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Jessee, Ursula

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Ursula Jessee

[AN URBAN RISKS AND RECONSTRUCTION MODEL]

ABSTRACT

This paper tests the applicability of Michael Cernea's Risks and Reconstruction model to an urban context. It tests the model by using the relocation of an urban informal settlement near Germiston and the consequent relocation of its residents to Tsakane Extension 10, as a case study. This paper outlines Cernea's model and then discusses the strengths and weaknesses of his model and its applicability to an urban context. The data from the Makause case study, in addition to literature on relocations, demonstrates the need for the redefinition of Cernea's risks and for a new Urban Risks and Reconstruction Model. The remainder of the paper develops the case for a two-part Urban Model. The first part addresses the risks that urban dislocated communities face and the second part discusses ways these risks can be countered.

I DEDICATE THIS THESIS TO MY INCREDIBLY SUPPORTIVE AND WONDERFUL FATHER, MY EVER-ENCOURAGING BROTHER, AND MY MOTHER WHO LOVES ME WITH ALL OF HER HEART AND IS ALWAYS PROVIDING ME WITH INSIGHT AND ADVICE.

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Introduction

Increasing urbanization is leading to an increase in informal settlements—that is, housing areas known as "shanty towns" or squatter camps where the urban poor reside in order to access jobs and services. Many practitioners relocate communities living in informal settlements for a wide variety of reasons. In the decade covered by the World Bank's review of resettlement projects—

> It was estimated that 90-100 million people became development displacees. When compared to the number of current refugees (18-20 million) it can be seen that forced population dislocation resulting from induced development processes is a problem of enormous proportion and significance, though largely a hidden problem (McDowell, 1996).

All relocations, voluntary and involuntary, legitimate or unjust, disrupt lives. In all relocations, particularly urban relocations, the justifications for removing informal settlements are often controversial. This paper will not specifically deal with determining what reasons for resettling people are legitimate and which are not. Instead, it will focus on how to minimize the risks and vulnerabilities that relocated urban communities face. In order to determine how to minimize these risks I have tested Michael Cernea's Risks and Reconstruction model on an urban case study.

Much of the literature to date has focused on the relocation of rural populations. In order to understand how these relocations differ from rural relocations one must understand what makes an urban informal settlement different. Maria Mejia called for

> a disciplined effort to understand the specific features of urban resettlement [that] would help in designing operational polices strategies, and procedures that are compatible with the socioeconomic and political realities of the urban context (p. 148).

Maria Mejia, Christopher McDowell, Thayer Scudder, Michael Cernea and others have voiced the need for an emerging literature focusing on urban resettlement schemes.

Chapter 1: Literature on Relocations

Previous Theories on Relocations:

The literature surrounding both rural and urban displacement emerged as a response to relocations, particularly involuntary relocations, which left communities impoverished and destroyed. However, much of the literature was also written as a response to relocations conducted by the World Bank and other development agencies because much of the development work of these agencies involved large infrastructure projects that were poorly planned and impoverished hundreds and sometimes thousands of people. In fact, Michael Cernea, one of the most well-known scholars on this subject was hired by the World Bank in order to determine ways to improve relocation planning. As a result of much of the literature condemning these projects these agencies recognized that to conduct development work to benefit all, they would have to reduce the negative consequences of relocations on affected communities.

A typical way of dealing with relocations was to compensate the displaced population financially or "in-kind." But this method has a number of drawbacks, eventually leaving the recipients more impoverished: they took their compensation and spent it on paying off debts, marriages, or on other expenses. As a result, a number of academics began to study involuntary relocations to look for ways to reduce their negative consequences (Cernea 12).

Previous Literature on Rural Relocation

The two main models that have gained international recognition and serve as the basis for the World Bank's policies on relocations-are Thayer Scudder's framework and Michael Cernea's model.

Scudder's Framework

Thayer Scudder's framework takes a macro view of relocations and explains the way a community adjusts to relocation over the long term. Starting in 1956, Thayer Scudder and Elizabeth Colson conducted a longitudinal study of a resettlement project in Zambia, work that continues today. In their study they analyzed the effect of the construction of the Kariba Dam upon the Gwembe Tonga people of Zambia and the resulting relocation on communities, families and kinship groups, on the incumbents of government office and the political communities they served, and on religious communities (Colson, 1971). In sum, he argues that when people are initially dislocated they are risk averse and do not integrate properly into their new locations. But over time (if proper infrastructure and planning are undertaken) people will become "risk takers" and become more integrated into their new communities. However, Scudder points out that most relocations are failures and leave communities in shambles (T. Scudder, Interview with Thayer Scudder).

Scudder's model is made up of four stages. Each stage represents a step in which the households move closer to full integration into their new communities. The first stage is *planning, initial infrastructure development, and settler recruitment*, the second stage

is the *transition*, the third stage is *economic and social development*, and the last stage is *handing over and incorporation*.



Scudder explains, in the first stage, that proper planning of the new community is critical to the success of the relocation. Scudder stresses the importance of this stage—

> [The decisions made during the planning stage] influence the length of the stressful transition stage and they may prevent the stage of potential development from taking place (T. a. Scudder 274)

During this stage those in charge of relocating the community need to consider what risks people are facing. After the plans have been drafted and the community is informed about the relocation, the *transition* period begins. This period lasts from the moment the community is informed until people begin to adjust to their new locations. During this stage Scudder points out that the community is risk averse because they are dealing with the stresses of being in a new environment and situation. Inadequate water supplies and nutrition coupled with stress during this stage can lead to increased health issues. Scudder believes that this stage rarely lasts less than two years. He also cautions that communities can remain in this stage for numerous years and might never get out of it,

particularly if the *planning stage* did not properly seek to reverse the risks people would be facing. Scudder points out that —

> The settlement may fail and the people disperse. In other cases the settlement continues, but the majority of the population never better themselves. They continue to see no margin for risk and are unwilling to risk the little they have (T. a. Scudder 280).

For those communities that move on from the *transition stage*, they move from being risk averse to being risk takers, and enter the third stage, *economic and social development*. Scudder notes that—

> In terms of activities, the turning point comes when the majority has regained at least their former standard of living and degree of self sufficiency. People still supported by food relief or welfare are obviously still in the transition stage, no matter how long they have been living on the new site (T. a. Scudder 280).

At the third stage people begin to improve their lives. They begin to diversify their livelihood activities, they get more involved in organizing themselves; they begin to set up community or political organizations; and they begin to create new jobs. The last stage, *handing over and incorporation*, is when people begin to feel at home in their new location and have become integrated into their new community and the surrounding areas. At this point agencies involved in the resettlement have successfully passed on their responsibilities to the community. Scudder's framework serves to give an overview that describes a successful resettlement process. Scudder acknowledges that only 15 percent of cases reach the final stage of his model, which describes a fully integrated community and what he considers to be a successful relocation (T. Scudder, Interview with Thayer Scudder)

Weaknesses in Scudder's Framework

Although Scudder's framework is an important step in understanding the macro view of relocations, it is difficult to test this framework. Testing it would involve a number of longitudinal studies over many years, perhaps decades. Scudder's framework suggests that practitioners need to plan for relocations but he does not offer suggestions on how to create this plan. In order to respond to this gap, Michael Cernea developed a model that would help with planning relocations.

Cernea's Model

Cernea's model, on the other hand, is prescriptive and based on empirical and theoretical evidence from the 25 years of observation. Known as the Risk and Reconstruction model, it enumerates a number of risks and explains how these risks can be countered. A preliminary version of his model was applied to a review of 200 projects conducted by the World Bank in 1993-1994. Cernea breaks down his model into the eight fundamental risks rural communities face. While the first part of the model outlines the risks, the second part of the model outlines ways to counter these risks and is helpful for planning purposes. In the following graph the first part of the model is on the left-hand side and the second part of the model is on the right-hand side.

Cernea's Risks and Reconstruction Model

Risks	Reconstruction
Landlessness (expropriation of land that removes the main foundation up on which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed)	From landlessness to land-based resettlement
Joblessness (losing wage employment can leave a community impoverished)	From joblessness to reemployment
Harmlessness (the loss of a home, "cultural space" and worsening housing standards remains a lingering condition)	From homelessness to house reconstruction
Marginalization (Loss of economic power can be accompanied by the social and psychological marginalization. This can lead to a drop in social status and confidence and feelings of injustice and vulnerability)	From marginalization to social inclusiveness
Increased morbidity and mortality (declines in health levels are induced by lack of sanitation services and/or social stress and psychological trauma)	From increased morbidity to improved health care
Food insecurity (the community is prone to falling into temporary or chronic undernourishment)	From food insecurity to adequate nutrition
Loss of access to common property and services (the loss of access to common areas can lead to a deterioration in income or livelihood levels)	From loss of access to community assets and services to restoration of community assets and services
Social disarticulation (the destruction of social networks and social capital)	From social disarticulation to networks and community rebuilding

Cernea's model mainly focuses on large-scale rural relocations.

Weaknesses in Cernea's Relocation Model

While Cernea's model provides ways to analyze many relocations, it does not address the particular needs of urban populations. Thus certain aspects of his model are of little relevance to urban relocations and he omits risks that are less relevant to rural populations but important for those living in urban informal settlements. I will explore the weaknesses in this model in more depth in Chapter Three.

Previous Literature on Urban Relocations

While much of the literature on relocation has focused on rural populations particularly those dealing with the impact of large infrastructure projects, specifically dams or reservoirs, there is an emerging literature on urban resettlement that aims to explore the economic, social, and political networks of urban informal settlements and the urban poor. Among those writing on this topic are Warren Smit, who provides insights on the economic and social networks of informal settlements; Cecilie Ambert, who writes about the HIV/AIDs situation in informal settlements in South Africa; Leopoldo Bartolome, who focused on the economic networks in informal settlements; and Marie Huchzermeyer, who provides alternative options to resettlement.

Other academics have added to the discussion. These include Mahapatra, who focuses on the importance of including education as one of the risks. Robinson, who believes in focusing on community services; and Downing, who considers violation of human rights to be a major risk (Scudder 47). Stuart Wilson's report "Out of sight, Out of Mind: Relocation and Access to Schools in Sol Plaatje" provides important insights on the affects of relocation on schooling. While none of these authors has formulated a comprehensive list of risks that exist in an urban context, they provide important information that is useful and could potentially supplement Cernea's model.

Weaknesses in Urban Relocation Literature

The major weakness of this literature is that it focuses on different countries/regions or on one or two risks in urban relocations but there has not yet been a holistic approach developed to analyze a comprehensive list of risks that people face in

urban relocations. Maria Mejia focuses on housing issues in Latin American, Dolores Koenig draws out the differences between rural and urban resettlements, Van Wicklin III focuses on sharing project benefits with the displacees. There are also a number of policy-orientated groups that publish papers about urban evictions; the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, for example, publishes papers on the impact of urban relocations and evictions around the world. While there is no model, framework, or holistic analysis that catalogs all of the potential risks that urban populations face during a relocation, some analyses do address certain risks that urban populations face. One example is the South African National Department of Housing policy on Housing Assistance in Emergency Circumstances. This report mainly focuses risk to shelter and housing that displaced people face. This means that policy makers in charge of urban relocation must rely on the literature for rural relocations.

Need for New Literature on Urban Relocations

This paper differs from previous literature because it focuses on testing the applicability of Cernea's model in an urban setting. Although current relocation literature is helpful in thinking about urban relocations, certain elements of this literature do not accurately deal with the risks people face in an urban setting. Therefore, more literature that focuses solely on urban relocations is needed. The issue of urban relocations is even more pressing because most relocations in the world are small-scale urban relocations.

> . . . whilst it is right to focus attention on the more spectacular, large-scale population-displacing projects, one must not lose sight of the thousands of smaller projects which collectively account for even more total displacement (McDowell 1996).

There are social and economic networks that are unique to urban informal settlements that make the process of urban resettlement different from the process of rural resettlement.

There are three primary differences between rural areas and urban areas that justify this study: Firstly, communities in informal settlements are relatively new and are mobile. Secondly, the community's location is of the utmost importance with regards to access to livelihoods, food, community services, and social services. Thirdly, rural areas are more culturally homogenous, compared to the vast cultural and linguistic heterogeneity that exists in urban informal settlements. This heterogeneity makes the idea of "culture" and "tradition" in an urban context less relevant.

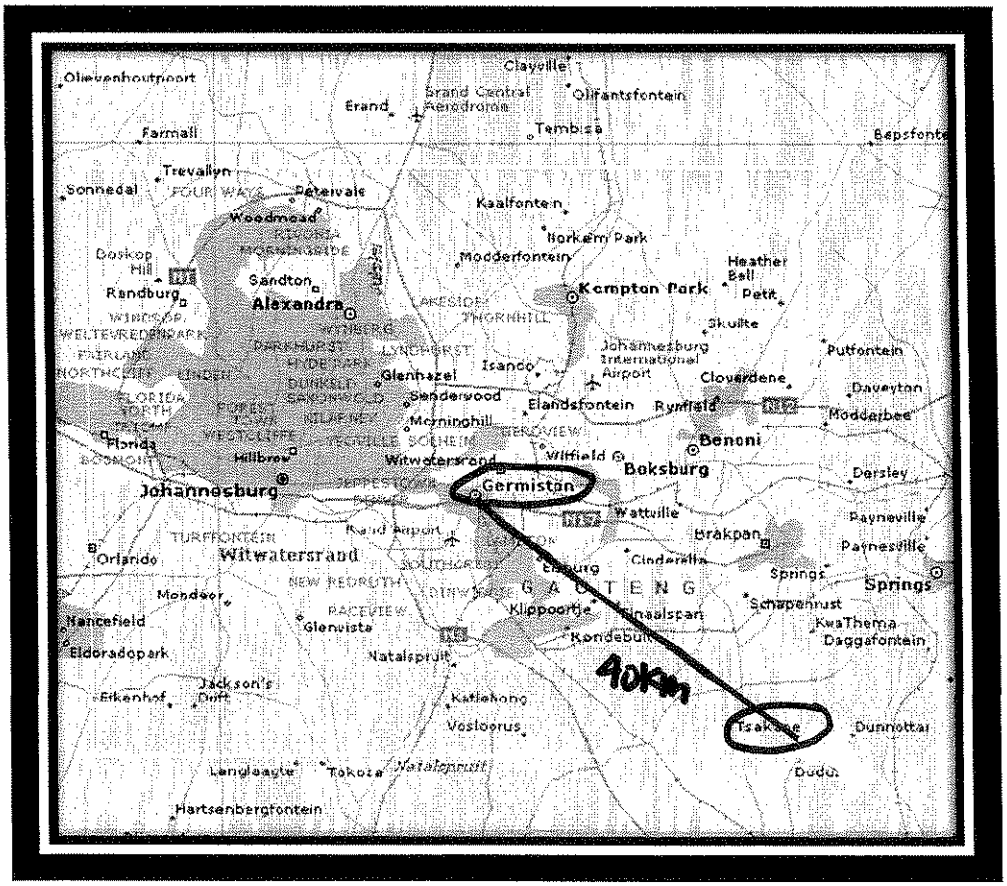
Chapter 2: Methodology

In this chapter I lay out the reasons I chose this particular case, the development of the research tool, the selection of the research team, and the research methodology. This chapter explains and explores how and why I conducted the research the way I did and where I did.

Case Study:

The case study takes place in South Africa and focuses on people who were relocated from the informal settlement of Makause, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, to a township, Tsakane Extension 10, roughly 40 kilometers from Makause.

Figure 1: Map of Gauteng Province – Shows the Distance Between Germiston (where Makause is located) and Tsakane. (Map of South Africa)



The relocation began in February 2007 and has not yet been finished as of the completion of this paper in July 2009. This paper uses the conclusions drawn from the study which was carried out from February 2007 to December 2007 by a team of five field researchers, who conducted 120 interviews of displaced people. As of December 2007, approximately 2,000 out of about 10,000 households had been relocated. The rest of the households will be evicted pending the outcome of the court case.

Like many countries, South Africa is facing problems with integrating informal settlements into its urban fabric, because during apartheid, South Africa's government conducted numerous relocations. Although evictions have occurred since apartheid, there has been a recent shift in South Africa that has led to an increase in these relocations. The political atmosphere is becoming less tolerant of informal settlements and there has been an ever-increasing focus on urban renewal and development. In Durban, for example, recent legislation has sped up the rate of relocations from informal settlements, just more evidence that the tide has turned against people living in informal settlements. The culmination of anti-informal settlement sentiments makes this study particularly timely.

The relocations in Makause were being undertaken by the Ekhureleni Municipality, which claims that the land on which Makause and six neighboring informal settlements, has been built is unsafe. They claim that the land they have been living on is undermined, which means that it can collapse under the weight of the shacks. Although the accuracy of this claim is dubious, the main focus of this study is not whether or not the relocation was justified but rather what risks and vulnerabilities the community faced during the relocation and how they could have been better addressed.

Accessing the Community

Initially, gaining access to the community was difficult because residents were suspicious of outsiders. The community members of Makause and four other informal settlements from across Guateng Province that were facing evictions held weekly meetings to determine how to best resist these evictions. I attended the meetings, and at first, attendees were suspicious of my presence. Some people thought I was part of the media; others thought I was a government spy. Over time, I began to gain the trust of some of the community leaders. I chose Makause because a professor, Marie Huchzermeyer had been doing research on the relocation in Makause and she put me in touch with Alfred Moyo, the community leader, who then because the research team leader.

Site Visits

Later, I visited the community in order to develop the research tool and get a sense of the situation. I visited both the community from where people had been displaced (in Makause) and the location to which people were displaced (in Tsakane). The site visits enabled me to casually talk to a wide range of residents, including small shop owners and informal traders. This way, I could gain a better understanding of what some of the main issues were for the recently relocated residents.

A stark contrast between the original community, Makause, and the new community, Tsakane, was clear from my initial visit. Makause is a crowded informal settlement which is a five-minute walk from the center of Germiston. Walking into

Makause you notice the poverty, the dirt roads littered with trash, and the loud music from crowded bars that permeates the air from early in the morning until late at night. There are many businesses selling small bags of food and individual pieces of gum and candy. There were also vegetable vendors, liquor stands, and those selling fried fish. Throngs of people walked to and from town and a large grocery store was nearby. The satellite image below shows Makause and its nearest grocery store, which is a five-minute walk. Makause is the grouping of shacks in the right corner of the picture and the letter G is where the store is located. I have selected this image because it demonstrates how close Makause is to the surrounding stores and neighborhoods. While there were numerous tuck and spaza shops that sold goods within Makause people had the option of getting goods that they could not get at those small shops at the grocery store. The large strip of empty land in the bottom right corner of the image is where the shacks have been bulldozed and from where the residents have been dislocated.

Figure 2: Satellite Image of Makause



Although crime, prostitution, and alcoholism were part of daily life in Makause, jobs were easily accessible and food prices were manageable for most people. Driving the 40 kilometers to Tsakane, I noticed the line of prostitutes on the side of the road. In the large township of Tsakane itself, I also noticed the vast farmlands that surrounded it. There were neither stores nor commercial centers; the town was empty. Once I reached Tsakane 10, which is an extension added onto a vast township, it was not crowded, and the roads were wider and cleaner, but many of the men were gone and there was less commercial activity. The new location, which is cut off from commercial activity, has in no way replicated the economic vibrancy that was so palpable in Makause. Tsakane appears as the economic and social devastation of a once-vibrant community. The people were relocated to Tsakane and were not provided homes by the state. Instead, they were given poles and plastic so that they could reconstruct their own homes

Type of Survey

I wanted to conduct face to face interviews because they have the highest response rates and would allow me to use a longer questionnaire (Rea 245).

Research Team:

The interviewers, field workers from Makause, were community members who spoke all of South Africa's official languages. The field workers were part of the community that had not yet been relocated to Tsakane. I chose to hire a research team instead of conducting the interviews myself for three main reasons: firstly, I could not speak most of the languages spoken by the residents of Tsakane and secondly, it was more time efficient to hire a number of people to conduct the interviews and thirdly, an outsider might have inhibited the interviewer because the community was suspicious of outsiders and their possible ties to the government. Conducting the interviews in the mother tongue of the respondents was an important benefit because it ensured that the respondent felt comfortable and understood all of the questions. There were a few potential drawbacks to not doing the interviews myself. Even though I was present in the field once every two weeks to supervise and ensure that the interviews were conducted properly, I would have had more control over ensuring the quality of interviews had I conducted them myself. Each of the interviewers underwent training during which they learned appropriate ways to conduct interviews, what ethical rules they had to abide by, and to which methodological strategy they were going to adhere. To ensure the privacy and confidentiality of the respondents a disclosure statement was given prior to every interview. In order to avoid any potential conflicts with the displaced community the

interviewers were also instructed to explain the purpose of the survey, hoping also to avoid the spread of rumors and community suspicion.

Ethical Implications of Research

Field work has the potential to negatively impact the lives of its subjects if it is not conducted with high ethical standards. Care must be taken both in training and managing the interviewers and in preparation of the survey instrument.

Managing Contact with Interview Respondents

In order to avoid negatively affecting respondents or creating a biased report, the interviewers acknowledged the responsibilities that accompanied field work. I conducted a three-day training during which the interviewers practiced conducting interviews, learned the ethical implications of their work, and were trained on research methodology. Below is a list of each of the points that were addressed during the ethics training. In fact, the interviewers received a contract outlining each of the ethical points listed below and they agreed to abide by this ethical code by signing the contract prior to beginning their interviews. First and foremost, the interviewers had the responsibility to inform the respondent before the interview about the purpose of the study, how the data was going to be collected, and how the results would be used. After briefing the respondents on the research, the interviewer needed to ask for consent, and if respondents did not agree to the interview, interviewers were advised to thank each person and continue to other respondents.

