cost of Living	Under-development
4	Pollution	Water Supply
5	Traffic	Housing

Local government also finds the other issue of jobs difficult to respond to; increased employment is widely regarded as resulting from macro-economic policies rather than local initiatives. Clearly residents are identifying jobs as the most important approach to a solution to their poverty.

3 DELIVERY FOCUS SECTORS

3.1 SOCIAL SECURITY

Inanda has offices of the Department of Welfare in the government offices in Newtown A and its officials state that Inanda residents are receiving a good level of delivery. The processing of Child Support Grants is leading to a steady increase in beneficiaries but there is increasing concern among officials over corruption as applicants falsify birth certificates and other documents.

The table below indicates there has been a fairly rapid increase in social security beneficiaries in the last three years. Although the figures are not broken down according to grant category i.e. old age pension, child support grant, disabled grant, etc, there seems to have been most rapid growth in child support and disabled grant.

INANDA: TOTAL SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES

2000	10 851
2001	13 540
2002	16 292

Information from Department of Social Development

Problem is that people had to re-register pensions from February and were allow three months especially those disabled and just cut and the doctor may change his mind and some disruption; child grant increasing; not solved up to now, 3-6 months to get back into the system. Trying to get rid of some of the people

Among the sample of 38 in Inanda there were 82 reports of individuals in the household accessing social grants. The distribution of access to these grants is much as expected: most recording accession of old age pensions (26%), followed by child support (20%), disability (11%), unemployed/under 5 (4%), maintenance (3%), foster care (3%) and other grants (2%).

A significant proportion of applicants do not have identification documents and there are problems in verifying ages. The Department has appealed unsuccessfully to the Department for Home Affairs to bring a mobile office to Inanda and applicants have to make the trip into town with its associated long delays to get their documentation.

Accession of individuals to the disability grant (11% of the total) is greater than the national average of disabled persons and is rising. According to the district manager, Mrs Mkhize, the Department has had the following achievements:

- given high priority to providing disabled grants to those who have medical evidence that they are HIV positive and unable to continue working; and
- resolved the initial lags which were experienced in extending the child support grant as there are now a large number of mothers being provided with these grants.

This has been concluded despite a generally recognised shortage of staff and facilities at the Inanda Social Development offices.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

The following have been the recorded attitudes of local residents about the Welfare Department during the survey:

"Nothing seems to work at this office. I have a sick child here who is supposed to be getting grant. One day when I went to the offices to get the money I was told I needed to make a new application; that means I have to go back to the doctor and do all the paperwork. I have done that but nothing has come my way. It's more than six months now."

- "It has become harder to get grants. Even if one gets it there will be problems. In some cases they do not give you what is due to you dating back to the date that you applied."
- "People stand in these long queues until they are demoralised, but because people are suffering, you would find that some of them even sleep there. There are even known agents who put the stones so when you get there in the morning you go and sit on that stone. Others have children, about ten of them, and you find that they wake the children up at 4 am to go and sit on those stones. The pensioners have to buy the stones (their place in the queue) for R10 each from these ten children and you find that by the end of the day they have made R100 by using those children. So, then, I wouldn't say that it's corruption as such, but it appears that there is no absolute fairness in all this."

THE CHALLENGES

- There are **problems of security** at the post offices when pensions are paid out, but not with agency which is contracted to set up paypoints, CPS, according to the district manager.
- Welfare bodies have complained that there are **lengthy delays** in accessing grants on the pay-out days. The Department states that it is under-resourced and that this causes delays. A welfare official reports:

There are long queues on the 'pension' days; by 5am there is a long queue which lasts until the late afternoon, and some of the elderly have given addresses in the city centre to access their pensions in quieter conditions.

- There are allegations throughout KwaZulu-Natal that pensioners are being persuaded by touts who warn pensioners that they could lose their pensions unless they sign on with

funeral schemes. In some areas councillors are associated with this practice by writing letters endorsing these schemes. By signing, pensioners are authorising deductions to be made from pensions for the schemes which are alleged to be connected to politicians and senior officials. The end result is that the actual pension is considerably less than the R700 provided by government for funeral schemes which are regarded as dubious. The practice preys on the fear of pensioners that their children won't be able to afford a proper funeral, but those who are taken into institutions when becoming invalided lose their entitlements. The Department of Social Development is said to take a liberal attitude to these schemes and deductions from pensions as a right for pensioners to exercise as they wish; but welfare bodies regard these deductions as exploitation of the elderly.

The Black Sash has raised the matter at the Inanda District Office Pension Committee meeting in relation to deductions being effected from Old Age Pensions by the administration company Age Secure.⁵ There are queries about loans being advanced to pensioners and the deductions made and it is not clear what rate of interest is charged. The matter is still being discussed in Inanda and elsewhere.

RESPONSES

- The churches and NGOs are becoming increasingly involved in organising pay-out points suitable to beneficiaries.
- Long queues and elderly people being jostled, which received attention in the press, has now been resolved by the mothers being separated from the elderly. The mothers now receive their child support grants at the Post Office. Officials state that there had been ill-tempered queues with the elderly at times being elbowed out by young mothers, but that the division between mothers and pensioners to separate pay-points had considerably eased the problem.

There are no community welfare projects in existence, these are currently 'not possible' as funds have been expended on sewing groups. There is some reluctance to proceed as the area manager says there needs to be more consultation with communities "to avoid a culture of dependence". This official recognises there is a potential for the very poor to be trained in building and construction in housing projects.

3.2 WATER

Water delivery has historically had priority as one of the first services to be provided to the emerging community in the 1980s. The statistics below indicate that in the formal settlements a high level of households are served although not necessarily with full pressure house connections. In the denser and more distant informal settlements there are lower levels of connection and a correspondingly higher dependence on standpipes and, more dangerously, 'other' sources which could include unprotected sources such as streams as well as rain tanks.

The table below provides a review of services in 2001 and demonstrates at the time that even fairly distant communities had communal standpipes (although at what distance is not specified). What the statistics do not indicate is that those accessing standpipes, in the poorest informal settlements, often do not receive the 6kl free water laid down in government and eThekweni municipality policy.

