

LIVING ON THE EDGE: A STUDY OF THE DELFT TEMPORARY RELOCATION AREA

March 2007



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ISBN: 978 – 0 – 620 – 40172 – 2

Publisher:

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Acknowledgements:

This study was made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Helen Macgregor co-ordinated the project, Zama Mgwatyu undertook the survey and Warren Smit designed the questionnaire, analysed the data and wrote up the report.

Photographs were taken and donated by Ismail Pandy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction.....	4
2. Background to the Delft TRA.....	5
3. The survey of Delft TRA residents.....	13
4. Recommendations.....	25
4. Conclusions.....	30
Appendix: Delft TRA household questionnaire.....	31

1. Introduction

During 2005, a new term came into use in the South African housing sector: 'temporary relocation area' or 'TRA'. TRAs were part of a strategy to provide temporary housing for residents who needed to be temporarily relocated so that new housing developments could commence. The N2 Gateway Project, which was initiated that year as a national flagship project to pilot the Breaking New Ground strategy, was the first project in Cape Town to require the temporary relocation of residents (from the Joe Slovo informal settlement in Langa). While the relocation of residents from Joe Slovo to a TRA had been planned as part of the N2 Gateway Project, when part of the Joe Slovo settlement and neighbouring Langa hostels burnt down in fire in January 2005, the City of Cape Town and the Provincial Government were forced to hastily expand and implement their plans for temporarily relocating households from Langa.

Following several months of lengthy and unsuccessful negotiations to find suitable land for relocation, the state identified land in the Delft area for the accommodation of more than 4000 households. Only 500 households were lucky enough to be temporarily accommodated in the Joe Slovo, Langa area. The TRAs consist of large numbers of houses closely packed together. There are communal standpipes and communal ablution blocks (toilets, showers). The TRAs differ from typical RDP housing projects in that the houses are smaller (24m² as opposed to the minimum RDP house size of 30m²) and are prefabricated, there are no individual plots or individual title, and there is a lower level of services.

For those relocated to the Delft TRA, about 15km away by road from where they had been living in Langa, the impacts were severe. Social and economic networks were severely disrupted, and many people lost their jobs due to the poor transport links from Delft to the rest of Cape Town. For those who managed to keep their jobs, they now find themselves spending five times as much on transport as they previously did.

The stories from families who were relocated to the Delft TRA are disturbing. This study, *Living on the Edge: A Study of the Delft TRA* aims to understand the impact of the relocation to the Delft TRA on households. The study is based on in-depth interviews with a small sample of households who have been living in the Delft TRA since 2005/2006. Interviews with officials who were involved in establishing and managing the TRAs were also conducted.

The study is divided into three sections. First, the background to the establishment of the Delft TRA is described. In the second section, the results of the survey of households in the Delft TRA are analysed. Finally, some conclusions are drawn from the experiences of the residents of the Delft TRA and recommendations are made.

2. Background to the Delft TRA

2.1 Joe Slovo and the N2 Gateway Project

In September 2004, the National Minister of Housing announced the adoption of a new housing strategy, 'Breaking New Ground', and simultaneously announced that this strategy would be piloted by the N2 Gateway Project which would be driven by the three spheres of government with the local sphere as the implementing agents and project managers for the project. The N2 Gateway Project was to involve the provision of housing for residents of the informal settlements along the N2, which are the most visible informal settlements in Cape Town when coming from the Cape Town International airport to the city of Cape Town. The first phase of the N2 Gateway Project was the redevelopment of Joe Slovo, an informal settlement in Langa.

The Joe Slovo informal settlement is located in the buffer strip to the south and east of Langa, adjacent to the N2 freeway. The settlement began in the early 1990s at the intersection of Vanguard Drive and Washington Street and rapidly expanded westwards along the N2. The settlement adjoins the overcrowded hostels area in Langa (originally built to accommodate migrant workers), where shacks are crowded between the old hostel blocks, which were in the process of being upgraded through the City of Cape Town's Hostels to Homes project (but this was a very slow process).

Due to its good location within Cape Town, the Joe Slovo informal settlement grew rapidly. In 1996 there were 1 195 dwellings in Joe Slovo, by 1998 it had grown to 2 153 dwellings, by 2000 it had grown to 4 300 dwellings, and by 2003 there were 5 451 dwellings in Joe Slovo. These dwellings were concentrated in a 30 Ha area, making it one of the densest settlements in Cape Town. The rapid growth and densification of the Joe Slovo informal settlement resulted in an increased fire risk. Some basic services were provided (in 2003 there were 1200 toilets and 21 communal standpipes)¹.

Residents of Joe Slovo first learned of the proposed redevelopment of Joe Slovo in September 2004, when it was announced in the newspapers by the National Minister of Housing, the Provincial Minister of Local Government and Housing and the Executive Mayor of Cape Town. The newspaper articles were accompanied by artists' impressions showing Joe Slovo redeveloped with 3 and 4 storey blocks of flats. Work on the N2 Gateway Project started soon after on 21 December 2004 with the appointment of a project team.

¹ City of Cape Town IDP 2004/2005

The upgrading process for Joe Slovo was intended to be roll-over upgrading that would require the temporary relocation of residents². During 2004, a new funding mechanism called the Emergency Housing Programme (for the provision of temporary housing in 'emergency' situations) began to be implemented, and it was intended to use this funding programme to establish a 'temporary relocation area' (TRA) that would be used to accommodate residents who would need to be temporarily relocated.

It was originally intended to have a TRA of about 400 units in Epping. This was regarded as being of sufficient size to accommodate residents who would need to be temporarily relocated for relatively short periods of time as the project proceeded.³

On 15 January 2005, however, an unexpected fire caused the plans for the N2 Gateway Project to change dramatically. At 10:20 am on the morning of Saturday 15 January, a fire started in a shack in the overcrowded settlement of Joe Slovo and spread rapidly. Residents reported that the fire was started by a man who had been cooking food at his house. One resident, Lucas Witbooi said: "He left his house while he was cooking food on a stove. The fire spread from the Joe Slovo informal settlement to the adjacent hostels area where there were shacks crowded between the hostels blocks. Fire fighters were called in, and eventually, with the help of a helicopter the fire was completely extinguished by evening⁴.

A two-month old baby reportedly died of smoke inhalation and up to 17 people were injured⁵. The areas affected in the Joe Slovo informal settlement were blocks A, C, D, F, K, L, N and P and the hostel areas affected were Zones 18, 23, 24, 25 and 26, including the shacks between the hostels.

The City of Cape Town Disaster Management reported that the number of households left homeless by the fire was about 3800, of which about 73% were from the hostels area and about 27% from the Joe Slovo informal settlement.

Although most of the people displaced found their own accommodation with friends and relatives, emergency shelter, in the form of a communal tent camp (which came to be known as Tent City) was provided for about 2500 people.

The people displaced by the fire were not allowed to rebuild their shacks, and the plans to redevelop Joe Slovo as part of the N2 Gateway Project were accelerated. While the redevelopment of Joe Slovo was underway, people were

² Only the upgrading of New Rest, a project started before the launch of the N2 Gateway Project, was intended to be *in situ* upgrading, in which a minimum of households would be relocated.

³ Interview with Peter Oscroft, City of Cape Town, 29 January 2007.