Avoiding Influencing Answers

Interviewers could potentially influence the way people responded to questions by the way they acted. They needed to be cognizant of their reactions to question and their body language before, during, and after the interview (Rea 247). In order to avoid influencing the answers and to avoid any potential confusion, the interviewer clearly stated before the interview began that the respondents should not have any expectations at the end of the research or interview.

Anonymity

The researchers did not disclose the respondent's identity and ensured this by using codes instead of using the respondent's names. While there is always the potential for field workers to break confidentiality, the field workers took this responsibility very seriously. As leaders in their community they understood the importance of maintaining confidentiality. Additionally, the respondents remained anonymous since the interviewers were explicitly told not to interview people they knew. In fact, even though the interviewers were from Makause they did not know most of the people who had been relocated to Tsakane.

Sensitivity

The interviewers were told to avoid asking insulting or embarrassing follow-up questions (Rea 247). Additionally, the researchers were trained on how to avoid making the respondents uncomfortable with their reactions, body language, or tone of voice (Rea 245). However, it is possible that the respondents did not answer truthfully to questions, particularly questions about their financial situation. I also tried to deal with this potential issue by framing each of the interview questions in a non-embarrassing way. I

also explicitly trained the interviewers to work hard to make the respondents feel comfortable discussing these issues.

Questionnaire:

Structure of the Questionnaire

The research tool had an opening, middle, and ending; the opening was an introduction to the questionnaire, the middle included the questions, and the ending was a conclusion and a thank-you to the respondent. The introduction explained what the survey's purpose and who was conducting the survey. It also advised respondents to not have any expectations in return for answering the questions in the interview (Rea).

I then organized the questionnaire into themes and categorized the questions under each of the themes. The questions were ordered by having broader questions first and more specific questions later (Rea). The concluding section of the questionnaire involved asking the respondent if there was anything else they wanted to add and thanking them for their time.

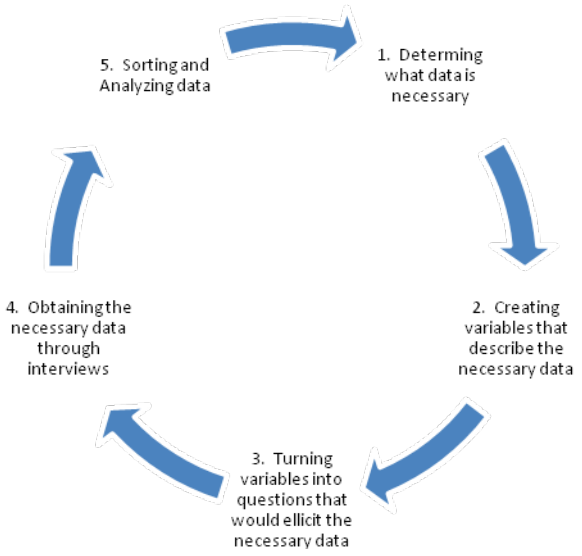
Question Types

The questionnaire included open-ended and closed questions I wanted to capture and quantify the realities of people's lives and to hear the stories of those who had been dislocated. The open-ended questions allowed the respondents to answer questions in a way that explained their situation best without having to adhere to predetermined question categories. I used quotes from these open-ended questions in order to allow the displaced people the opportunity to describe their own situations in their own words.

The closed questions, on the other hand, enabled me to make some generalizations across the group I interviewed. The predetermined question categories allowed me to detect trends in the group and to make more thorough arguments about the situation of the displaced persons. I chose to mix the question types because by using only one or another I would not capture a comprehensive picture. By only using closed questions "something important may be lost when an individual's beliefs and feelings are forced into a few fixed categories that a researcher created (Rea 233) ." And by only using open questions I would encounter other difficulties: "Open ended questions can be time consuming and coding may make them impractical (Rea 233)." I explore the reasons I chose to use specific questions in the questionnaire in chapter three.

Obtaining the Data for the Questionnaire

In order to test Cernea's model, to redefine his risks so that they are relevant in an urban context, and to test new risks for urban relocations I needed to gather data and develop a questionnaire. After doing some background research and site visits I formatted a questionnaire that can be found in the Appendix. Below is a graphic of the process of obtaining data. This section will explore the way I thought about testing Cernea's risks and how I redefined some of his risks and how I added new risks to begin to develop the new Urban Model based on Cernea's model.



Level of Analysis

I was only able to conduct a case study on one informal settlement because of financial and time constraints. However, this level of analysis allowed me to explore this community in depth. I chose Makause out of the numerous relocations that occur in the Gauteng area because I had access to this community, knowledge of the area, and knowledge of the case. At the time of the interviews the respondents had been living in Makause anywhere from 8 to 12 months.

Sample Size

Since there were approximately 2000 displaced people time and financial constraints limited the interviews to about 100 people; to gather more data, this number was later raised to 120. I originally piloted the questionnaire on 15 respondents. After the pilot study I made changes to wording and eliminated some questions.

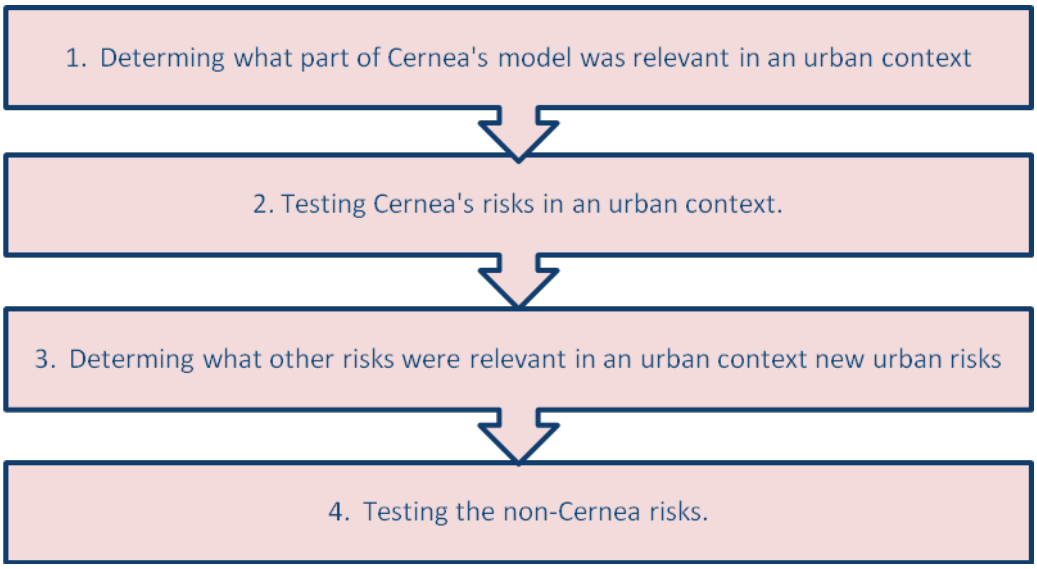
Sampling Strategy

Since this study involved a quantitative element, the sample needed to be a random sample. Instead of the traditional random sampling, the field research team mapped out Tsakane and each field researcher was responsible for a separate street. Each person was told to interview every third household. The concept of mapping out the community and conducting interviews in this way was suggested by Margaret Piel (36). The interviewers did not repeat any streets and they covered the entire area of Tsakane 10. However, I also wanted to get an even distribution of men and women in the group. Piel's suggestions on stratifying samples were also useful during this process (36). Therefore, when during one of the weekly team meetings, I noticed that there were more men than women, I asked the field research team to interview 15 more women. They were instructed to complete this quota by continuing to go to every third household but not conducting any interviews until they found a woman, and they were to do this 15 times. After realizing that I was not getting enough information about school children I asked that the same procedure be taken when interviewing parents so that we could involve more parents of school-age children.

I encountered other field-research setbacks as well: Because several of the displaced people were dissatisfied with the new location, they had already moved back to Makause. As a result, the sample was made up of people who either wanted to move back to Makause and could either not afford to move back to Makause, or had no more connections with people at Makause. Or it was made up of those who wanted to stay in Tsakane. Other setbacks involved firing a field worker because she was not properly conducting the interviews. In order to avoid having more complications we decided to meet weekly to answer any questions and to ensure that the research was being carried

out properly. After conducting the interviews and translating the open-ended questions, the data was cleaned and put into an SPSS spreadsheet. I then ran basic descriptive statistics and cross tabulations. The data from the questionnaire revealed some of the major risks that people in urban informal settlements in South Africa face and issues the community found important.

Chapter 3: The Development of a New Urban Model



I determined that I would only use seven out of Cernea's eight risks. During the development of the questionnaire I chose to look at joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, homelessness, social disarticulation, loss of access to common property and services, and increased morbidity and mortality. The only risk from Cernea's list that did not appear to fit in the urban context was *landlessness*, because people in urban areas generally do not work on or own land. Cernea describes landlessness as

> expropriation of land that removes the main foundation up on which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed (Cernea 23).

Although this is an important consideration for rural resettlements, it is much less relevant in an urban context because livelihoods are rarely based upon farming or any other activity which involves land. Additionally, few urban informal settlement dwellers

own land, except in the form of titles for homes or of using land for livelihood as in urban gardens.

After visiting the community and spending time at the sites, I identified other risks that I wanted to test that Cernea had not addressed in his model. After reading Mahapatra, Stuart Wilson's report on education, and after talking casually to dislocated residents, I realized that the lack of education is a risk that should be included in any Urban Model. And after reading Bartolome and talking to business owners I realized that there was risk to small businesses. I recognized that there were other potential risks that should be investigated including: security of tenure (Maria Mejia), resistance efforts (Oliver-Smith), and transportation (respondents).

Cernea's Risks

In the first part of this chapter I go through each of the seven risks I chose to test. The second part of this chapter focuses on how I developed the questionnaire to test additional potential risk no related to Cernea's models.

Joblessness

To understand whether or not joblessness is a relevant risk in urban informal settlements, I needed to find out if people had jobs in Makause and if so, what types of jobs they held. Cernea's joblessness risk states: "Joblessness, losing wage employment can leave a community impoverished." However, most importantly, I needed to find out if they lost their jobs or took jobs that paid less than their previous jobs or jobs for which they were overqualified (underemployment) when they were relocated to Tsakane. By tracking if there was an increase or decrease in unemployment rates I would gain insight

into what job opportunities existed in both Makause and Tsakane and what reasons people had for underemployment or unemployment after the relocation. Some of the questions I asked were:

How would you describe your employment status in Makause?
How would you describe your current employment status in Tsakane?
What are the main reasons you were unemployed in Makause?
What are the main reasons you think you are currently unemployed?
How would you describe the kind of work you were doing in Makause?
How would you describe the kind of work you are currently doing?
Do you think you will be able to find a job? Why or why not?
What kind of job do you think you will find?

Marginalization

In order to test the concept of "marginalization" I needed to break down Cernea's definition of marginalization. Cernea defined marginalization by saying that it

> occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a 'downward mobility' path. . . . Economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalization, expressed in a drop of social status, in resettlers' loss of confidence in society and in themselves, a feeling of injustice, and deepened vulnerability (26).

Cernea defines marginalization as psychological, social, and economic, but he does not provide any measurable way to determine marginalization. I decided to focus on the economic aspect of marginalization. After analyzing the risks, I moved the psychological marginalization part of this risk to the Morbidity and Mortality risk and the social marginalization to the Political Marginalization risk.

In order to understand economic marginalization I wanted to learn about the changes in incomes from Makause versus Tsakane and the changes in costs of living in Makause versus Tsakane. I used the following questions to determine if economic marginalization was a risk in an urban context. I asked a set of questions about people's

incomes and costs of living in Makause before the relocation and I asked the same questions about people's incomes and costs of living in Tsakane after the relocation.

Approximately how much did you personally earn per week?
Approximately how much money did your household earn from all the sources of income combined per week?
Approximately how much did your household spend on food per month?
Approximately how much did your household spend on transportation per week?
Approximately how much did your household spend on cooking per week?
Approximately how much did your household spend on schooling per month?

This important income information demonstrated that economic marginalization was a risk in an urban context.

Social Disarticulation

Social disarticulation is a difficult concept to measure and test. Cernea explains that social disarticulation

> tears apart the existing social fabric. It disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties; kinship groups become scattered as well. Life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations, and self-organized mutual service are disrupted. This is a new loss of valuable "social capital" that compounds the loss of natural, physical, and human capital (30).

In order to test Cernea's definition I needed to measure people's involvement in "social organization," their "interpersonal ties," "networks of reciprocal help," and their involvement in "local voluntary associations and self-organized mutual services" before and after the relocation to see if people's involvement in social networks and social activities had changed.

In order to determine if social networks had been disrupted, I asked respondents if they had experienced separations from their family, friends, and neighbors and, if so, how it was affecting them emotionally and financially.

Homelessness

Cernea describes homelessness as

> loss of shelter tends to be only temporary for many resettlers; but, for some, homelessness or a worsening in their housing standards remains a lingering condition. In a broader cultural sense, loss of a family's individual home and the loss of a group's cultural space tend to result in alienation and status deprivation (25).

After speaking with people in Makause it did not seem that their homes had any particular "cultural" relevance for them. Cernea emphasizes the cultural aspect of homelessness because his model is mainly targeted toward rural communities, where this is an important reality. However, instead of assuming that there were no cultural implications in an urban context I decided to test if there were "cultural" implications to having a home. I decided to ask respondents about where they considered to be "home" and what types of attachments people had to their homes. Other financially related homelessness questions included the number of people who rented versus owned in Makause versus Tsakane. The answer to this question had serious financial implications. For instance, if someone owned a house in Makause and did not have to make any payments on the house and then they were moved and had to start paying rent, this additional cost would decrease a family's financial well-being. I also tried to learn about the types of homes people lived in Makause versus Tsakane to see if there were an improvement or worsening of housing quality. I also tried to measure the associated costs of losing a home. Before I started the survey I had heard that the government-employed movers had stolen people's shack materials and were selling them back to the people they had stolen them from. In order to determine the accuracy of this accusation I asked:

If you built your own shack/house did you have to buy your materials back or buy new materials?

If so, how much did you pay for your old housing materials or new materials after the relocation?

After asking housing-related questions I determined that homelessness in an urban context did not comply with Cernea's "cultural" definition of a loss of home but that instead homelessness in an urban context was a financial risk.

Services and Common Property

Common property takes on a different definition in an urban context. Cernea describes common property as a:

> . . .loss of access to the common property assets that belonged to relocated communities (pastures, forested lands, water bodies, burial grounds, quarries, and so on) results in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels. Typically, losses of common property assets are not compensated by governments. These losses are compounded by loss of access to public services such as school (29).

Since most urban communities do not live on or near "pastures, forested lands, water bodies, burial grounds, or quarries" but instead live in informal settlements, this risk was relevant as it was stated in Cernea's model. However, in order to determine if Cernea's risk related to services and common property was relevant in an urban context at all, I needed to determine what "common property" was in the context of an urban informal settlement and what "services" people had access to. I then tried to determine if people had access to common property in Makause versus Tsakane. I also asked questions about people's access to services such as clinics and water services before and after relocation. While Cernea mentions schooling under the "services and common property" risk, the new Urban Model has schooling as a risk on its own.

Increased Morbidity and Mortality

Testing increased morbidity and mortality involved finding a way to determine if people's mental and physical health status had changed since the relocation. Cernea describes increased morbidity and mortality as:

> Massive population displacement threatens to cause serious declines in health levels. Displacement induced social stress and psychological trauma are sometimes accompanied by the outbreak of relocation related illnesses particularly parasitic and vector born diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis (28).

I needed to determine the mental health effects of relocation and determine physical health effects of relocation. In order to do this, I decided to borrow questions from a survey conducted by South African Medical Research Council on refugee populations. The first question asked the respondents if they had experienced depression, anxiety, discouragement, or hopelessness. The second question asked people to respond to whether or not they had felt any symptoms of mental illness. Some of the questions were about headaches, poor appetite, crying, etc. The American Psychiatric Association (APA) suggests that these symptoms are a legitimate way to assess mental illness.

> For example, depression, in some cultures, may be expressed as "somatic complaints, rather than sadness or guilt and complaints of 'nerves,' headaches, weakness, tiredness, 'imbalance,' or 'problems of the heart,' or 'heartbrokenness' may be heard (Keyes).

I altered both of these questions to make them more pertinent to the respondents of the Makause/Tsakane case. In order to determine what the physical health consequences of relocation were I asked respondents if they had gotten ill or if anyone in their families had passed away since the relocation. After studying the data it was unclear if more people had died as a result of the relocation "mortality" but it was clear that "morbidity" defined as both physical and mental health issues (usually related to stress) had increased.

Food Insecurity

Cernea defines food insecurity as—

> Forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into temporary or chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary of normal growth and work (27).

Since I could not measure people's "calorie-protein" intake levels, I knew that I needed to find other ways to measure food insecurity. After the site visits I made the assumption that people's incomes had generally dropped (this was later confirmed by the data) and I wanted to find out if food prices had also increased. An increase in food prices coupled with a decrease in incomes would demonstrate that access to food had become more limited than it had been in Makause.

However, this would not have been sufficient information to see if people were becoming food insecure. If food prices increase, there is always the possibility that some people might not change their eating habits and might decrease spending on other things in order to maintain nutrition and food security. Therefore, I wanted to ask respondents if their eating habits had changed. I borrowed more questions from a questionnaire developed by the South African Medical Research Council. The first question measured the variety of foods people ate and the second question measured people's fears and worries about food insecurity and their eating habits. After conducting the pilot survey, I realized that people did not understand the wording so I adjusted the questions. After analyzing the data it was clear that because of the decrease in incomes and increase in costs the dislocated faced the risk of food insecurity: Many people ate less nutritious food.

After going through each of Cernea's risks and determining what data I needed to find, I formulated 5-10 questions for each risk that would enable me to test each of these risks and their applicability in an urban context.

Non -Cernea Risks

While Cernea's topics were the main ones I addressed in the questionnaire, I also felt as though his model was missing a few important risks. Therefore I included questions on topics that other academics had discussed to see if I could test these risks.

Political Marginalization

Since the people of Makause are poor, they generally do not carry much political clout. While political marginalization is part of the reason these people were dislocated, I wanted to find out if the community was further politically marginalized as a result of the relocation.

While conducting site visits, I noticed that people were resisting eviction and I wanted to include this element in the model. I recognized that, under the marginalization risk in Cernea's model, people feel "a loss of confidence in society and in themselves, a feeling of injustice, and deepened vulnerability." While speaking to the displaced people who had joined the resistance these feelings appeared to be prevalent. So while Cernea captures these feelings in the marginalization section of his model he does not explicitly address political marginalization. After doing some further research I realized that Cernea (in later work), Oliver-Smith and Maria Mejia had spoken about resistance efforts, which is a reaction to political marginalization, in their work. However, this risk was never

integrated into Cernea's model. I wanted to further investigate this concept of political marginalization. In order to do this I needed to find out if people were properly informed about the relocation in a timely manner (as they are required to be informed by law) or how much of an effort the municipality put into including the community in the relocation plans. Political marginalization in this context meant that the municipality did not involve the community in the process or planning of dislocation. In order to determine if people felt political marginalized I wanted to ask respondents if they felt that they had been given proper notice. I asked the following questions:

How did you find out you were going to move?
Did anyone talk to you about the move?
Who informed you?
Did you want to move? Why or why not?
Is Tsakane what you were expecting?
What were you expecting?

It was also important to determine if people were given accurate information because if people felt that they were lied to or if their expectations were not met this would add to their feelings of political marginalization.

Do you know of any resistance against the evictions in your community? What are they?
Do you think resistance against evictions is important in this case? Why or why not?
Were you involved in the resistance in any way? If so, how and why? If not, why not?
Has the resistance helped or hurt your situation? (helped, hurt, neither)

The answers to these questions provided important information on whether the resistance effort was a fringe movement or if the entire community was involved.

Security of Tenure

I also wanted to explore people's feelings with regards to their security or insecurity of tenure as a result of the relocation. However, I was unable to capture any sizeable

findings in this study. Therefore, it did not become a risk in the new Urban Model but it should be explored further. The questions that I asked included—

Do you know how long you will live in Tsakane? How long?
Do you expect that the government will move you again in the near future? (yes/no)
When do you think you will be moved again and where to?

Small Businesses

Instead of just testing joblessness as Cernea described it, I decided to also test the affect of relocation on the ownership of small businesses, one of the most frequent types of jobs in informal settlements, Cernea does not discuss small businesses in his model but after visiting Makause and Tsakane I could see that there were many small businesses and that they played an important role in the lives of the residents. But Bartolome's writing highlighted the importance of small businesses in an informal settlement setting. In order to understand the risks that small business owners faced, I needed to understand several factors: what types of businesses existed in Makause and Tsakane; were there any significant differences in business types; and were there fewer or more businesses after relocation. Lastly, it was important to see if and why business earnings and costs were different in Makause and Tsakane. The questions used to pursue these issues were:

Do you own a business?
What kind of business do you own?
How much income did you make with your business in Makause
How much income did you make with your business in Tsakane
How much did you spend on your business in Makause
How much did you spend on your business in Tsakane
After the relocation if you spend more why do you spend more?
After the relocation if you spend less why do you spend less?
After the relocation if you earn less why do you earn less?
After the relocation if you earn more why do you earn more?

The answers about small businesses provided insight into small business constraints in both Makause and Tsakane.

Schooling

While Cernea mentions schooling tangentially when he defines access to services and common property, he does not give schooling sufficient coverage. In order to determine if schooling was a risk I asked a number of school-related questions. In order to determine possible reasons children chose to either drop out or stay in school I asked what the difference in the distance from school was in Makause versus Tsakane. I also asked if there were any added costs to schooling and I measured the dropout rates after relocation.