⁵ Black Sash, 23 September 2002. Jan - Jun 2002 Midyear Report. <http://www.salan.org/BLACKSASH/article.asp?ID=200>

WATER LEVELS OF SERVICE, 2001

	In Dwelling	Community Standpipe	Other
1 Amatikwe	16	49	34
2 Amawotana	0	78	22
3 Amawoti	1	84	16
4 Bhambayi	2	87	11
5 Emzomusha	69	31	0
6 Etafuleni	0	34	66
7 Ezimangweni	8	84	7
8 Gogokazi	0	59	41
9 Inanda Congo	0	62	38
10 Inanda Glebe	100	0	0
11 Inanda Namibia	18	78	4
12 Inhlungwane	0	95	5
13 Langalibalele	44	36	20
14 Mshayazafe	6	69	25
15 Newtown A	99	1	0
16 Newtown B	74	24	3
17 Newtown B Ext	81	15	4
18 Newtown C	82	17	0
19 Newtown C Ext	43	54	2
20 Ohlange - Africa	22	67	11
21 Ohlange - Mafukuzela	80	10	9
22 Soweto	100	0	0
23 Stop 8	1	94	5

Although the table above conveys the sense that most households have direct connections, most connections are made to yards, and it is the responsibility of the householder to pay for the extension of the yard connection into the house. This can cost an additional R1000 or more and is the homeowners' responsibility. Of these about a third have completed the house connection and two-thirds still access water in the yard.

The table below gives some idea of the range of access to water services in both formal and informal settlements with a minority of households having a tap in a house, many having yard connections and the remainder accessing water through standpipes.

WATER SUPPLY - PERCENTAGES

Tap in house	14
Tap in yard	32
Standpipe close	27
Standpipe 15 min	11
Standpipe more than 15 min	5
Borrow or buy	8
Other	3

Source: HSRC survey

A considerable proportion of residents (some 43%) are still dependent on standpipes and an additional 11% are dependent on other people's supplies or use traditional sources.

This is a considerable advance on the situation of the mid-1980s when there was no community water program. Despite this there are a number of residents who still have difficulties in accessing water or who have experienced cutoffs.

PUBLIC PERCEPTION

"We have lived here since 1990 and have never had running water. We haven't applied for water as we could see that we could never afford to pay for the connection. We don't have any steady income coming in every month. We go across the road to our neighbours in the developed part of the community and buy water from them at 50s per 25 litre bucket."

"We have our houses here in Bhambayi but we still don't have connections."

THE NEED FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT IN HOUSING AND WATER SERVICES

Although water has been one of the most prominent aspects of delivery in Inanda there still remain important issues of integrated development and coordination between spheres of government.

Absurdities of non-communication are still present in development. About a year ago a water engineer visited Bhambayi and noticed that there were rows of newly developed houses which he had not seen before. These houses had been completed and residents were indignant that there were no water services provided, but, he stated, his department had not been informed. He eventually discovered that the houses had been built to a different level of service than that provided by the municipality and that expensive changes had to be made for piped connections. Evidently there was poor communication between the province, the housing department and water services.

The residents of Bhambayi still do not have water services to their houses despite the problem being evident for some time.

These difficulties, although very evident, have yet to be prioritised. In an interview a housing official expressed surprise at the long-standing grievance of the people: "Have people really been waiting that long for connections? I think what has happened is that Metro Water must have serviced the area with bulk infrastructure but that the houses are waiting the connection to be brought by the contractors."

3.3 ELECTRICITY

Compared to some services, there is a generally higher level of delivery in electricity and residents express greater satisfaction with the operation of electricity than other services. According to the survey there were surprisingly few households not connected, those connected were much more likely to be pre-paid metres (42%) and there was a high level of informal connections to street power (50%) which seems to be the main form of connection in the community. Only about 3% of the households have household mains with monthly accounts which is the norm in well established suburbs.

The level of connection as evidenced in the table below constructed from the Council Survey of 2001 indicates that electricity reticulates as in other services from the formal areas to informal settlements; a divide very roughly north to south. But there are two notable exceptions; Bhambayi and Mshayazafe, two communities adjacent to formal areas are relatively poorly connected. These two communities have an experience of bitter violence and possibly the security situation has delayed their integration into the electricity grid.

ELECTRICITY CONNECTIONS, 2001

	Community	% connected
1	Emzomusha	100
2	Ezimangweni	100
3	Inhlungwane	95
4	Newtown A	95
5	Newtown B	95
6	Newtown C	95
7	Newtown C Ext	95
8	Newtown B Ext	90
9	Inanda Glebe	85
10	Inanda Namibia	81
11	Amatikwe	80
12	Inanda Congo	80
13	Ohlange - Africa	80
14	Soweto	80
15	Amawotana	65
16	Amawoti	65
17	Ohlange - Mafukuzela	65
18	Etafuleni	60
19	Langalibalele	60
20	Bhambayi	55
21	Stop 8	55
22	Gogokazi	50
23	Mshayazafe	45

According to officials in the Metro electricity department, Inanda falls into two planning areas, North Western and Northern Planning districts with the dividing line being the MR 93.⁶ The provision of electricity services is divided into two programs:

- Formal housing projects in which there is liaison with Housing, and
- Informal housing projects.

Connecting formal housing is relatively unproblematic, but provision to informal areas is subject to a benchmark figure set for a cost benefit analysis carried out by the Department. This figure is currently R3800. i.e. if there are 100,000 households in an area and it would work out cheaper than R3800 to connect each household, this would be done, if the cost is higher than this the project would be held back. Maybe in addition to this cold calculation, the department also takes into account the local security situation as there have been reports of contractors having their vehicles hijacked.

⁶ Daya Govender, chief planning officer for the Northern Region, eThekweni Electricity, interview 15 April 2003.

- In 1994, connections were funded from within the council. Now, funding comes from the Department of Mineral Affairs which gives a grant for a set figure per connection and this can be worked into the projected cash flow for the year. The subsidies over the financial year have dropped by about 50% as money needs to be divided between many different municipalities.
- The Electricity Department has adopted a demand driven approach and considers this has been successful. According to the Chief Planning Officer:

Rather than targeting specific geographical areas – which leads to tensions with neighbouring communities – electricity has overall targets of 500 connections per month or 6000 pre-paid connections per year. The drawback of this approach is that applications come through in dribs and drabs. A pre-paid connection costs R250 and then a R100 deposit is needed on top of this. Some communities definitely cannot afford this.

- When applications are made a free appliance is offered to the household; either a two plate stove, an iron, kettle or a R50 voucher are given to the household.

The Department aware of the widespread illegal connections, but the measures for control appear to have fallen into disuse. According to the planning officer an energy control sector is supposed to be monitoring this and meter sweeps used to be conducted at 6 monthly intervals to ensure that they have not been tampered with.

“Losses from thefts could be running into the millions and would be reflected in the sales of pre-paid cards and the actual amount going into the system.”

