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instant cities and the emergence of temporal urbanism

Abstract

In the era of globalisation we are required to negotiate a large series of global flows. These include the flow of capital ideas, imagery, goods and people. Contemporary culture has increasingly become nomadic, and the idea of place has become transitive. This condition stands in contradiction to the time-honoured notion of the city as a stable entity. Whether brought about by natural catastrophe or initiated by choice, instant cities emerge, only to disappear again just as rapidly. This has given rise to new terms such as relief urbanism, deadline urbanism or event urbanism. This shift from notions of fixed locality to temporary accommodation for mass migration requires equivalent forms of flexibility in planning. (Weiss 2007:3)

This thesis will focus on the particular flow within this contemporary situation which has the biggest implication for architecture, namely the movement of people. Since the world war, migrancy has rapidly become more global in scope and scale with there being more mobility than any other period in history. (Cairns 2004:3) Contemporary migrancy involves the movement of immigrants, emigrants, guest workers, refugees and asylum seekers. The effects of migrancy are also being more intensely felt and widespread than ever before. Nowhere are the impacts more evident than in Africa where the movement of people as a result of war, poverty and persecution are central to the continent's economics and politics. While migrancy is rapidly transforming Africa the region lacks the capacity to understand and manage these movements. (Forced Migration Studies Programme 2008) So the focus of this thesis will be on refugees and asylum seekers seeking refuge in South Africa and the impacts it is having on displaced people themselves and the local population made terrifyingly manifest in the recent Xenophobic attacks plaguing the country.

Following a discussion of the many problems faced by refugees and the root causes of the Xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg this thesis will look at the alleviation of some of these problems culminating in the design of a Prefabricated Housing Prototype and System which can be implemented in a combination of contexts. The system will be developed using 3 test studies. The first will be as an infill project in an dense urban context providing cheap rental unit options for the urban poor including South African low income earners and refugees in the inner city, the second will be a housing model for upgrading stable South African informal settlements and the third as an alternative Refugee camp in an emergency or cross border context. It will examine the role of architecture as a means to sustain dignity and create a sense of belonging for people with very few social connections. The facility will aim to help people regain control of their lives by helping them to contribute to the market economy. It will also aim to be an architecture that is against alienation and will facilitate healing.



02



03

02 . Reiger Park Informal Settlement
(www.googleearth.com)

03. Glenanda Temporary Refugee Camp
(photo by author)

IMAGES



framing the refugee experience : problem analysis

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04 . Image of billboard in Musina Township at the South African border (Mail and Guardian 2008)

IMAGES

problem analysis

South Africa has made important strides in the protection of people who have been compelled to leave their countries as a result of well founded fear of persecution, violence and conflicts with the signing of United Nations and African Union Refugee conventions. It has also developed its own Refugee Act in 1998 which was adopted in 2000. Under this legislation refugees and asylum seekers have the right to temporary refuge, employment, education, health care, public relief, freedom of movement and legal representation.(NCRA 2006:3)

These rights however, are far from guaranteed with poor access to asylum procedures, delays in application, inadequate resources, obstacles to government funded social services and unlawful harassment, detention and deportation. (NCRA 2006:3) The government has also not clearly acknowledged the position

of refugees and failed to create awareness around South Africa's international obligations.

The plight of refugees has come alarmingly to the fore recently through the barbaric, indiscriminate attacks on foreigners in Townships and informal settlements in Gauteng and elsewhere in the country. Crime, job poaching, slow housing delivery, inadequate service delivery and lack of faith in formal structures have been cited as the main contributors to the violence. The approach of integration which tries to make these people invisible is a dangerous route and is major contributor to fuelling xenophobic sentiments. This forces refugees to compete with the already stretched local population at the lower end of the economy for scarce resources and services leading to a growing resentment. A large majority of people living in Informal Settlements and Squatter camps

still live in appalling circumstances blighted by overcrowding, joblessness and crime and where social services are nearly non existent. Many of these impoverished people fear that foreigners are taking these desperately needed resources away from them.

So the attacks on foreigners are clearly a symptom of the widespread desperation felt by many poor South Africans at the rate of service and resource delivery. (Saturday Star May 17 2008:5) This problem analysis will briefly examine the the challenges facing refugees in South Africa followed by issues of Xenophobia linked to the provision of social services and resources to impoverished local communities throughout the country. Finally it will explore the issue of emergency preparedness in relation to the political situation in Zimbabwe and the emergency camps that have been set up across the country.