Creating New Definitions of Risks and Development a New Urban Model

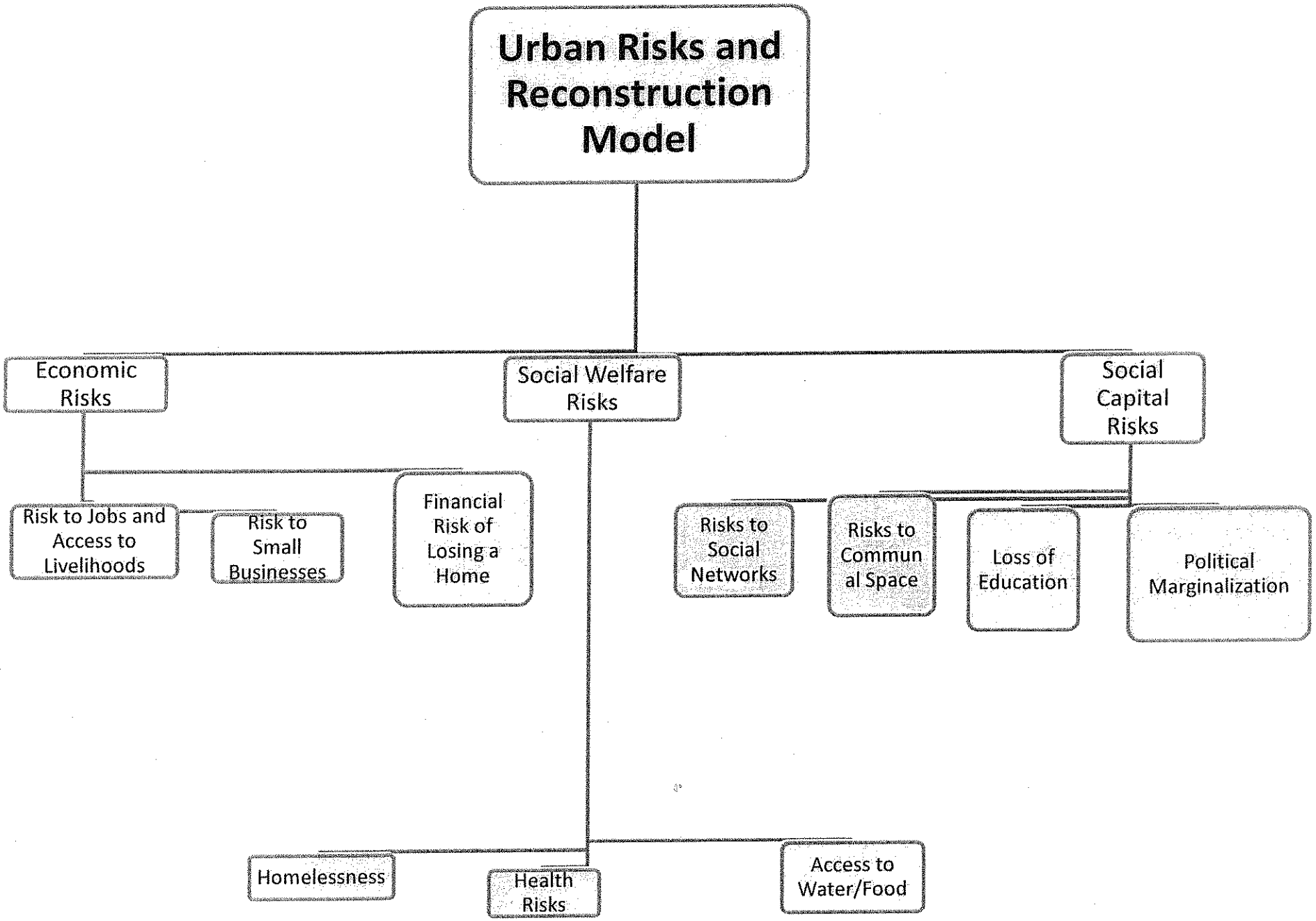
In the remaining chapters I will develop a model for urban relocations based on Cernea's model and with a risks section and a reconstruction section with suggested solutions for each risk.

Based upon the literature and the results and ideas captured from the fieldwork, I developed an Urban Model targeted toward practitioners and planners who aim to reduce the risks for urban dislocated communities. This model is not for emergency relocations.

Chapter 4: The New Urban Model

Cernea's model has some important strengths and most of his risks were relevant in an urban context. But, while many of the risks were pertinent to an urban relocation, they needed to be redefined and reorganized. Because Cernea does not list the risks in any particular order nor does he categorize the risks under overarching themes, his model needs some thematic organization.

After analyzing the data and Cernea's model I propose three overarching areas that help organize the risks into a more logical structure and which suggest a more comprehensive approach. These categories include economics (joblessness/lack of access to livelihood strategies, risk to small businesses, and financial risk of losing a house), social welfare (deterioration in health [both mental and physical], food insecurity, and housing issues), and social capital (social networks, community space, educational opportunities, and political marginalization). Below I outline the three overarching categories and examine the adequacy of Cernea's various risks to provide a comprehensive understanding the risks in an urban context. In the process I look at each of Cernea's risks, suggest the inadequacies, and show how I would redefine each of his risks. From this point forward, I use the modified definitions of his risks to create my own risk categories and my own model. I outline a new Urban Model of Risks and Reconstruction and then develop it further throughout the paper.


Urban Risks and Reconstruction Model
Economic Risks
Social Welfare Risks
Social Capital Risks
Risk to Jobs and Access to Livelihoods
Risk to Small Businesses
Financial Risk of Losing a Home
Risks to Social Networks
Risks to Communal Space
Loss of Education
Political Marginalization
Homelessness
Health Risks
Access to Water/Food

The Urban Risks and Reconstruction Model

Risks	Reconstruction
Economic Risks: Joblessness/Loss of Access to Livelihoods: People displaced from urban informal settlements face a number of serious economic risks. These economic risks can marginalize a dislocated community and leave them impoverished.	
Joblessness/Loss of Access to Livelihoods Losing one's job and access to livelihood strategies is a big risk that people who are dislocated from urban informal settlements face. Urban informal settlements exist because migrants from rural areas, different countries, and from other areas of the city move to a location that is close to jobs and other income earning opportunities in both the formal and informal sectors.	*From Joblessness And Loss Of Livelihoods To Job/Livelihood Maintenance, And Creation.* Strategies designed to counter unemployment, a loss of livelihoods, and problems with small businesses involve planning a location near job opportunities and opportunities for other livelihood strategies. Since urban land is a scarce commodity if a space near jobs cannot be allocated, planners should consider long-term subsidized transportation to and from work. If old jobs are too far despite subsidized transportation, another strategy might be to create new jobs in the new location and provide job training. One way of creating new jobs would be to provide incentives for businesses to relocate to the new area or planning an entire community with subsidized housing, shopping malls, and restaurants. Job trainings and vocational training could improve people's ability to gain new skills to get jobs in the area
Risk to Small Businesses Small businesses are an important part of an informal settlement's economy. Owning a small business is often a secondary occupation and serves to supplement income. It represents insurance against the often unavoidable periods of unemployment (Bartolome).	*Improving Prospects of Small Businesses* Setting up business development trainings for small businesses, and providing micro loans would improve the likelihood that small business would survive in the new community. However, micro loans should only be pursued if there exists the opportunity for small business growth in the area.
Financial Risk of Losing a Home A loss of shelter in informal settlements is not only a loss of a roof overhead but it also a loss of past investments and income. In an informal settlement a house is a financial asset. Homes not only serve the purpose of shelter but are also a source of income. Many tuck shops, spaza stores, and liquor stores are run out of people's homes. Additionally, tailors, barbers, cooks, or caterers work out of their homes. Others rent out rooms, an entire shack, or sell their homes on the informal housing market to earn an extra income.	*Decreasing Financial Risk of Losing a Home* Maria Mejia suggests that those who are dislocated need to be compensated for the loss of their home and be provided a new home of similar or better quality. Additionally, formalizing a community by providing titles for homes could provide security of tenure for the dislocated community. This would allow people to save money on rent and would improve the likelihood that people would invest in their communities.

Social Welfare Risks: Deterioration in Health, Food Insecurity, & Homelessness

People displaced from urban informal settlements face are at serious risk for food insecurity and mental and physical illnesses. Providing emergency aid can curtail illness and can prevent large scale epidemics.

Deterioration In Health	*From Deterioration In Health To Improved Health*
Displacement can lead to the deterioration of people's mental and physical health. Limiting the negative health consequences of relocations is particularly important for informal settlement dwellers especially in South Africa where HIV/AIDS is widespread. Not having access to health services can lead to the deterioration of health in these communities. Also, access to sanitation services is important to maintaining the health of the community and in reducing the occurrence of vector borne illness and opportunistic infections.	The best way to prevent the increase in mental illness is to communicate clearly and truthfully with the community about what they should expect in their new community, including the community in the planning process, and providing people with opportunities to earn income in their new locations. It is important to maintain the mental health of the community, because higher levels of stress and anxiety leave people more vulnerable to physical illness. Additionally, prevention of mental and physical illness is important because once people become sick; epidemics could spread throughout the community. Planning for ways to prevent physical illness include: providing water and sanitation services, access to clinics, transferring medical files, and access to HIV and other medications. It is critical that everyone in informal settlements is able to access to clinics and other health facilities, especially after a relocation.
Food Insecurity	*From Food Insecurity To Improvement In Access To Food And Water*
Urban resettlement schemes can have dire consequences of the food security of a community. Decreases in people's income coupled with increased food prices can leave a community suffering from food insecurity.	Some ways to reduce food insecurity are: investigating food prices and access to food prior to setting up a community, finding a location that is close to cheap food supplies, providing incentives for supermarkets and food suppliers to move to the area, incorporating community or private gardens into community plans, or providing subsidized transportation to food suppliers. Encouraging and providing support for community or individual gardening and small livestock producers could not only help improve food security of those living in informal settlements but also could improve the variety of food of those living in the community.
Homelessness	*From Homelessness To Creation Of Homes*
The insecurity and potential impoverishment that results from losing one's home during a relocation are risks that must be countered. Despite the poor quality of construction materials of homes in informal settlements, shacks and other forms of	Countering housing risks involves planning a community, providing already-built homes (temporary or permanent shelter) prior to the arrival of a dislocated community, providing tenure security in the new location, and ensuring

shelter provide security and protection from the elements and from crime. There is a wide variety of housing types and sizes in informal settlements	that corruption does not occur. A number of academics have focused on ways to counter the housing issue. Planning a community involves planning and creating homes that are suitable for multiple and extended families. Since housing sizes vary by the number of members of a family, it might be useful to provide the community with already built temporary shelter until appropriately sized homes can be built.
Social Capital Risks: Breakdown of Social networks, Loss of Community Spaces, Loss of Educational Opportunities, and Political Marginalization. Relocations in urban environments can have serious consequences on the social capital of a community. Destroying social capital can have severe long term consequences on the communities in informal settlements.	
Break Down Of Social Networks Many people choose to move to a particular informal settlement, because of social networks. People tend to move to locations where they have family members or friends. Also, many people depend on these social networks for financial, emotional, and practical reasons. For example, often friends, families, or neighbors can watch over children or watch over someone's shack while they are away.	*From Break Down Of Social Networks To Rebuilding Of Social Networks* The breakdown of social networks can be avoided by providing jobs and schooling near the new community so that families will not be separated. Another potential way to avoid this breakdown would be to offer displaced families financial or other incentives to remain as a family unit in Tsakane.
Loss Of Community Space Communal spaces foster community congregations such as for community meetings and help foster a sense of community. Losing a common space for the community can change the dynamics of the community and lead to a further breakdown of social capital.	*From Loss Of Communal Space To Creation Of Communal Areas* Planners should take a concerted effort to find some way of maintain a sense of community and can create this through providing a communal space in the form of a soccer field, a community center, or a location where people can gather for social purposes.
Loss Of Educational Opportunities Relocations threaten to make accessing school more difficult. Parents of school age children in informal settlements try to locate themselves in an area where the children can walk to school or take cheap transportation. Sending their children to schools far away cuts into their income. Therefore, many families with children in the city need easy and cheap access to schools.	*From Loss Of Education To Better Access To Schools* The government has the ability to improve the likelihood that children who have been dislocated stay in school. They can tackle the issue of school access costs by providing subsidized transportation and by providing stipends for books, uniforms, and school meals (Wilson). They could also either create a new school in the area or notify schools in the new community that they should prepare for an influx in incoming students. Another important step would be for the government to enforce the laws that protect students. These laws state that the schools cannot keep children's school records if they have not paid their full fees and that schools cannot demand school fees for the year up front. This

	could be facilitated by having a representative assist the displaced students with their communications with school officials. Communication with school officials and subsidizing school access costs could significantly reduce the dropout rate that results from urban displacements.
Political Marginalization Relocation poses the risk of disturbing the existing political organization of a community. Disturbing and marginalizing the existing political structure can lead to a backlash in the form of community resistance.	*From Political Marginalization To Political Inclusion* Instead of neglecting the existing political structures the municipality would have benefited by incorporating them into the planning process. Including the community and its political representation would have reduced the conflict that arose as a result of the relocation. While many policy makers worry that incorporating the community in the planning process might complicate the relocation and increase project costs, the benefits of their inclusion outweigh the costs.

Summary Remarks on Urban Risks and Relocation Model:

Each of the following chapters focuses on one of the three larger topics of urban relocation risks: the economic risk (chapter four), social welfare risk (chapter five), and social capital risk (chapter six), breaking down the risks into sub-risks with solutions to each. In order to justify why each of the risks is important and how the solutions aim to reduce the risks I use examples from the Makause case study and previous relocation literature.

Chapter 5: Differences between Cernea's model and the new Urban Model

Economic Risks

Cernea's Definition of "Joblessness" And "Marginalization" Versus the Urban Model Definition of "Joblessness"

Cernea's definition of joblessness and economic marginalization is similar to the definition of joblessness in the new Urban Model but he does not incorporate the risk to small businesses, a major flaw in his understanding of joblessness in an urban context.

Reasons for Adding the Small Business Risk

Since many people in informal settlements are self-employed and own small businesses, understanding the risk to small businesses as a result of relocations is important to understanding people's economic risks.

Cernea's Definition of "Homelessness" Versus the Urban Model Definition of "Homelessness"

Cernea's definition of "homelessness" is more relevant to rural populations (I describe this in detail under the Social Welfare Risks – Homelessness part of this chapter). However, in a rural context "homelessness" has serious financial implications. Oftentimes one's work or business is in one's home. This means that losing one's home means losing income.

Social Welfare Risks

"Morbidity and Mortality" versus "Deterioration in Mental and Physical Health"

Cernea's definition of morbidity and mortality and the definition in the Urban Model remain virtually unchanged except that this model attempts to measure mental health. Also, Cernea does not discuss access to health services under his *morbidity and mortality* risk but instead under his *access to common property and services* risk. The Urban Model lists access to health services under the deterioration of health risk.

Cernea's "Food Insecurity" Versus Urban Model Definition of "Food Insecurity"

While Cernea's risk of food insecurity is an important risk, defined as "calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work." But it was difficult to measure food insecurity in this way during the Makause-Tsakane study. Instead, this model defines food security based on variety of foods consumed measures hunger and the number of meals eaten per day before and after relocation.

Cernea's "Homelessness" Risk Versus Urban Model Definition of "Homelessness"

Cernea focuses on the cultural implications of "home" whereas the Urban Model's definition of "home" excludes "culture." Cernea's definition of *homelessness* is

much less relevant in an urban context compared with a more settled rural population. Cernea describes *homelessness* by stating that

> in a broader cultural sense, loss of a family's individual home and the loss of a group's cultural space tend to result in alienation and status deprivation (Cernea).

Urban mobile populations that have been living in informal settlements for short periods of time might feel an emotional attachment to their home, but rarely is there a cultural association with that home in the sense of a "cultural space." Scudder and Cernea focus a great deal on the affect of relocations on traditional beliefs and religion, which are less important in an urban context. Scudder writes—

> . . . 'home' refers to community in the widest sense, as well as to the surrounding landscape, especially where it is incorporated into origin myths, historical accounts, and religious symbolism (T.a. Scudder)

Since the Makause population is mobile, many residents do not consider Makause "home."

> The knowledge gained from dam related rural resettlement is not always transferable urban projects of other types. The concern for indigenous people is also of little relevance. Rarely do urban areas include indigenous territories, although they might include ethnic minorities. . . Even poor urban residents are rarely tradition bound; their very survival depends up on being able to see and take advantage of new resources quickly (Bartolome 31).

One distinguishing factor of informal settlements is the amount of time in which people have inhabited them. Whereas many rural areas have been inhabited for multiple decades, urban informal settlements have only been in existence in South Africa for less than 20 years and people rarely have lived in them for longer than 10 years. According to the COHRE report, 40 percent (of informal settlements) are more than 10 years old, 65 percent are more than 5 years old, and 32 percent are of unknown age (75). The average amount of time people have spent in Makause ranges from one to 14 years; the mean

number of years people spend in Makause is six. After the relocation, 39 percent of people considered Makause home, 34 percent considered Tsakane home, and the remaining 27 percent considered somewhere else home —either a different country or a rural area.

Many families in informal settlements have both an urban home and a rural home (Ambert 115), another reason there is less of an attachment to one's "home" in that the home in Makause is a sometimes a second home. Although there are numerous reasons for having two homes, one important reason is that having two homes can act as a safety net in diversified livelihood strategies (Ambert, 2006, p. 115). A survey of three informal settlements in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg showed that 52 percent of households had both a rural and urban home (Shisaka, Development Management Services). While the population is mobile and there may not be "traditional" or "cultural" implications to losing one's home in an urban informal settlement, losing one's home remains a risk with dangerous consequences for a dislocated urban community.

Social Capital Risk

"Social Disarticulation" Versus "Social Capital," "Social Networks," And "Political Marginalization"

While the definition of social disarticulation was useful, I thought that social networks and social capital should be treated as different categories. I chose to include social networks as a subcategory of social capital. Generally the definition of the "social networks" risk in the Urban Model and Cernea's definition of social disarticulation are the same. I attempted to measure the disruption of social networks by asking respondents about the effect that relocation had on how often they saw family, friends, and neighbors.

"Common Property and Access to Services" Versus "Community Space"

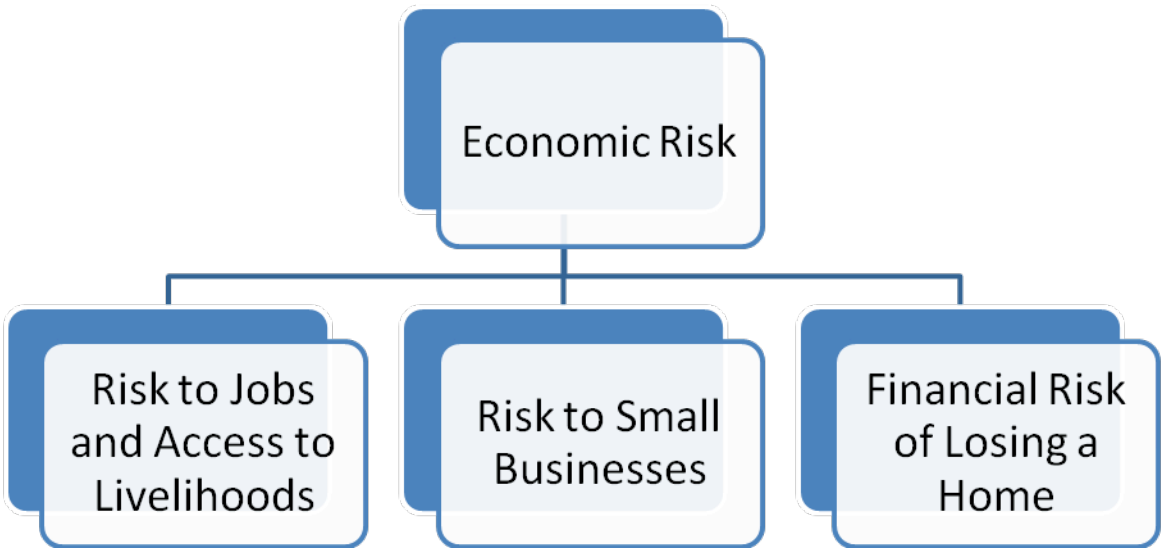
The concept of "common property" in rural areas is not the same in urban informal settlements where there is rarely common property with regards to "burial grounds, pastures, quarries, or forested lands" or even access to open unused land. Common property still plays an important function in urban areas, in urban informal areas it is used as a meeting place, a soccer field, and a place where outsiders can access the community. Instead of grouping together common property and services I decided to address access to services in different sections. For instance access to health services was incorporated into the health section and loss of education would become its own category.

Reasons for Adding "Loss of Educational Opportunities"

While Cernea tangentially addresses education when he says "These losses are compounded by loss of access to public services such as school," I have created educational risk as its own category. I believe Cernea does not include it as its own category because in many rural communities there is no formal schooling. This becomes a more pressing issue in an urban setting because access to schools becomes an important element of family welfare and a lack of education is a serious risk deserving further investigation and its own category.

Chapter 6: Economic Risks

The Economic Risk section focuses on the risks to jobs and access to livelihoods, small businesses, and the financial risk of a losing a home.



Understanding economic risks has a great deal to do with understanding location and access to livelihoods.

> The formation and continuing existence of informal settlements needs to be understood as being part of a poor household's livelihood strategies aimed at accessing income, increasing well-being, reducing vulnerability and improving food security (Ambert 104).

Many rural residents leave their sometimes more spacious homes and abundant green space to move to the often dangerous discomfort of crowded cities so that they can be closer to jobs, even while recognizing that urban life will be difficult. The main difference between Cernea's definition of [rural] joblessness and the Urban Model's definition is small businesses are an important feature of the model.