Despite the reservations about illegal connections it appears that poverty is the main determinant of use:

“What will often happen is that, if someone is paid they will maybe buy two or three cards and then not buy them again for several months. People will be going without electricity for much of this time.”

Initially assumed that household usage would amount to about R100/month with the pre-paid system but has actually ended up far lower in areas like Inanda. This implies that electricity consumption is being limited to lighting and television rather than cooking and bathing. Television as an entertainment medium is widely sought after and while there are, according to the survey, about 55% of households with radios, there are only a small percentage less with televisions (about 50%).

Generally the residents surveyed report satisfaction with the service (even though the majority of connections are illegal) but most also report that electricity is not the sole source of power. Paraffin, gas and wood are also in use making for a range of fuels which is not an ideal situation.

PUBLIC PERCEPTION

There are widely diverging views of the service:

“It is very unreliable, it gets interrupted almost everyday and the people are unhappy about that. And the people are beginning to feel that it is because they are a black community that is why the service is poor.”

“This service is satisfactory and reliable and most of us use pre-paid electricity.”

3.4 SANITATION

Possibly even more important than water provision is that of sanitation which is taken by poor residents as a litmus test of their integration into the democratic process and metropolitan citizenship. Again it is clear that those in formal housing services are fairly consistent (although not at the higher level of connection as in water) and that in the informal settlements the situation is very uneven with provision at the level of ventilated improved pit latrines or none at all.

The statistics provide a similar pattern to those of most municipal services; that the formal settlements are relatively well connected and that the informal settlements have undeveloped services. The table below compiled from municipal records provides the data of the varying levels of sanitation in Inanda with the 'Inadequate' column indicating either no sanitation at all or inferior and unhygienic latrines.

SANITATION LEVELS OF SERVICE, 2001

		Waterborne	Septic Tanks	VIPs	Inadequate
1	Amatikwe	23	1	27	49
2	Amawolana	0	0	0	100
3	Amawoti	2	1	0	97
4	Bhambayi	0	0	0	100
5	Emzomusha	0	5	95	0
6	Etafuleni	0	1	0	99
7	Ezimangweni	3	8	67	21
8	Gogokazi	0	0	100	0
9	Inanda Congo	0	0	0	100
10	Inanda Glebe	88	0	11	1
11	Inanda Namibia	6	1	0	93
12	Inhlungwane	0	0	100	0
13	Langalibalele	18	9	0	75
14	Mshayazafe	0	0	90	10
15	Newtown A	100	0	0	0
16	Newtown B	60	0	0	40
17	Newtown B Ext	100	0	0	0
18	Newtown C	78	0	0	22
19	Newtown C Ext	97	0	0	3
20	Ohiange - Africa	0	4	0	96
21	Ohiange - Mafukuzela	87	0	0	13
22	Soweto	96	0	0	4
23	Stop 8	0	1	0	100

A number of the formal settlements (such as Newtown A, B Ext, C, and C Ext) provide evidence of high levels of sewerage connection.

These statistics are, however, contested by residents who state that in a number of areas the statistics reflect connections completed by 2001 which have still to be made in 2003 at the time of field work.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

A resident in Newtown A, for instance, where there is reported to be 100% connection reports: "The toilet situation is very unsatisfactory. Even though we have built our own flush toilets outdoors, we are not connected. Some households still have pit latrines."

In Newtown C another resident reports: "We also like to know who qualify for toilets, people here have no toilets." Similarly in the same community: "This (sanitation) is a big problem in our neighbourhood. The situation is very appalling. We have pit toilets that we build ourselves and when that pit is full, we dig another one. Mind you we have very small yards."

In a number of areas the ditches for mains are still being dug and the connections still being planned. Although the statistics are compiled by water services officials entering GPS (Global Positioning System) coordinates for each connection, it seems the completion of connections is being anticipated in the statistics.

In addition, the high levels of connection in Soweto for both water and sanitation are also said to be 'comrade-connections' rather than part of the rollout of services.

What is clear is that there is a sheer drop in the proportion of residents covered by improved services between the formal and informal settlements. Areas such as Inanda Congo, Stop 8, Amawotana, and Bhambayi are assessed as having a 100% inadequate service and it is widely accepted that there is a great deal of sensitivity about the unhygienic conditions these communities endure. In Bhambayi particularly there is a long-standing problem of miscommunication and coordination between provincial and municipal departments which has resulted in delays in the provision of house connections which would secure waterborne sewerage.

WASTE REMOVAL

In the recent past waste removal in Inanda was conducted on the basis of tenders submitted by black contractors, and this has now been replaced by poverty alleviation cooperatives. There is considerable grievance from the official managing solid waste that a system which won an Impumelelo Award in 1999 has been disbanded.

Waste removal in Inanda has had council involvement through a process of workshopping since 1989. When the Metro took over responsibility for Inanda in 1996, Durban Solid Waste then implemented was a once a week house to house collection service with street cleaning, trimming the verges, etc. Prior to this metal containers were just put in strategic places but the rubbish would build up around them.

The process worked on the basis of a public tender and black contractors were trained to understand the tender process.

"A person living in an mjongdolo in Amaoti would put a full bag outside their place and this would be collected on one day a week. Guys would take these up to a metal hopper, each employee doing 50 houses, then they'd clean around each house. It lifted the whole community because people would want clean ups in all places that had never been cleared before" (Interview with Trevor Rubelli, Works Manager, Durban Solid Waste).

The new arrangement has been that the indigent level for those who apply has been set at R1200 a month.

"As far as I'm concerned there are people much poorer than that living in Inanda. The past contracts employed 154 local people but that's now down to 91. So people have lost work and they've lost the level of service. It's all for the same cost though."

The official complains that the level of service has declined since the change was made. Inanda, apparently, is a pilot scheme for waste removal through poverty alleviation and other communities still operate on a contractual basis or directly through municipal waste services.

It was not possible to get the view of councillors on the matter, but community representatives argue that waste removal should be undertaken as part of the mainline service of the Metro.

3.5 HOUSING

The extension of housing to those living in informal settlements is a critical measure of the social progress in Inanda. The table below shows the following housing situation the time of the 1996 census. According to these figures there was the following approximate division; 16% of the households in some kind of formal housing (house on separate stand, room within a formal house etc) and 84% of the households in varying kinds of informal dwellings; as shacks in backyards or traditional dwellings.