⁴ "Residents claim abandoned stove caused blaze", AFP, www.iol.co.za, 16 January 2005; "Thousands homeless after monster blaze", Quinton Mtyala & SAPA, Cape Times, 17 January 2005, p. 1.

⁵ AFP, 16 January 2005

to be temporarily housed in TRAs. Plans for the TRAs were fast tracked and the number of units planned was greatly increased.

Immediately after the fire, nine sites in Langa and two in Epping totaling approximately 293 Ha, sufficient for accommodating all 3150 displaced households, were identified for temporary housing. At a press conference on 19 January 2005, Mayor Nomaindia Mfeketo announced that the 12 000 people left homeless by the fire would move into “temporary ‘non-flammable’ housing units scattered around Langa and Epping... Most of the land (where people are to be settled) is owned by the city but where this is not the case we’ll be negotiating with Intersite (Transnet’s property wing) and private land owners”⁶. On 26 January 2005, the Provincial Minister of Local Government and Housing officially announced that the Joe Slovo area would form the first phase of the N2 Gateway Project and that 3000 houses would be built by June 2005.⁷

As required by the Environmental Conservation Act, notices were placed in newspapers notifying of the City of Cape Town’s intention to use the two pieces of land in Epping for temporary accommodation of people displaced by the Joe Slovo fire. Approximately 1500 letters of objection were received, based on a wide variety of reasons (including concerns about the process followed), and the Epping Industrialists Association and the Pinelands Residents Association appointed legal representatives to act on the matter. It was evident that it would be impossible to use the Epping sites without a drawn-out court battle, so the plan was abandoned.

There was also strong resistance from Langa residents, who rejected use of any vacant land in Langa for providing temporary accommodation for the people displaced by the fire, other than the unused Transnet site (managed by their property management arm, Intersite, and therefore usually known as the ‘Intersite site’) on the edge of Langa, behind Zimasa Primary School, close to the Tent City. The site had been the hostel compound for railway workers, but had been vacant for a while (although the steel frames of the old hostel buildings were still there). The City of Cape Town obtained the use of the site from Intersite and it was initially estimated that it could accommodate 270 structures, but this was subsequently revised upwards.

The plans to use the other eight Langa sites and two Epping sites were officially announced as being ‘on hold’ on 1 March in a briefing to the Provincial Government’s Standing Committee on Governance. It was announced that the Intersite site had been approved by the Langa residents, and that work had started on preparing this site for the temporary housing (Cape Argus, 2 March 2005).

⁶ Cape Times, 20 January 2005

⁷ Cape Argus, 27 January 2005

Other potential sites that were considered included:

- A portion of the Athlone Power Station site: this was rejected because of a coal stockpile on the site and local contamination of the remainder of the site.
- A portion of the school site adjacent to Athlone Power Station: this was rejected because of anticipated community opposition.
- Land to the north of the old golf course development in Athlone: this was rejected because of anticipated community opposition and because the site is prone to flooding.
- A portion of the Westgate Mall site in Mitchells Plain: this was rejected because of the long distance from Langa.
- The former Wingfield military base: this was rejected because the site required infrastructure of R20 million and there were concerns about the reaction of surrounding communities.

The proposed cemetery site in the Delft Towns 7-9 development which could accommodate about 1400 temporary dwellings was also considered, there was also adjacent vacant land that could potentially accommodate more dwellings. Delft is about 15 km by road from Langa, and although it has been the site of large-scale subsidized housing delivery over the past 10 years, it is located far from economic opportunities and is notorious for its poorly developed transport links (especially the lack of a rail link).

Ultimately, after considering 17 different sites for the location of the temporary housing, the cemetery site in Delft was regarded as the best option (in addition to the Langa site), and a call for proposals went out on 15 March 2005.

The Emergency Housing Policy was then used to fund the building of temporary housing at the two sites - 500 units at the Langa TRA and initially 2000 units at the Delft TRA. During this time the City of Cape Town led the implementation of the first phase in each of these TRAs.

2.2 The Langa TRA

The Langa TRA was implemented first. The site required a lot of work before it could be used, including repairs to the sewerage and water pumping stations. The development of the Langa TRA was delayed by drainage problems and the fact that it was a very wet winter. The building contractors were Concretex (building prefabricated concrete houses) and Hobbies Wendies (building wooden 'wendy houses').

As of 7 April 2005, Concretex had completed and handed over 105 houses and Hobbies Wendies had completed and handed over 29 houses⁸. On 3 and 4 April 2005, 99 households were relocated from Tent City to the temporary houses at

⁸ In May 2005, after 30 of the wooden 'wendy houses' had been built at the Langa TRA, further construction of these units was stopped due to unhappiness by councilors and the community about the bungalows, as a result the contract was postponed to Delft.

the nearby Langa TRA. Together with the temporary houses, the first batch of people also received a bunk bed, food parcel, clothing and a starter kit⁹, paid for from the Mayoral Fund. There were insufficient funds to provide starter kits for all households, though, so it was only these 99 households who received the starter kits.

After initial allegations of irregularities in the allocation of houses in the Langa TRA¹⁰ steps were taken to ensure that only the most 'vulnerable' households were allocated the houses in the Langa TRA, for example, the aged and households with people requiring regular medical treatment at a clinic in Langa.

In September 2005, people displaced by the Joe Slovo fire who had been living with friends and relatives in backyards ran out of patience and occupied the temporary houses intended for the people who had been living in a community hall in Langa. Nokwakha Ngxakatha was quoted as saying that "We were told that we can't stay here because we don't have permits, but are we not also fire victims like those that have permits?"¹¹. 54 households eventually illegally occupied units in the Langa TRA. After going to court to get an eviction order, the City of Cape Town evicted these households and relocated them to the Delft TRA.

Due to its good location, there has been talk of keeping the Langa TRA in operation after the N2 Gateway Project is completed in order to provide for future emergency housing when necessary.