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05. Refugees at the Musina Detention Centre
(Gorten 2008:5)

framing the refugee experience

the demographics

The design of a housing prototype which can facilitate meaningful social and economic development can only be conceptualised with a sound knowledge of the inherent problems faced by refugees and Asylum seekers in Johannesburg. Since 1994, South Africa has become a primary destination and point of transit for people from across the African continent and beyond. An important number of these are refugees and asylum seekers who have been forced to flee their own countries and are seeking safety in South Africa.

According to the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), approximately 53,361 new applications for asylum were registered during the year at the Department's five Refugee Reception Offices. Of these, the vast majority, 41,437 (77.7%) were men. The greatest number of those who sought asylum in 2006 were people from Zimbabwe (18 000), with others coming from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, elsewhere on the African continent, and South Asia. Between 2000 and 2006, South Africa granted asylum (i.e. refugee status) to approximately 30,200 people in total out of the close to 200,000 applications. (CRMSA 2007) Some of these have returned to their countries of origin while others are living elsewhere. However, most of the 200,000 in this 'backlog' are still waiting for their cases to be adjudicated, creating a group of people living in limbo, unsure of what their future holds. (CRMSA 2007) These figures only take into account the number of migrants that have applied for asylum, with many people weary of the process and do not apply.

The Forced Migration Study project estimates that the actual number is close to 850 000 to 1 million people. (Landau 2005) Some of the major problems faced by refugees and asylum seekers are access to the asylum process, unlawful harassment, detention, deportation, poor access to social services (namely health care, education, social assistance) and employment. They are also subject to violence and exploitation as a result of xenophobia, gender based persecution and improper provision for minors. (CRMSA 2007)

Unlawful harassment, detention and deportation

Many asylum seekers are discouraged from reporting to immigration officials due to fears of extortion and the strong possibility that they will be arbitrarily and illegally detained at the Lindela Repatriation centre before they are able to lodge asylum claims. Foreigners also face systematic abuse at the hands of the South African Police service, smugglers and vigilantes. Those who do lodge applications are still faced with poor administrative capacity, discrimination, exploitation, extortion, long queues, poor sanitary conditions and inadequate facilities at the Refugee Reception Offices. (Landau 2005)



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06. Refugees at the Musina Detention Centre (Gorten 2008:6)

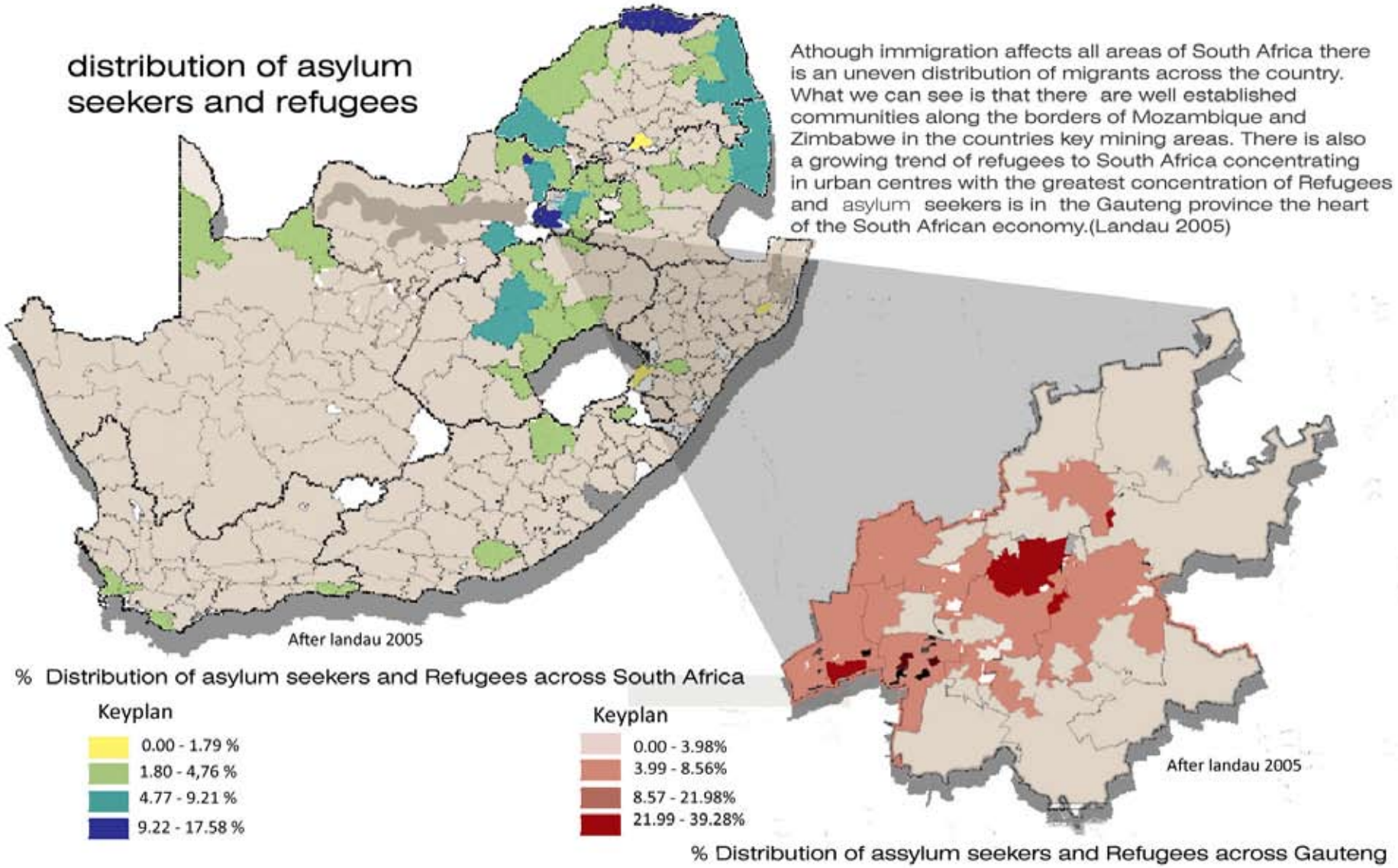
07. Cross Border Traders at the Beit Bridge Border (Gorten 2008:6)