TYPE OF HOUSING (1996 CENSUS)

	Numbers	Percent
Informal dwelling/shack elsewhere	26 340	55
House on separate stand	9 090	19
Informal dwelling/shack in backyard	5 739	12
Traditional dwelling	3 504	7
Other formal shelter	3 131	7
	47 804	100

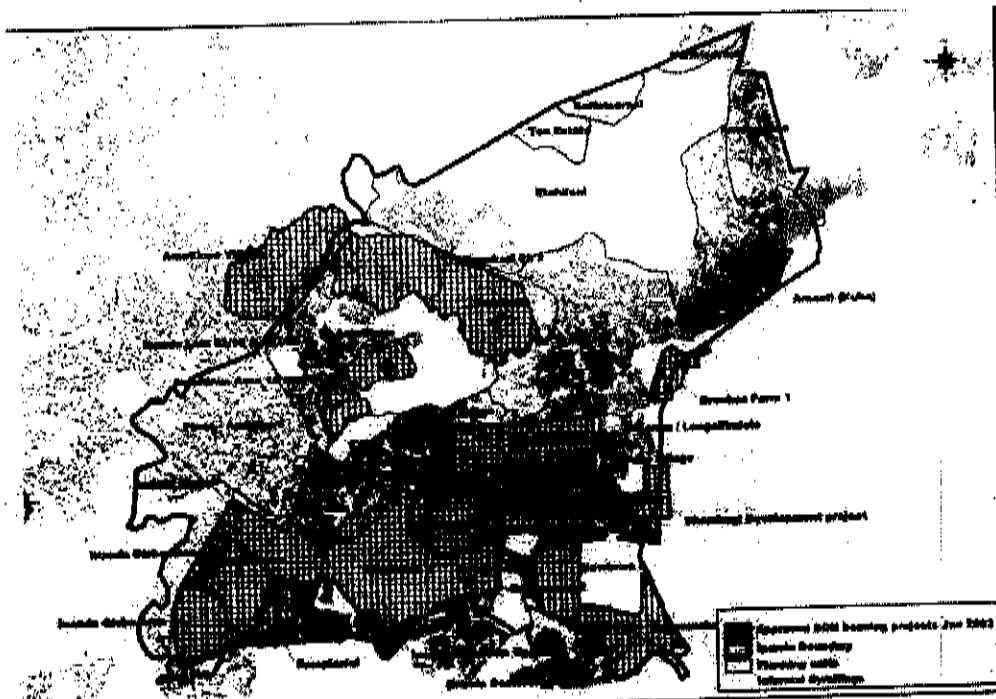
At that time formal housing was more or less limited to those constructed in the previous period of the Urban Foundation: Newtown A, B, C, B Extension and C Extension and individual better-off families in areas such as Glebe or Inanda Mission which has historically been associated with middle class.

It is now likely that the level of formal housing has been raised to about 40 per cent of all households, although the dense areas to the north east still have to be served. Unfortunately it is not possible to give statistics on the actual state of housing in Inanda, according to a senior official in the Metro housing department, the local authority only undertakes the planning and authorises the 'housing starts' which are funded by province, and the statistics on actual completed housing have to be found in provincial records.

The map attached gives some idea of the extension of housing programs.

CHALLENGES

One of the key difficulties in both road construction and housing is that there is a complex network of land ownership by both Indian and African landowners, many of whom have left the area. The cadastral system of recording property boundaries, subdivisions and buildings has broken down and this alone makes negotiation with local landowners complex. In Stop 8 -- Namibia alone, for example, there are 87 local landowners, the land acquisition department is conducting the negotiations but it is reported that some of the land will have to be expropriated.



HOUSING PROJECTS AND INFORMAL AREAS IN INANDA

With some 40% of households in formal housing there still remains the challenge of providing for the additional 60%.

In the past the Department has found it hard appointing highly qualified staff. There was a moratorium on new appointments until recently and a consultancy company was hired, but now there have been four appointments. The social context is changing as many residents now feel that they had been provided with inferior housing by size and by materials.

- Even though he deals with 100-150 projects at a time, a leading housing official feels that Inanda has a high priority in terms of housing:

"Inanda is one of the largest areas we deal with. Much infrastructure and housing investment is going into the area and as you might know it was declared a Presidential Lead Project. This means it is afforded added recognition as a developing area. The local authority is now keen to ensure that projects are finished and get done."

- Virtually all housing projects are in-situ upgrades although there are also some greenfield projects and from April 2001 all these now have to be carried out by the local authority. The new development that has happened in Bhambayi has been able to take place because the land is in the ownership of the council – it was an apartheid buffer zone.
- There's also progress being made in slum clearance with Congo being an example of this kind of de-densification with 400 people being moved to an adjoining area.
- Before a development takes place, there is preliminary planning, an environmental impact assessment, preliminary engineering work and a social impact assessment. The subsidy applications are then processed and a tender published for contracts.

DOING MORE WITH THE SUBSIDY

Although the Council is planning a series of housing projects in Inanda to be implemented by traditional methods there is growing pressure within the community for the subsidy to pass directly into the hands of the homeowner. The general feeling among residents is that the older houses are too small and that the owners could have done more if they had control over decision-making and construction.

- The Ohlange (Dube Village) development of work undertaken by private contractors which built a house of about 16 square metres. Subsequent housing has been designed to be larger. Following a statement by the then MEC for Housing, Dumisani Makhaye, that he would not approve funding for any project where the area of the house was less than 30 square metres there have been changes in design. The recent housing in KwaMashu Section C provides for 30 square metre space.
- Additional funding for larger houses appears to have come from a realignment of spending by the Metro and use of the housing subsidy on developing the land. Given the generally hilly environment and underdeveloped nature of the infrastructure, the Metro has topped up spending and limited the proportion of the subsidy spent on providing infrastructural services.
- There is pressure on contractors to give preference to local labour although this is not a contractual obligation. As an official explained: "If a policy is developed explicitly this can then be thrown back at you and argued to be unfair."
- Metro Housing has been generally satisfied with private developers who officials regard as being "very good", although they also concede "some were ripping people off and people would have to chase up where their subsidies had gone". It appears that the same Implementing Agents continue to be used. "Some of these guys have been working for us for next to nothing for years now. We strike an agreement with them that they will do the work for us."

COOPERATIVE BUILDING

These conventional arrangements are now being challenged by a variety of community organisations, in particular by the cooperative builder concept championed by People's Dialogue/Homeless People's Federation. This group argues that private developers cannot provide the same amount of housing space as the people themselves through cooperative work.

The Housing Department is now responsive to this concept although it expresses some reservations.