2.3 The Delft TRA

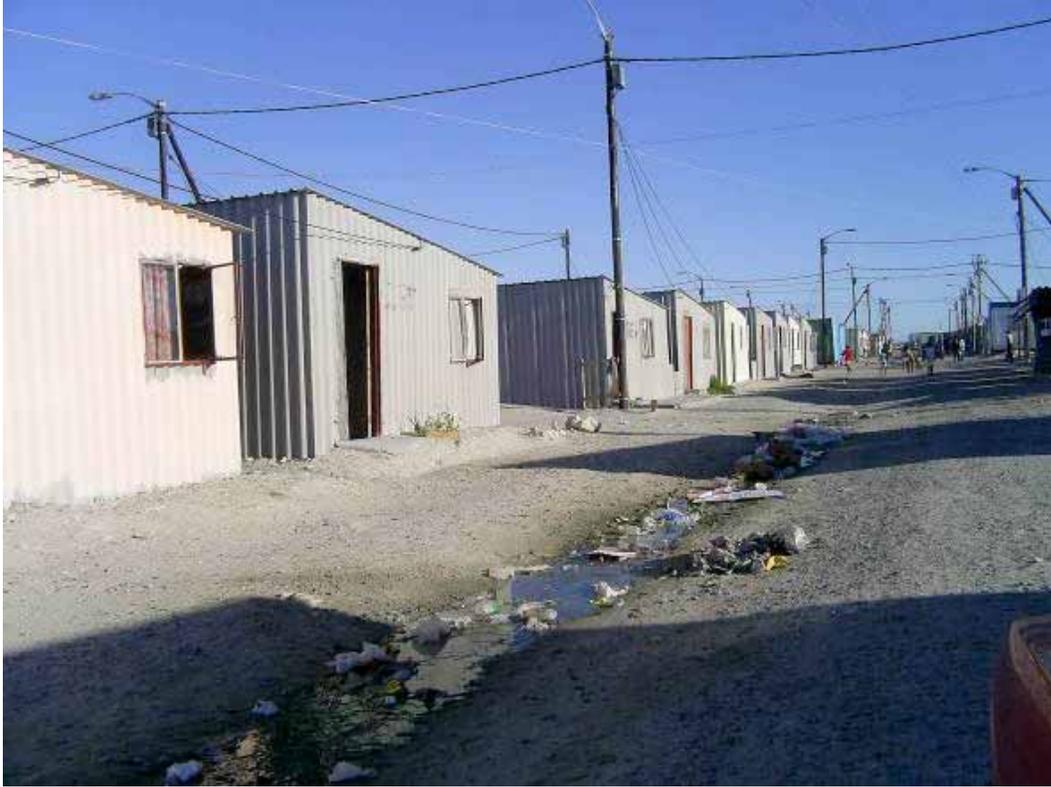
The development of the Delft TRA occurred fairly rapidly. A mix of different types of houses was provided; the main type being the Nu-Tec corrugated fibre-reinforced cement house (residents universally refer to these as 'asbestos' houses, although they do not contain asbestos). A small number of the wooden 'wendy houses' which had been discontinued at the Langa TRA were also built in Delft.

A delivery rate of up to 60 units per day was achieved in the Delft TRA, which was considerably faster than the delivery rate of the houses in the Langa TRA. Families were moved in as soon as units were completed, from June 2005 onwards.

⁹ The starter kits, worth about R900, included: a pot and pan set, plastic knives, forks and spoons, plastic cups and saucers, plastic plates, a two-plate electric stove, gas light, electric kettle, plastic bucket.

¹⁰ There were allegations that community leaders were allocating houses to people who were not eligible for them in return for bribes; the typical amount was allegedly R600 per house.

¹¹ "Cape housing row erupts", Portia Cenge & Bulelani Phillip, Cape Argus, 12 September 2005, p. 1



Figures 1 and 2: Tsunami (Phases 1-3 of the Delft TRA)



Initially, 2000 units were developed in three phases for the people displaced by the Joe Slovo fire. This part of the TRA is known as Tsunami and was and still is managed by the City of Cape Town. However, in a major turn of events the National Minister of Housing suspended the City of Cape Town's participation in the inter-governmental management of the flagship N2 Gateway Project saying the DA-led city council was using the project as a "political football"¹² In February 2006 Thubelisha Homes was appointed as the project manager and implementing agent on the N2 Gateway project. Thubelisha Homes took over the responsibility of establishing new TRA in Delft Phase Four (consisting of 3200 units, not all of which are yet complete) and which was subsequently developed to accommodate households being moved from Joe Slovo to accommodate for the further upgrading of the settlement. A few households from other areas are also accommodated here.

The ongoing operation of the TRA's (Phases one to four) has been problematic, especially in Thubelisha, where there has been conflict between Thubelisha Homes and the City of Cape Town about the funding of service provision. Even in Tsunami, funding for service provision has been insufficient, resulting in problems such as the ablution blocks not being cleaned because there is no money to pay the cleaners.

Transport has also been a problem. Short term bus services were provided for the residents of the Delft temporary relocation area. Initially only children were bussed to schools but a bus service for adults was also later introduced. The bussing of adults was discontinued on 13 August 2005, but the bussing of school children continued until November 2005 (when schools closed), when the bus service was discontinued by the City (the Provincial Department of Education however, subsequently took over the responsibility of bussing school children to Langa).

There was also unhappiness by people living in backyard shacks in Delft about the provision of temporary housing for people from Joe Slovo, and 148 units in Tsunami were illegally occupied by people from Delft. At the time of publishing this report, the City of Cape Town is still in the process of evicting these households.

The future of the residents of the Delft TRA is uncertain. It is intended that most households will eventually be allocated permanent houses in Delft, although the timeframes are not clear. Some of the people displaced from Joe Slovo because of the fire do not qualify for housing subsidies, however, and this issue has not yet been resolved. Due to the high demand for cemetery sites in Cape Town and the fact that Phase Four is built on a site intended for permanent housing, all four Phases of the Delft TRA could at some stage be dismantled and all traces that a TRA was once there will be removed.

¹² Cape Times, 13 June 2006



Figures 3 and 4: Thubelisha (Phase 4 of the Delft TRA)



3. The Survey of the Delft TRA Residents

3.1 Overview of the sample

The sample consists of 41 households, 21 from Phases 1-3 (Tsunami) and 20 from Phase 4 (Thubelisha). These households were selected on a random basis to ensure representivity from a number of different sections as different sections were occupied at different times. The interviews took place during February and March 2007. The local Ward Councillor, the Delft South branch of the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) and the two SANCO-affiliated Area Committees in Tsunami and Thubelisha all supported the project and facilitated access to residents of the TRA. Endorsement was also obtained from the City of Cape Town.

3.2 Household size, composition and origin

Most of the households in Tsunami (76%) moved in between June 2005 and February 2006. All except one of the Thubelisha households moved in between July 2006 and November 2006.

In Tsunami, the majority of households (57%) previously lived in the Langa hostels area, either in the hostels themselves or in the shacks between the hostels, while most of the rest were from Joe Slovo. In Thubelisha, the majority of residents (85%) were from Joe Slovo, who were persuaded to move in order to allow for the redevelopment of Joe Slovo.

The sample includes four households who were not officially allocated houses in the TRA. Three households acquired the house from a relative who had been allocated the house but who did not want to live there (two of these households had previously lived in hostels in Langa and one had previously lived in a formal house in Nyanga). In the other case, a single person who had been living in a backyard in Delft illegally occupied a house.

Table 1: Origin of households

<i>Origin</i>	<i>Number – Tsunami</i>	<i>Number – Thubelisha</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Displaced from Joe Slovo informal settlement	7	17	24	58.5%
Displaced from Langa hostels	7	1	8	19.5%
Displaced from shacks in the Langa hostels zones	5	-	5	12.2%
Obtained from relatives	1	2	3	7.3%
Illegal occupier	1	-	1	2.4%
Total	21	20	41	100.0%

A total of 148 people (96 adults and 52 children) live in the 41 households surveyed in the Delft TRA. The households range in size from one person to seven people, with a median household size of 4 people. Table 2 shows the breakdown of household size. Given that the houses are 24 m² in size, and that less than 5m² of built space per person is regarded as overcrowding by UN-Habitat, about 32% of households (households with 5 or more people) can be considered as living in overcrowded conditions.

Table 2: Household size

<i>Number of people in household</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1	5	12.2%
2	7	17.1%
3	8	19.5%
4	8	19.5%
5	6	14.6%
6	6	14.6%
7	1	2.4%
Total	41	100.0%

Information on household composition was collected in the survey. Table 3 shows the breakdown of household type. Only 39% of households are 'nuclear families' (parents and children), while 32% of households can be classified as 'extended families' (households including relatives other than the children of the head or heads of the household). A large proportion of households (24%) are headed by single women.