Relocation has the potential to cut people off from their livelihood networks and from most, if not all, income-earning opportunities. Relocations also pose a risk to people's ability to maintain the jobs that they held in their previous communities. They also pose a threat to existing social networks that enable people to borrow or share resources. Lastly, removing people from their old locations cuts them off from the informal income-earning opportunities such as recycling, selling goods on the side of the road, and relying on handouts from employers or surrounding communities.

The location of a new settlement is the biggest factor that determines whether the dislocated can counter economic marginalization. Economic risks include losing: access to jobs, livelihood strategies, informal networks of support, informal activities, and small businesses opportunities. Providing jobs in the new settlements is one way to counter these risks. However, people in informal settlements rely on informal networks of support as well.

Joblessness Risk and Risks to Livelihood Strategies in Urban Informal Settlements

Joblessness and loosing access to livelihoods is a serious risk people face when they are evicted from urban informal settlements. After all, jobs and access to livelihoods are what drew people to a particular informal settlement. Like migration trends elsewhere, there are both push and pull factors. However, the stronger force is the "pull" force. The biggest pull factor is—that is, the location of the informal settlement. The reason informal settlements exist has everything to do with their location.

> The unsanitary, dangerous, and impoverished living conditions of many slum dwellers should not obscure the fact that a vibrant and essential economic life drew them here in the first place (Lomnitz 153).

Livelihood strategies are complex and do not rely entirely on jobs. They may involve access to social networks, hand outs, and surrounding communities, as well as borrowing from neighbors and friends and entrepreneurship. The loss of an income not only affects how people can afford food, clothing and medicine, but also it can expose a family to physical illnesses, mental stresses, social and economic marginalization, and food insecurity.

The majority of people who live in informal settlements is poor and live below the poverty line; the average income, according to the South African Statistics Department, is approximately 800 R. (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions) However, the mean income for people living in Makause is only about 513 R. Usually this income goes towards food, water, housing, schooling, and a small percentage of it might be used for remittances. The principal way to earn a livelihood is to have an income from either a formal or informal job. However, people become resourceful and use other livelihood strategies.

> Livelihood strategies are aimed to minimize instability, reduce uncertainty, and maximize the use of whatever resources are available (Bartolom 180).

The main livelihood strategy for residents of informal settlements is to choose a place to live based on its location and access to jobs and other sources of income, goods, and food. Those who plan relocations need to ensure that a community has access to jobs and other livelihood strategies.

Jobs/Employment Opportunities in Makause

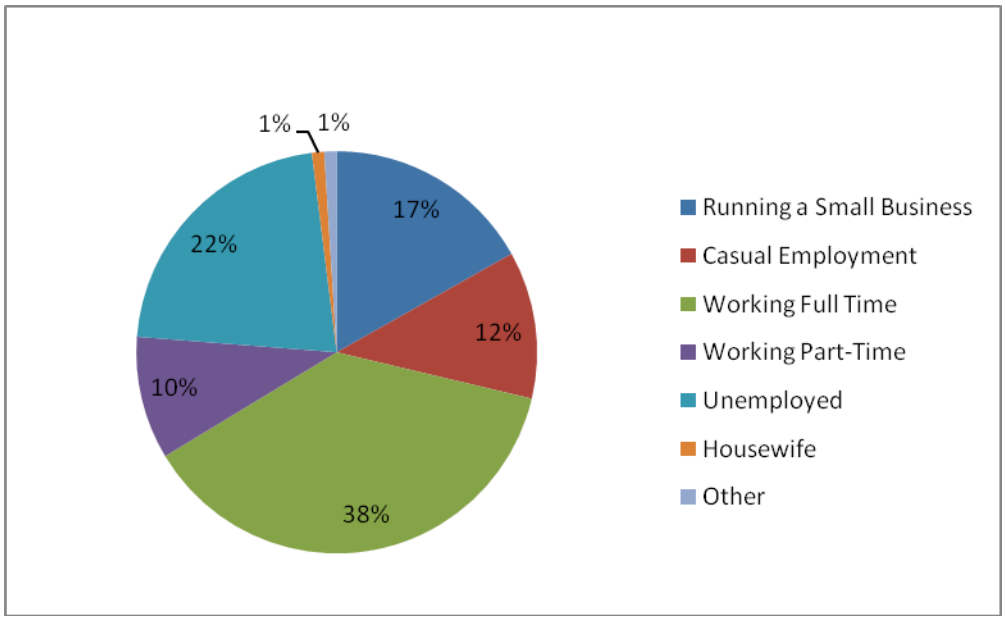
This section explores how jobs and employment opportunities, small business, and other income-earning networks were affected by the relocation. In order to

understand the impact of relocation on employment I needed to explore the employment rate in Makause and the types of jobs people had, and then to determine how dependent people's employment was on the surrounding community.

Employment Rate

While Makause was a poor community, 77 percent of the people were employed either part or full time. Makause was a good location because residents worked in people's homes, and there were also numerous restaurants and shops in the surrounding area offering employment. Table 1 breaks down the employment rates in Makause.

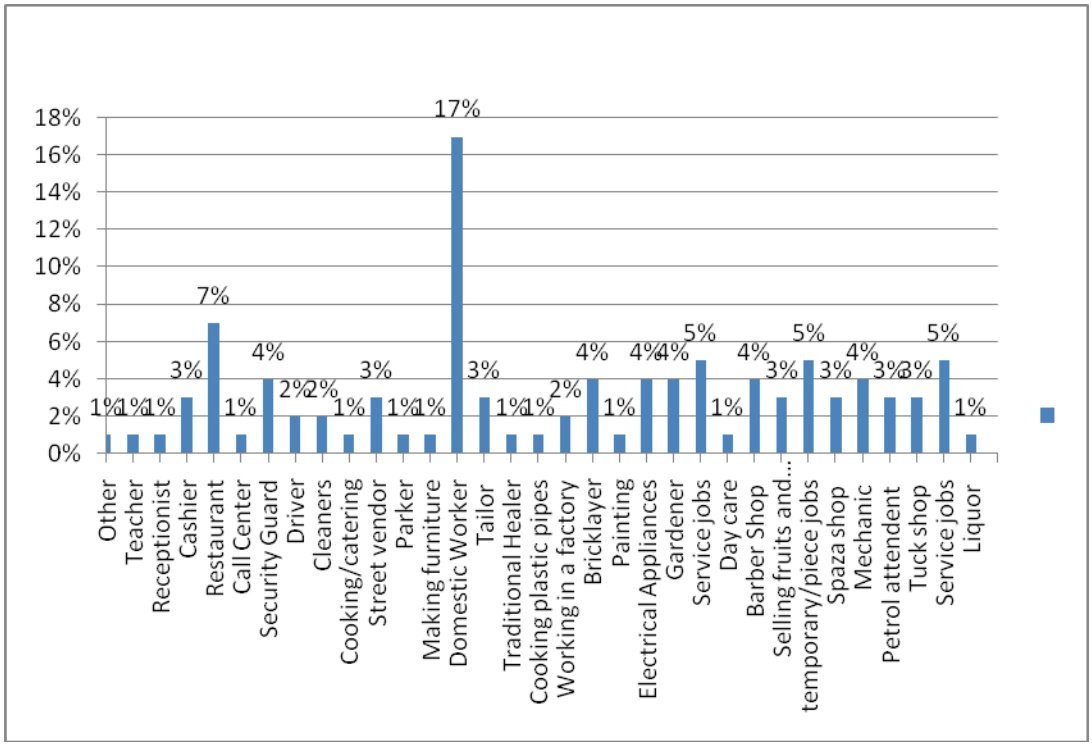
Table 1: Percent of People Working in Makause



Thirty-eight percent of Makause residents had a full-time job (both formal and informal), 10 percent and 12 percent worked part time or in casual work respectively and 22 percent were unemployed. Seventeen percent ran a small business. Table 2 lists the types of jobs people in Makause held, ranging from street vendors to being a receptionist at CNN. The most common job in Makause was as a domestic worker and the next most popular

occupation was working at a restaurant. In general, Makause residents worked close to home in occupations that were easily accessible by foot or by a short taxi ride. The surrounding area offered a number of opportunities for those employed in both formal and informal work.

Table 2: Types of Jobs in Makause

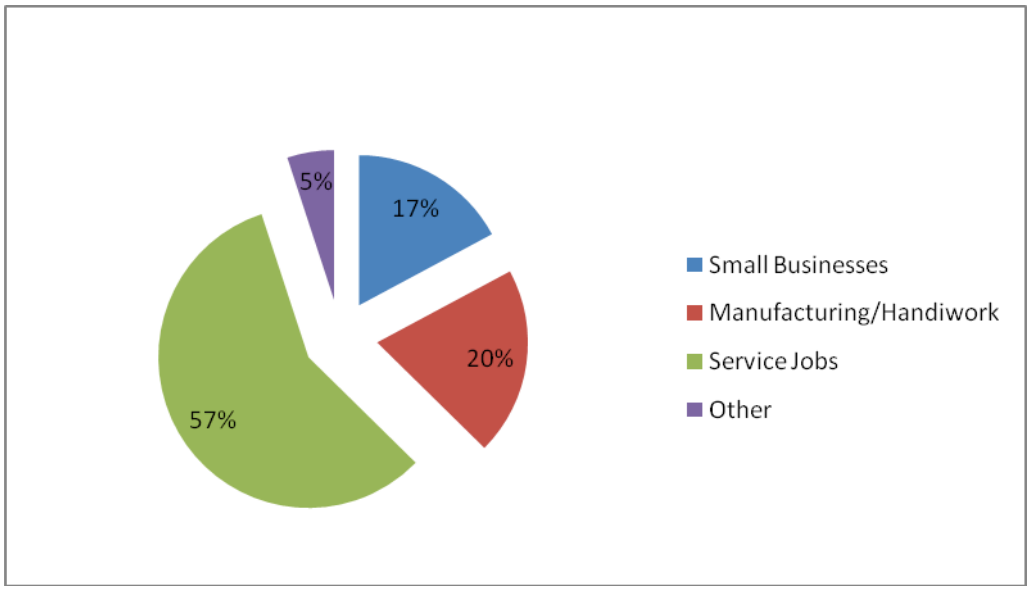


In order to make ends meet, 18 percent of Makause residents had multiple jobs, which usually included painting, cooking/catering, recycling, selling liquor, selling fruits and vegetables, and other temporary jobs. Access to jobs in surrounding residential areas enabled people to earn income through selling things door-to-door or through door-to-door collection of scrap metal for recycling (Ambert 107) for additional income.

> Processing trash, industrial refuse, and discarded materials of all kinds are activities that are too costly or stigmatized to be part of the formal system (Bartolome180).

In Table 3 the occupations that are listed in Table 2 are categorized into four sectors: manufacturing/handiwork, services, small businesses, and temporary jobs. Manufacturing/handiwork jobs included furniture makers, bricklayers, house builders, mechanics, and others. Service jobs included domestic work, restaurant work, shop work, security guards, working at a call center, cashiers, petrol attendants, receptionists, and others. Small-business owners owned a wide range of businesses including fruits and vegetable vendors, liquor vendors, and others. Temporary jobs generally included gardeners, street vendors, and others. Temporary workers might only be employed a day a week or for a few weeks at a time. Fifty-seven percent of people in Makause worked in the service sector, 20 percent worked in the manufacturing/handiwork sector, 17 percent owned small businesses, and five percent worked in temporary/piece jobs.

Table 3: Sectors of Employment in Makause



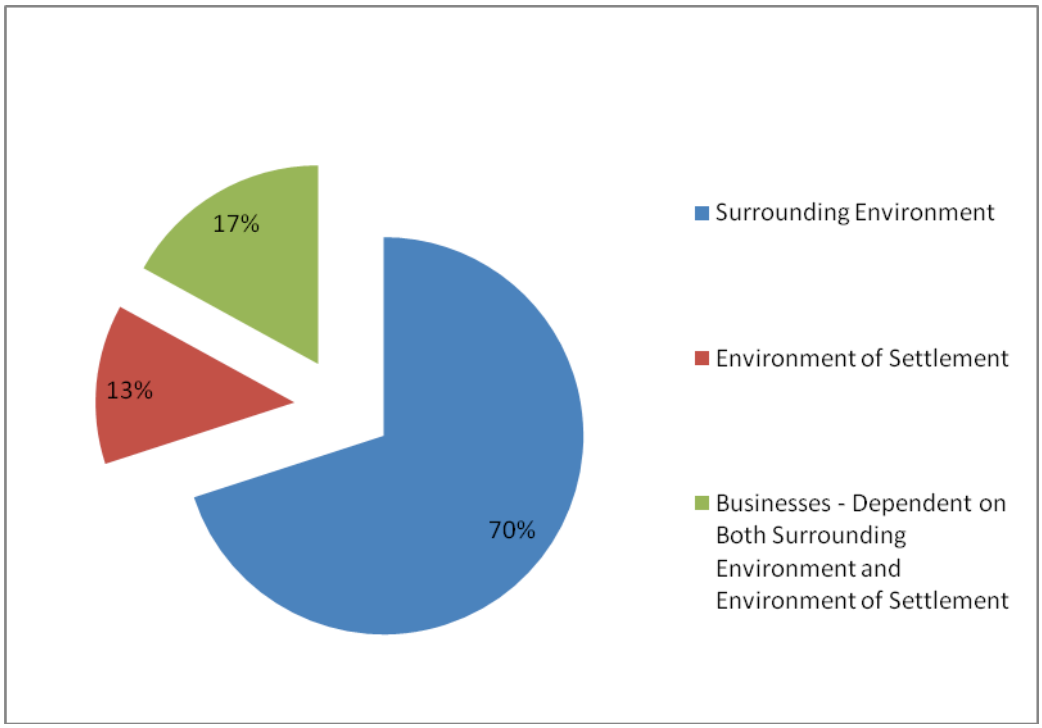
Most of the jobs people held in Makause were dependent upon the surrounding environment, particularly for those working in the service sector.

> The reliance of slum dwellers on the so called informal economy has not been sufficiently studied or taken into consideration in resettlement planning. While informal

> activities allow great mobility, they also create dependence on the surrounding environment, which provides informal or temporary job opportunities in the commercial and industrial centers of cities. (Lomnitz 153).

Table 4 displays three job categories based on the job's dependency on the surrounding environment jobs based on the surrounding neighborhood, jobs based on the informal settlement (so they do not directly rely on the surrounding residential areas or shopping centers), and small businesses (which rely on both the surrounding and local environments). Those whose job was categorized as "depending on the surrounding neighborhood" included domestic workers, those who worked in nearby factories and shops, street vendors, gardeners, petrol attendants, car dealers, restaurant workers, cashiers, receptionists, teachers, and other service jobs. Those whose jobs were categorized as "dependent on the informal settlement" provided local services such as tailors, traditional healers, bricklayers, and mechanics. Those who were categorized as "small business" were vendors who relied on cheap and nearby suppliers in the surrounding neighborhood and on customers in the informal settlement. This pie chart demonstrates that 70 percent of employed Makause residents depended on Makause's location to the surrounding neighborhood for their jobs, 17 percent were small-business owners, and only 13 percent of the people held jobs that depended on the informal settlement. Table 4 breaks down the percent of Makause residents whose employment was dependent on either the surrounding neighborhood or the informal settlement, or both.

Table 4: Dependency On The Local Versus Surrounding Environment



In reality everyone's employment depended on the surrounding environment when the community was moved to Tsakane, both those who owned small businesses and those who provided services to the informal settlement suffered because their customers, who were previously better employed, were now unable to afford their goods and services. Because there was such a high dependency on the neighborhood surrounding Makause, many people commuted back to Makause for work or moved back to Makause.

Consequences of Relocation on Jobs/Employment Opportunities:

Relocation transformed the Makause community and exposed an already vulnerable community to additional risk. Unemployment increased, people's incomes decreased, and the community faced a new level of poverty. On the far outskirts of Johannesburg Tsakane is an area which is far removed from employment opportunities and is not

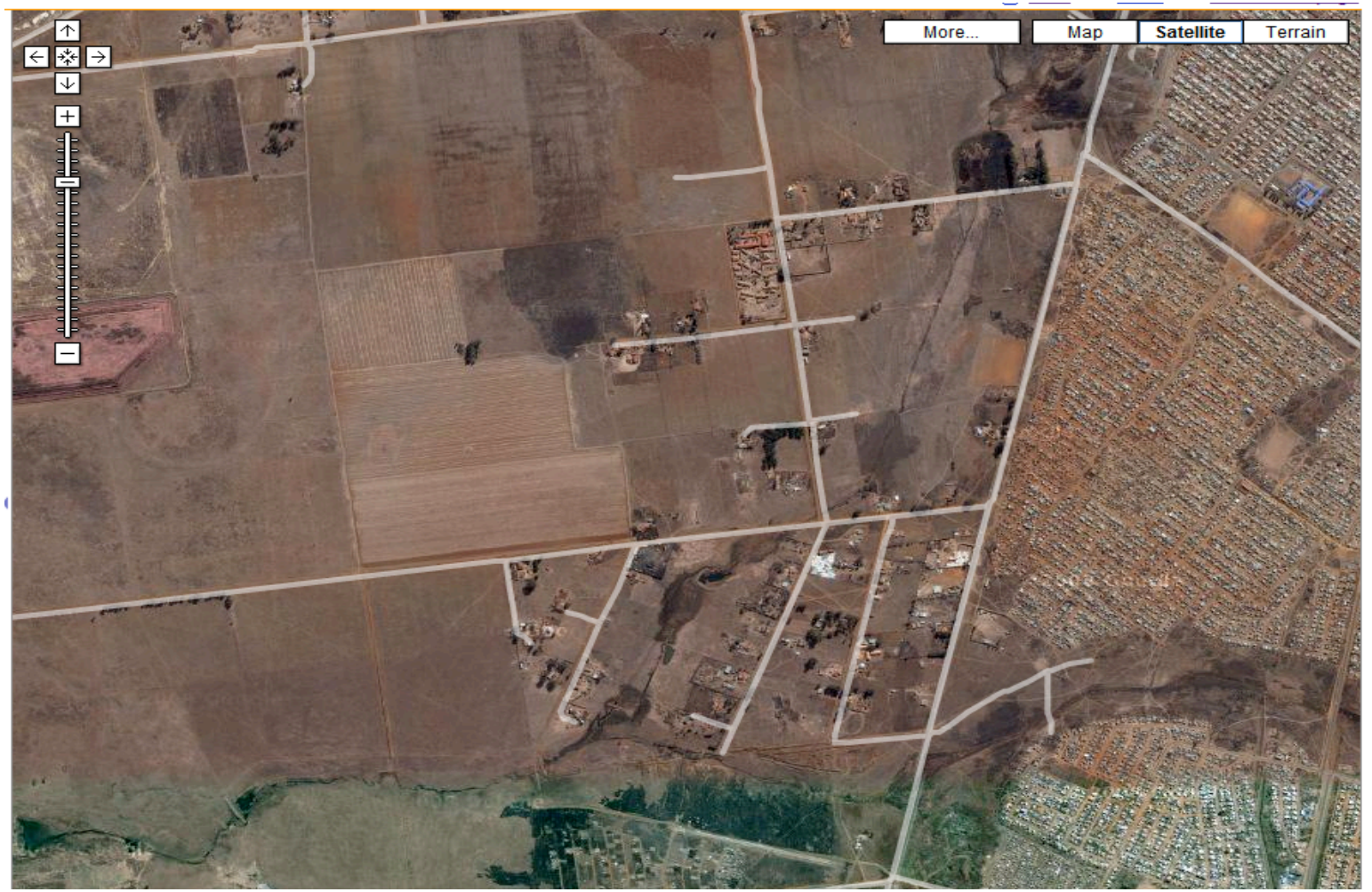
surrounded by a wealthier nearby residential area, nor does it have access to stores. Consequently, people lost jobs or had to put a large proportion of their incomes toward transportation costs so that they could continue to transport themselves back to Makause to work for their previous employers. The 40-kilometer distance was a difficult obstacle to overcome.

The following two satellite images are of Makause and Tsakane respectively. The image of Makause shows that it is surrounded by businesses and buildings which is stark contrast to the images of Tsakane which shows the empty land surrounding Tsakane. On the other hand, Makause is on a busy road. Across the street are shopping centers and wealthier residential areas. It is much more crowded. While Tsakane is also on a road, it offer no shops or buildings in the surrounding area, and it is surrounded by a poor formal settlement with few shops and stores. The difference in the surroundings of both locations explains the difference in the economic situations of the communities that reside in Makause and in Tsakane.

Figure 3: Satellite Image of Makause

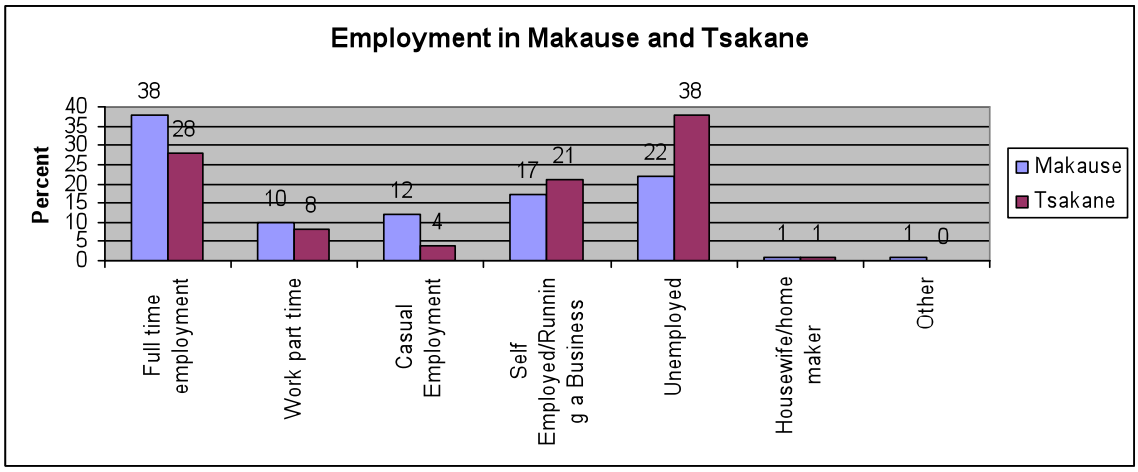


Figure 4: Satellite Image of Tsakane (Satellite Image of Tsakane)



The largest risk people in Makause faced was losing their jobs. Unemployment increased from 22 percent to 38 percent. Most people who lost their jobs could not afford to go back to Makause to keep their jobs, because the transportation costs were too high. Respondent 99 said: "I lost my job because I failed to arrive on time at work since I am far." Table 6 shows the job losses that resulted from the relocation for each type of employment.