- "When people invest their labour in the process they're also less likely to get into the situation where they sell a house (which might be worth R25 000) for just R5 000. This has happened in the past."

The Department has been somewhat accommodating:

- "In the People's Housing Process (a similar idea to the People's Dialogue), people are trained to build houses for themselves and are given R570 per site extra for this. Also beneficiaries don't have to pay a R2 470 contribution."

But it does have reservations: "The problem with the People's Housing Process is that it takes longer. We set our own targets and it becomes difficult to meet these with the PHP."

For a number of reasons this is the method which has been adopted for housing development in the big new scheme of Amaoti. According to officials the conceptual plan at the moment identifies different land uses and the numbers of people to be accommodated. Amaoti will be split into three phases, and become a broader scheme than housing alone; a complete settlement with a commercial site and other functions.

The community has pride in the Inanda Community Development Trust (ICDT) which has helped to ensure that local people got training in construction which was completed before work started. The Bester, Ezimangweni, Inhlungwane and Emzomusha communities submitted 80 community members to take part in the training. When the subsidies were awarded community members were given an opportunity to choose the people they wanted to build their houses.

The ICDT has been named the best community trust in the country and last year received an award from the Minister of Housing at Gallagher Estate.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

From the questionnaires come the following observations in relation to housing:

"The so-called RDP houses that the government is building for the homeless are an insult to the black community. Would they live in those houses if they were to trade places? Look at the Indian houses just across Inanda at Phoenix. This kind of discrimination is what fuels and perpetrates violence."

"The houses that Urban Foundation built years ago are small and not up to standard. The one-room and two-roomed houses that they built are too small for large families to live in. The workmanship is very poor because they get blown away very easily when strong winds blow."

"Everyone was promised a government-housing subsidy but only a few got it. Even those who got the houses are complaining that they are too small."

"It is better to rent because then the municipality will make sure that all necessary services are provided."

RESPONSES

The Housing Department officials are aware of the various opinions of those living in Inanda and has responded to pressure by ensuring there is a level of public participation in planning, even if this creates additional work:

"When we plan a development, councillors are our first point of contact. We've been required to work with new councillors since the elections of 2000 though and this can cause problems because one councillor won't approve of developments passed by his or her predecessor."

They are also aware of the need for integrated development, in particular with provincial government, and acknowledge conflict over developmental principles:

"Tensions can be caused with the provincial housing department because they don't necessarily agree with our 5, 10 and 15 year housing plans. Sometimes, they might be keen for us to develop areas on the edge of cities but people don't really need new houses in such areas. What they need is new services but these can be expensive."

In addition there is the Metro Housing Projects Working Group which brings together the different departments together at the local level. Officials are optimistic this is solving some of the problems identified in interviews: "So far this seems to be working very well and we're considering bringing Health into this as well."

The Metro Housing officials have a sense of confidence and project a problem solving élan.

Apart from funding, I don't think there have been too many problems. If we had enough funding we could do great things. In the past, sometimes we have been a bit carried away with development and haven't recognised that development can sometimes be hurtful. Take the MR93, for example, this is really an activity corridor but people want houses all over it. We have to negotiate between these different interests.

3.5 EDUCATION

Inanda has a good range of both primary and secondary schools available to its children. Inanda Seminary, which is a historical institution of note, is the oldest school in Durban and has established a reputation for excellence in the instruction of young African women for well over a century. It draws its learners from a pool much larger than Inanda or Durban. Ohlange Institute is also of historical importance of one of the earliest initiatives in education by African people. There are a number of other high schools in the area with variable quality. Primary schools are generally accessible for the residents of Newtown A, B, and C and in and around that area but are considerably further away for the children of Amaoti and Amawotana to the north east of the formal areas of the township.

There is evidently a wide disparity between schools and particularly among high schools. At some schools learners are not allowed to roam, learners are fully engaged in study during school hours, the school gates are locked, and there is a full quota of teachers present. These are schools with a reputation for good matriculation passes. At others there is a buzz of learner conversation throughout the day, a constant flow of learners in and out of school, and not much evidence of application to learning.

The conditions in many schools are not clean and appealing with broken doors and windows. Many need substantial renovation, but repairs are difficult to finance as fees are the only income and many parents cannot afford to pay the existing fees, let alone additional levies. The School Governing Boards are not clear on their powers and responsibilities.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

In responses to questionnaires, residents acknowledge the building of a number of schools within Inanda, and make the following remarks:

"The teachers do not seem to care about the education of our children; they are always absent and the children always come early from school. Learners are up and down the road during school hours. When I check exercises I see they have not been marked by teachers."

"Learners smoke dagga and carry guns to school."

"Anele is not studying this year but completed matric last year. We cannot afford to pay fees to further his studies. Only granny is supporting the children with her pension grant."

"The only problem we have with education here the school fee is a bit expensive. We pay R200 a year at No.7 High School (a school with a good reputation) which is too much since we are unemployed."

"Since this year started there has been any parent meeting at school where my child attends."

"We have a problem in this area since we do not have a primary schools that is close; children have to cross a busy street which has caused so many accidents. We do not have an assistant to help children to cross over."

ADULT EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Despite extraordinarily high levels of unemployment there is very low accessibility by residents of adult education and training. Among 38 respondents there are only 13 reports of individuals in the household accessing various kinds of training; the greatest number (79%) accessing business training, and only 23% of those reporting any post-school education mentioning manpower or skills training. Adult education appears to be poorly accessible.

This seems an exceptionally low level of utilisation of adult education and training for a community desperately short of skills and training. There seems to be some knowledge of facilities which are available but little enthusiasm for engagement.

3.6 HEALTH

Inanda is fairly well supplied with clinics, although the division between provision of clinics by the Metro and the Province is a source of some confusion. Health facilities are being extended throughout the 'lower' Inanda, and a new Metro clinic has just been built at the gates of Inanda Seminary through the efforts of Nelson Mandela and sponsorship by SAPPI. Again, however, the more distant north eastern areas are not so well served although there is Osindisweni Hospital in the area.

Health statistics are exceedingly difficult both to locate and retrieve as the clinics send their data to different centres (there is meant to be consolidation of the data at the provincial level) and because the requesting procedures are complex, inappropriate and depend on authorisation from top officials who are generally unavailable.

Unfortunately the health department report does not present consistent statistics on communicable diseases, infant mortality, and indicators of health care on an annual basis. Inanda statistics are retrievable on request but unfortunately the Metro Health Department can only access information about council clinics and not the provincial clinics, making cross-Inanda data impossible to construct.