Table 3: Type of household

<i>Type of household</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Couple	4	9.8%
Couple with children	16	39.0%
Couple with children and other dependents	3	7.3%
Couple with other dependents only	2	4.9%
Single woman	2	4.9%
Single woman with children	3	7.3%
Single woman with children and other dependents	5	12.2%
Single woman with other dependents only	0	0.0%
Single man	3	7.3%
Single man with children	0	0.0%
Single man with children and other dependents	0	0.0%
Single man with other dependents only	3	7.3%
Total	41	100.0%

3.3 Employment and incomes

Of the 96 adults in the sample, 44% earn an income from some form of employment and 3% are old age pensioners or disability grantees. The unemployment rate (i.e. unemployed people who are looking for work) is 40% (which is similar to the national 'expanded definition' unemployment rate). Each formally or informally employed person supports an average of 2.5 dependents.

Table 4: Occupations of adults

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number of adults</i>	<i>Percentage (of total adults in sample)</i>
Formally employed	21	21.9%
Informally employed	21	21.9%
Unemployed – looking for work	38	39.6%
Unemployed – not looking for work (excluding pensioners/ disability grantees)	8	8.3%
Pensioners/ disability grantees	3	3.1%
Students/ scholars	5	5.2%
Total	96	100.0%

The residents have low income levels. Although some respondents were unable to provide complete information on household income, the majority of respondents were able to, and for these households, household incomes range from 0 to R4190 per month, with a median household income of R1300 per month. Table 5 shows the breakdown of incomes for the 31 households that provided full information about household income. All except one household have incomes of less than R3500 per month and the majority of households (61%) have incomes of less than R1500 per month¹³. Four households (13%) have no regular income at all.

Table 5: Household income

<i>Household income per month</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h'holds for which information available)</i>
0-R1500	19	61.3%
R1501-R3500	11	35.5%
R3501+	1	3.2%
Total	31	100.0%

¹³ The National Department of Housing classifies households in the R1501 – R3500 per month income bracket as 'the poor' and households in the 0-R1500 per month income bracket as 'the hardcore poor'.

3.4 The move to Delft

A range of questions were asked about respondents' perceptions of the move from Langa to Delft (see Table 6).

Table 6: Perceptions on the move to Delft

	YES		NO	
	Number of households	Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)	Number of households	Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)
Were you happy about moving to the Delft TRA?	12	29.3%	28	68.3%
Has your income or expenditure changed as a result of moving to Delft?	39	95.1%	1	2.4%
Has anyone in your household lost their job or is no longer able to find employment as a result of moving to the Delft TRA?	14	34.1%	26	63.4%

Note: The totals do not add up to 41 or 100% because one respondent, who had already been living in Delft, answered "not applicable" to all three questions.

The majority of households (68%) were unhappy about moving to the Delft TRA. Lack of access to a range affordable public transport options was the main reason why people were unhappy about the move to Delft, cited by 15 respondents. As one respondent summed up: "Delft is far away from work opportunities and transport is very scarce". Another respondent commented that "Here there is no choice in terms of mode of transport – we are forced to use taxis, there are no trains" and one respondent said "In Langa I was staying close to the train station and here taxis and buses are expensive" (another respondent also noted that buses and taxis are expensive and that "the only mode of transport that is cheap is trains"). Apart from being expensive, transport is also less frequent in Delft than in Langa - one respondent said that "Even taxis [in Delft] are sometimes scarce – you have to walk before you get them". As a result, many people were concerned about the transport difficulties they would face: "I was thinking about the difficulties I was to experience with regard to transport as I am working in Parow".

Another reason for not being happy about the move to Delft was because people had lived in Langa for a long time, and had social networks there, and were worried about moving to a new area. In all, 12 respondents cited this as the reason they were unhappy about moving to Delft: "We were used to Langa, we grew up there, we did all our things in Langa, and eventually got married there"; "We were used to Langa, we knew how to survive there through our social contacts"; "All my family is staying in Langa and coming to a new place not knowing anyone was very difficult".

There was also concern about the lack of electricity in the TRA, cited by 2 respondents, and concern about the quality of the temporary houses, also cited by two people (for example, one respondent said “I heard that these temporary houses are very cold, and, yes, they are”).

On the other hand, 29% of respondents said that they were happy about moving to the Delft TRA. The reason, cited by 11 respondents, was that conditions in the TRA are better than the conditions in an informal settlement: “The living conditions in Joe Slovo were very bad, as there were fires now and again, and the area was always damp”; “This place is better than living in a shack, where there are fires every day”; “We were staying in a shack in Langa, which was not well built, so it is better here”; “At least here we have our own space and do not pay any rent, unlike my previous place”; “My previous place was very small and this one here is bigger than the shack”.

Almost all respondents (95%) felt that the income or expenditure of the household had changed significantly as a result of moving to the Delft TRA compared to where they had lived before. Without exception, people who felt that there had been a significant change said that there had been an increase in expenditure.

There were a number of reasons why people felt their expenditure had increased, but the two main ones were increased transport costs and lack of electricity. These two main reasons are summed up well by comments from two respondents: “Here we spend more money on the transport and electricity than we did when we stayed in Langa”; “We always have to have money for taxis and paraffin, unlike in Langa where we used trains and had electricity”.¹⁴

Increased transport costs, as a result of Delft being further away than Langa from places of employment and not having a rail link, were cited by 34 people (83% of the sample). Typical comments included: “When we were living in Langa it was easy to visit our relatives, and those who were seeking employment could walk to places of work”; “In Langa we used trains to go to a lot of places and during weekends we would use the trains for free”; “Things like the market in Epping and shops in Athlone were within walking distance, but now we need to pay for transport”; “We spend a lot of money on transport here, there is no access to trains”; “Transport costs have increased due to the non-availability of trains here in Delft”; “Here we are forced to use taxis”; “This place is far away from everything, hence there are high transport costs”.

Respondents provided some very real examples of how the amount of money spent on transport has dramatically increased as a result of the move to Delft:

¹⁴ Although the communal water and sanitation services in the TRA are free, those households who have electricity have to pay for it using pre-payment cards. In terms of the City’s general electricity tariffs, there are 50 kW/hrs of free electricity per month.

- “My husband used to go to work by train paying R70 per month, but now we use a lot of money on transport” (the respondent’s husband now spends about R350 per month on taxi fare to get to work);
- “When I was living in Langa I used to pay R70 per month for transport using a train” (the respondent now spends about R380 per month on taxi fare to get to his job in Milnerton);
- “I use double the amount for transport I used while staying in Langa (the respondent now spends about R400 per month on transport to Montague Gardens);
- “In Langa my husband used to take a train for R20 covering 7 days, here the R57 (for a bus ticket) is only for 5 days”;
- “Here I’m using R50 a week for transport, whereas in Langa I was using R20” ;
- “In Langa it used to be R20 train ticket per week, but now transport money has increased (to R55 a week for taxi fare)”;
- “I use most of the money I get on daily taxis” (the respondent spends R12 of his wages of R60 per day on taxi fare to get to his casual job in Epping. Epping is within walking distance of Langa, so he previously did not have to pay any money for transport).