Table 5: Employment Figures for Makause and Tsakane

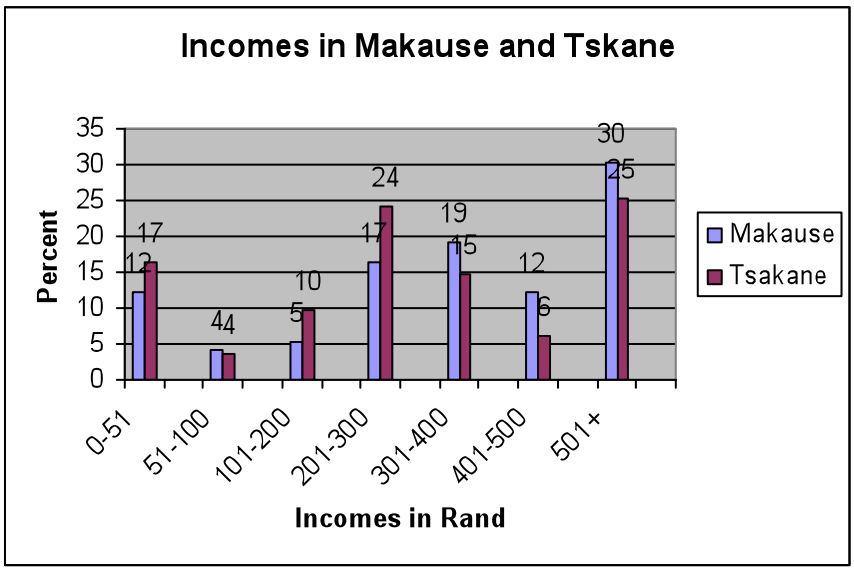


Causal employment workers suffered a great deal, too. The percent of people who worked in casual employment dropped from 12 percent to 4 percent. This group of workers was particularly vulnerable to increased transportation costs. Respondent 107 claimed: "I want to be close to work. The money we pay for transport is too much and I cannot afford it." There was also a ten percent drop in full-time employment because of increased transportation costs. In Makause 38 percent of the population was employed full-time. That number dropped to 28 percent in Tsakane. Part-time employment decreased from 10 percent to 8 percent. Some full-time workers became part-time workers, which helped offset the number of part-time worker losses. The number of small businesses increased from 17 percent to 21 percent. This increase should not come as a surprise, because as people lost jobs they had to be resourceful by creating jobs for themselves. The increase in the number of small businesses was a coping strategy. The

people who were most likely to the keep their jobs were those who were formally employed and who were making above-average wages and who were able to afford the transportation costs.

Not only did unemployment increase but mean income decreased from 513R to about 420R. It appears that those who were earning the most money in Makause suffered most. Table 7 shows the drop in incomes after the relocation. Table 6 compares incomes in Makause to incomes in Tsakane.

Table 6: Incomes in Makause Versus Incomes in Tsakane



The percent of those earning 301R or more per month in Makause dropped in Tsakane. It is likely that these people had multiple jobs or a business or were living with family members with whom they shared incomes. The percent of people who were earning more than 500R dropped by five percentage points, those who were earning between 401-500R dropped by six points, and those who were earning between 301R-400R dropped four points. But most troubling is that the percent of people who were earning the least amount of money from 0 to 51R increased by five percent. The people in this group are far below the poverty line of 587R for a one person home,

and even further below the poverty line of 1290-R per month for a family of four. Table 8, lists the poverty line based on household size.

Table 7: Poverty Income By Household Size (R per month)

Household Size	2001
1	587
2	773
3	1028
4	1290
5	1541
6	1806
7	2054
8+	2503

(Human Sciences Research Council)

The loss of income and increased unemployment rates had a negative ripple effect on many other aspects of the lives of the dislocated community.

Livelihood Strategies and Non-Wage Income Opportunities in Makause:

Economic networks and livelihood strategies go beyond employment and income generated from small businesses and are complex. Many of these strategies reflect the way people cope with poverty. For everyone in an informal settlement there are networks that people use to access money, food, or goods. These include handouts from the neighboring community, handouts from employers, borrowed money from family members or friends, and government grants. Seventy-six percent of the interviewed population in Makause received government grants, 16 percent received some of their income from family members, and 1 percent received some help from friends. The mean amount of income from outside sources was 761R per month and ranges from 0 to 4000R per month.

Seventy percent of the population who received government grants receives childcare grants and 19 percent receive disability grants. Access to social networks was another important coping strategy. People in informal settlements rely on the incomes of family members and it is common that one wage will support multiple family members.

> demographic studies have frequently found that cities in the developing world are characterized by fairly high proportions of extended type households, higher even than in more "traditional" rural areas (Kanjanapan 430).

Living with a boyfriend or girlfriend or multiple family members is a common financial coping strategy. Some households include a few generations. Although some borrowing from friends takes place, it is not commonplace.

Wealthier residents in surrounding areas can provide a great deal of help to the informal settlement with cash, odd jobs, and gifts. People who are as gardeners, security guards, or domestic workers benefit in non-financial ways. Some employers give their employees used clothes, medical prescriptions, food, and small cash loans. In Makause wealthier residents donated blankets in the winter time, used clothes throughout the year, and free lunch on Mondays. These gifts, although small, contribute to the livelihood strategies.

Consequences of the Relocation on Livelihood Strategies/Non-Wage Income Opportunities in Makause:

Many economic networks were destroyed after the relocation. Some family members stayed behind in Makause to remain at their jobs or for their children to finish school near Makause while others went to Tsakane to claim a plot of land. After the relocation, the community no longer was able to access the handouts from the neighboring communities or any value added from working for the people living in the surrounding neighborhood.

From "Joblessness and Loss of Livelihoods" to Job/Livelihood Maintenance, and Creation

Strategies designed to counter unemployment, a loss of livelihoods, and problems with small businesses involve planning a location near job opportunities and opportunities for other livelihood strategies.

> A more useful approach to reconstituting livelihoods might be to assume that displaced families follow diversified income strategies aimed at ensuring family survival (Erickson 110,111)

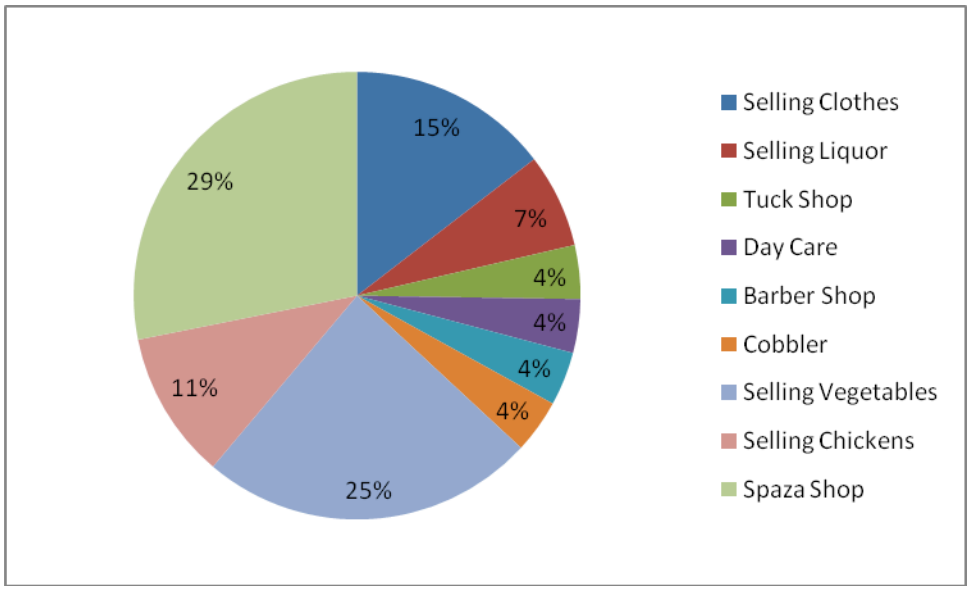
Since urban land is a scarce commodity, planners should consider long-term subsidized transportation to and from work. This would prevent people from losing jobs because they cannot afford to get to work and save the community the increased transportation costs. If old jobs are too far despite subsidized transportation, another strategy might be to create new jobs in the new location and provide job training. One way of creating new jobs would be to provide incentives for businesses to relocate to the new area or planning an entire community with subsidized housing, shopping malls, and restaurants. Job trainings and vocational training could improve people's ability to gain new skills to get jobs in the area. Moving the dislocated community to an area near wealthier residential areas would provide jobs and the benefits for those in the new community and would provide labor for those living in the nearby area. Ensuring that the people in the new community remain employed or are able to find new jobs would decrease instances of food insecurity, people moving back to their old communities or to other areas, resistance to the relocation, political marginalization, and other negative externalities associated with joblessness.

Risk to Small Businesses

Small Businesses Opportunities in Makause:

Small businesses are an important part of an informal settlement's economy, in Makause 17 percent of people who were employed owned a small business. Owning a small business is often a secondary occupation and serves to supplement income. It represents insurance against the often unavoidable periods of unemployment (Bartolome). These businesses operate with narrow profit margins or some with none at all. Their owners are of the same social class as their customers and share in their economic insecurity (Bartolome). In Makause 27 percent of those who were employed also owned a business. Twenty-nine percent of business owners owned a spaza shop (a small convenience store), 25 percent sold vegetables, 11 percent sold chickens, 11 percent sold liquor, and other businesses included cobblers, barber shops, day care facilities, and tuck shop (snacks and drinks store) owners. Table 5 lists the different types of businesses that existed in Makause.

Table 8: Types of Businesses in Makause



Businesses that provide goods in informal settlements are able to sell their goods only by purchasing goods wholesale and selling them in small quantities. For example, a large wholesale bag of chips is sold in small plastic bags for a marginal profit or fruits and vegetables are sold as single items or in small quantities. These businesses not only sell goods more cheaply and in smaller quantities than do larger supermarkets but they also have the advantage of being close to the consumers; they act as a "corner store." While small businesses are an important coping strategy for residents of informal settlements, these businesses rarely expand and only serve as supplemental income.

Consequences of Relocation on Small Businesses

Although the percent of businesses increased, so did the problems facing businesses. First, the increase in businesses should not be surprising because people who lost jobs were looking for ways to substitute their previous incomes. Starting a business in this environment does not involve large start-up costs since a small business can include activities such as selling 20 pieces of fruit out of the back of a shack. But these small businesses faced a number of difficulties as a result of the relocation. Table 9 shows that 86 percent of businesses which had already existed in Makause reported that they were earning less than they had earned in Makause.

Table 9: Were Businesses In Tsakane Earning More Or Less Than They Were Earning In Makause

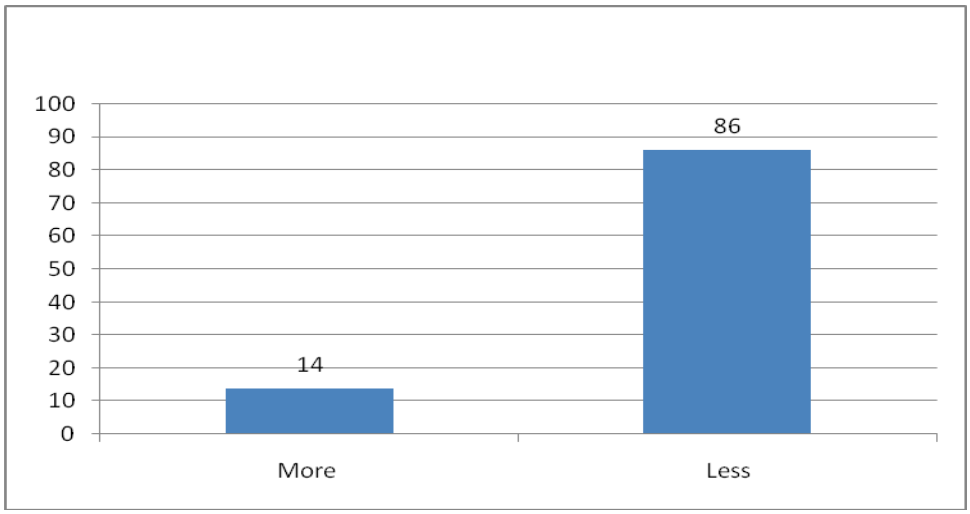
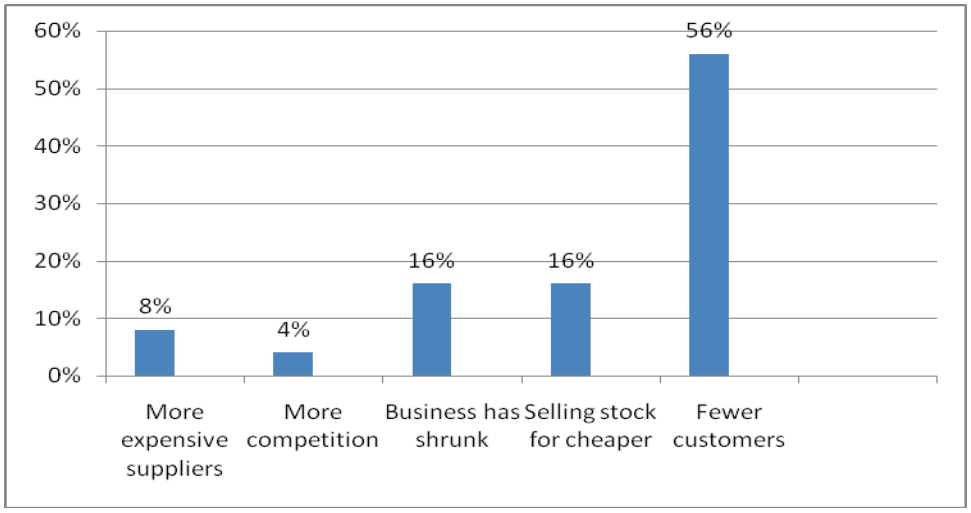


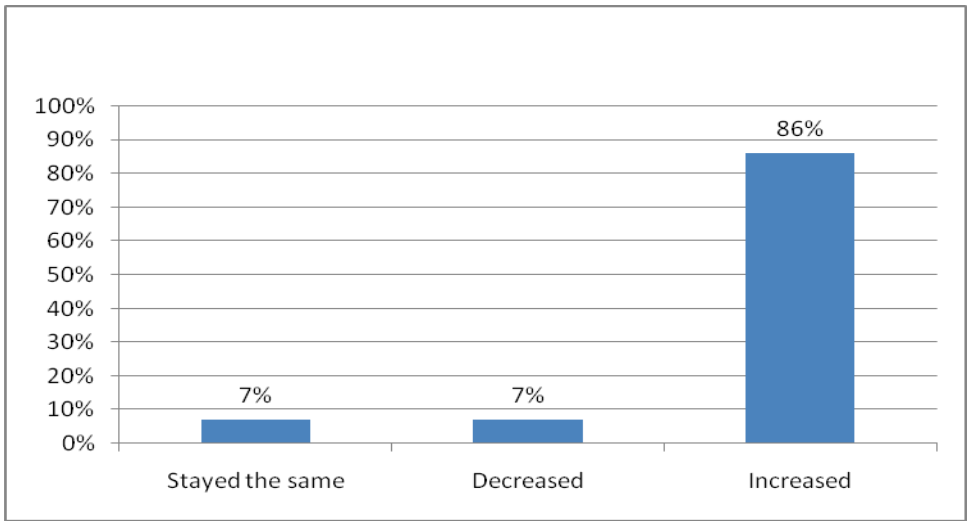
Table 10 illustrates Tsakane's businesses were failing: people were earning less because there were fewer customers since there were fewer people living in Tsakane; less money to spend on goods and services; businesses had shrunk; they had more expensive stock suppliers; and there was more competition. Respondent 50 said: "We don't have jobs and other opportunities and Tsakane is not a good place to start a business."

Table 10: Reasons Business Are Not Doing Well In Tsakane



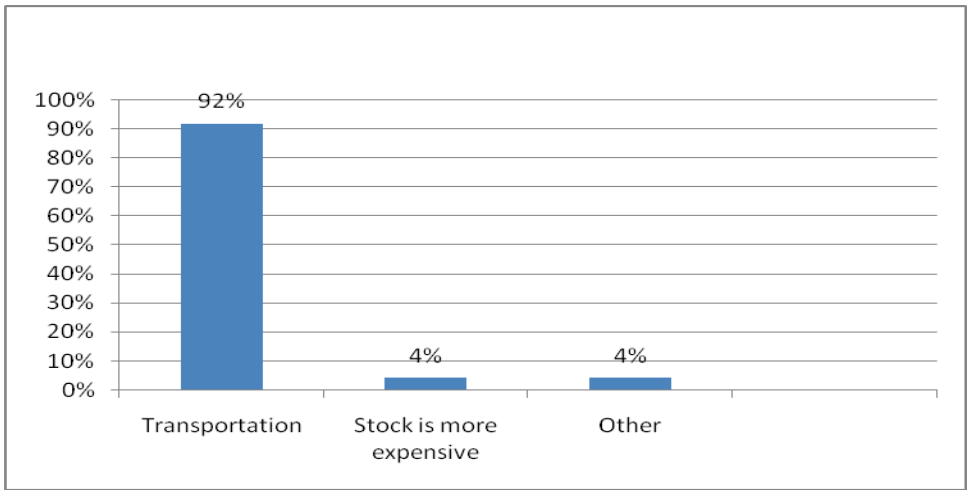
Also, when business owners were asked whether their business costs had increased or decreased or had stayed the same, 86 percent cited that their business costs had increased.

Figure 5: Business Costs Increased In Tsakane



The business owners were then asked why their business costs had increased. Table 11 shows that 92 percent of those who believed their costs had increased blamed those increases on transportation, thus costing them more to obtain supplies.

Table 11: Costs in Tsakane



Increased transportation costs meant that the business owners in Tsakane could not go into town to re-supply their stock as often as they might have in Makause and as a result they did not have as much stock on hand to sell. This was particularly problematic for those selling fruits and vegetables as they had to worry about the shelf life of their products.

From Risk to Small Businesses to Countering the Small Business Risk

Lastly, setting up business development services for small businesses; providing cheaper transportation; and offering micro loans would improve the likelihood that small business would survive in the new community. However, micro loans should only be pursued if the opportunity for small-business growth in the area exists.

> Building successful micro enterprises requires substantial planning, including an analysis of existing regional economy, the goods and services it needs, and the kinds of changes likely to occur post Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDDR) (Koenig 25)

Financial Risk of Losing a Home

Home as a Financial Asset

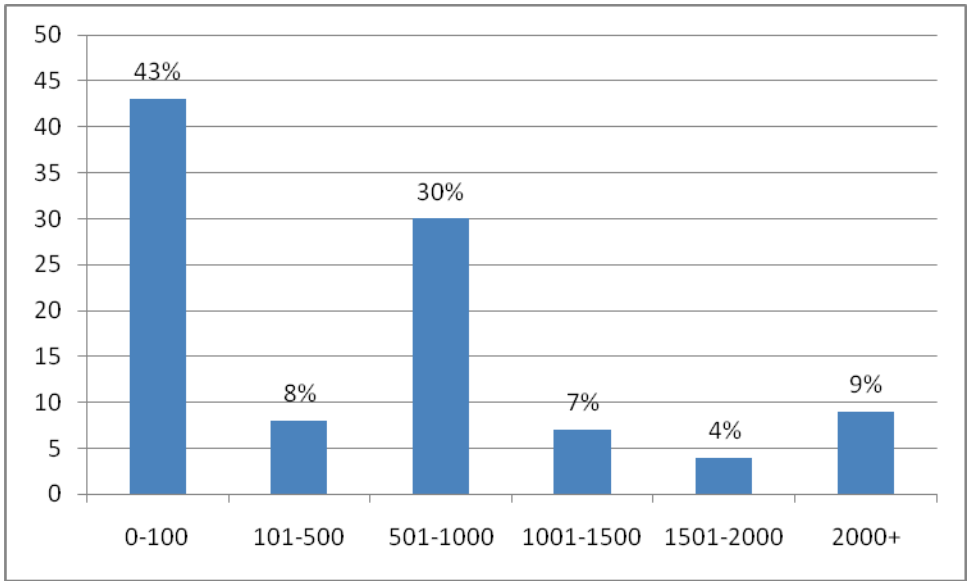
In an informal settlement a house is a financial asset so a loss of shelter in informal settlements is not only a loss of a roof overhead but it is also a loss of past investments and a source of income. Many tuck shops, spaza stores, and liquor stores are run out of people's homes. Additionally, tailors, barbers, cooks, or caterers work out of their homes. Others rent out rooms, an entire shack, or sell their homes on the informal housing market to earn an extra income. Thirty-three percent of the respondents paid rent, 24 percent purchased their stands while the other 43 percent inherited their shacks from other family members or lived with their parents or partners. During evictions, homeowners lose the money they invested in their homes. The shacks and homes in Makause were completely destroyed and most of the materials could not be reused. The removal not only caused people to lose the money they invested in purchasing their stands but also the money they invested in upgrading their homes. Those who lost the most in terms of sunk costs were those people who owned brick houses.