In the view of a former senior health official Durban generally and Inanda has sufficient reasonably located clinics; and access to a sufficient number of reasonably located hospitals; what is missing is a sensible number of **community health centres** which are 24 hour facilities which provide some kind of level of service between clinics and hospitals. "This is the missing level of service."

According to this former official a planning strategy for the provision of community health centres has been shelved by the Metro health management which has decided that local government does not need them. Without this layer of service there are difficulties in getting referrals on to hospitals and also providing accessible health service after working hours. It appears as though the clinics are often not fully available during working hours because of the pressure of long queues or the staff feeling over-burdened. It is not clear whether a basic service of access to a senior nurse and/or doctor is available at the clinics.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

"When we visit the clinic with ailments other than the usual ones they normally give the same medication; we are never given extra treatment."

"Since we started not to pay at the clinic it is not easy to get the medication. The sisters do not respect the patients."

"Since the free service started in clinics the standard has deteriorated; one hardly gets medication let alone attention from the staff."

"The treatment we get from Ohlange clinic and Newtown clinic is very bad. One always sees the staff moving up and down the passage talking to one another. They open at 8 am but first they drink tea before they start with their daily routine."

"At the clinic around here I don't trust the staff because they are not efficient. If I am sick I go to Verulam. There is a very good Roman Mission Hospital, Ekukhanyeni clinic."

"The clinic opens at 7 am daily but stops accepting patients at 8 am because of the long queues."

"The nurses decide whether you should see the doctor or not."

"The community health worker last visited here in 2000 when she (my daughter) had just been boarded off from work because of the illness to assist her with the housework."

"The nurses at Newtown 'C' Clinic are rude and disrespectful. There is not adequate medication and one rarely ever sees any doctor."

"Not even community health workers visit our homes."

"The clinic is not opened at weekends and at night it is only for emergency cases. Generally clinics should be upgraded."

"Medication that is issued at the clinics should be the same as the ones they give to patients with medical aid."

"If ambulances do not enter most parts of the communities, of what help are they to them? When one calls an ambulance, it can only go as far as the police station in some parts and one has to carry the sick person to it."

3.7 TELECOMMUNICATIONS

More Inanda residents are making use of cellphones, and public phones, rather than landline connections. This can be partly attributable to the fact that many residents are in informal settlements to which landline connections may be more difficult, but in discussion with the people it seems that the major question is one of cost. There is reported to be 'less enthusiasm' for Telkom connections as there are considerable delays in applications for connections which are much longer than in the 1990s.

Somewhat surprisingly when the cost of calls is taken into account, Inanda residents have more cellphones than landline connections on the ratio of 60:40. This may be explained by Telkom's tariffs having risen rapidly particularly for local calls making it difficult for poor people to start or maintain a household connection.

Unfortunately Telkom has a high proportion of poor people being disconnected from services and often staying disconnected for a long period, if reconnecting at all. This is a national problem as the low level of connections is paralysing the use of internet and communications generally.

This contributes substantially to the residents on the urban periphery being isolated from modern telecommunications and unable to have an email address which is an entry-level internet service for most people.

Telkom's delays appear to relate to the problems of crime and vandalism; firstly the copper cables were stolen and instead solar panels were installed. Now these panels have been disappearing and cabling is being run underground. These difficulties may help explain why connections are taking so long to be established.

There is a lack of telecentres for residents to fax applications for employment and to make emails. To access these services, residents have to travel to town to use computer networks and faxes to do such things as posting in a late university assignment.

3.8 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic conditions within the INK area are currently highly unfavourable. The Metro planners have identified the economic development of the INK areas as critical to the improvement in the lives of ordinary people. As has been mentioned the areas are characterised by high levels of unemployment, low levels of literacy and a lack of skills.

Challenge The INK Business Plan identifies the areas as functioning largely as a dormitory residential area with very low levels of local economic activity and most activities being comprised of micro-enterprises at a survivalist level.

- Income is derived by wage earners working within the Metropolitan area although the high cost of commuting impedes the ability of residents to compete on the labour market.
- Entrepreneurial activities are further limited by difficult access to capital and finance as well as a lack of business and management skills.
- A shortage of commercial/industrial land and premises in and around the areas further reduces local levels of economic activity.

The INK core strategy is to increase levels of economic activity, to raise incomes and to strengthen mutually beneficial economic relationships with the broader Metropolitan area in particular through promoting linkages with development in the emerging northern corridor. This objective will be achieved by:

- Improving the competitive position of INK job seekers
- Encouraging jobs and SMMEs in construction
- Developing and expanding the retail sector and services
- Promoting manufacturing within and adjacent to INK areas
- Promoting tourism
- Developing a labour intensive and high value agricultural sector

The strategy includes a procurement policy which will provide preferential treatment to INK based enterprises and SMMEs in construction, professional services, cartage and transportation and security services.

Although the community welcomes initiatives on local economic development there is also a perception that LED is "Just think of tomatoes and fruit and not strong tangible projects". There are some examples which people mention as white elephants such as the Bester market which has

not taken off and taxi ranks in Newtown C which have not been adopted and the roofs are now being removed.

Tourism promotion investment is also appreciated although there is being just beautifying spots and pleasant settlements e.g. Ghandi settlement and a problem of contrasts as the community looks poor

3.9 COMMUNITY SAFETY

Inanda has had something of a violent transition from the old order to being a liberated area and this certainly has had an effect on current levels of crime and policing. From an attitude of non-cooperation, there is now an expectation of the community working together with the police to build community safety. There is an active Community Policing Forum with a high level of participation from local leadership, but there is a feeling both among organised civil society and by the people surveyed that the police services have not really improved; 70% of those surveyed felt that the services were unsatisfactory at one level or another and only 19% felt there had been an improvement.

Inanda has a fully developed police station and four satellite stations. There has been considerable controversy over its staffing and operations but it was not possible to complete all procedures necessary to interview the station commander within the time span of the research project. Despite numerous requests and follow-up it has also been found not possible to get statistics on crime within Inanda. It is difficult to make a balanced evaluation of community safety and policing under these circumstances and the analysis will be limited to perceptions and relations between the community and police.

There is a general view that Inanda has not experienced a decline in violent crime, that there are probably more than 200 murders a year and that there are a high level of assaults to inflict grievous bodily harm. Crimes against property are also thought to be at a high level, and 'new' crimes such as drug related crime are considered to be on the increase.