Having to spend more money on paraffin and gas and food, as a result of a lack of electricity connection and/or the higher prices in Delft, was cited by 9 people (22% of the sample): “Due to the lack of electricity, we spend a lot of money buying expensive paraffin here”; “Paraffin and gas are more expensive than electricity”; “We spend a lot of money here. Local shops are very expensive. Gas and paraffin are more expensive here than in Langa”; “Now I buy more paraffin as I do not benefit from free electricity”; “Because we do not have electricity we are forced to the shops everyday, therefore we spend a lot of money on food”.

A number of respondents also mentioned that their income had declined because of difficulties in travelling to work or looking for work. This issue was probed in greater detail, and 14 respondents (34%) said that someone in their household had lost their job or is no longer able to find employment as a result of moving to the Delft TRA. In the sample, there are 8 cases of people losing jobs (affecting 20% of households) as a result of moving to Delft:

- In 4 cases, people were not able to afford to travel to work and thus, in effect, gave up their jobs: “My husband’s sister was working in a crèche in Langa, but due to the relocation to Delft she could not afford the transport”; “I used to work in Rylands but I saw that I was spending all money on transport, so I quit”; “My wife used to walk to work in Epping. After moving to Delft she could not afford transport costs, hence she was fired for constantly being absent”; “I was working as a security guard, however due to high transport costs I resigned”.
- In 3 cases, it is claimed that people were fired because they were always late for work because of the difficulties in travelling from Delft to their place of work: “My niece used to work in Mutual using a train, but

since moving here she was always late for work which resulted in her being laid off”; “My cousin used to work in Epping, but due to coming late everyday he was laid off”; “Nandipha¹⁵ was working in Retreat. Due to the unavailability of transport and being late everyday, she was fired”

- In one case, someone lost their job through a combination of sometimes being late because of transport difficulties and sometimes being absent because of lack of money to pay for transport: “I was retrenched due to late coming or not coming at all due to unavailability of transport and high transport costs”.

There are also a number of cases of people having less opportunity to look for informal work: “By moving here, we lost our normal informal jobs, as the money to go to Langa was too expensive for us”; “My husband, due to not having transport money, sometimes loses job opportunities”; “I use a lot of money when looking for a job... More places with work opportunities were within walking distance of Langa, for example, Epping, than here”; “I used to walk when seeking employment. I now have to pay taxi fare”; “Here, whenever I get a call to come and work, I need to organise money [for transport], whereas in Langa I used to walk”.

3.5 Housing in the TRA

The majority of the sample (54%) are happy with their houses as they are of better construction than the shacks most households previously lived in (and thus provide better protection from the elements, and are also more fireproof). There is, however, widespread dissatisfaction with the Nu-Tec fibre reinforced-cement houses in the Delft TRA (which are cold in winter and are widely perceived to be asbestos, and thus a threat to health). In addition, the majority of households are dissatisfied with the size of the units (as noted above, 32% of households can be regarded as living in overcrowded conditions).

Table 7: Residents’ satisfaction with houses in the TRA

	YES		NO	
	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h’holds surveyed)</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h’holds surveyed)</i>
Are you happy with the house?	22	53.7%	19	46.3%
Are you happy with the size of the house?	14	34.1%	26	63.4%

Note: One respondent answered “neutral” with regard to the size of the house.

¹⁵ Not her real name

Of the 41 households surveyed, 33 (80%) had made improvements to their temporary houses. The estimated value of the improvements per house ranged up to R1120. The median value of improvements was R120. Table 3 shows the breakdown of the cost of improvements per household. Although in most cases the value of improvements is relatively low, the large number of households investing in their houses suggest that people expect to live in the TRAs for an extended period of time.

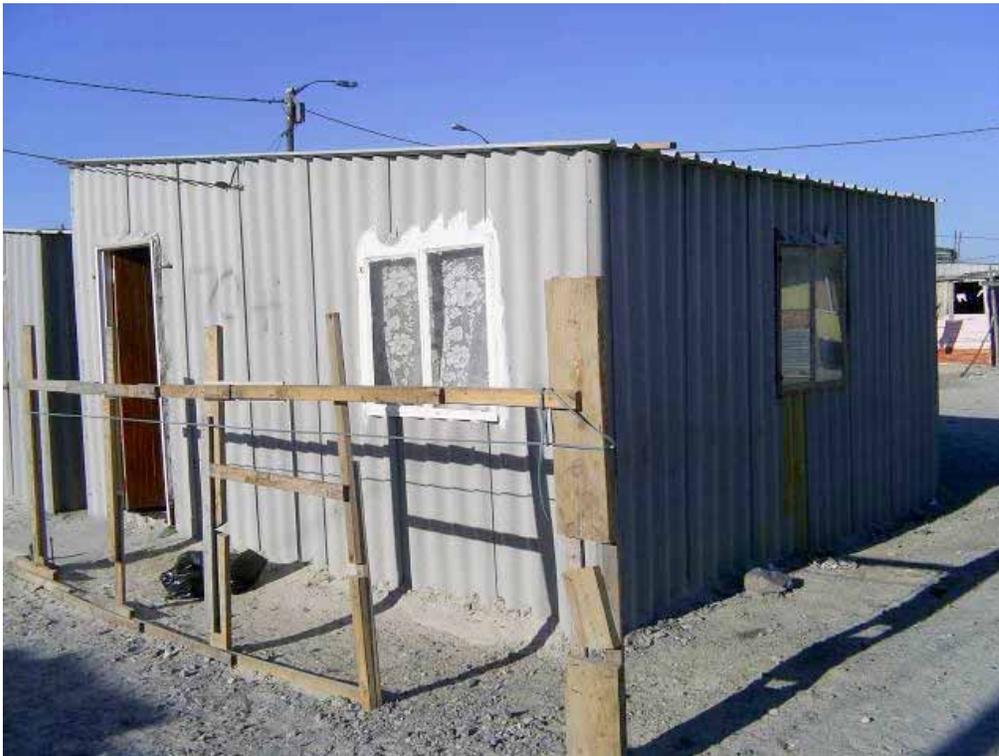


Figure 5: Nu-Tec fibre reinforced cement house

Table 8: Cost of improvements

Cost of improvements	Number of households	Percentage (of h'holds making improvements)
<R100	13	39.4%
R101 – R200	8	24.2%
R201 – R500	6	18.2%
R500 – R1000	3	9.1%
>R1000	3	9.1%
Total	33	100.0%

Painting the houses internally was the most common improvement (see Table 9). The priority seems to have been: firstly, on improving the habitability of the houses through painting internal walls and erecting internal subdivisions; secondly, improving the outside appearance of the house through painting the

external walls; and, thirdly, on securing the house through installing burglar bars and safety gates.



Figure 6: Wooden ‘wendy house’

Table 9: Types of improvements made

<i>Cost of improvements</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of total households in survey)</i>
Painted house – internal walls	28	68.3%
Painted house – external walls	14	34.1%
Internal divisions	14	34.1%
Burglar bars	12	29.3%
Safety gate	10	24.4%
Informal extensions	2	4.9%
Cement floor	2	4.9%
Ceiling	1	2.4%

31 respondents (76%) said that their households intended making further improvements to their houses.