Consequences of Homelessness Risk

Corruption exacerbated the financial issues that the displaced people were facing. The Wozani Security Company was contracted by the government to conduct this eviction. The company misguided the displaced people by promising them that they would receive RDP houses in Tsakane, re-sold any salvaged materials back to their original owners, improperly distributed stands and acted as the governing body to the newly evicted community.

After bulldozing and disassembling homes, instead of giving people's materials back to them, the Wozani Company sold it back to the residents. Any financial loss the displaced people faced was exacerbated by having to buy the material that was still useable back from the company, if they could afford to do so. Forty-six percent of all of the residents bought their materials back, spending 0-110R between 0-100 R on their materials. However, 30 percent, spent between 500-1000R.

Table 12: Amount Of Money People Spent To Buy Back Their Materials In R.



If they wanted their housing materials back to build a house in Tsakane, they had to come up with the money to pay for them over the course of a few days. Many could not pay at all.

Additionally, there was a great deal of stress related to keeping one's home in the new community: reports said that the Wozani Company would demolish unattended houses and place other people on that land. Responses in the questionnaires corroborated these reports. Respondent 90 expressed his worry when he said: "I am scared of losing my house to the 'red ants' (this was another name for the Wozani company) and I do not have another place anywhere." Many people explained that they stayed in Tsakane, while other family members moved back or went back to Makause regularly, in order to guard the house from the Wozani Company and criminals.

Countering Homelessness by House Creation and Reducing Corruption

Koenig suggests providing dislocated communities with temporary jobs that involve rebuilding the community. This would provide community members with an extra source of income. Also, formalizing informal settlements by providing titles for homes could provide security of tenure for the dislocated community. This would allow people to save money on rent and would improve the likelihood that people would invest in their communities. Thirty-three percent of the population who had previously rented no longer had to pay rent. This means that, on average, that thirty-three percent of the population, saved about 100R per month. Countering the housing risk would improve financial situations of the recently dislocated community.

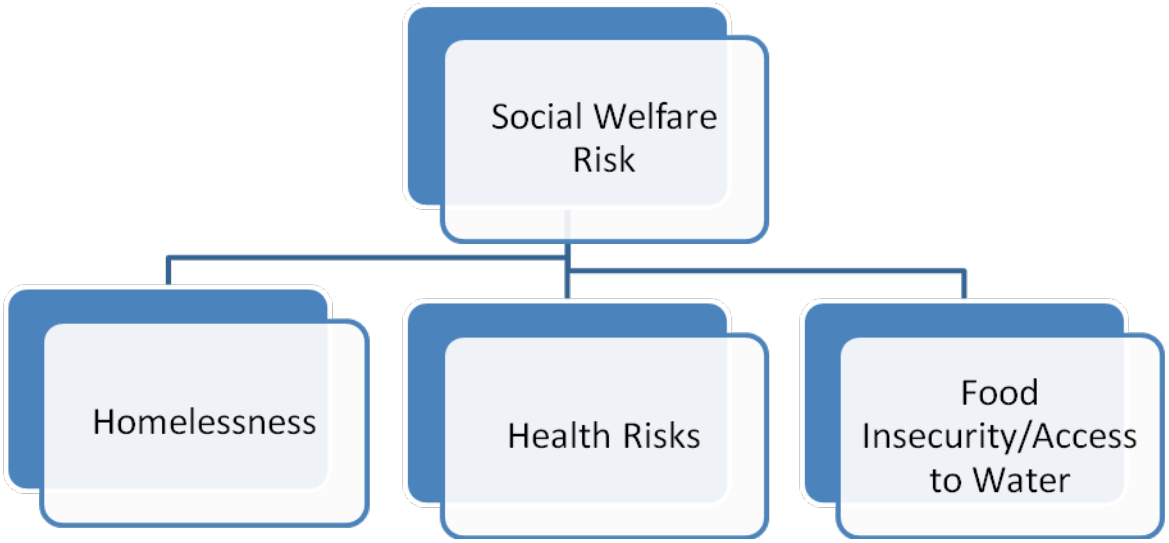
Summary Remarks on Economic Risks Section:

The economic risks that a relocation poses can potentially impoverish a community. In the Makause case study people lost jobs, businesses, and people became more impoverished. Cernea's joblessness risk remains central to the new model and is still relevant to the urban

context. However, as the data suggest small businesses are an important feature mitigating ` economic risk in the urban context.

Chapter 7: Social Welfare

Cernea discusses many of the risks outlined in this section. These include homelessness, food insecurity, and health issues (under Cernea's morbidity and mortality risk, as well as access to water.



I borrowed this concept of "social welfare" from Dolores Koenig. She defines social welfare needs as—

> humanitarian issues that can be dealt with using existing approaches similar to the aftermath of natural disasters. They require the mobilization of significant resources over a relatively short time (Koenig 9).

After a relocation each of these risks needs to be addressed immediately in order to avoid any serious health or security consequences. However, many of these risks remain as lingering conditions and need to be dealt with on a long-term basis. The first part of this chapter will focus on the food security and water risks people face as a result of relocation; the second part will

look at health risks; and the third part will focus on housing. Each of these sections will be followed by suggestions for how to counter these risks.

Food Insecurity/Access to Water

Relocation can have serious negative effects on access to food and water. Increased food prices, reduced incomes, and a lack of access to food in Tsakane have led to increased food insecurity. However, water was not as serious an issue in this particular case because it was adequately addressed.

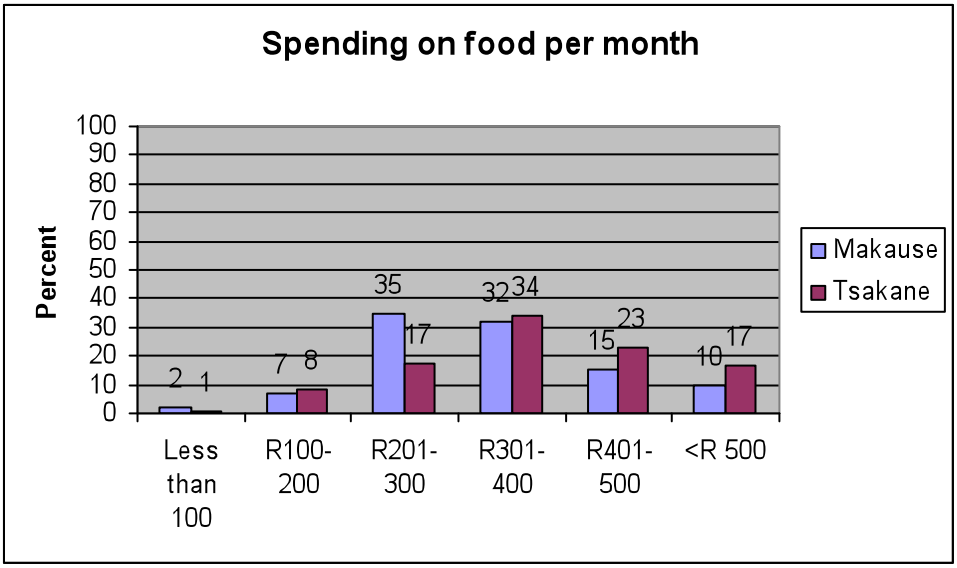
Access to Water

Relocation can create serious health issues such as epidemics if water is not provided to the dislocated communities. Toole and Waldman explain that "the most practical and effective strategy to prevent waterborne cholera and typhoid is to provide clean water in adequate quantities and adequate sanitation (Toole)." People were generally more satisfied with access to water in Tsakane than in Makause. This is an example of good planning and execution. Although the municipality succeeded in providing basic water services, they could have further improved the community's health by providing running water. Households storing water are 4.6 times more likely to have diarrhea than those that do not have to store water (Smit 111). Diarrhea was the leading cause of death in most areas of South Africa for children aged 1-5 (Seager qtd. in Smit 111). Improving the community's access to water was one of the (very few) improvements that households experienced. Addressing the risk to access to water was crucial to the health of the community and probably avoided the spread of an epidemic.

Access to Food

Improving access to food is an important aspect of decreasing food insecurity. While people in Makause had access to food: the community was within walking distance of a large supermarket as illustrated in Figures 2 and 3 and there were a number of fruit and vegetable vendors who were able to sell their goods relatively cheaply because they had access to suppliers. On the other hand in Tsakane, there were no nearby supermarkets or suppliers. Vegetable and fruit prices increased because vendors had higher transportation costs and stock prices. Table 12 shows the amount of money people were spending on food before and after the relocation. In Makause the largest percentage of people was spending between 201R and 300 R, whereas the largest percentage of people in Tsakane was spending between 301R and 400R per month. Reduced access to food led to an increase in hunger.

Table 13: Spending On Food Per Month In Makause And Tsakane



Even though they were earning less, seventy-four percent of Tsakane's population was spending more than 301R on food compared to only 57 percent of Makause's population.

Levels of Food Security in Makause and Tsakane

The respondents were asked to react to a number of statements about food security in Makause and Tsakane. These questions were adapted from a questionnaire asked by the South African Medical Research Council on the food security of refugees. Respondents were read seven statements and were asked if they "never," "sometimes," or "always" agreed with the statement. The graphs are ordered based on severity of food insecurity from "not severe" and "severe."

NOT SEVERE

The first and second graphs address food insecurity that is "not severe." These two graphs are placed in this category because they deal with people's "wants" and "worries" and what would make people more comfortable.

Table 14: Worries about Food

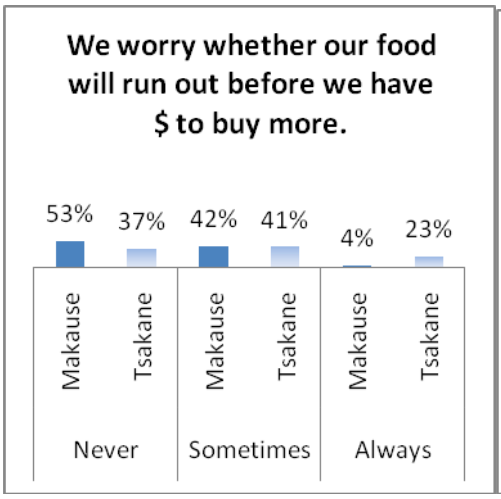
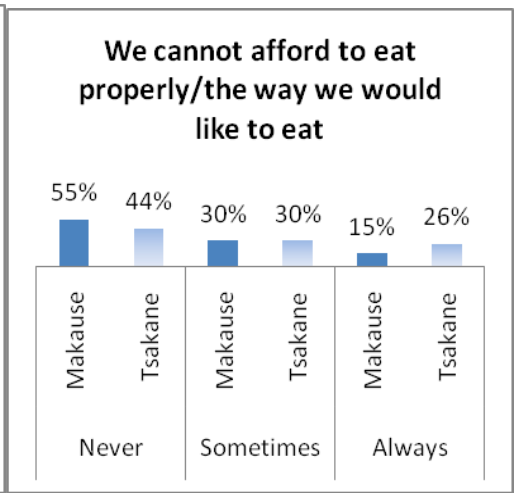


Table 15: Cannot eat the way we would like



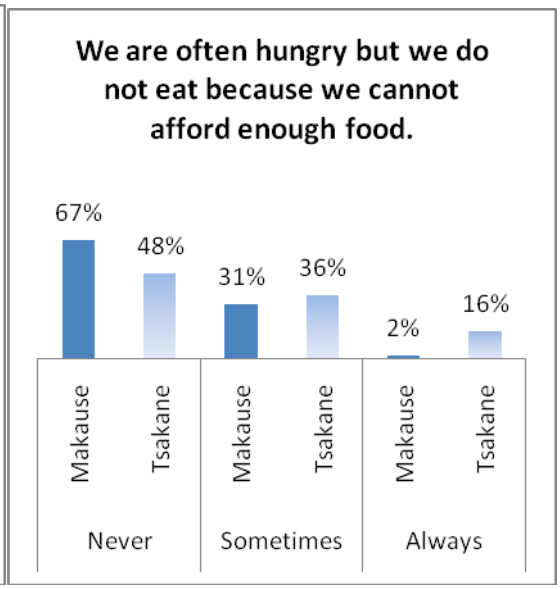
SEVERE

The two tables below are placed in the "severe" category because they deal with severe food insecurity and because they deal with issues of hunger and food "needs."

Table 16: Food did not last



Table 17: Hunger



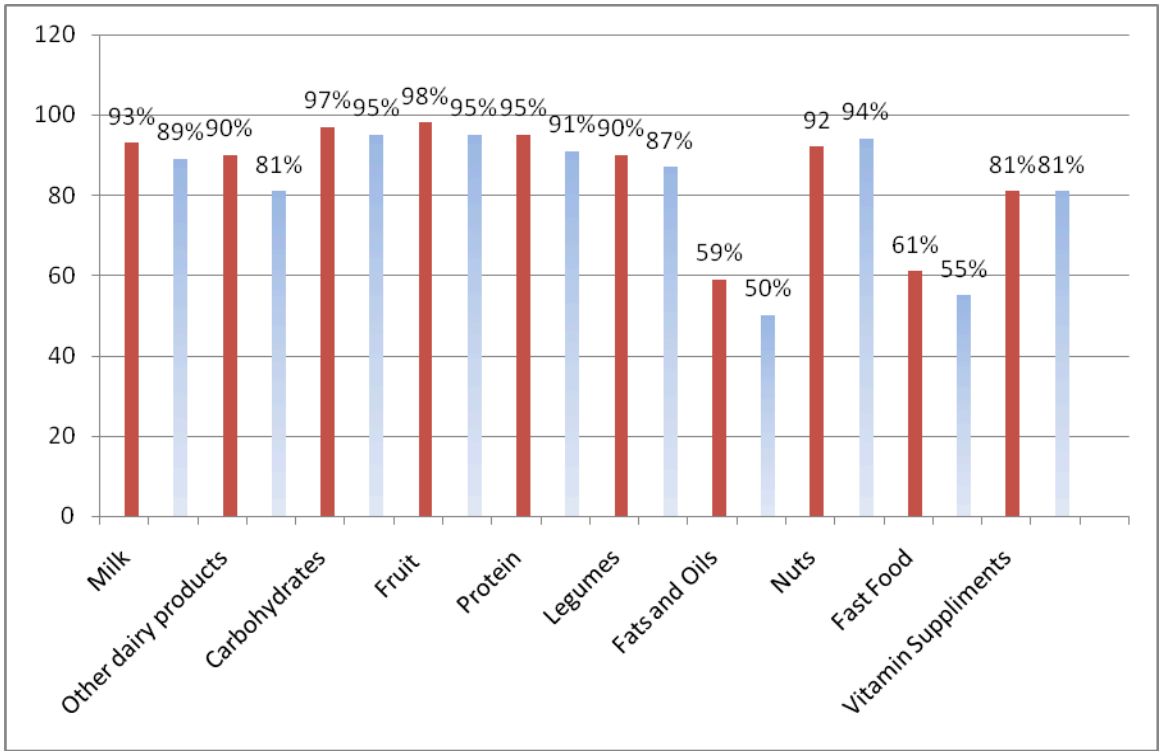
Several food issues became a problem in Tsakane, and the percent of people who responded "always" to issues related to food insecurity increased, in some cases by a significant amount. This means that the percent of people who were "always" plagued by issues surrounding food insecurity increased after the relocation. Respondent 107 corroborated the findings: "there are no shops around and things are very expensive, there is too much poverty and hunger."

Variety of Food Consumption

In order to determine if people not only had enough food but if they were getting a variety of food, the respondents were asked questions about if they ate certain types of food at least three times during the week while they lived in Makause compared to when they lived in Tsakane. The following table documents the variety of food people ate in Makause versus Tsakane. Changes in eating patterns could have been the result of less supply of a product, higher

prices for that product, or less income to purchase a particular product (for instance, meat is more expensive than carbohydrates).

Table 18: Variety Of Food People Ate In Both Makause And Tsakane. (Dark Blue Is Makause And Light Blue Is Tsakane)



While less of one or a few products could potentially signal a problem, in this case, every category except for nuts and vitamin supplements dropped, which certainly raises an alarm bell. People in Tsakane were eating less of almost every product than they were eating in Makause. The smallest drop was three percent for carbohydrates and the largest drop was 11 percent for dairy products. Consumption of nuts went up two percent and vitamin supplements stayed the same. Although the reductions were relatively small, this graph confirms that people were eating a less varied diet in Tsakane.

From Food Insecurity to Accessing Food and Water Supplies

Combating food insecurity is tied to access to livelihood strategies and location. According to Koenig, in the short run, it is beneficial to provide food aid while people look for new jobs and adjust to their new setting. However, in the long run employment is the only solution to combat food insecurity.

> Resettlers' nutrition levels and health care depend largely on their economic recovery through land or employment (Mejia 118).

However, other steps to reduce food insecurity are investigating food prices and access to food prior to setting up a community, finding a location that is close to cheap food supplies, providing incentives for supermarkets and food suppliers to move to the area, incorporating community or private gardens into community plans, and/or providing subsidized transportation to food suppliers. Encouraging and providing support for community or individual gardening and small livestock producers could not only help but improve food security and also could improve the variety of food. In sum, food insecurity can exacerbate and create health issues in a dislocated community.

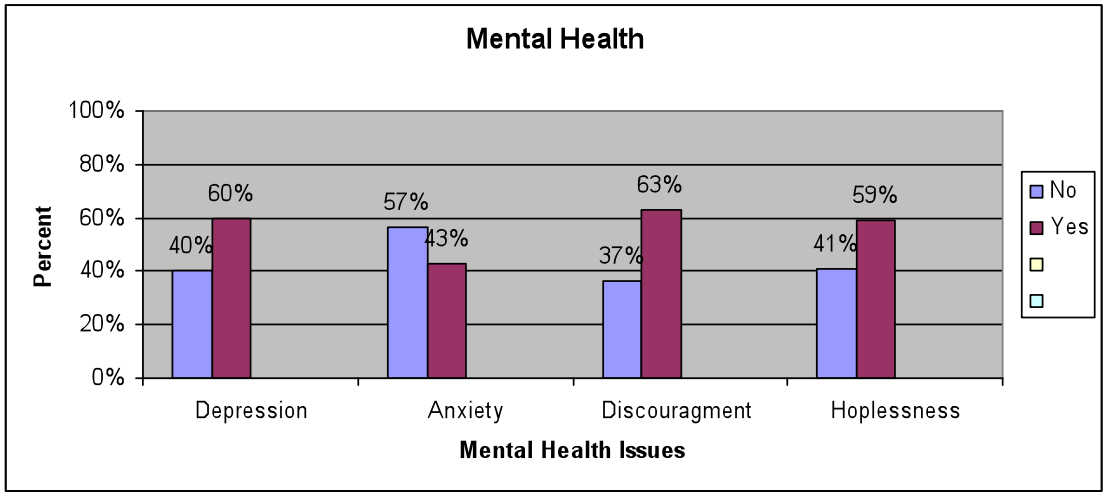
Health Risks*:*

Food insecurity and lack of water are not the only ways people's health is put at risk. The stress and lack of both sanitation and health services can exacerbate existing and create new mental and physical health issues.

Mental Health

While many people in Makause were poor and had to struggle to make ends meet, anxieties surrounding money and access to food were commonplace. Prior to the relocation 46 percent of people were worried about issues surrounding the ability to purchase food; and after the relocation, that figure jumped to 64 percent. The loss of jobs and other income-earning opportunities led to an increase in mental health issues after the relocation. Although there were some mental health issues prior to relocation, eight months after the relocation the levels of mental health issues that people reported were dismal. Sixty percent of the population felt depressed, 43 percent felt anxious, 63 percent felt discouraged, and 59 percent felt hopeless.

Table 19: Mental Health Issues Post Relocation



This information is confirmed by the next set of data that demonstrate that people's mental health issues increased after the relocation. The respondents were asked questions about whether they had symptoms associated with deteriorating mental health while they were living in Makause. This data was compared to the responses they gave to the same questions about their mental health while living in Tsakane. These symptoms included unhappiness, crying more than usual, worrying, losing interest in things, having a nervous stomach, being easily frightened, and being nervous and tense. They were also asked about whether or not they suffered from the

physical manifestations of anxiety and stress, such as having a poor appetite, being more tired than usual, sleeping badly, and having headaches. This set of questions was borrowed from a report on Health and the Environment conducted by the South African Medical Research Council, which was analyzing the mental health of refugees. The percent of respondents who answered "yes" to the questions increased in every category except for headaches. The largest increases in "yes" responses were for those who said felt they had a "nervous stomach" and were "easily frightened."