Possibly because of the high level of crime, such as the high level of murder, there is evidence of considerable mobilisation around community safety. The leader of the Inanda Community Policing Forum (CPF), Mr Phewa, was interviewed. The CPF represents the whole of Inanda and interacts with the Mtshebheni police station and the four sub-stations (Vela, Amaoti, Newtonw A and one reporting point at Umzinyathi which was built after a visit by Minister Charles Nqakula). The Forum has launched 34 committees and hopefully by the end of May the process of having a committee for each community will be complete.

The CPF was elected at a mass meeting with the police, other relevant structures, and some community members being present. The Forum claims to be very effective but states that it needs to provide its members with relevant training to do their job. It does, however, face some competition from an organisation termed the Peace Forum which is claimed to pay members to join.

"The community is very happy with us, but of course there are those who dislike anything that has anything to do with the police. We try to work with all the structures in the community but there are some down sides. Unfortunately most of the councillors are based at the Embassy building in town which makes it impossible to get their input."

The lack of good relations with councillors is undoubtedly a serious problem for the Forum even if it does have good support from Inanda communities. It does, however, have good working relations with the police.

The CPF encourages members to be a police volunteer at the police station to provide administrative assistance if they have the skills. In addition members of the community can be

selected by the community to go for police training, and on return work in the area as fully accredited police reserves. These reserves are meant to work under the supervision of a qualified policeman.

ISSUES RAISED BY POLICING FORUM

- The satellite police stations do not have adequate facilities to do their work and to issue case numbers. The police officers there do, however, take statements and it is up to the plaintiff to go to the main police station to get a case number. This is currently under discussion as it is said to discourage the people.

- There are questions raised about the 'over-use' of police reserves.

"Our understanding is that they are the reinforcements but you will find that everytime you go to the police station they are the only ones on duty and there is not a single policeman in sight."

- There is a problem of a shortage of vehicles.

"We have found out that when they change shifts they use the vehicles to transport each other to and from work. The area commissioner has condemned this and has gone as far as to say that the community should come first at all times."

- There is inadequate preparation of cases.

"Many cases have either been turned away magistrates or not been processed because it is said the people only made statements and not opened cases. It is very clear to us that some of the policemen are not well trained to do their job."

- Members of the CPF are said at times behave as though they are real policemen when they should only be assisting the police.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

The following responses were recorded in the questionnaires:

"In 28 January 2002 we had robbery here at home, some people came and took almost everything. We reported the matter to the police and they never came.

"We went there to write down the statement but still they never came to see the place. We know the criminals but we do not have powers.

"The general state of personal safety and security in their neighbourhood is very bad."

"The local police are very ineffective, it is even better to call 10111 if you want to get help. They always claim that there aren't enough vehicles even to go to a house less than 100 metres from the station."

"Reporting the crime to the police wastes time because the perpetrator will be out on bail the very next day and come after us for revenge."

"Locally people are not at all pleased with the way the police operate. There is very little help or service from the police. Women and young girls get raped in broad daylight."

"Criminals rob and gatecrash homes and do as they please without being apprehended by the police. Police cannot be trusted."

"The rate of crime is very high."

"Police who are dedicated to the job should be employed and not the ones who are friendly with criminals."

"The police are not committed to their work."

RESPONSES

- There is hope now that 24 new detectives have completed their training and have been deployed at Mtshobheni Police Station that the individual police work load would ease and that would enable the police to function properly.
- On 7 April 2003, Minister Charles Nqakula visited Inanda as well as KwaMashu as part of Imbizo.

"We told him our complaints such as the shortage of police vehicles and working equipment but we were stunned to hear the area commissioner say the police had enough. The minister said that is the duty of the community to report bad policing to the commissioner or to me (Phewa) and I will report to the commissioner myself."

- A document stating the work and duties as well as the limitations of the CPF is now available.

At the moment community leaders are reported to be waiting to see if a new sector policy (which gives a police captain responsibility for particular communities) works but people state they feel less safe than before.

The key question in their minds is that there are so many guns available to criminals who are openly carrying them.

Before the community felt it could deal with stealing but now a person carries around a gun and they feel it is local terrorism but they have to live with it. All cases of rape, for instance, involve the carrying of guns and that is the basic problem: you either lose cellphone or your life. In the past you could put up burglar guards or have someone at home but guns cannot be dealt with.

4 COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

While the perceptions of particular services and issues has been provided under various headings, there is a general perception Inanda has undergone considerable improvement if not transformation.

In the eyes of the community Bhambayi is a litmus test of conditions as it has been the exceptionally violent place of shifting political allegiances and internal feuds often marked with executions over the weekends. In the view of a community activist:

Bhambayi is the face of Inanda. Even during the days of violence, the first place one would see would be Bhambayi. It has changed a great deal if you compare it with the

period from 1999 to now. There are formal houses now...the (adjoining) Ghandi Settlement has been renovated and even though there are still a few houses which need building but at least the physical change for the better is quite noticeable.

Others feel that in the other areas of Inanda there are packaged programs not yet implemented but a mood of positive change.

Jobs, crime prevention and housing have been mentioned as the most prominent needs of the community. In jobs and crime prevention there are no perceptions of improvement and the hopes of the community tend to centre around housing.

The general aspiration is for a substantial four-roomed house rather than the present two-roomed houses. Through community action, cooperative labour and phased subsidies directly going to beneficiaries this is closer to realisation.

Members of the community complain that the community halls are not well used. They say they appear to be government rather than community halls. Access to community halls is very strictly controlled with applications for events well in advance, a deposit being required, and other procedures needing to be finalised. At one level there is a feeling that there is both excessive political control and bureaucratic arrogance. Somehow the community halls are not changing the people's lives as anticipated and there should be attention rather on **community resource centres** to provide the very necessary basis for offices for community and welfare groups. This raises additional problems of funding for electricity, water and security; but would provide a very necessary boost for the development of civil society, in the form of welfare, women's, religious and sports groups among others.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is a general appreciation that conditions within Inanda have improved from the alienated and marginalized existence of the 1980s. There has been evident improvement in water provision, in housing, and to a lesser extent sanitation; the political representatives of the area which carries weight within the region are taken seriously in Town Hall. But there is also an appreciation that these are the more malleable issues and that the most serious of challenges still have to be taken on board. The questions relating to primary service delivery, the basic services around housing, are being raised, debated, and to a lesser or greater extent, resolved; the larger questions of jobs, substantial poverty reduction, and local economic growth are only now being clearly posed. Without the resolution of these weighty issues the community will stagnate, advances such as those in housing fall back as services cannot be sustained by households, and crime remain a dreaded reality for residents. These questions are acknowledged by the more far-sighted community leadership and Metro officials and to some extent addressed in the INK plans.