08. Illegal Immigrants being smuggled into South Africa at Beit Bridge (Gorten 2008:6)

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distribution of asylum seekers and refugees

Although immigration affects all areas of South Africa there is an uneven distribution of migrants across the country. What we can see is that there are well established communities along the borders of Mozambique and Zimbabwe in the countries key mining areas. There is also a growing trend of refugees to South Africa concentrating in urban centres with the greatest concentration of Refugees and asylum seekers is in the Gauteng province the heart of the South African economy.(Landau 2005)



09. Maps showing distribution of asylum seekers across South Africa and Gauteng (after Landau 2005)

understanding the demographic

To design a successful facility for refugees and asylum seekers in the country there needs to be a sufficient understanding of the demographics of refugees and asylum seekers in the country. Research shows that 59% of refugees in Johannesburg are male with 41% being female. It also shows that 50% of refugees are aged between 20 -39,25.9% between 40 and 59 and 38.9% between 60 and 80 years old(NCRA 2006)



Single, widowed or separated refugees dominate
41% of refugees and asylum seekers being single (Perberdy 2004:14-17)

Broken Households
30.5% of refugees are temporarily separated from their families (Perberdy 2004:14-17)

Family Households
27.3% of refugees are married with family in the country



Growing Number of Children
9.4% of refugees are minors accompanied by parents or orphaned or abandoned after arrival in the country (NCRA 2006)

lindela repatriation centre



IMAGES

11. Refugees at Lindela. (after Gorten,J 2008)

lindela (bosasa) repatriation centre

The arbitrary detention of undocumented migrants has become commonplace in South Africa. When asylum seekers are affected by such detention it becomes a serious violation of many universally recognised human rights. The driving force behind this is the misplaced deterrent policy which blurs the lines between asylum seekers and economic migrants. (SAHRC2005)