3.6 Residents' perceptions of the TRA

A majority of respondents (63%) were unhappy about living in the TRA (see Table 10). The main reasons for unhappiness relate to:

- Transport/location: "It is difficult to stay here as transport costs are high compared to when we were staying in Langa"; "It is a struggle to stay here, there are no firms where one can go and look for a job"; "This area is in the periphery, it is far from everything, such as work opportunities".
- Unhappiness with the houses: "I want to stay in a brick house - these temporary houses are made of cheap material that is easily broken"; "These TRA houses are very cold during winter, very small and, above all, they are not safe"; "The materials used in buildings these houses is not strong – they are easily broken into"; "These TRA houses make me sick as they are made of asbestos"; "We can easily get TB here – health wise we are not safe".
- Unhappiness with the whole process: "We were dumped here, there is nothing nice about staying here", "I know that we will stay for too long here..."

On the other hand, some people were happy about living in the TRA. Comments included: "The living conditions are better here than in Joe Slovo"; "It is better than staying in the shacks in Langa, where we were exposed to fires"; "We are not staying in a overcrowded place any more, at least we have our own space". One respondent said "I'm just happy because there is a roof over my head", while another respondent said that "Staying here is a step closer to receiving a permanent house".

With regard to the surrounding community, 66% of respondents were happy about the broader Delft South community. Comments included "Since moving here I have not experienced any difficulties;" "It is quiet here"; "Crime is not that bad here if one compares it to Joe Slovo". Some, though, disagreed: "I do not like this area – there is a lot of crime around here"; "There are a lot of gangsters in this area, unlike in Langa"; "The people from outside the TRA are robbing us of our belongings, such as cell phones"; "I do not want this area, I was forced to come here. Given a chance, I will go back to Langa"; "This place is like a desert, we are far from everything".

Table 10: Satisfaction with living in the TRA/ broader area

	YES		NO	
	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)</i>
Are you happy with living in the TRA?	11	26.8%	26	63.4%
Are you happy with the surrounding area/neighbourhood?	27	65.9%	14	34.1%

Note: Due to a change in the questionnaire, the question “Are you happy with living in the TRA?” was not asked of 6 respondents. The outstanding information was subsequently obtained from 2 respondents, but information from 4 respondents is still outstanding.

With regard to services, the majority of residents are dissatisfied with access to water and washing facilities and toilets. The communal toilets, taps and showers are not being properly maintained and are often unusable. Although all the units in the TRA are eventually intended to have electricity, many households (34% of the sample) do not have electricity yet, and there is widespread dissatisfaction about this. The majority of residents (56%) are satisfied with refuse removal in the TRA.



Figure 7: Communal ablution block in Tsunami

Table 11: Services

<i>Type of service</i>	Satisfied		Not satisfied	
	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)</i>
Water/ washing facilities	14	34.1%	27	65.9%
Toilets	12	29.3%	29	70.7%
Electricity	9	22.0%	28	68.3%
Refuse removal	23	56.1%	17	41.5%

Note: The total for "Electricity" does not add up to 41 or 100%, as 4 respondents did not answer due to their lack of an electricity connection.

With regard to access to facilities (see Table 12), the highest level of satisfaction was with access to police (the Delft police station is relatively close to the TRA). Some respondents, however, disagreed (one respondent said police do not respond to the calls of residents in the TRA).

Numbers of respondents satisfied and dissatisfied with access to schools was approximately equal. Levels of dissatisfaction were higher for access to clinics and crèches. The highest levels of dissatisfaction were with access to transport and access to sporting facilities and playgrounds.

Table 12: Access to facilities

<i>Type of facility</i>	Satisfied with access		Not satisfied with access	
	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage (of h'holds surveyed)</i>
Transport	4	9.8%	37	90.2%
Clinics	17	41.5%	21	51.2%
Creches	8	19.5%	21	51.2%
Primary schools	14	34.1%	15	36.6%
High schools	14	34.1%	14	34.1%
Police	26	63.4%	12	29.3%
Sporting facilities	3	7.3%	37	90.2%
Playgrounds	3	7.3%	37	90.2%
Library	11	26.8%	25	61.0%

Note: Totals do not add up to 41 or 100% because many respondents did not use certain facilities and could therefore not comment on access to it, for example, households without children of a school going age were unable to comment on access to schools.

4. Recommendations

Four key issues are highlighted by this study of the Delft TRA: firstly, the importance of location and the enormous impact it has on households' income and expenditure and on their social networks; secondly, the importance of community participation, of people being able to be involved in decision-making that will affect their everyday lives; thirdly, the inappropriateness of the 'temporary housing' concept as a response to emergencies; fourthly, the importance of an integrated approach to development.

4.1 The importance of location

This study highlights the impacts of location on people's livelihoods. In Langa, people were able to walk to job opportunities and had access to relatively cheap rail transport. In Delft, on the other hand, people sometimes ended up having to pay five times as much on expensive taxi transport, and are only able to access job opportunities if they have money for transport to get there. In addition, for approximately 20% of households, an employed member of the household lost their job as a result of the relocation to Delft and the resulting problems in being able to travel to their place of employment.

The different locations of the Langa and Delft TRAs have resulted in very different attitudes to them. The well-located Langa TRA is a more convenient area to live in as it is close to facilities and public transport. The Delft TRA, on the other hand, is very unpopular, due to its distance from Langa and poor public transport links (especially its lack of a rail link). One community leader said that "Delft has presented us with problems, as it is far from Langa, and the kids now have to stay far from their schools, some of the aged are now far from their doctors and pension payout points and many have lost family and friends and support networks. Those of us who go to work from here struggle because of transport – there are no trains".

The survey of the Delft TRA residents highlights that the impact of relocation needs to be analysed more carefully before decisions on relocation are made, as relocation to an inappropriate location can leave people worse off (even if some of their living conditions are improved as a result of the relocation).

Apart from the economic impact on households, relocation to poor locations also negatively impact on municipal expenditure and that of other levels of government. For example, as people cease to seek employment or are forced to give up employment, the burden on the state to provide a social safety net will increase. The possible additional costs incurred by other government departments such as the Department of Health and Education which would have to quickly increase service provision in Delft should also not be overlooked in assessing the feasibility of TRAs. Furthermore, large numbers of people living in relative isolation in areas such as Delft can give rise to an increase in the

occurrence and variety of social problems, which in turn can create high levels of social instability. This instability is already evident in greater Delft, and although government carries the cost in its expenditure on, for example, crime prevention, the social cost is also borne by the households who live in these areas.

This study reinforces the view that, wherever possible, upgrading of informal settlements should be preferred to relocation, as it can enable peoples' living conditions to be improved while maintaining and building on their existing social and economic networks. The study highlights that the provision of affordable and reliable public transport can greatly enhance economic prospects of relocated households and reduces the negative impacts of relocation.

4.2 The importance of community participation

Although the views of communities next to possible relocation sites weighed heavily when consideration was given to the location of the new TRAs, the households directly affected by the relocation from Joe Slovo to Delft were not involved in the decision-making process about their relocation or the nature of the temporary accommodation that was provided.

Community leaders interviewed generally felt that there had been no real participation; people were mainly just told what had been decided for them. It was therefore difficult for community leaders to explain decisions that they had not been involved in to people, such as the allocation criteria for the temporary houses and the termination of the bus service to and from Delft.

There were also complaints from people displaced by the Joe Slovo fire about how they were informed of decisions at short notice and without consultation, for example, people alleged that they were only informed that they were moving to Delft the day before the move was due to happen. Others did not know what was going on. As one resident said "We just came because we were instructed to do so".