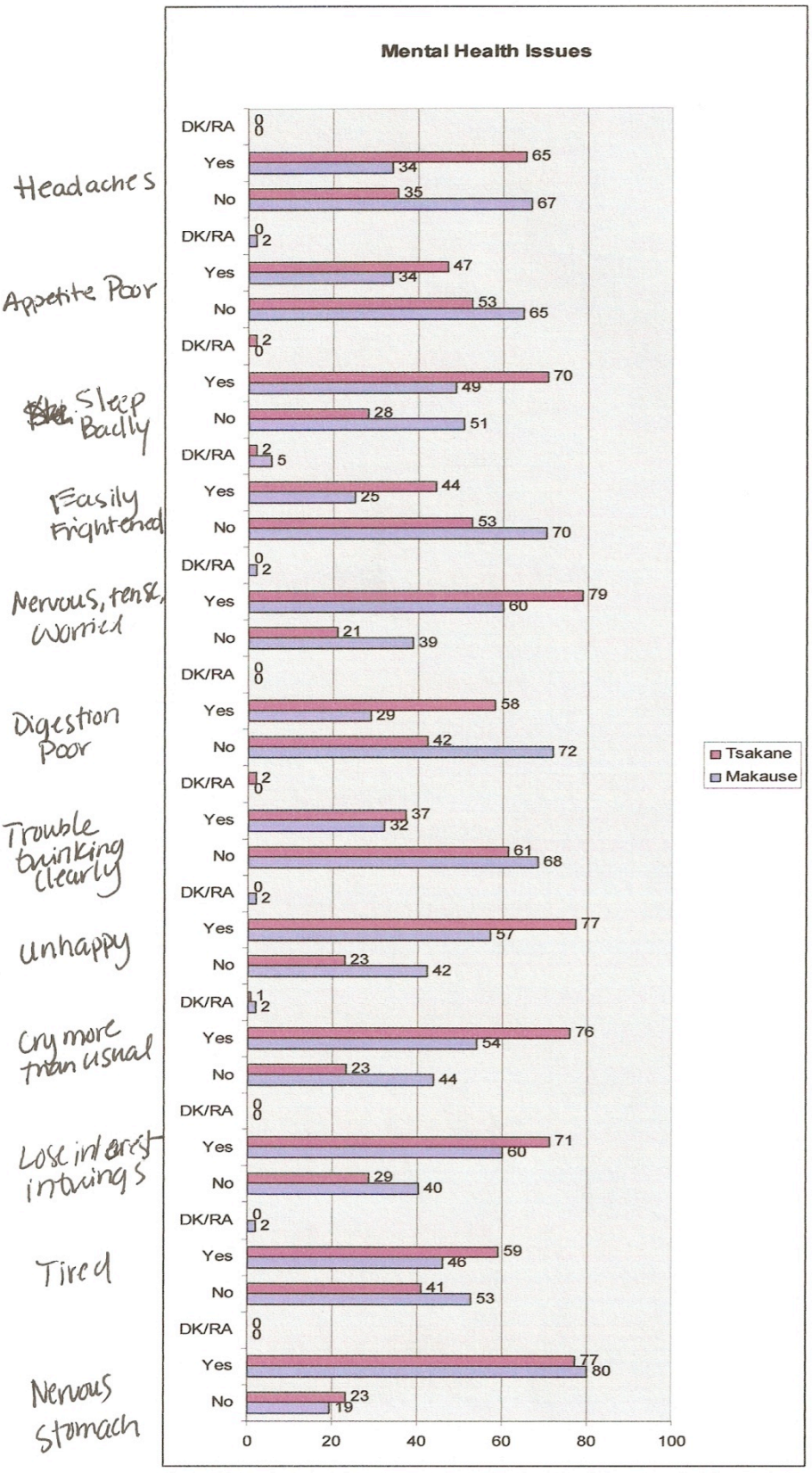
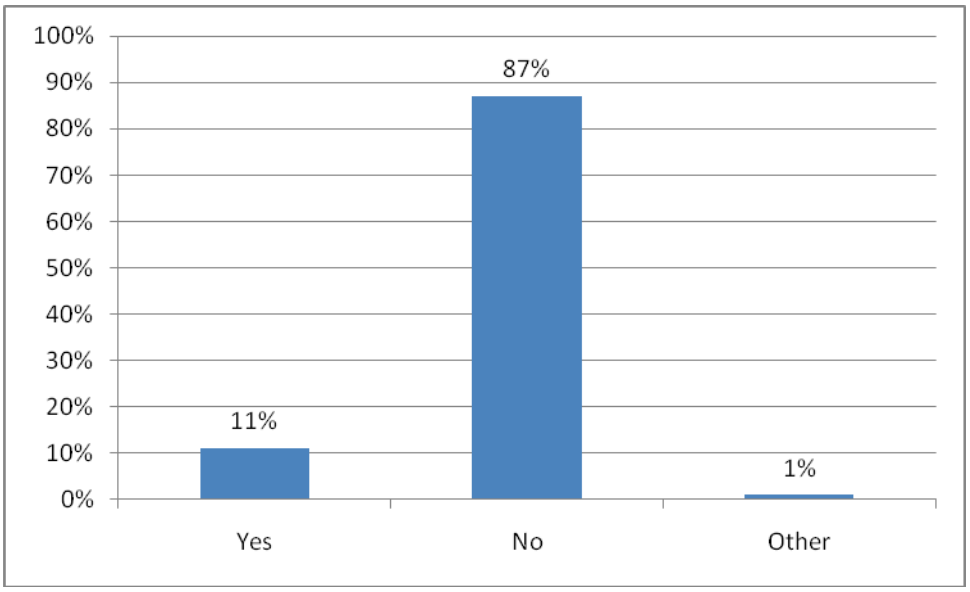


Table 20: Mental Health Issues

The relocation caused a lot of confusion, anger, and hopelessness attributed to a lack of communication with the community and the sense people felt misled. Only half of the Makause residents knew ahead of time that they were going to be dislocated and fewer knew the details of where and when they were going. Eighty-seven percent of those interviewed claimed that Tsakane was not what they had expected.

Table 21: Is Tsakane What You Were Expecting?



Also, the community's uncertainty about the future was exacerbated because the residents had not been informed about how long they would be living in Tsakane and were unsure as to where they would be going next.

Physical Health

The relocation exposed people not only to mental problems but to physical health problems as well.

> Displacement-induced social stress and psychological trauma are sometimes accompanied by the outbreak of relocation related illnesses. . . . Unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems increase vulnerability to epidemics. . . .Cernea).

The community's physical health is also at risk during relocation if sanitation infrastructure is not in place and if there is a lack of access to health services. Dislocated communities are particularly vulnerable to the spread of disease because they have increased levels of stress and have limited access to food, water, and sanitation services. Those who are especially vulnerable within these communities are children, the elderly, and those infected with HIV.

The Makause community and any informal settlement community in South Africa are especially vulnerable to an increase in physical illness after a relocation because of the high rates of HIV. It is estimated that between 16 and 27 percent of all persons in South African urban informal settlements were HIV positive in 2002 (Ambert 147). Rates of HIV in urban informal areas are high because of the mobility of the population. HIV is a critical issue because it makes an already vulnerable community even more vulnerable to the spread of disease. Questions were not explicitly asked surrounding HIV because of the stigma associated with HIV and the potential negative repercussions for the respondents if their status were to be revealed.

From Deterioration in Mental and Physical Health to Improving Health Conditions

Those in charge of a relocation can help prevent mental illness in a community by not creating false expectations about the relocation and by providing people with opportunities to earn income in their new locations. Also, as the Makause community demonstrates, the more marginalized the residents feel, the more they begin to turn toward resistance, which has the potential to increase project costs and unravel a relocation.

Planning for ways to prevent physical illness include providing water and sanitation services, permitting access to clinics, transferring medical files, and giving access to HIV and other medications. Any disruption in medication for those who are HIV positive can lead to an increase in mortality rates. Also, for those who are undergoing treatment for tuberculosis, a

common opportunistic infection with those who are HIV positive, a disruption could lead to higher rates of drug-resistant strains. In the Makause case, the municipality foresaw the importance of providing basic access to clinics and it provided a mobile clinic in Tsakane, which visited the community three times per week.

Providing residents with a clean environment should help decrease the likelihood of contracting opportunistic infections, increasing levels of waterborne illnesses, and staving off epidemics (Ambert 148). Many of the potential health issues in Tsakane were diverted because there was access to basic services and water. The municipality succeeded in providing the community with clean public toilets and numerous water taps. In fact, when people were asked what they were most pleased with in Tsakane, the top responses were water, sanitation facilities, access to communal toilets, and cleanliness.

Homelessness*:*

In an urban context losing one's home is two things: the loss of a shelter and the loss of a financial asset. The loss of a home as a financial asset is discussed in Chapter 6. Losing one's shelter and security in crime ridden South Africa can be dangerous, particularly for women. Additionally, a community can be left impoverished if they lose their homes which are oftentimes their livelihoods and usually their biggest financial assets. The insecurity and potential impoverishment that results from losing one's home during a relocation are risks that must be countered.

Home as a Shelter

Despite the poor quality of construction materials of homes in informal settlements, shacks and other forms of shelter provide security and protection from the elements and from crime. There is a wide variety of housing types and sizes in informal settlements. Seventy-six percent of people in Makause live in shacks, which are mostly made out wood and corrugated iron. Twenty-four percent of residents lived in a brick home; these homeowners generally lived in Makause the longest and/or were the wealthier residents. Housing provides security in crime-ridden South Africa because it provides people with a barrier from thieves, rapists, and gangsters. Homeless people are vulnerable and exposed. In the following passage, Palmary, Rauch, and Simpson describe the vulnerability of homeless women.

> The women's houselessness is connected to their vulnerability to many types of danger including rape, assault, domestic violence and HIV/AIDS. In general, the women living in those places with no management and no security felt that they were unsafe and vulnerable to crime (111).

Furthermore, Palmary, Rauch, and Simpson explain that it is not just homelessness that leaves women vulnerable. During relocation women often have to move in with others in order to counter a loss in income and housing.

> The [homeless] women's perception of fear and safety are not simply about dangers within the public spaces, but also about danger within the private spaces, which for them are not quite private because they have to share their space with others. . . . Dladla's description of women's struggles with homelessness shows that many of their experiences of violence are linked to their inability to acquire safe shelter. Owning their own homes may not prevent domestic violence, but it would certainly reduce their vulnerability, which is related to their dependency on men. (Dladla qtd. in Palmary 111,112)

So while women suffer a great deal during periods of homelessness, they also suffer when they have to share shelter with boyfriends or other family members. A loss of shelter exposes everyone, men and women, to crime and violence.

Consequences of Homelessness Risk

The eviction left people homeless and many had to sleep in the cold and were exposed to the elements (the eviction occurred during winter), until they were able to rebuild their shacks. Many Makause residents were lured into moving to Tsakane by promises of RDP housing. In fact, those community members who signed consent forms alleged that they signed because they were promised housing in exchange for their signature. Forty percent of the population responded that they were expecting to have housing when they arrived in Tsakane. When the displaced people arrived in Tsakane, instead of RDP homes they were provided with a shelter that consisted of four wooden poles that were wrapped in large trash bags. These temporary shelters did not last longer than a week. The community was then expected to build their own shacks and to pay for what remained of their old housing materials.

Countering Homelessness by Providing Homes and Reducing Corruption

Countering housing risks involves planning a community, providing already-built homes (temporary or permanent shelter) prior to the arrival of a dislocated community, providing tenure security in the new location, and ensuring that corruption does not occur. A number of academics have focused on ways to deal with the housing issue. Maria Mejia suggests that those who are dislocated need to be compensated for the loss of their home and be provided a new home of similar or better quality. Planning a community involves planning and creating homes that are suitable for multiple and extended families. Since housing sizes vary by the number of members of a family, it might be useful to provide the community with already built temporary shelter until appropriately sized homes can be built.

> As the process advances, consultation evolves into more active participation not only in the decision-making process, but also in such areas as construction of housing, house hunting, and protection of unoccupied sites (Mejia 165)

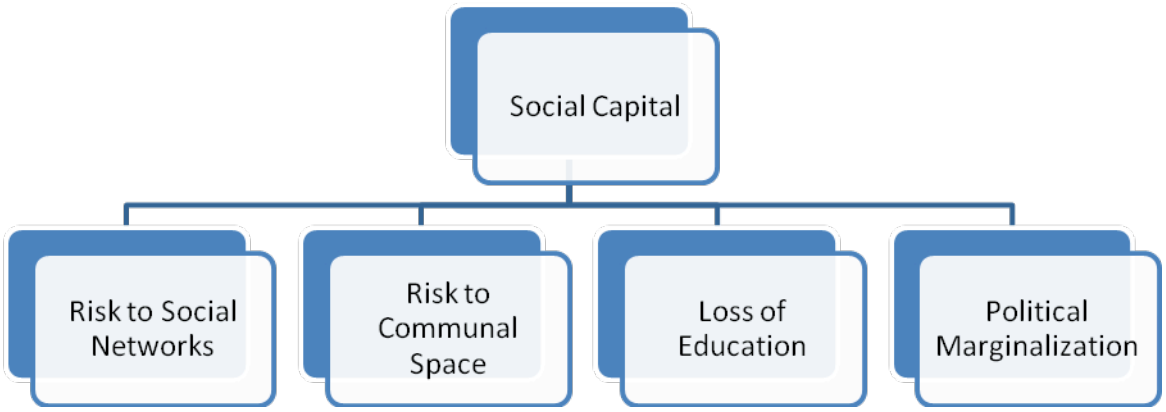
Countering the housing risk would improve the safety, security, and financial situations of the recently dislocated community.

Summary Remarks on Social Welfare Risks Section

The potential risks to health, housing, and food security that result from involuntary displacements can leave communities in crisis. Many of these risks can be countered by improving access to existing government services and by improving the channels of communication between the displaced and those in charge of the displacement. These improvements will reduce the spread of disease and improve food security.

Chapter 8: Social Capital

Social capital is defined by World Bank as: "the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions (Thomas qtd. in Smit 103)." Relocation can destroy people's social networks, separate families, and contribute to the breakdown of social capital. This risk has four elements: the social networks, communal space, the loss of education, and political marginalization.



Cernea's description of "social disarticulation" is what I consider to be the breakdown of social capital and it can have detrimental effects on the future of the community. Palmary writes extensively on the consequences of the destruction of social capital on levels of crime in her paper "Violent Crime in Johannesburg." In this paper she argues that social capital is a major factor in protecting a society against crime, and that a breakdown of social capital is often associated with an increase in crime. I have adapted the risk of "communal space" from Cernea's

risk of "common property" and have included it in this section because communal space in informal settlements plays an important role in creating a sense of community. I also included the risk of "schooling" because it is one of the "institutions" that "shape the quality and quantity of society's social interactions." The "schooling" risk could potentially endanger the future of dislocated communities.

While these communities are already politically marginalized, the disruption of social capital leads to further political marginalization. This marginalization leads to feelings of injustice and form the roots of resistance. This chapter will first focus on the breakdown of social capital in the form of the disruption of social networks, the destruction of communal space, and the political marginalization of the community. The chapter will then explore the backlash against relocation.

Social Networks:

Social networks are at risk during an eviction. Many people choose an informal settlement based on where they have family members or friends. In fact, many migrants assert that they chose their particular destination precisely because their relatives were already living there (Costello 430). The spatial arrangements in informal settlements greatly facilitate social support networks (Smit 109). Households that are part of the same network build shacks next to each other and extended families often add to their shacks or build larger shacks to accommodate their family (Smit 109). These social networks, between families and friends are also an important support network when it comes to child care, elder care, care of sick family members and friends, and lending and borrowing money.

> Similarly, demographic studies have frequently found that cities in the developing world are characterized by fairly high proportions of extended type households, higher even than in more "traditional" rural areas (Kanjanapan qtd. in Costello 430).

It appears that the municipality made an effort to keep neighborhoods intact. After all, 87 percent of people said they had the same neighbors and 86 percent of people said they associated with the same people. Ninety-five percent, said they had friends in the area. Transferring the spatial arrangements that existed in Makause to the Tsakane community allowed the Makause community to maintain many its social networks. Having new neighbors could have added to the sense of disruption that the relocation had already caused.

Consequences of a Breakdown of Social Networks

While neighborhoods remained intact, many families were separated, primarily because the lack of jobs in Tsakane required family members to move back to Makause in search of new jobs or to return to their old jobs. Other reasons people moved back to Makause were to be closer to family and friends and so that children could remain in school in Makause. One important reason some family members stayed in Tsakane while others went back to Makause was to watch over their shacks. They were worried that the Wozani Company would displace them and give their space to another family; this would render them homeless. Although many people wanted to move back to Makause, they could not afford to transport their belongings to Makause or to pay rent or build a new home. The fear of being evicted again was an additional reason to stay in Tsakane. Many families went from seeing their family members every day to only being able to see their family members one or two days a week. Separation from family members caused the respondents financial and emotional stress. The breakdown of family networks could have been avoided if the planners ensured that some family members did not

have to move back to Makause. Providing jobs and schooling near Tsakane and offering financial or other incentives to remain would have prevented the breakdown of families.

Communal Space:

Cernea's definition of "common property" takes on a new definition in urban informal settlements. Cernea's definition cites "pastures, forested lands, water bodies, burial grounds, quarries and so on (Cernea)", as common property. He goes on to say that losing these common properties "results in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels (Cernea)." Urban informal areas do not have the common property that Cernea describes. They do, however, have other forms of common space which are linked to community and social organization.

An important aspect of community life in South African informal settlements is the communal space, which in the case of Makause and similar communities is the sports ground. While communal space in informal settlements is everything except for people's shacks and fenced in yards, the sports ground is the most widely used communal area. The main reasons people used the sports ground were for entertainment purposes—it helped keep children out of trouble by keeping them busy, it was used for community meetings, and people from outside the community used it as an area where they could donate goods. Respondent 109 said: "The sports ground was useful for public meetings and it was the place we used to go to pick up clothes donations." So while there were a variety of forms of entertainment that occurred at the sports ground, the most common form of entertainment was either participating in or watching soccer matches, especially on weekends. Activities involving soccer included the creation of teams and tournaments sponsored by local businesses from the wealthier surrounding neighborhoods, and this provided young Makause residents with constructive activities. It also helped alleviate the

boredom or anxieties of those who were unemployed or underemployed. Many parents expressed an appreciation of the role that the sports ground played in their children's lives because they felt that playing soccer kept their children out of trouble by enabling them to do something productive that provided them with exercise and leadership skills.

Another important function that the sports ground played was that it provided the community with a place where they could discuss community issues and hold community meetings. In fact, most people found out about the evictions from meetings that were held at the soccer field. Tsakane also had a space for a sports ground and it was used for similar activities.

Consequences of a Lack of Communal Space

The consequences of a lack of communal space could have led to the further breakdown on the community. In an urban context communal space was an important aspect of creating a sense of community and had this not been incorporated into the new settlement this could have led to more anger against the municipality and a further breakdown of existing social networks.

From Lack of Communal Space to Creation of Communal Areas

Planners should make a concerted effort to find some way of maintain a sense of community by providing a communal space in the form of a soccer field, a community center, or a location where people can gather for social purposes.

Education:

Loosing access to schools or having periods of disruption from school is a risk that many children who are being dislocated may face. Forced displacement can cause disruptions in a

child's school attendance, which can affect how well a child is doing in school, and can ultimately lead to the child either staying in school or dropping out. Mejia argues:

> If a child is withdrawn from school and compelled to work and loses the opportunity to receive a general education, it is a loss with repercussions not only for that child but for future generations of the displaced (212).

If displacements are not planned properly children can lose their opportunity to receive an education.

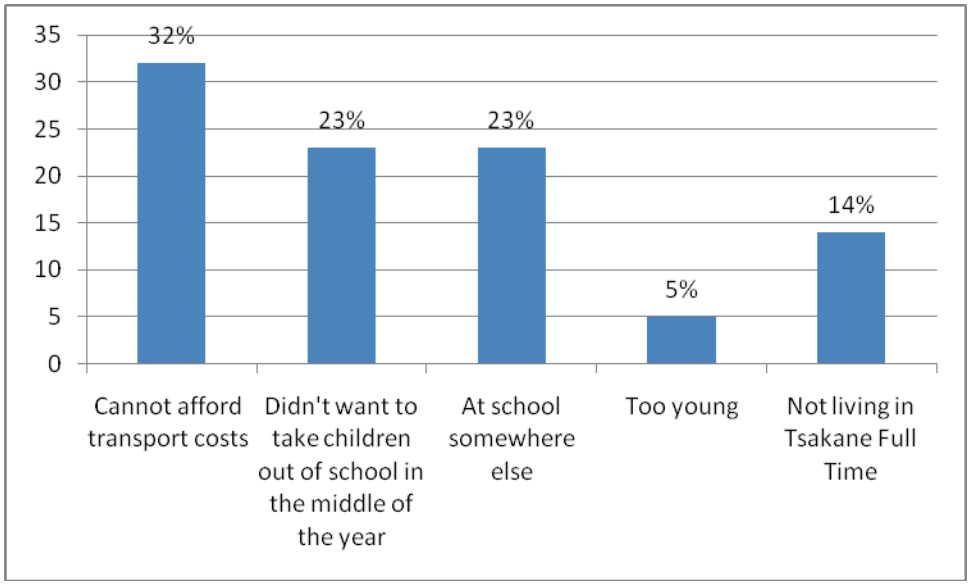
Consequences of the Relocation on Schooling

The relocation caused a number of children to take a break from school or to drop out of school permanently. While 90 percent of those living in Makause had children, only 46 percent said they had children who were attending school in Makause or nearby. Many of the families we interviewed did not have children of school age. Out of the 46 percent of children who attended school in Makause, only 34 percent were attending school after the relocation. And of the children who remained in school, 32 percent of the students remained in schools near Makause even though their family members had moved to Tsakane. Forty percent of children attended schools near Tsakane, and 28 percent of students were enrolled in schools neither in Tsakane nor Makause. The children who were not enrolled in Tsakane and Makause were generally in school in rural areas.

Many of the children who were dislocated remained in school in Makause because moving to a new school half way through the school year is not an easy transition for the family, the child, or the new school. Parents cited a number of reasons their children did not move to Tsakane to attend school. Some of these reasons included: not wanting to move their children in the middle of the school year, not being able to afford transportation costs, and encountering

difficulties enrolling their children in school. Table 22 lists the reasons children were not in school after the relocation.