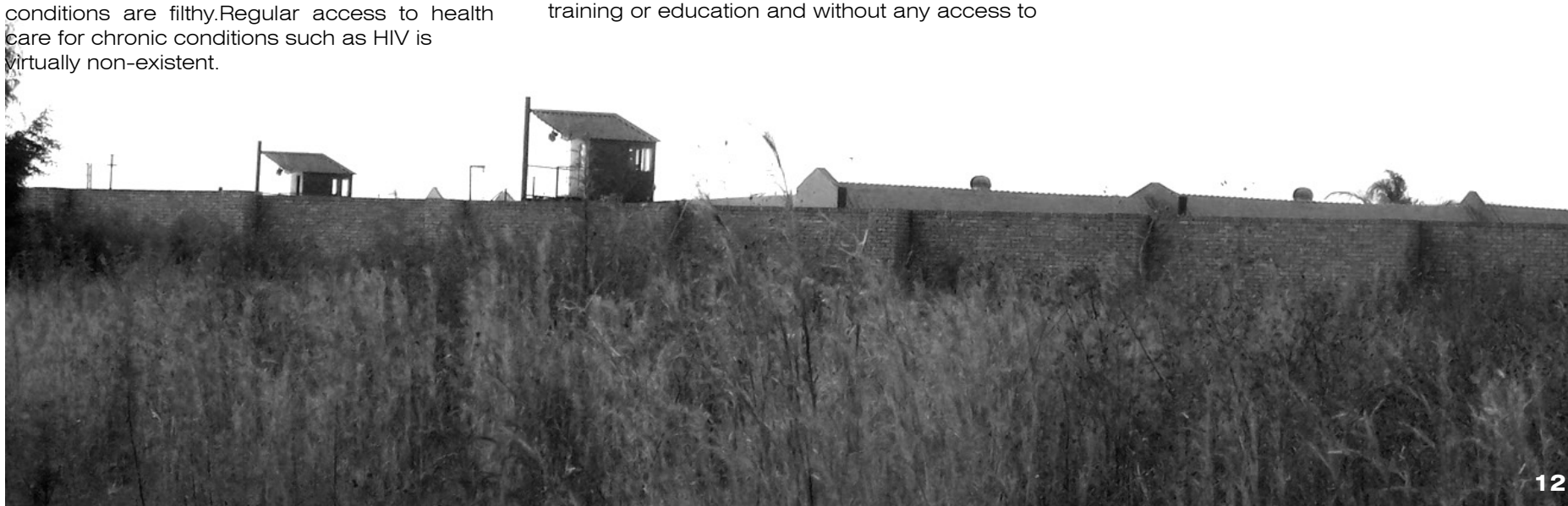
Detention centres pose health risks for immigrants. Detainees report that they are subject to physical abuse and intimidation from prison wardens, private security guards and government officials. Overcrowding and lack of adequate ventilation puts detainees at risk of contracting TB. The food is poor and the living conditions are filthy. Regular access to health care for chronic conditions such as HIV is virtually non-existent.

Lindela is the largest immigration detention centre in the country. It is located just outside Johannesburg and has the capacity to hold up to 4,000 detainees. On my visit to the Lindela I discovered that the facility is run in a manner comparable to a prison. It should be kept in mind that such facilities are not meant to be punitive but as a transitional facility. The problems at Lindela are like those of many other prisons across the country. There are problems of overcrowding with people forced to share beds.

There is also a lack of proper food, medical services, poor sanitation, insufficient recreational facilities and access to visitors and phones. There is also no opportunity for vocational training or education and without any access to

reading material. Women are subject to abuse from staff and male inmates due to certain facilities being in communal areas.

The centre also houses children in the company of their parents without any proper facilities. Lindela also makes no provision for detained people to exercise their religion and receive diets in keeping with their religion. One of the biggest problems faced at Lindela is the detention of people with a legitimate claim to asylum in deplorable conditions for deportation back to their own countries leading to further persecution. (SAHRC 2005)



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12. Image outside Lindela Repatriation Centre
(by author)

IMAGES

refugee reception offices



IMAGES **13,14,15** . Images of Refugee Reception Offices in Rosettenville (by author) **13**
16. Image showing plastic chairs outside Crown Mines Refugee Reception Office (by author)

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16

rosettenville and crown mines refugee reception offices

Official Identity papers are critical to the protection of refugees in the country. These documents are essential for people to find work, to access social services and preventing arbitrary arrest, detention and deportation. Despite their importance, refugees face severe obstacles accessing these necessary documents to which they are legally entitled. (NCRA 2006)

The refugee reception offices are located in Rosettenville and Crown Mines in the periphery of the city and are inaccessible to people needing to apply for refugee status. People are forced to wait in long queues unprotected from the weather often in unsanitary conditions. On my visit to the Rosettenville Refugee reception office I saw that people were forced to queue down a long alleyway to access the office. There was no provision for ablution facilities and people were seated under temporary structures. I also found that there were insufficient staff and office facilities at the centre, compounding the problem. People also face discrimination and exploitation at the hands of Home Affairs officials, Security Guards and translators.

I found a similar situation at the new Crown Mines office. The office is situated in an industrial area on the outskirts of the city and is very difficult to locate. Here I found long queues of people waiting in the sun under carports on plastic chairs outside the small office facility. Here all the problems faced at the Rosettenville office still persist. Those who gain access to the Refugee reception office, often upon payment, face

administrative delays, staff that are overworked or under-motivated and further exploitation from translators and officials. (Landau 2005)

For these reasons, acquiring status as either an asylum seeker or refugee typically requires stamina, determination, and cash. Those unable to meet these requirements, including the elderly, infirm, poor, and other vulnerable groups, are effectively denied the protections to which they are legally entitled. Although some are able to navigate the system without encountering corruption, these appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Similarly, there are committed officials, but they are overworked and do not receive the support they need to meet their assigned responsibilities. (Landau 2005)

Once seen by the Department of Home Affairs, asylum seekers are usually granted 3-6 month permits which must be renewed. These allow them to work and live legally in South Africa. Getting refugee status can take many months and many get rejected. Of the estimated 200,000 refugee applications submitted between 2000 and 2006, only 30,200 applicants gained refugee status. Many people are still waiting for the outcome of their application. As government has not formally recognised Zimbabwe as a country in political crisis, refugee status is even more difficult to get for Zimbabweans than for people from other countries. (Landau 2005)



17. Refugees queuing at Reception Office
(Gorten 2008:8)

central methodist church

The central methodist church in the Johannesburg central business district has become a sanctuary for many people seeking refuge in Gauteng. The church provides shelter and a degree of social support and dignity to approximately 1500 refugees.