The lack of involvement by residents in decision-making resulted in inappropriate choices about the location of the settlement and the type of housing to be provided. This has created immense dissatisfaction and a sense of dependency in which affected households are just waiting for their 'brick houses' to be provided (even though they have no idea when or where they will be provided).

This study highlights the importance of people being involved in decisions that affect their everyday lives. A body representative of households displaced by the Joe Slovo fire should have been elected to enable the participation of affected households in decision-making about relocation and the proposed redevelopment of Joe Slovo. This would have resulted in greater consideration being given to the needs of households and would make it possible to consider

how to mitigate the negative impacts of any decisions taken (such as unavoidable relocation).

In any other situations in which residents of informal settlements may be required to be relocated, it is essential that elected, representative structures are established, and that these structures are involved in every aspect of decision-making, from deciding on whether relocation is necessary or not to deciding on where to be relocated to and what the nature of that development should be.

4.3 The inappropriateness of temporary housing as a response to emergencies

The Langa and Delft TRAs test the new Emergency Housing Policy in the Western Cape; they raise concerns about the role of temporary housing in responding to disasters.

People whose shelters have been destroyed in such disasters should ideally be able to resettle as soon as possible. Where this is not possible in the short term, temporary stay with relatives or friends or in community halls are considered preferable to provision of temporary emergency shelters, tent camps and relocation to distant locations.¹⁶

The key decision in the response to the Joe Slovo fire was to forbid resettlement at Joe Slovo and to provide temporary accommodation in communal tents until emergency housing, (using the Emergency Housing Policy) could be provided in TRAs (one of which was in a relatively distant location). This decision condemned the 2000 or so people displaced by the fire and who were unable to find temporary accommodation elsewhere to several months of appalling living conditions in the communal tents. Furthermore the lives of the people temporarily relocated to Delft were severely disrupted. The City of Cape Town and the Provincial government spent vast amounts of funds on providing food and accommodation to the people living in Tent City. The levels of expenditure achieved are unsustainable and should be measured against the cost of the immediate provision of either adequate housing or sites, services and secure tenure to the affected households

In addition, a goodwill cost was also incurred as the provision of expensive temporary accommodation for the people displaced by the fire also contributed to a wave of housing protests across the city by other people living in shacks.

The decision to forbid people to reoccupy the site seemed to have been influenced by three main factors:

- The Joe Slovo site was to be redeveloped for blocks of flats as part of the planned N2 Gateway Project. As the upgrade was not intended to be *in situ*, it

¹⁶ *Shelter After Disaster: Guidelines for Assistance*, Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordination (UNDRO), 1982: p. 6

would have required the temporary relocation of the residents of Joe Slovo in any event, so this process was essentially just brought forward in time.

- The majority of the people displaced by the Joe Slovo fire were not in fact from the Joe Slovo informal settlement but from the adjacent hostels area in Langa – the hostels buildings had been damaged by the fire and could not be reoccupied.
- The Provincial Government was required to reserve funding for emergency housing and the Emergency Housing Policy had recently been put in place; funds and a funding mechanism were therefore readily available for the provision of emergency housing.

Where TRAs are already in existence with space available for new residents, they could play a role in providing short term accommodation for disaster victims, but initiating a TRA such as the Delft TRA in response to a specific disaster is clearly ineffective. The experience of the Langa and Delft TRAs show that temporary housing can take as long and cost as much as the provision of permanent housing. However, TRAs force people to live in unsuitable and unsettled conditions for protracted periods. They waste resources and delay addressing people's real needs (as one respondent in this survey aptly noted, "We can not be happy while thousands of temporary houses are built instead of brick houses"). Moving to a permanent location as soon as possible, where people can have some form of long term security of tenure, is therefore always better than moving to a temporary resettlement area.

In cases where people cannot be permanently settled on the original land, for example, because of floodplains, collapsible soil, land fill sites, high voltage overhead cables and the like, the priority should be to resettle them on suitable alternative sites in close proximity to the original location. This could be effectively implemented using a "managed land settlement" approach. The key components of a managed land settlement approach are that people can *rapidly* get access to land and basic services, typically with some form of interim tenure that is dependent upon immediate and continued occupation of the plot by the household. Table 13 compares the managed land settlement approach with the approach adopted for the Langa and Delft TRAs. A managed land settlement approach fits in well with the spirit of the Breaking New Ground policy, which has a strong focus on the incremental upgrading of informal settlements, with security of tenure and basic services as the first phase of the upgrading and the provision of formal houses as the last phase.

The Emergency Housing Policy should be seen in this context as a short-term focus on the provision of a temporary physical shelter whilst sacrificing longer-term access to adequate housing is contradictory to the underlying principles of Breaking New Ground.

Table 13: Comparison between the Langa/Delft TRAs and managed land settlement

Issue	Managed land settlement	Langa/ Delft TRAs
Level of permanence	Permanent – people have some form of security of tenure and can invest in and improve their housing; the settlement is capable of developing into a sustainable human settlement.	Temporary – people will be required to relocate at some point; the settlement is planned to be temporary and is not capable of developing into a sustainable human settlement.
Shelter	People construct informal dwellings; although these may initially be inadequate the dwellings can be extended and upgraded over time.	Inadequate prefabricated dwellings which cannot be extended or upgraded over time
Outdoor space	Families have plots with private outdoor space.	Temporary shelters are packed closely together without provision for private outdoor space
Risk of fire	Risk of fire can be minimised by enforcing maximum plot coverages and building lines on plots and by ensuring that no building occurs in the firebreaks.	Although the shelters are constructed of relatively fireproof material they are very close together increasing the risk of fires spreading.

4.4 The importance of an integrated approach

The study highlights the pitfalls of a technocratic approach towards ‘development, in which there is a solitary focus on physical development (such as the provision of shelter, water and sanitation) and where social and economic issues are an afterthought. It is clear that for most households living in the Delft TRA that, although they have better shelter and better access to services than they previously did, in social and economic terms they are worse off than they were when they residing in Langa. Some respondents even explicitly stated that they had been better off in Langa, due to the better access to economic opportunities and social networks, and therefore intend to return to Langa.

It is therefore clear from the survey of residents of the Delft TRA that an integrated approach to development is essential. Housing and infrastructure delivery must be regarded as part of broader integrated development interventions with clear social and economic development goals. Urban poverty is complex and multi-dimensional, and “single sector interventions cannot

sustainably improve the shelter conditions of urban poor households”¹⁷. In an integrated approach it is important that poverty is addressed through multi-faceted strategies that include strengthening social capital (strengthening community institutions and social networks, e.g. neighbourhood committees, savings groups, income generating activity groups), human capital (improved health and education), financial capital (increasing income and access to credit) and physical capital (access to infrastructure and shelter). What an integrated approach means in practice, therefore, is that informal settlement upgrading initiatives need to have a range of complementary programmes that address physical, social and economic development needs.

Ultimately, development needs to be about more than the provision of shelter and infrastructure, but should be about understanding people’s existing circumstances and contributing towards improving people’s lives in a meaningful way.

5. Conclusions

The interpretation and implementation of new policy initiatives is critical to attainment of the policy objectives. The intentions of new policy initiatives and funding mechanisms such as the Emergency Housing Programme should ultimately govern the implementation process. The establishment of the Delft TRA as increased vulnerability of the households affected by the Joe Slovo fire, has heightened community conflict, and has had a huge financial cost to the municipality and possibly also to other government departments. In light of these costs, the policy intention is not achieved and the expense of establishing the TRA cannot be justified.