Table 22: Reasons children did not attend school in Tsakane



In Tsakane, schools were further from people's homes, nearly twice the distance. While it took most students between 20 to 30 minutes to walk in Makause, in Tsakane it took students between 35 to 60 minutes. Additionally, while parents were not asked the specifics of the difficulties of getting into school, more than half of the students who tried to switch school reported some difficulties with enrollment.

For those who dropped out of school in Tsakane, the children either missed long periods of school or dropped out of school because of the relocation. A number of students missed school after relocation because their parents needed help preparing to move or building a new. These children took two weeks to two months off from school to help with the move. Respondent 92 said "We were all frustrated, they missed so much school, we were still fixing our houses." Many of these children fell behind in school and stopped attending school altogether. Many poor families were already making big sacrifices by sending their children to school

instead of to work. Further obstacles to accessing the schools made the decision to send children to work instead of school more appealing.

Unaffordable access costs

One important reason children were not able to attend the schools in the new location were school access costs, which includes anything that involves sending a child to school such as uniforms, school fees, transportation costs, school lunch, supplies, etc. Since access to education is inelastic, poor households are likely to either spend a high proportion of their income on school access costs or not send children to school at all.

According to a study on school access costs the poorest households spent about 16 percent of their total income on school, with ten percent of that on transportation alone (Wilson). So while the poorest families sent their children to school on foot, the distance was now much further and families were not able to pay for their children to go to school via taxi or bus. This meant that children in the poorest families tended to drop out of school first (Wilson). Also it is not clear that some of the students who dropped out because of transportation costs could have attended even if transportation were subsidized. Many parents could not afford to buy new uniforms, books, or to pay other school-related costs. When explaining why her children missed school, respondent 40 said: “They missed one month of school due to lack of funds for uniforms.” There were reports that some parents had to make a difficult decision: they had to choose which child they would send to school.

School bureaucracy

Another important reason many children stopped attending school was because schools in both the sending and receiving communities made it difficult for students to switch schools. Many children had not moved to the new schools because many of their former schools were "not give(ing) their reports and transfer papers until they (had) paid their full school fee (Wilson)." This barred children from enrolling in schools in their new area. Receiving schools were also making it difficult because they would not register students that did not have their transfer papers, birth certificates, or who could not pay their school for the year up front, even though such actions are illegal. Further, the receiving schools might have made enrollment more difficult for the new students because these schools were already overcrowded. Hence many children dropped out. The lack of planning for this relocation and the lack of communication between the municipality and the receiving schools contributed to the dropout rate that resulted from this relocation.

From Loss of Access to School to Providing School Access

The government has the ability to improve the likelihood that children who have been dislocated stay in school and significantly reduce the dropout rate that results from urban displacements. They can tackle the issue of school access costs by providing subsidized transportation and by providing stipends for books, uniforms, and school meals (Wilson). They could also either create a new school in the area or notify schools in the new community that they should prepare for an influx in incoming students. Another important step would be for the government to enforce the laws that protect students. These laws state that the schools cannot keep children's school records if they have not paid their full fees and that schools cannot

demand school fees for the year up front. This could be facilitated by having a representative assist the displaced students with their communications with school officials.

Political Marginalization:

While the community was dislocated as a result of their political marginalization, the relocation exacerbated their political marginalization. The municipality excluded the community and the existing political leadership from the planning process and did not provide enough information to the residents about when or where they were moving. This lack of communication left the community stressed, anxious, marginalized and excluded from the process. These feelings turned into resentment and fueled the resistance to the relocation.

> Resistance may also serve as a protest against a government not considered to be working in the public interest a poorly designed project may produce rejection of the nation's right to define local agendas. Resistance during implementation can correct broken promises, unfulfilled plans or unanticipated negative consequences (Oliver-Smith qtd in. Koenig 44)

The consequences of political marginalization left the relocation process in shambles. Many of the difficulties that the municipality and community faced could have been prevented by including the community in the planning process.

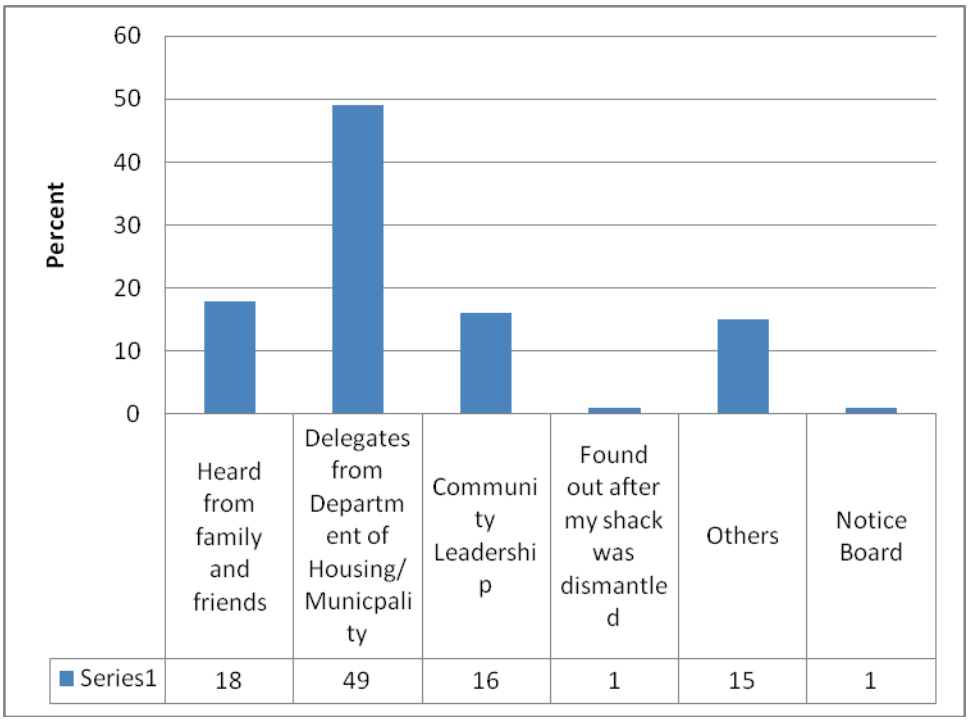
The relocation might have been more successful if the municipality took into consideration the needs of the community. Seventy-five percent of respondents did not want to be dislocated. The majority did not want to leave Makause because they were happy in Makause. Twenty-five percent did not want to move because they did not know where they were going and had no information about their new location. Other reasons people did not want to move were people's work and businesses were nearby and doing well, Makause was close to the city, and they did not want to break up their families or lose friends.

The remaining 25 percent wanted to leave Makause. Thirty-six percent of the people wanted to move because they were promised RDP homes. Similarly 8 percent wanted to move because they did not want to pay rent. Others expected Tsakane to be better than Makause, they hoped that there would be no crime, and because they were unhappy in Makause. Unfortunately, most of the people who had initially wanted to move expressed regret and disappointed upon arriving at Tsakane. They arrived to find that they would have to build their own shacks with their old materials. When people were asked if Tsakane was what they were expecting 88% of the respondents said no. The community felt deceived by the municipality because their expectations of Tsakane were not met.

Lack of Widespread Communication

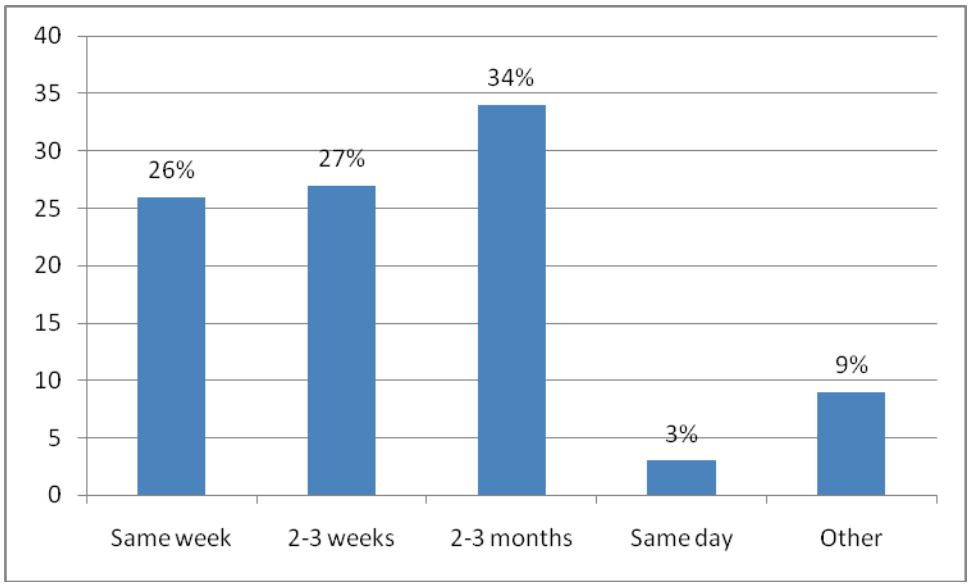
So while the municipality did make some attempts to notify residents about the pending eviction, many people were not notified with enough time to adjust to their new reality. It appears that the municipality might have taken a substandard approach to delivering the message about the relocation. Respondents reported that some representatives from the Department of Housing and the Municipality held a few meeting to try to inform people. However, there did not appear to be a cohesive strategy taken by the municipality to make sure the entire community was informed. After all, only 34 percent of people knew about the relocation with two to three months notice. And only 49 percent of the respondents had heard about the relocation from representatives of either the municipality or the department of housing.

Table 23: Who Informed You About The Relocation?



The other 50 percent heard from friends, family, community leaders, and neighbors. Some people did not hear about the relocation until their shacks were destroyed. Respondent 54 found out that she was being dislocated when she returned from work one day. She said: "I have just seen people taking our things out of our shacks, and crashing our shack down." Fifty-three percent of people knew only three weeks or less before the move.

Table 24: How Much Notice Did You Have Before The Relocation?



26 percent had learned about the relocation that same week. In addition to not giving the community sufficient notice, the government did not provide the community with the details of the move nor did they try include any community members in the planning of the relocation.

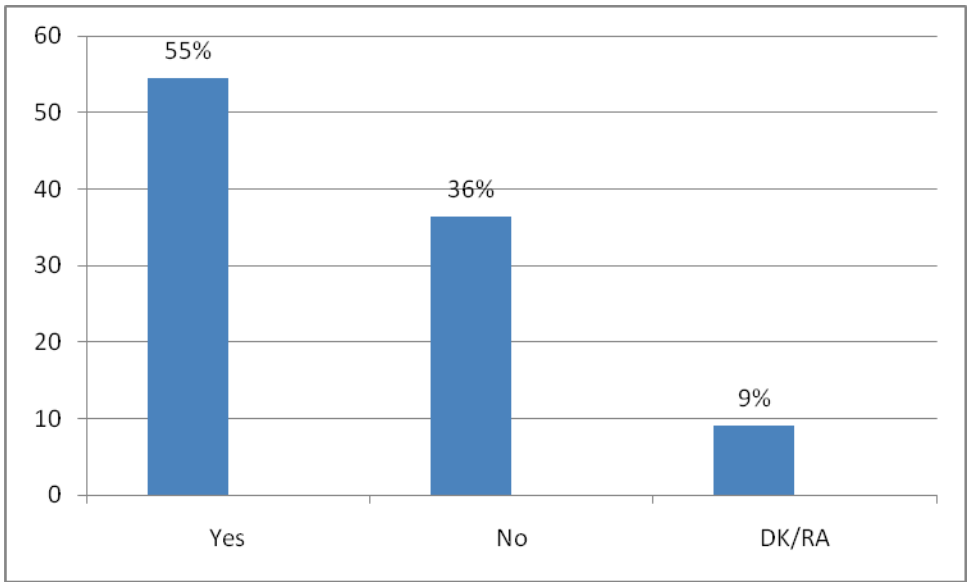
Consequences of Political Marginalization – Resistance:

By not communicating properly with the community and excluding the community from any involvement in the relocation plans, the municipality politically marginalized the community and community leadership. Instead of communicating and working with the elected community leadership, the Wozani Company handpicked new leadership that would help them achieve their goals of relocation and chose to ignore the existing and elected community leadership, thus sidelining the existing leadership. As a result, the community leadership spearheaded the resistance, which involved court cases, violence, and mass protests in both Germiston and Johannesburg.

> People often turn to organized resistance when they do not have political and legal arenas in which to defend, bargain for, and promote their interests, or where policy and legal vacuums give few alternatives to political struggle. (Koenig 44)

Prior to relocation the main political organization of the community was the Community Policing Forum (CPF). This forum was not only in charge of policing the community but also in charge of distributing and selling shacks. This forum was elected by the people of Makause. In Tsakane, the Wozani Company took over the political responsibility of the community. Fifty-five percent supported the resistance while 36 percent opposed the resistance. The main reasons people opposed the resistance was because they felt a sense of hopelessness and did not think that resistance efforts would be successful.

Table 25: Do you think resistance is important?



The resistance began as a coalition between the Makause leadership and leadership from other informal settlements that were facing relocation. The coalition met weekly for a number of months before it broke apart. The resistance developed \ a three-pronged plan to resist the relocation. It involved taking the municipality to court, attracting media attention, and holding protests. For their legal resistance, the Makause community received legal assistance from a

nonprofit *probono* legal entity. With the help of the nonprofit they launched an urgent application to the courts to stop the evictions in February 2007. The court ordered a temporary stoppage of evictions until further evidence supporting the eviction would be demonstrated. The Makause community also organized a number of small protests and two large protests, one in front of the Mayor's office in Makause and the second one shutting down and marching in the main streets of Johannesburg in front of the mayor's office. Both protests were attended by about 4,000 people. The Makause community also contacted a number of media organizations. They were able to get a few articles published in some of the main South African newspapers about their case. The resistance efforts succeeded in temporarily stopping the relocation and making the voices of the community heard.

From Political Marginalization to Political Inclusion:

Instead of neglecting the existing political structures the municipality would have benefited by incorporating them into the planning process thereby reducing the conflict that followed. While many policy makers worry that incorporating the community in the planning process might complicate the relocation and increase project costs, the benefits of their inclusion outweigh the costs.

> [Participation] also needs good initial planning, training to increase local capacity extra efforts to get the input of the especially vulnerable a clear process for action, open lines of communication, and time to explore alternatives. . . extra time and effort should discourage unnecessary DDIR (Koenig).

Increased project costs might discourage unnecessary relocation. However, in the long run, it would be less expensive to properly plan a relocation than to improperly implement a relocation and have to deal with the legal costs, the costs of negative press, and other associated negative consequences.

> These and other experiences show that far from hindering the planning process, participation actually reduces tension, conflicts, and negative social impacts; builds trust and collaboration; avoids delays due to lack of agreement at the community level; and improves the feasibility of the project (Mejia 164).

The municipality communicated better with the community by holding community meetings.

> Preliminary meetings with neighborhood associations or organized interested groups to survey public opinion and gain preliminary consent for the resettlement plan (Mejia 165).

They could have also surveyed the needs of the community and determined what types of jobs and livelihood activities they participate in. Countering political marginalization could improve the likelihood that the relocation will occur successfully or that it will not occur at all if project costs render the relocation unnecessary.

Summary Remarks on the Breakdown of Social Capital:

The long term consequences of the breakdown of social capital include an increase in crime and increasing poverty. The political marginalization and economic exclusion of those who are being dislocated lead to feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness. Increasing levels of crime and poverty are two important reasons to consider countering the risks outlined in this section. This means that the municipality should aim to keep social networks intact, should create communal space, and include the community and political leadership in the planning process.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to test Cernea's model for its applicability to an urban context. After conducting the research it became apparent that while Cernea's model included some important risks, certain elements of his model needed to be redefined and changed. Therefore I developed an Urban Model that integrated most of his risks (albeit, redefined) and added new risks. This Urban Model may provide some direction to those who are tasked to conduct urban relocations. This model adds to the literature on relocation and will help create a debate surrounding what risks are important in an urban context. It also makes the argument that urban relocations need to be conducted in a different manner than rural relocations.

The Urban Risks and Relocation Model

Sometimes relocations are unavoidable, but one goal of the Urban Risks and Relocation Model is to discourage unnecessary relocations. This model aims to create more uniform and beneficial outcomes of relocations. Currently there are a wide range of outcomes depending on who is in charge of the relocation and what resources are available. Generally, a community ends up undergoing some degree of trauma associated with the relocation and the already poor community ends up in a worse situation than they were in prior to the removal. Part of the issue is that—

> First, but with some notable exceptions, there has been a lack of official recognition on the part of governments and international agencies that development induced displacement is a problem at all (McDowell 2).

Because governments ignore this problem, there is a great deal of mistreatment during removals as well as human rights abuses. Clashes between squatters and police and the resulting violence

are commonplace and there has been an emergence of grassroots political groups that address these issues. In order to avoid violence and resistance movements, the Urban Risks and Relocation Model, which emphasizes including the community in project planning, can lead to relocation outcomes that benefit both the dislocated communities and those who are in charge of the relocation.

> The World Bank review showed DIDR projects with high financial allocations to be free of major difficulties while virtually all projects with low financing faced serious problems (Koenig 54).

There is a general agreement that relocations should only be used as a last resort and that many relocations could be avoided.

Alternatives to Relocation

An important argument for alternatives to relocation can be found in South Africa's National Department of Housing legislation. It aims to achieve three objectives which are: tenure security, health and safety, and empowerment which includes social development, economic development, and social capital. This program provides grants to municipalities so that they can undertake informal settlement upgrading instead of relocation. In section 13.4 titled "relocations," the housing code recognizes the negative consequences of relocations:

> Residents living in informal settlements are often dependant on fragile networks to ensure their livelihoods and survival. A guiding principle in the upgrading of these communities is the minimization of disruption and the preservation of community cohesion. The Program accordingly discourages the displacement of households, as this not only creates a relocation burden, but is often a source of conflict, further diving and fragmenting already vulnerable communities.

Instead of dislocating communities, *in situ* upgrading might be a cheaper and more socially constructive alternative. Upgrading aims to provide tenure security, social services, better access

to livelihoods and business opportunities, and health services. While this legislation is South African, it is something that is considered globally as an alternative to relocation.

Further Research

The Urban Risks and Relocation model needs to be further researched and other risks should be identified. Since the Makause study only took place over the course of 2007, further research on the Makause study or other longitudinal studies on different urban relocations would be an important way to determine the long-term consequences of urban relocations.

South Africa and Relocations

There has been an increase in unnecessary urban relocations around the world because of the influence of the international push toward slum eradication as delineated in Target 11 of the Millennium Development goals (MDGs). This target aims to eradicate slums by 2015 and is known as the "cities without slums" initiative. Target 11 has trickled down to national housing policies, including South Africa's national policy.

> Several country governments, South Africa included, interpret the MDG to mean eradication of slums, rather than merely the improvement of the lives of those living in them (Huchzermeyer par. 6).

As a result of Target 11, South Africa has created a new mandate for the national Department of Housing to eradicate all urban informal settlements in the next fifteen years. As a result, local governments have been trying to find ways to eliminate informal settlements. The Johannesburg Municipality wanted to eliminate informal settlements in its metro area by 2007 by upgrading informal settlements or moving informal settlers to sites where they claim that people can have tenure and services that can be formalized and secured. Of the 147 settlements, 103 are earmarked for relocation, (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions 42) and the rest were marked

to be upgraded *in situ.* The Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD) has been given orders to evict new informal settlements without a court order within 48 hours of their construction (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions 76). The new national policy toward informal settlements, in addition to previous efforts to reorder urban space and abolish informal settlements because they are eye-sores, has led to an increase in relocations.

However, even before the "cities without slums" initiative, there have been local efforts to "develop" and "renew" urban areas that have resulted in urban displacements. While many of the development projects aim to improve people's lives, they often end up dislocating communities and causing irreparable harm. These development projects range from large-scale urban infrastructure projects to urban renewal projects such as improving the environmental or sanitation conditions of an urban area. Maria Mejia cites some reasons for urban relocations—

> disorderly growth and consequent reordering of urban living space, improvement of highly deteriorated sanitation and environmental conditions, improvement of other urban infrastructure facilities, specific social or poverty alleviation policies, the effects of natural disasters (at risk populations to avoid future disasters) (150).

While some relocations cannot be avoided, such as the transferring a population from an area that has undergone a natural disaster, others can be avoided. The Special Raporteur's report on South Africa and relocations states—

> It appears that many evictions are executed in the interest of gentrifying inner urban areas and promoting urban regrowth and development.

Many relocations occur because the communities they affect are poor and lack political power. Wealthier communities generally have the means and the power to counter unnecessary relocations for the purposes of development projects. South African policy on relocations and the "eradication of slums" is short-sighted because attempting to eradicate informal settlements

by relocating them to more peripheral areas will not result in fewer informal settlements. In fact, resentment and anger against the government in these communities will grow.

Makause

The resentment toward the municipality was clearly present in Makause. As the data demonstrate, the Makause relocation has had more negative consequences on the dislocated community than positive ones. The community was exposed to economic, social welfare, and social capital risks.

Yet despite all of the negative consequences, there were a few positive outcomes. The municipality installed sufficient water taps for the population, set up new toilets, and provided the community with more space. The people who might have benefited most from the relocation were those who had rented while living in Makause, and no longer had to pay rent. The community was asked what the top three things they liked in Tsakane were and they responded that they had better access to water, a cleaner community, and more toilets. Although the community felt that their community was cleaner and more spacious, the three biggest criticisms were that they were far from jobs, far from town, and were cut off from economic opportunities. Instead of relocating the community, the municipality could have provided more water taps, more toilets, and could have regulated the spacing of shacks through *in situ* upgrading at much lower financial and social costs.

Applying Cernea's model to the Makause case in South Africa provided me with a useful way to test Cernea's model. This case study provided me with insights into developing a more robust model for urban relocations. This aim of this model is to guide those making critical decisions during urban relocations**.**

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