IMAGES

18. Refugees Living at the Central Methodist Church being harrassed and arrested(Mail and Gaurdian 2008)

poor access to social assistance and services

Section 27 of the South African Bill of Rights stipulates that everyone in South Africa has the right to sufficient food, water and social security. When people are unable to support themselves, they are entitled to appropriate social assistance. These services include access to housing, medical services, education and employment. The provision of basic social and economic rights is critical to non-nationals living a healthy life of dignity that allows them to contribute to the communities in which they live. Although these basic rights are guaranteed under the constitution, refugees often find many obstacles to getting assistance and are forced to compete with poor South Africans for whatever limited resources are available. (Forced Migration Studies Programme 2008)

Social services

Often refugees are refused health care at clinics and hospitals due to confusion as to who is entitled to service or due to outright discrimination. Other problems faced with regard to access to health care are the lack of interpreters which make it difficult for people to communicate their ailments. With regard to education, children are excluded from education due to poor documentation processes, problems of fee exemption, language, age and discrimination. Children are also subject to problems of xenophobia and are faced with language barriers.

With regards to housing there is no provision for the housing of refugees in the national housing code. This leaves refugees open to exploitation by slumlords and are forced to live in appalling conditions and are often illegally evicted. Finally with regard to employment, refugees can only obtain work once they have received Section 22 or 24 permits. There is a huge backlog to obtaining these documents making it difficult for people to get employment. They are also disadvantaged by being unable to have their qualifications recognised and by programmes controlling informal sector business such as street trading. (CRMSA 2007)

So with the lack of provision of social assistance refugees often need to turn to various non governmental organisations for assistance. The Central Methodist Church in central Johannesburg, run by Bishop Paul Verryn is one such place where about 1,500 Zimbabwean and refugees from other African countries as well as some poor South Africans seek shelter and have a degree of social support and dignity. The Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) provides health-care support to people staying at the church. Many people living there have HIV and/or TB. Even here refugees aren't safe from discrimination and persecution with the recent unconstitutional raids on the church where immigrants were indiscriminately arrested and harassed. .



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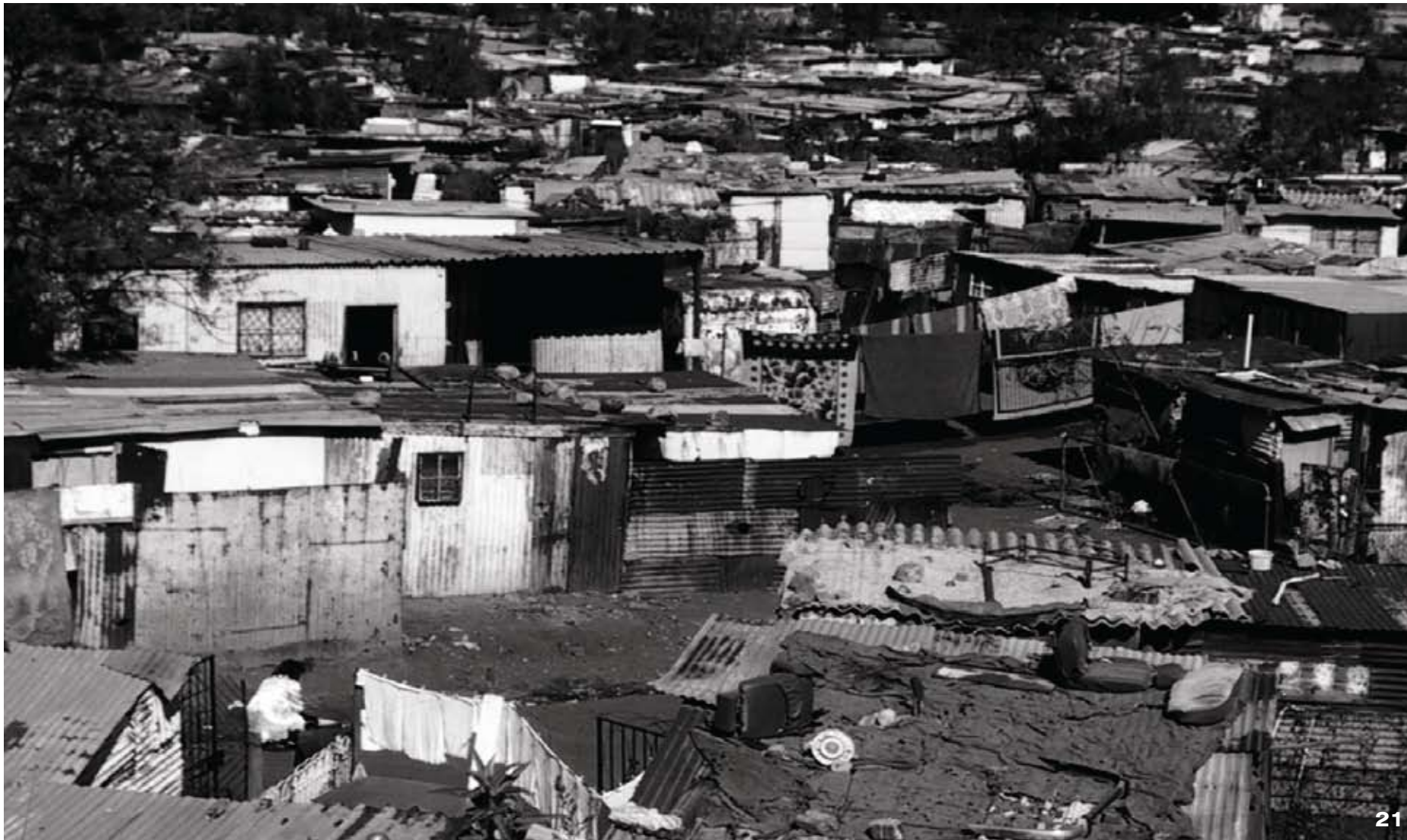
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19. A child refugee from xenophobic violence is surrounded by people's possessions in a tent at a makeshift refugee camp at a police station in Johannesburg. (<http://www.monstersandcritics.com>[cited: June 2008])