The Joe Slovo fire prompted the establishment of the TRA which now appears to be evolving into a semi-permanent settlement; on review it is clear that decision-making was made more complex by the large number of affected households and the plans for the future development of the site. In the case of disaster management, decisions like the one taken to establish the TRA are taken under pressure when adequate forward planning has not occurred. Ultimately the affected households and the state pay the price for any errors in judgment. The analysis in this report should therefore be used to develop a more effective interpretation of the policy which is aligned with the policy intentions. The report offers the opportunity to reflect and evaluate on the establishment of the Delft TRA and to become more conscious of the implications of this decision thus enabling decision-makers to act differently in the future.

¹⁷ Majale, Michael (2003): *An Integrated Approach to Urban Housing Development: Has a Case Been Made?*, paper presented at the World Bank Urban Research Symposium 2003: “Urban Development for Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction”, 15-17 December 2003, Washington, D.C. p. 7.

APPENDIX

LIVING ON THE EDGE STUDY
Questionnaire for residents of Delft TRA

Questionnaire #

Interviewer: <input type="text"/>	Date: <input type="text"/> /2007
Area: <input type="text"/>	
Name of person interviewed:	<input type="text"/>
Section & unit number:	<input type="text"/>

1. Background

1.1 When (month and year) did you move to the TRA? Month
Year

1.2(a) Where did you live before moving to the TRA?

(b) Describe your accommodation at this previous place:

- 1 Shack in informal settlement 2 Hostel
- 3 Other _____

(c) How long (how many years) did you live here? yrs

(d) Why did you move there? _____

1.3 (a) Where did you live before this previous place? _____

(b) Describe your accommodation at the place before your previous place:

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Formal house | 4 | Room(s) in formal house |
| 2 | Shack in informal settlement | 5 | Backyard shack |
| 3 | Hostel | 6 | Traditional dwelling/ rondawel |
| 7 | Other _____ | | |

(c) How long (how many years) did you live at this previous place? yrs

1.4(a) How did you acquire this house in the TRA?

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | Allocation by City of Cape Town |
| 2 | Allocation by Thubelisha Homes |
| 3 | Purchase <input type="text" value="R"/> |
| 4 | Rental <input type="text" value="R"/> p.m. |

(b) Were you happy about moving to the Delft TRA? Yes No

Why? _____

2. Household members

(a) Number of adults (18 years or older) in household:

(b) List adult members of the household:

#	NAME	GENDER <i>F=Female M=Male</i>	AGE (Year Born)	RELATION TO H/HEAD <i>See Code List</i>	EMPLOYMENT STATUS <i>See Code List</i>
1				1 (H/Head)	
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

CODES:	
Relationship	Occupation
1=Head of household	1=Formally employed
2=Husband/wife/partner of head	2=Informally employed
4=Adult son/daughter of head	3=Housewife

5=Brother/sister of head	4=Unemployed, seeking work
6=Parent of head	5=Unemployed not seeking work
7=Other relatives (e.g. in-law, niece)	6=Student
8=Tenant	7=Pensioner

(c) Where do the income-earners in the household work?

Name of person	Type of work (please be as specific as possible)	Name of employer	How long have you worked there?	Location (please be as specific as possible: street, area)	How do you travel to work?	How much does it cost?

(d) Number of children (under age of 18) in household:

(e) List all the children in the household

Name	Age	Name/location of school	How do they get to school

(f) Do any members of the household have an illness requiring long-term treatment?

Yes No

If yes, who, and what illness(es)?

(g) How are these illnesses treated?

1 Clinic: _____ 2 Day hospital: _____ 3 Private doctor
4 Sangoma 5 Other _____

3(a) What is the household's *regular* monthly income?

(a) Formal employment		R
(b) Informal employment		R
(c) Pension	1. Government	R
	2. Employer	R
	3. Other	R
(d) Social welfare grants	1. Disability Grant	R
	2. Child Support Grant	R
	3. Foster Care Grant	R
	4. Care Dependency Grant	R
(g) Other (specify) _____		R
Total		R

(b) How much does the household usually pay per month for the following?

Expense	Amount per month (R)
(a) Groceries/food	
(b) Electricity	
(c) Other fuel e.g. gas, paraffin	
(d) Transport	
(e) Credit (furniture, clothes, loans, etc.)	
(f) Other _____	
(g) Total	

(c) Which of the following appliances does the household have in this house?

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------|---|---------------------|
| 1 | TV set | 4 | Electric stove/oven |
| 2 | Washing machine | 5 | 2 plate stove |
| 3 | Fridge | 6 | Microwave oven |
| 7 | DVD player | 8 | CD player/ hi-fi |

4(a). Has your income or expenditure changed significantly as a result of moving to the Delft TRA (compared to where you lived before)?

Yes No

Explain:

(b) Has anyone in your household lost their job or is no longer able to find employment as a result of moving to the Delft TRA?

Yes No

If yes, explain who and why: _____

5(a) What additions/improvements have the household made to this house?

- 1 Painted house – external walls
- 2 Painted house – internal walls
- 3 Burglar bars
- 4 Safety gate
- 5 Internal divisions (describe _____)
- 6 Informal extension (describe _____)
- 7 Other _____

(b) What was the total cost of the improvements?

(c) Do you intend making more improvements?

Yes No

If yes, what improvements? _____

6. Is this house/site used for business purposes? Yes No

If yes, what business? _____

7(a) Are you happy with this house? Yes No

Why? _____

(b) Are you happy with the size of this house?

Yes No Neutral

(c) Are you satisfied with your access to water/ washing facilities?

Yes No Neutral

If not, why? _____

(d) Are you satisfied with your access to toilets? Yes No Neutral

If not, why? _____

(e) Are you satisfied with your access to electricity? Yes No Neutral

If not, why? _____

(f) Are you satisfied with refuse removal in the TRA? Yes No Neutral

If not, why? _____

8. Are you satisfied with access to the following facilities?

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|----|
| (a) Transport | Yes | No |
| (b) Clinics | Yes | No |
| (c) Crèches | Yes | No |
| (d) Primary schools | Yes | No |
| (e) High schools | Yes | No |
| (f) Police | Yes | No |
| (g) Sporting facilities | Yes | No |
| (h) Playgrounds | Yes | No |
| (i) Library | Yes | No |

9. Where are the facilities that the household members use?

Facility	Where <i>(please be as specific as possible: street, area)</i>	How do you travel there <i>(if by public transport how much does it cost per time period)</i>
(a) Crèche		
(b) Primary school		
(c) High school		
(d) Clinic		
(e) Hospital		
(f) Grocery shop		

10(a)(i) Are you happy with living in the TRA?

Yes No

Why? _____

(ii) Are you happy with the surrounding area/neighbourhood?

Yes No

Why? _____

(b) Is it safe to walk around the neighbourhood in the evenings/night?

Yes No

(c) Do you feel safe in your home?

Yes No

(d) If no, why not? _____

11. What do you think are the good points of the TRA as a whole?

12 What do you think are the negative points of the TRA as a whole?

13. Do you have any suggestions as to how the conditions in the TRA could be improved?

14. What are your plans for the future?

- 1 Wait for a formal house in Delft
- 2 Sell your house and move to another area (where? _____)
- 3 Rent your house out and move to another area (where? _____)
- 4 Other: _____