There are problems in planning to meet the objectives set out in the IDP and other documents. These strategies depend in part on available funding but also on the public participation of communities which are wanting to move beyond being the passive beneficiaries of projects to active co-planning and implementation. This feature has been drawn on in the People's Budget strategy and other participatory activities, but somehow the level of public participation does not appear to be sustained. Community activists feel that, compared to the high levels of political involvement which have characterised Inanda, the community is now largely demobilised and its energies not absorbed and directed.

The RDP set out the principle of people-centred programs, of people involved in decision-making, implementation, new job opportunities, and in managing and governing society (RDP, 1.4.4). One of the main features of Inanda's political history is a high level of political participation, even though this has been often taking place in high levels of conflict. The initiatives undertaken by the Council during the People's Budget and Big Mama II indicate that there are movements in the

direction of participation and needs analysis. There are two considerations here which have to be taken on board:

- firstly that the level of participation in budgetary matters is of necessity low because prior strategic and other committed spending has already been set and
- secondly because the framework is the precinct and often narrow.

Municipal officials complain that the needs analysis resulting from the participatory exercise is very narrow and predictable on one hand and too broad on the other. At the one level, it is said, every community wants a community hall (even though there may be one near by but in another community), on the other there is the need for the extension of sewerage mains to more areas. There is need to return to the involvement of people in the broader planning frameworks as well as immediate local needs.

At one level this is being achieved through formal political representation in the organs of power, but at another level people are registering dissatisfaction with the current system and looking to deeper and more consistent levels of participation.

The question appears concretely within the planning framework. In the public consultation it is clear that the basic needs and key problems (identified in the needs analysis conducted by Metro) of the people include issues which are both fall within and which also range well beyond the focus of local government in terms of crime prevention, jobs, and under-development. Public participation and influence on planning often appears (as officials tend to point out) to be over-localised and parochial as strategic planning demands a broader dimension. But how are the people to be involved in planning for crime prevention and for jobs? The discussion around the CPF raises some of the limits and possibilities in relation to the former, but in relation to jobs the questions are more profound. Jobs clearly relate to the level of national economic activity and macro-economic policy. Although the question is partially taken up in the elements of local economic development in the INK project plans, job prospects are often related to short term construction. The most difficult of issues, mass unemployment, is only partly addressed and the appropriate form of public participation is unclear.

The problem is that the broad issues identified by the people in the participatory exercise conducted preparatory to the IDP, such as the crime and unemployment, are the most difficult to resolve at the local level. Although there is an increasing involvement of local government in local economic development which can be a precursor to growth through the improved use of land and local resources by the foundation of nodes through investment, it is not clear whether this will lead beyond the immediate jobs in construction to wider employment. Investment in a node could lead to the construction of a shopping centre and in so doing the employment of labourers in construction; but would the commercial jobs go to local people? The conditions for employment are set through macro-economic policy, through public and private investment on a large scale. Nevertheless focused investment in infrastructure accompanied by consultation with communities, educational and training initiatives have been proposed as a way of moving beyond short-term construction towards on-going jobs and economic activity.

In conclusion, planning should be more open to evaluation. At the moment this is extremely difficult to do as GIS information particularly is ahistorical and contemporary and not open to comparative exercises. An aspect which would be of great assistance is that all statistical data used for IDPs should be saved as historical files and kept aside for review. Statistics on the total housing stock according to area should be kept by the municipalities rather than housing 'starts', etc, and should be available to researchers and the public.

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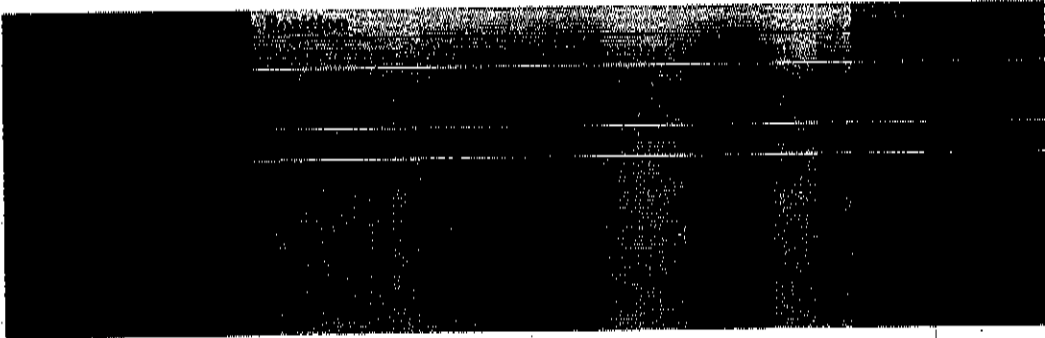
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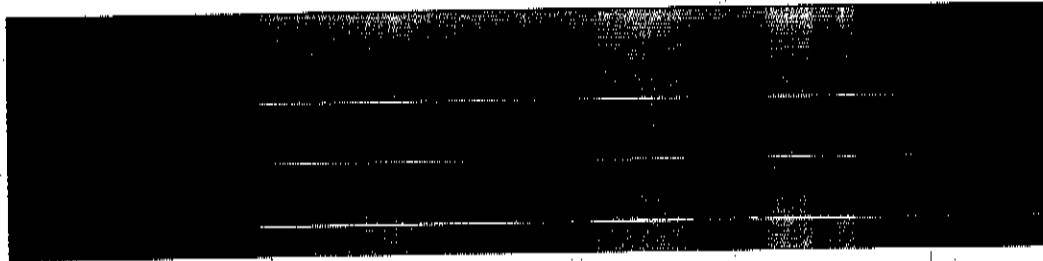
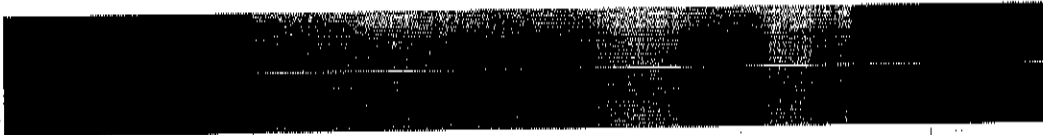
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INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL OFFICIALS, COUNCILLORS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

METRO OFFICIALS



COUNCILLORS AND PARTY REPRESENTATIVES



POLITICAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY INTERVIEWS

And there are *38 residents* who were also *interviewed* in the community.