20. Children gather at the preschool and child care ministry of Central Methodist Mission in Johannesburg(<http://www.monstersandcritics.com>[cited: June 2008])

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informal settlements and housing backlog



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21. Informal Settlements in Orange Farm
(by author)

xenophobia and service delivery

It has become clear that one of the leading causes of growing xenophobic sentiment stems from the slow rate of housing delivery and lack of access to social services for the majority of impoverished people in the country and the competition for the resources. The outbreak of xenophobic violence in Alexandra began as a result of anger at the fact that many of the RDP houses which are meant to be provided for South Africans were occupied by foreigners. These were sold by people who could not afford to maintain the houses and elected to get money in return. So in order to understand the needs for a suitable intervention there needs to be a general understanding of the obstacles faced in the housing backlog.

Housing backlog in South Africa

More than 2.2-million families in South Africa still live in informal settlements with no proper ablution services or running water. The majority of these people earn less than R3 500 gross incomes per month. According to the South African Constitution, housing is a right to be enjoyed by all. The National Department of Housing has an obligation according to the Constitution to ensure that all South Africans have a decent, secure and comfortable home. Development and delivery of houses generates income and employment and therefore plays an important role in the growth of the economy. (<http://www.iol.co.za> [cited: June 2008])

Housing backlog continues to grow despite the delivery of over 2.4-million subsidised houses over the past 12 years. The backlog of housing is currently estimated at between 2.2-million and 2.5-million houses across South Africa. In 2004, the National Department of Housing developed a plan called the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements, commonly known as Breaking New Ground initiative, through which the government seeks to achieve its constitutional responsibility of ensuring that every citizen has access to permanent housing that provides secure tenure, protection and access to basic services. (<http://www.iol.co.za> [cited: June 2008]) Some key objectives of Breaking New Ground initiative are to eradicate all informal settlements by 2014 and the delivery of houses within the context of integrated sustainable human settlements with all social infrastructure and amenities. However due to a variety of obstacles there is a significant backlog in most provinces.

The Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth area) municipality, which estimated a housing backlog of 80 000 is the closest to the target which it could clear in eight years, while the housing programmes of the other municipalities would probably not solve the housing crisis in this generation. Johannesburg and eThekwin (Durban area) and Cape Town are cities with the highest housing backlog 250 000 units each. In the past Johannesburg had managed to deliver about 12 000 units per year, but in recent years it had slumped to producing only about 5 000 units per annum. Durban's current delivery rate of 13 000 units a year make it impossible to clear its 250 000unit backlog before 2025. (www.tradeinvestsa.co.za [cited June 2008])



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22. A two room RDP house that is capable to be extended by two extra rooms at a later stage.

23. A site and service scheme in Orange Farm where ablution cores were installed on site.

IMAGES

challenges and obstacles

To achieve the 2014 target of eradicating all informal settlements as well as meeting all Breaking New Ground targets, National Department of Housing faces major obstacles which are contributing to the backlog. Municipalities are largely struggling to deliver because of the unavailability of land. Municipalities were also likely to incur higher unit costs in the provision of housing because, having used cheaper development sites in the past, they are now forced to turn to more expensive sites. There is also a slow approval process with regards to planning and proclamation of land

for development leading to further delays. (www.tradeinvestsa.co.za [cited June 2008])

Escalating building costs within the housing market have also increased by 25 percent year-on-year due to massive infrastructure projects such as the Gautrain and soccer stadiums in preparation for 2010 World Cup. A programme to address the housing shortage in the cities would mean that 1,2-million homes needed to be built over the next 15 years at a rate of 85 000 a year. The cost would be just under R32-billion, excluding financing costs. (http://www.iol.co.za [cited: June 2008])

The continued migration of rural people to cities in search of job opportunities has also contributed to the problem. Municipal officials have pointed to the risk of housing delivery being undermined because of the rate of migration to cities. Other delays have been caused by Eskom's decision to delay electricity certificates for new building projects by up to six months. Sub-standard houses are being constructed that have to be broken down and rebuilt. Finally there is also a lack of availability of finance from all sectors of society. (www.tradeinvestsa.co.za [cited June 2008])



IMAGES

24. Informal Settlements in Orange Farm
(by author)

emergency preparedness and disaster management

zimbabwe crises

The in the light of the recent uncontested presidential elections in Zimbabwe which took place within a context of political violence, economic crisis, and increasing food shortages we need to examine the countries emergency preparedness. So with the continued Political instability of that country South Africa has to be prepared for a potential mass influx of refugees. Cross border migration from Zimbabwe has already rising significantly in recent times although exact figures are difficult to determine due to a large number of people entering the country illegally. (Refer to table 1 of estimated figures)

Table 1: Published estimates of Zimbabweans Migration Rates by Source (Polzer 2007:5)

ActualEstimate	Comparative Yearly Estimate	Source(s) Publication
20000-30000/month	240 000 - 360 000	'Official' estimates Independent
6000-10000/week	312 000 - 520 000	'Police' Business Day
3000/day	1 068 000	Musina local police Mail & Guardian
4000/day	1 424 000	None Mail & Guardian
3000-5000/day	1 068 000- 1 780 000	None Mail & Guardian

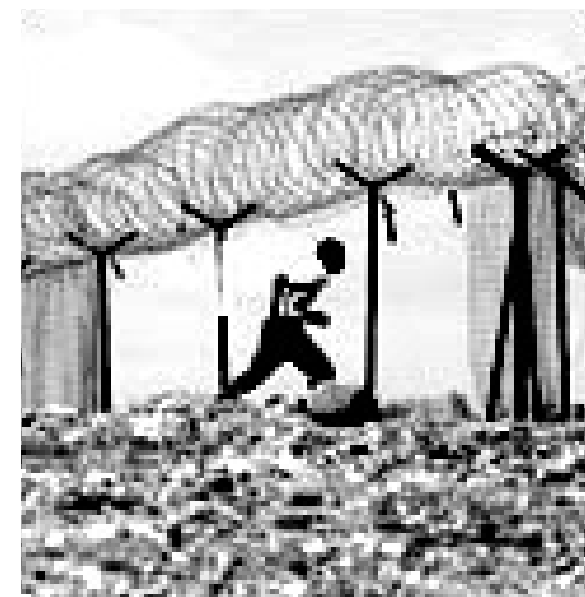
Previous contingency plans in 1992 had a limited scope (i.e., providing assistance to only 1000 people for three days). It was also presented with significant gaps, such as how and by whom food, safe water, cooking fuel, electricity, toilets, and fire protection would be provided. The factors that limited the effectiveness of the contingency planning process included the lack of expertise, a strong focus on the military, lack of clarity about political leadership, difficulties in co-ordinating national and provincial government, lack of commitment concerning funding, and the perceptions of some officials about refugees. The complementary skills and capacities of non-governmental organisations (international and national) were also not sufficiently utilised. (Polzer 2002:1-3)

In 1992 the contingency planning process culminated in the selection and preparation of Arton Villa, a former military base near the Musina - Beitbridge border crossing, as the site for a refugee reception camp. However, there was no effective mechanism to provide this camp with potable water, electricity, toilets, tents, or food on short notice. This is the first time South African institutions are faced with the need to prepare for a mass influx of refugees into the country. In terms of institutions, infrastructure, early warning capacity and availability of resources,

South Africa has great potential for effective humanitarian action. However, these capacities



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25,26. Zimbabweans crossing the border into South Africa (Mail and Gaurdian 2008)

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THE ART AND SCIENCE OF A DATING COACH
PAGE 20

The Star

with BUSINESSREPORT

SPORT
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THURSDAY MAY 22, 2008

Established October 17 1887

R4,30 per unit (R4,50 outside Gauteng; Zim \$80m in Zimbabwe)

101

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REFUGEE CRISIS GROWS

42 dead, 15 000 displaced – and where are our leaders?



BY LEE RONDANGER, MATT
RADLER AND BONILL NGUYAZA

displaced and 400 arrests, according to provincial police communications Director Gwengwenzi Mafurahunzvi.

questions were asked about the involvement of the government. "Where is the national leadership?" a priest from Pretoria, ...

actions and residents of neighbouring communities. At Primrose, up to 15 people are staying in a single tent of 12m. The South African Red

cross. In a tiny kitchen at the St Vincent Anglican Church in Reiger Park, Francis Lombert and a team of women from the area have been spending 16 hours a day at the

have us and want us to leave. "My only problem is what is going to happen next. We have been told that buses will come and take us back home, but I don't want to go back. My future is not in Maputo. It is here."

and claimed "change is change". "We are here to tell you that the president (Morgan Tsvangirai) will be coming to meet you and we have organised 1 000 buses to take you back home. It is time for change in Zimbabwe," he

have not translated into effective planning and implementation. (Polzer 2002:1-3) Preparedness for emergency humanitarian assistance can be seen as a fundamental part of fulfilling a country's duty of providing refugee protection and levels of assistance that comply with international standards. It is also cost effective, since it allows resource allocations to be planned in advance rather than determined reactively. Effective planning and preparedness help to mitigate or prevent the "collateral" damage of badly managed refugee flows, such as environmental damage or conflicts with host communities, which invariably increase the extent and cost of a crisis on home ground. Lack of preparedness in high-profile media crises such as Zimbabwe will invariably have a negative impact on the international reputation of a receiving country. (Polzer 2002:1-3) All these factors reflect an inconsistent assessment of the seriousness of the crisis in Zimbabwe, and thus the legitimacy of those fleeing from it. Many experts pointed out an underlying lack of political commitment to respond to the crisis. But as can be seen it the recent outbreak of Xenophobia the situation can no longer be ignored. (Polzer 2002:1-3)

Temporary Camps

The recent Xenophobic attacks have also put South Africa's disaster and emergency preparedness to test. Several temporary UNHRC refugee camps have been set up across Gauteng and the country to house the +/- 42 000 displaced people across the country. The UNHRC donated 2000 tents to the government and estimates that people are to be accommodated across 95 sites across the country. These scenes are reminiscent of camps in countries

such Chad, Myanmar, Afghanistan and Chad.

These people were initially housed in police Stations all around Johannesburg in Alexandra, Bramley, Jeppe, Cleveland and Rabie Ridge. The people had to be moved as the police stations had started to become ungovernable. These camps have been situated in middle class suburbs in Midrand, Corlett gardens and Benrose and have been subject to major resistance from local residents. (Saturday Star June 7 2008:5)

People being moved to the camps were 'welcomed' by angry chants and arm waving from residents telling them that they were unwelcome. The residents with attitudes similar to those in the informal settlements didn't want the homeless victims of the xenophobic attacks in their back yard.

Many held the sentiment that the refugees would bring with them trouble and crime. Many people are angry that the residents were not consulted before the tents went up. An unnamed volunteer was quoted saying: "Shame, shame", they said when they got kicked out of the township. Now, when it comes to sharing space, suddenly it's 'we don't want them here' The crime argument ironically is the same one used by the perpetrators of the xenophobic attacks and the question that begs answering is what has happened to our basic sense of humanity? One of the most common difficulties relief workers encounter in relief areas is finding the balance between a hosts communities desire to prevent refugee camps from becoming permanent and the needs of refugees for income generation and community building.

Another problem that arises out of these

'temporary' camps is what the long term solution to the problem is. Officials have stressed that these camps are not permanent and want to have them removed by June or July. However, confidence is low that the government has a solution to the problem with their only proposed solutions being re-integration into the informal settlements or for the refugees to return home. Both solutions are extremely unrealistic with people being unable to return to their homelands because of threat of violence and the continued antagonistic sentiments which still exist in our informal settlements. This has added to fears that these camps may be around for much longer than anticipated. (Saturday Star June 7 2008:5)



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28. Temporary Refugee Camp in Germiston (Mail and Guardian 2008)